

**Challenges that offenders face upon release that contribute to
recidivism in the Department of Correctional Services: A case
study of the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre in the
Western Cape**

by

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requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies**

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DECLARATION

I, Jerome Alec Samuels, hereby declare that the mini-thesis entitled *Challenges that offenders face upon release that contribute to recidivism in the Department of Correctional Services: A case study of the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre in the Western Cape* is my own work and that I have not previously submitted it, in part or in its entirety, at any university for a degree or examination. All the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Signed: _____

Date: _____

ABSTRACT

Recidivism, the tendency to revert to crime upon release from prison, seems to be an uncontrollable phenomenon as inmates keep on re-offending, which impacts negatively on the already overcrowded correctional centres in South Africa. Life in prison is harsh and overpopulation leads to numerous communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS and other sexuality transmitted infections.

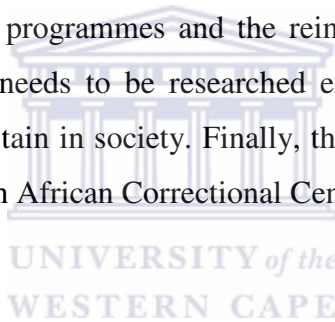
Offenders participate in various rehabilitation programmes during their incarceration. However, the challenge is to sustain these rehabilitation efforts after their discharge from prison. Offenders released into society face numerous obstacles such as the need for employment, food, shelter, and the stigma of having been imprisoned. The community is reluctant to receive perpetrators back into society after their release from prison. Consequently, ex-offenders struggle to find employment because of this stigma, which often translates into family break-ups. They are then expected to invent new ways of making a living and surviving without any help from society; in consequence, they resort to crime, which in turn results in recidivism.

The research comprises an exploratory study of the challenges that offenders face upon release and which contribute to recidivism in the Department of Correctional Services (DCS). The West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre in the Western Cape has been selected as the case study area. Although offenders attend various rehabilitation programmes inside the prison, it has become apparent that upon their release this rehabilitation is not sustained.

The qualitative methodology used for this research included semi-structured interviews in order to gather information on the challenges that contribute to recidivism. Offenders, parolees, family members, the Head of Social Reintegration, a social worker, a representative of NICRO, the Chairperson of the Atlantis Community Police Forum, and a spokesperson for SAPS Atlantis were interviewed in order to gather the relevant information.

The general findings of the research demonstrate that the adverse socio-economic conditions confronting the offenders after their release from prison are the main barriers to their successful rehabilitation and reintegration into society. The problem is further compounded by the high incidence of criminal activities within the community environment, the influence of gangsterism, peer pressure and substance abuse. Together, these conditions lead to the re-committing of crime, the re-incarceration of former offenders and, ultimately, to a pattern of recidivism.

Future research should concentrate on finding a mechanism for monitoring the recidivism rate of offenders in South Africa so as to break the vicious cycle of re-incarceration. Secondly, comprehensive research is needed to account for the dichotomy between theory and practice with regard to recidivism, and to foster a deeper understanding of this complex phenomenon. Thirdly, the sustainability of rehabilitation programmes and the reintegration of former offenders after their release is another area that needs to be researched extensively to determine why these interventions are so difficult to sustain in society. Finally, the costly ramifications of recidivism for the already overpopulated South African Correctional Centres warrant extensive research.



KEY WORDS

West Coast Correctional Centre, Atlantis, recidivism, rehabilitation, reintegration, gangsterism, society, crime, overcrowding, offenders.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

CAO:	Correctional Assessment Official
CBO:	Community-Based Organisation
CIO:	Correctional Intervention Official
CMA:	Case Management Administration
CMC:	Case Management Committee
CMS:	Case Management Supervisor
CO:	Case Officer
COE:	Centre of Excellence
CPF:	Community Police Forum
CSP:	Correctional Sentence Plan
CRT:	Case Review Team
CSPB:	Correctional Services Parole Board
CSPRF:	Correctional Sentence Plan Revision Framework
DCS:	Department of Correctional Services
FBO:	Faith-Based Organisation
MRM:	Moral Regeneration Movement
NICRO:	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders
SANCA:	South African National Council of Alcoholism and Drug Dependency
SAPS:	South African Police Services
ORP:	Offender Rehabilitation Path
UM:	Unit Manager
WCEC:	West Coast Environmental Cooperative

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa, the “purpose of the correctional system in South Africa is not punishment, but protection of the public, promotion of social responsibility and the enhancing of human development in order to prevent recidivism or the return to crime” (2005:74). The White Paper further points out that, while prison sentences do limit the extent of repeated offending, the crux of deterrence remains rehabilitation. This means that it is rehabilitation and not punishment that ultimately succeeds in breaking the cycle of crime.

This dissertation explores the challenges that offenders face upon release and which contribute to recidivism, the tendency to revert to crime upon release from prison, in the Department of Correctional Services (DCS). The West Coast Medium ‘A’ Correctional Centre in the Western Cape is used as the case study area.

When offenders are released into society, they face numerous obstacles as well as the stigma of having been imprisoned. Offenders attend a variety of rehabilitation programmes while in prison, but upon their release this rehabilitation is often not sustained. The priority for the offenders inside prison is rehabilitation, whereas outside in the community at large it is survival.

1.1 Rationale for the study

Dissel (2002:13), in her study entitled *Tracking Transformation in South African Prisons*, notes that recidivism in South Africa is estimated to be in the region of 85–94%. She further indicates that, during a special National Cabinet strategy meeting in 1995, the DCS identified rehabilitation as a key objective to reduce recidivism. These statistics indicate that recidivism constitutes a serious and escalating problem in South Africa. Besides a few valuable contributions to the topic, very little research has been done with regard to recidivism in South Africa.

The researcher has been a staff member of the DCS since 1993. He is currently stationed at the Management Area of Goodwood in the Western Cape and holds the position of Deputy Director, Manager Spiritual Care. He is aware of the extent of recidivism and overcrowding that the Department of Correctional Services is currently facing. Furthermore, the researcher has worked extensively with offenders through a variety of rehabilitation programmes. He has a keen interest in determining why offenders keep returning to prison. The findings as well as the recommendations of the study will be made known to the DCS and its stakeholders.

1.2 Background and contextualisation of the case study area

1.2.1 The West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre

The West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre was formerly known as Malmesbury Prison. The beginning of Malmesbury has a rich history that can be traced back as far as the Boer War. The Medium 'A' facility or "New Prison", as it is locally known, is situated on prime land next to the new cemetery. As the first unit management prison in South Africa, the new West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre was opened in the Swartland town of Malmesbury in the Western Cape on 6 December 1996 by the then Minister of Correctional Service, Dr Mizimela. It is located about 65 km north of Cape Town and, as a medium prison, it is designed to ensure good supervision, control and to create a normalised environment.

West Coast Medium 'A' has numerous rehabilitation programmes for offenders. These include moral regeneration programmes, life skills, anger management, restorative justice, 'heartlines', formal education, skills development, psychological and social work programmes. These are but a few of the programmes implemented by the Corrections branch as well as the Development and Care division. The West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre is involved in two projects, namely 'Ithba Lesibini' (a second chance) and 'Siyakathala' (we care). The first of the two projects was initiated by offenders and focuses on youth in correctional centres. The second one is an outreach project that focuses on community upliftment through active participation by offenders that is, motivational talks, handicrafts, and poverty alleviation.

The offenders housed at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre come from various communities within the Swartland and West Coast regions. The areas include Malmesbury, Atlantis, Riebeeck West, Kalbaskraal, Mamre, Yzerfontein and Vredenburg. In some of these areas gangsterism is rife and substance abuse is at the order of the day. The research also takes into consideration the demographic area where the offenders used to reside, with specific emphasis on the Atlantis community.

1.3. Statement of problem, research aims and research questions

1.3.1 Statement of the problem

Research has confirmed that, when some offenders leave the prison environment, they generally return to criminal activities, largely as a result of their socio-economic environment (Muntingh 2002:20; Mpuang 2001:85-94). The offenders' repeated involvement in criminal activity is problematic and impacts negatively on their families and on the taxpayer, who has to bear the cost of the offenders' incarceration. This results in correctional centres being overcrowded as offenders keep returning due to their criminal behaviour and the other challenges that they are confronted with.

When offenders are released back into society, they face a range of challenges such as lack of support and the stigma of having been imprisoned. Society is reluctant to receive perpetrators back into the community. Offenders attend various rehabilitation programmes inside the prison; however, these rehabilitation efforts are not sustained. Stigmatisation often results in family break-ups, and lack of income forces the offenders to invent new ways of making a living and surviving without any further help from society. They turn to crime once again, which results in returning to prison (recidivism).

1.3.2 Aims of the study

Against the abovementioned background, the overall aims of this research are to

- investigate the social, economic and demographic challenges that offenders are faced with upon release and which contribute to recidivism in the case study area;
- identify and discuss the outcomes of rehabilitation programmes at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre that contribute to the successful reintegration and rehabilitation of offenders;
- highlight existing barriers that prohibit the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders into the community; and
- provide conclusions and recommendations to all the relevant role-players and stakeholders.

1.3.3 Research questions

The research questions include the following:

- What are the challenges that offenders face upon release that contribute to recidivism at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre?
- What proactive measures can the Department of Correctional Services introduce, through their Social Reintegration Office, in order to address the needs of the ex-offenders/parolees/probationers before recidivism occurs?

1.4 Research methodology

The research uses qualitative methodological tools as these are deemed most appropriate for the purposes of gathering information in order to answer the research questions. According to Babbie, Mouton, Voster and Prozesky (2001:289), the basic individual interview method is one of the most frequently used methods of qualitative data collection, and is used to obtain sensitive and socially dynamic information about the feelings and perceptions of people. Qualitative and descriptive research methodologies go hand in hand, according to Brynard and Hanekom (1997:30). It involves face-to-face interaction and the collection of data in a real-life

setting. This methodology is particularly appropriate to this study and will be used to understand the challenges that offenders face upon release from prison and how this contributes to recidivism. These methods will be discussed in more detail below.

1.4.1 Techniques and procedures of qualitative research

In order to gather in-depth dynamic data, this research makes use of semi-structured interviews and observation. Purposive sampling techniques were used to target offenders, parolees and probationers that were previously incarcerated. This technique assisted the researcher in purposefully selecting offenders that are appropriate for the study.

1.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

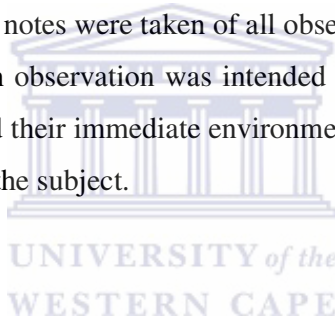
A total of 21 semi-structured interviews were conducted in this study. Eight interviews were conducted with offenders incarcerated within the case study area to obtain information about the challenges confronting ex-offenders within the community and possibly leading to their re-offending. Four interviews were held with parolees/probationers under the supervision of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, which forms part of the case study area. The researcher wished to ascertain from the parolees/probationers what struggles they faced while on parole and the possible reasons for their re-offending. Four interviews were conducted with one family member of each of the parolees under supervision. The purpose of these interviews was to obtain an insider perspective on the obstacles that the families faced when the parolee/probationer re-offended and how the imprisonment impacted on the family.

Individual interviews were also conducted with the head of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, a social worker at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, a representative of NICRO, a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) working with former offenders, the Chairperson of the Atlantis Community Police Forum (CPF), and a spokesperson for SAPS Atlantis. The interviews with the social worker, the Head of Malmesbury Social Reintegration, and the NICRO representative were intended to determine the existing barriers that prohibit the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. Secondly, these interviews were intended to be used to discuss some of the proactive measures that the DCS can introduce through the Social Reintegration Office in order to address the needs of inmates and parolees before recidivism occurs. The interview with the Chairperson of

the CPF and spokesperson for SAPS was used to gather first-hand information about the Atlantis community environment. These interviews were recorded and the interviews with the parolees and their family members were held within their natural setting.

1.4.3 Observation

Observation took place within the immediate surroundings of the parolee as well as during the interview sessions at his home. The researcher observed the dynamics in the local area and the living conditions of the parolees/probationers in order to assess the socio-economic, political and cultural environment and ascertain if it contributed to the tendency of the inmates to return to crime. The family dynamics and environment were observed within the home, and the type of community setting was observed in order to determine what was happening within the communities where the offenders resided. This observation is vital in order to answer the research questions. Accurate notes were taken of all observations and a Dictaphone was used to record the information. Such observation was intended to enable the researcher to familiarise himself with the subjects and their immediate environment, as these interviews were conducted in the home environment of the subject.



1.4.4 Secondary analysis

Secondary data was obtained from documents on the DCS intranet, from newspaper articles and official correspondence that would inform the study, as well as from documentation and existing statistics relating to overcrowding, rehabilitation and social reintegration.

1.5 Research procedure

The research procedure involved the following five steps:

Step 1: Secondary analysis

Step 2: Construction of a semi-structured interview

Step 3: Conducting of semi-structured interviews

Step 4: Continuous observation throughout the data-gathering phase, with all interviews recorded on a Dictaphone to ensure the correctness of the data gathered

Step 5: Processing, analysing and presentation of data:

- transcription, analysis and placement of interview data in various categories and arranged according to themes;
- presentation of data in the form of textual explanations, categories and tables, direct quotations, and graphs and tables.

1.6 Research Agenda

This mini-thesis is divided into five chapters, which are structured as follows:

- **Chapter 1 (entitled Introduction)** introduces the research problem, questions, aims, methodology, and procedures used. The chapter furthermore outlines the background to and context of the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre.
- **Chapter 2 (entitled Literature review and theoretical framework)** reviews the relevant research literature, sketches the basic theoretical background to the research, and presents the conceptual foundation of this mini-thesis. The chapter defines the key concepts with reference to recidivism, overcrowding in prisons, social reintegration, the socio-economic and geographical environment, and the theoretical basis of crime and deviance.
- **Chapter 3 (entitled The case of the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre in the Western Cape)** provides an overview of the case study area, analyses the institutional structure of the West Coast Correctional Centre, and explores the implementation of management approaches at the facility. The chapter furthermore provides an overview of the Atlantis community and concludes with a discussion of the integrated support system of the Department of Correctional Services.
- **Chapter 4 (entitled Discussion of research results)** details the data collection techniques used, and discusses the results of the research. The chapter outlines the characteristics of the relations of the offenders, parolees and their respective families, and reflects the results of the semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders in the rehabilitation process. Finally, the chapter discusses the programmes and services rendered within the case study area.

- **Chapter 5** (entitled **Recommendations and conclusion**) presents the general findings and theoretical considerations of the research, reflections on recidivism, recommendations to stakeholders, the limitations of the study, the final conclusion, and suggestions for further research.



CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following section provides an overview of the relevant literature on the topic and highlights pertinent concepts, major theoretical debates and perspectives on crime and deviance. This provides a background to the study and a conceptual platform from which the exploratory fieldwork was launched.

2.1 Definition of terms

2.1.1 Recidivism

The White Paper on Corrections (2005:145) notes that international experiences have shown that the monitoring of rates of recidivism over periods of time represents a critical indicator of the success and effectiveness of need-based rehabilitation and improved service delivery.

Muntingh (2002:20), in his study on tackling recidivism, indicates that there are very few initiatives that can claim success in terms of reintegrating offenders into society upon their release. He further notes that the majority of offenders find themselves back in prison soon after being released, at a great cost to the community and taxpayers. Dissel (2002:13), in tracking transformation in South African prisons, defines recidivism as an act by an inmate reverts to crime upon release from prison, resulting in re-incarceration.

According to Winnicott (1984:123), recidivism can be defined as an offender's tendency to repeat his/her criminal activity despite efforts towards reformation. Van Ness and Strong (1997:114) indicate that offenders face personal, societal and spiritual obstacles when it comes to reintegration. These authors further note that the recidivism rate for prisoners shows that far too few individuals establish themselves in productive, crime-free lives following their prison sentence.

Maltz points out that the word *recidivism* derives from the Latin *recidere*, which means to fall back. A recidivist, he says is "... one who after release from custody having committed a crime is not rehabilitated, instead he or she falls back or relapses into former behaviour patterns and commits crime again" (2001:54).

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the term *recidivism* is taken to refer to an offender/parolee/probationer who re-commits crime after being released from a correctional centre and has been re-incarcerated.

2.1.2 Overcrowding in prisons

The phenomenon of overcrowded prisons is not uniquely South African. According to the Annual Report of the Judicial Inspectorate (2008/2009:17), overcrowding is experienced by most countries in the world, including the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This report further indicates that overcrowding in most of the South African correctional centres continues to impact negatively on the humane detention of inmates, as well as on the efforts of the South African government to implement rehabilitation programmes and reintegrate rather than simply 'warehouse' inmates.

According to a presentation by the DCS to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, overcrowding can be attributed to a number of causes. Statistics show that in June 2009 there was a total inmate population of 163,108 accommodated in 237 active correctional centres in South Africa. These centres should have housed only 114,822 inmates, which meant that they were overcrowded by 142.58% (Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services Briefing 2009).

As offenders upon release often regress to their previous habitual ways of committing crime, this recidivism leads to re-incarceration and results in overcrowding in the already full correctional centres in South Africa.

2.1.3 Social reintegration

The Position Paper on Social Reintegration ([n.d.]:6) indicates that the Department of Correctional Services is fully cognizant of the fact that the reintegration and rehabilitation of offenders remains one of its most serious challenges. The notion of dealing with certain categories of offenders within the community, rather than inside a correctional centre, was introduced to South Africa in 1990 by means of a system known as “non-custodial correctional supervision”. The Department of Correctional Services’ White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:47) notes that social reintegration was introduced as a more effective way of dealing with inmates and as a response to overcrowding.

Non-custodial correctional supervision was implemented through an amendment to Section 84 (A) of the Correctional Service Act of 1959 (Act 122 of 1991). These provisions were later included in the new Correctional Service Act of 1998 (Act 111 of 1998). This system seeks to extend the current scope of correctional supervision by focusing on the life of the offender (including the probationer and parolee) from the date of sentencing through to his reintegration into society. Social reintegration is imperative in the rehabilitation of offenders. It is clearly indicated in the Department of Correctional Services’ (2005:21) White Paper which regards social reintegration as the most challenging aspect of rehabilitation, as effective reintegration is crucial in combating recidivism.

2.1.4 Socio-economic and geographical environment

According to Brantingham and Brantingham (1981:8), criminologists ask questions about the specific behaviour of criminal offenders and about the motives for such behaviour. Criminologists seek to find out why violations of the law occur and search for explanations in terms of the offenders’ social conditions, political ideology, upbringing and current friendship networks. Such an approach is imperative in this study in order to determine the factors that influence the offenders’ behaviour and lead to recidivism.

Mpuang (2001:85-94), in her study regarding the reintegration of offenders, posits that most offenders in South Africa are unemployed, impoverished, uneducated and by reason of these social and economic circumstances often find themselves driven to a life of crime. She avers that, in order to reduce the crime rate, efforts should be made to enable offenders to escape

these constraints. Newman (1972:83) posits a link between crime and the physical design of the environment. Berg and Theron (2003:28) also share the view that human behaviour is a function of interactions of personal characteristics and environmental factors. They further posit that the individual's behaviour is affected by societal agents such as cultural values, habits, myths, rituals, social roles, interpersonal relationships, communication patterns, family influences, economic conditions (for example, poverty, prosperity, unemployment and peace) political ideologies and social construction.

Many of the above issues contribute to crime and recidivism in various mixes. The societal agents alluded to by Berg and Theron (2003) are explored by the researcher in order to determine if they contribute to recidivism.

2.2 Theoretical perspective on crime and deviance

Numerous hypotheses have been proposed regarding the causation of delinquent behaviour. These different approaches emanate from disciplines such as biology/physiology, psychology and sociology. In order to contextualise the study theoretically, physiological or biological theory, psychological theory, and the sociological approach will be discussed with reference to the research literature. Within the sociological approach, the functionalist, interactionist, conflict and control theories will be highlighted as they are of particular significance to this study.

2.2.1 Physiological or biological theory

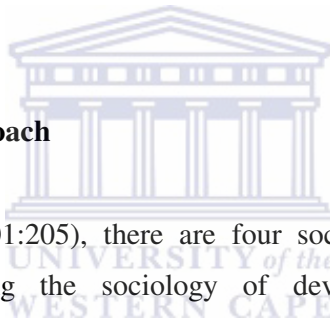
During the 19th century, scientific explanations of human behaviour became increasingly popular. Haralambos and Holborn (1991:582) note that Cesare Lombroso, an Italian army doctor, was one of the first writers to link crime to human biology. Sheldon and Glueck (in Haralambos and Holborn 1991:583) support the physiological theories of deviance and claim to have found a casual relationship between physical features/build and delinquent activity.

According to Schafer and Krudten (1977:57), modern biological-criminological theory has its origins in what is now known as the classical and positivist schools of thought. The heredity-based theorists assert that criminal genes are passed on from one generation to the next.

However, in the light of new findings, the biological view has been discredited. This theory is worth mentioning although not relevant to the study.

2.2.2 Psychological theory

Hollin defines the psychological approach as “the study of people’s individual qualities, i.e. perceptions, memory, thinking, learning, intelligence, creativity and personality” (1989:2). Haralambos and Holborn (1991:584) argue that psychological theory differs from biological theory in that it views deviance as a sickness and abnormality of the mind or mental processes, rather than as the result of physical or genetic influences. Giddens (2001:206) points out that, while the biological approach focuses on biological characteristics which predispose an individual to crime, psychological views concentrate on the different personality types. Psychological theories thus focus on the individual maturational process. Aspects of this theory are relevant to this study.



2.2.3 The sociological approach

According to Giddens (2001:205), there are four sociological approaches that have been influential in understanding the sociology of deviance. These include functionalist, interactionist, conflict, and control theories, which will be outlined below.

2.2.3.1 The functional perspective

Haralambos and Holborn (1991:585) note that a functionalist analysis of deviance begins with society as a whole, rather than starting with the individual. This view is supported by the biological and psychological approaches. Giddens (2001:207) indicates that functionalist theories see crime and deviance as resulting from structural tensions or a lack of moral regulation within society. Thomson (2004:4) indicates that functionalists believe that societies tend to be stable and orderly. His research focuses on showing how social order is maintained. Thomson further asserts “that shared values and norms in a society form the basis of social order, it’s through the sharing and reinforcement of these values and norms that communities are able to function” (2004:4). Emile Durkheim, according to Giddens (2001:207), introduced the concept of *anomie* which is said to exist when there are no clear standards to guide behaviour in a given area of social life. This leads to normlessness within society.

According to Thomson (2004:5), one of the most influential functionalist theorists after Durkheim was Robert Merton (1910–2003). Merton’s academic career started in an era when biological and psychological explanations were dominant, but he was critical of these theories and he was one of the first theorists to break away from these traditions. He emphasised social factors as causes of crime and deviance. Merton’s views are of particular relevance to this research as social factors are the focal area of this study. Merton argues that every society desires the attainment of certain goals, and that such goals are symbols of economic affluence. According to Lauer, society establishes “certain legitimate means of reaching those goals” (1995:19). By contrast, Kratcoski and Kratcoski allude to the marginalised groups or individuals within that society that may experience difficulty in attaining these desired goals if attainment is impossible through legitimate means, “they react by seeking success through illegitimate means” (1990:54). The functionalist approach is a focal point of this study as it seeks to understand the role of social factors as causes of crime and deviance.

2.2.3.2 The interactionist perspective

According to Giddens, “... sociologists studying crime and deviance within the framework of the interactionist approach focus on deviance as a socially constructed phenomenon” (2001:209). This view rejects the idea that there are forms of conduct that are inherently “deviant”. The interactionist is concerned with, “... how behaviours initially come to be defined as deviant and why certain groups and not others are labelled as deviant” (2001:209). Haralambos and Holborn (1991:610) indicate that the focus in this approach is on the interaction between deviants and those who define them as being deviant. They further note that the interactionist perspective examines how and why particular individuals and groups are defined as deviant, and the effects of such labelling and definition on their future actions. This theory informs the empirical fieldwork conducted in this research.

2.2.3.3 The labelling perspective

Giddens claims that labelling theory is one of the most important approaches to the understanding of criminality. As Giddens points out, “...labeling theorists interpret deviance not as a set of characteristics of individuals or a group, but as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants” (2001:209). He further posits that one must discover why some people care to be tagged with a “deviant” label to fully understand the nature of deviance itself.

Becker states that the impact of social reaction to certain types of behaviour or particular categories of people is crucial in explaining the criminalisation process: “Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as ‘outsiders’” (1963:9). From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an “offender”. Becker further indicates that once people are judged by society, it is very hard to get back to what they once had, and often they experience an identity change. This he regards as a social problem, because labelling these people ruins their lives to a point where they have no choice but to respond to the label they were given.

Becker (in Thomson 2004:14) notes that the label may become a “master status”. Thomson points out that what Becker means by this is that in their reaction to deviants the public tend to forget about the other statuses that the individual may possess (for example, that of a father, teacher, soccer player) and only concentrate on the deviant (stigmatised) status (for example, that of a drug addict).

The stigmatisation of former offenders by society often hampers their successful re-integration into the community. Offenders are often labelled because of their incarceration within a correctional facility. Upon release, they sometimes find it difficult to secure employment because of the label attached to them as an “ex-convict”. According to Becker, a deviant label can lead to further deviance.

2.2.3.4 The conflict perspective

Haralambos and Holborn (1991:623) posit that sociologists such as William Chambliss, Milton Mankoff and Frank Pearce argue that only a Marxist perspective (control of the means of production/power) can deal adequately with the relationship between deviance and power. Power is held by those who own and control the means of production.

Horton and Hunt distinguish between cultural and class conflict theory. Cultural conflict, according to them, asserts that “... when there are a number of subcultures (ethnic, religious, national, regional, class) in a society, this reduces the degree of value consensus” (1984:176).

Class-conflict theorists attribute deviation not to different cultural norms, but to their different interests. The clashing norms of different subcultures, Horton and Hunt point out, "...create a condition of anomic normlessness. Deviation will continue as long as class inequalities and class exploitation continue" (1984:176). The notion of culture and class conflict in the study of the challenges that contribute to recidivism is imperative, as many offenders' behaviour is contrary to the set norms of society.

2.2.3.5 The control perspective

According to Giddens (2001:213), the control theory postulates that crime occurs as a result of an imbalance between impulses towards criminal activity and the social or physical controls that deter it. The theory is less interested in the individual's motivations for carrying out the crimes. People act rationally, but given the opportunity, everyone would engage in deviant acts. Giddens claims that many types of crimes are a result of "situational decisions": the person sees an opportunity and is motivated to act or respond to it accordingly.

Horton and Hunt note that "...control theorists assume that people conform to the dominant values, because of both inner and outer controls. The inner controls are internalised norms and values one learns and the outer controls are social rewards for conformity and the penalties for deviation, which one receives." (1984:177). Control theory emphasises the bond which ties the individual to conventional society. Hirschi (1969:11) sees four components in this bond, namely belief, attachment, commitment and involvement. *Belief* refers to the internalised values; the stronger the belief the lower the likelihood of deviation. *Commitment* is related to the greatness of the rewards which one gets from conformity. *Attachment* is the responsiveness to the opinion of others. *Involvement* refers to one's activities in community institutions such as the church, school and local organisations.

Horton and Hunt (1984:177) assert that control theory is supported by studies conducted over many years and which show an association between deviation and the lack of effective bonds to the major institutions (see Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Akers 1973; Conger 1976). Control theorists ask questions such as the following: Are conformists' strong ties to conventional institutions the reason for conformity, or are they only a symptom of conformity? Do conformist bonds to the home, church, school and workplace cause them to be conformist, or are they drawn to these institutions because they are already conformist? The conclusion

reached is that there is no certainty. This theory is very applicable to the research as it will enable the researcher to determine whether the lack of bonds is a possible cause of delinquent behaviour leading to recidivism.

2.3 Conclusion

The abovementioned theories explain and present multiple causes of delinquent behaviour. These theories provide an explanation for the habitual reoffending that results in recidivism and forms the conceptual platform from which the fieldwork was launched. As the study seeks to understand how society as a whole contributes to the offenders' delinquent behaviour, the following factors within the community are also explored in order to determine if they contribute to recidivism: institutional conventions, family, peers, the wider community, poverty, drugs, education and employment. The case of West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre will be presented next.



CHAPTER THREE

3. THE CASE OF WEST COAST MEDIUM 'A' CORRECTIONAL CENTRE IN THE WESTERN CAPE

3.1 Overview of the case study area

The first two correctional centres in South Africa that were built with the implementation of unit management in mind were the ones in Malmesbury and Goodwood in the Western Cape. Bruyns, Jonkers and Luyt (2007:6) assert that in December 1997 the Malmesbury Prison was opened and became the first structure to make provision for the direct supervision of offenders. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the first unit management prison in South Africa, the new West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre, was opened in the Swartland town of Malmesbury in the Western Cape on 6 December 1996 by the then Minister of Correctional Service, Dr Mizimela. It is located about 65 km north of Cape Town. The courts being serviced by the Medium 'A' Correctional Centre include Riebeeck Kasteel, Moorreesburg, Vredenburg, Saldanha, Atlantis, Darling, Laaiplek and Malmesbury.

The West Coast Correctional Centre was identified as a Centre of Excellence (COE) in 2004. The Department of Correctional Services (2004:3) has indicated that the creation of COEs is an approach that will make provision for improved interaction between offenders and correctional officials, increase the participation in programmes by offenders, and enhance the multi-disciplinary teams. The purpose of the creation of COEs is to test, in different correctional centres, the practical options for implementing the approach advocated in the White Paper on Corrections to rehabilitation within the context of a safe, secure and humane institution. A total of 36 correctional centres in South Africa have been identified as centres of excellence, six of which are located within the Western Cape and include the West Coast Correctional Centre.

3.1.1 Institutional structure of the West Coast Correctional Centre

The West Coast Correctional Centre has a total of eight units, namely units 5, 6A, 6B, 6C, 7, 12, a hospital unit and a kitchen unit for sentenced adult offenders. The offenders are detained in these respective units. The correctional centre has 284 centre-based staff officials working directly with offenders. When the centre opened in December 1997, it accommodated 1064 offenders. In 1999, due to the influx of people returning to prison after their release, the total accommodation had to be altered to 1338. The West Coast Correctional Centre is the only one in South Africa that consists of only single cells which can house up to two offenders each. The centre currently (August 2010) has an offender population of 1144. Only medium-classification sentenced offenders are being kept at the centre. Other classifications of offenders are maximum and minimum offenders. The classification of offenders will be explained later in the chapter. The population is divided into young offenders (aged between 18–25), adult offenders, and further-charge offenders. The latter are offenders that have been sentenced, but still have cases pending against them. Figure 3.1, illustrates the offender population, which is divided as follows: young offenders 19%, adult offenders 72%, and further-charge offenders 9%.

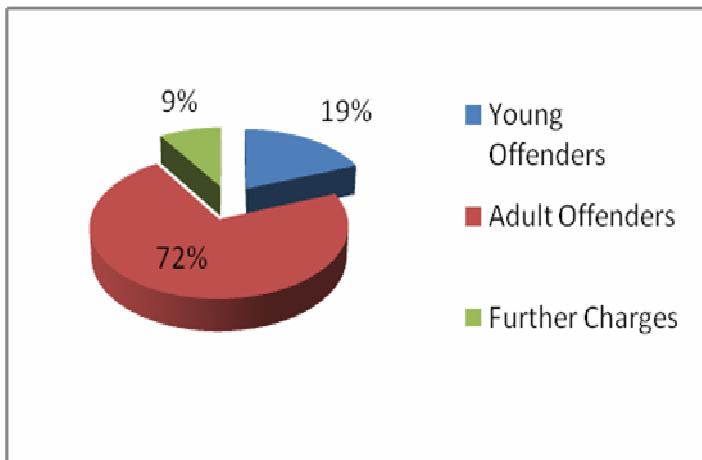


Figure 3.1: West Coast Medium 'A' Offender Population n =1144

3.1.2 Implementation of management approaches at the West Coast Correctional Centre

This section will document the range of management approaches used by the Department of Correctional Services. These approaches include the unit management, offender rehabilitation path, and the moral regeneration programme approaches.

3.1.2.1 Unit management approach

Bruyns, Jonkers and Luyt (2007:6) define unit management as a decentralised approach to institutional and offender management that divides a prison population into smaller, manageable entities. The Unit Management Training Manual ([n.d.]:1) defines unit management as an approach to offender and correctional centre management designed to improve control and relationships by dividing the larger correctional centre population into smaller, more manageable groups to improve service delivery. Unit management is an approach to managing a correctional centre that adheres to sound management principles and efficiently delivers services pertaining to care, correction, development, security and after-care of the offender population.



Unit management was first introduced to the Southern African Department of Correctional Services in 1995. Bruyns, Jonkers and Luyt (2007:6) assert that the Department of Correctional Services Executive Management Board took a decision granting approval for the development and application of the concept of unit management. This new model was to be developed at a later stage for implementation. The then Minister of Correctional Services of South Africa, Dr Siphon Mzimela, in a public address on 16 February 1996, announced the introduction of the unit management approach in South African prisons. The West Coast (Malmesbury) Correctional Centre was architecturally designed and built according to the unit management approach. Under unit management, a correctional centre is broken down (built) into defined units, each of which may contain a number of offenders. This is different from traditional prisons, where the groupings of offenders are large and not always manageable.

According to the Unit Management Training Manual ([n.d.]:1), a decision was taken to introduce the concept of unit management due to the problems faced by the Department of Correctional Services, for example overcrowding in the prison, gangsterism, shrinking budgets and a more sophisticated offender population. Offenders become more comfortable with and accustomed to the prison surroundings due to re-offending and re-incarceration, and this results in a different (more sophisticated) type of offender. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:106) indicates that a number of factors such as an increase in the aggressive and sexual crimes categories, an increase in the number of offenders serving long sentences, and a significant increase in young offenders sentenced to custody in correctional centres were found to contribute to the change in the composition of the offender population.

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:24) further describes unit management as a team approach to offender management, and it incorporates the notion that co-operation is most likely in small groups that have lengthy interactions. It is designed to improve control and relationships by dividing the larger prison population into smaller, more manageable groups and thus improve the delivery of correctional services. The Unit Management Training Manual ([n.d.]:1) indicates that unit management is both a management approach and a service delivery vehicle that can be utilised to enhance and support the rehabilitation mission of the DCS.

The main objectives of the unit management approach are to divide large groups of offenders into smaller, well-defined clusters or sections that constitute units, and to increase the frequency of contact and the quality of relationships between staff and offenders. This is achieved by, for example, creating co-responsibility regarding decisions pertaining to development programmes, providing more effective observation of inmate activities, and by improving inmate accountability. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:85) states that this concept promotes an integrated and team approach. Unit management at the West Coast Correctional Centre will be discussed next.

3.1.2.2 Unit management at the West Coast Correctional Centre

Each unit within the case study area has a Unit Manager (UM) who has substantial delegated authority and responsibility. The UM manages the staff allocated to his/her unit. The norm according to unit management is a Case Official (CO)/offender ratio of 1:40. Upon admission to the West Coast Correctional Centre, offenders undergo an assessment screening process in order to compile a correctional sentence plan, which will be further elaborated upon in section 3.1.2.3 below. This Correctional Sentence Plan (CSP) is monitored by the Case Official to ensure that all programmes and services recommended during assessment are completed by the individual offender. Participation by offenders in programmes and activities is scheduled in accordance with the CSP. During compulsory Case Review Team (CRT) sittings, their progress is monitored. The Case Review Team consists of the Unit Manager, Case Management Supervisor and the Case Officer. This team formally interviews each offender allocated to the Case Officer's case load. Progress in relation to the relevant Correctional Sentence Plan is reviewed on a quarterly basis.

Unit management makes provision for a multi-disciplinary approach. Correctional staff work together as a team in order to provide different programmes, services and interventions to individual offenders, depending on the inmate's needs as identified during his/her assessment. The approach has proven to be far superior to the old approach of retribution and punishment. The emphasis in unit management is on the rehabilitation and reintegration of the individual offender. This new approach is designed to ensure good supervision, control and greater job satisfaction for correctional officials. The unit management principles bring about personal development in a safe, normalised environment to the offenders; however, this can be very challenging as many of the offenders come from different walks of life and are now expected to live together.

3.1.2.3 Offender rehabilitation path

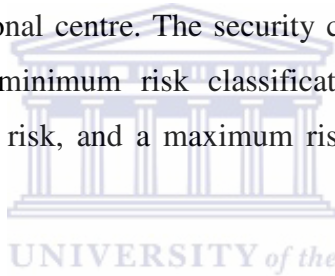
The Offender Rehabilitation Path (ORP) can be described as that which the offender undergoes from the point of entering a correctional centre (admission) to the point where the individual is reintegrated into society (social reintegration). The ORP is only applicable to sentenced offenders and not to awaiting trial inmates. The Offender Rehabilitation Path ([n.d.]:6) defines ORP as a translation into practice of components of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005). The central theme of this path is the promotion of corrections as a societal responsibility and the development of correctional centres into institutions of rehabilitation. This theme is also embedded in the mandate of the Department in terms of Chapter 2, Section 36 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998.

According to the Offender Rehabilitation Path ([n.d.]:6), the ORP not only assists offenders to adapt to the correctional environment, but also brings together the agents that will give meaning to the six service delivery areas the Department has identified in relation to offenders. These service delivery areas include security, facilities, corrections, development, care, and social reintegration. An important feature of the ORP is that it enables the DCS, through a monitoring and evaluation framework, to determine whether an offender has benefited from the interventions of the different agents in the rehabilitation process and can then reintegrate into society and contribute to the building of a caring South African society.

The ORP is fully operational at the West Coast Correctional Centre, which has an assessment unit where all new offenders are assessed upon admission. When they arrive at the correctional centre, the Admission and Risk Assessment Form G303 is completed with the offender during the initial assessment. This assessment, which is done within six hours after admission, is intended to determine the immediate risks/needs of the offender. This risk assessment is followed by the completion of the Comprehensive Assessment Form G303A. Comprehensive assessment at West Coast is where the Correctional Assessment Official will assess the history of the offender within 24 hours. The Security Risk Classification Form G303B is used by the Case Management Administration (CMA) to determine the security classification of all

sentenced offenders. *Security risk* refers to the danger an offender may pose to the community, his/her family, correctional officials, other offenders, and to him/herself in terms of vulnerability, future criminal and/or violent behaviour, interventions and rehabilitation purposes.

The offender will be assessed using the Security Risk Classification sheet and a score will be allocated based on the crime category, effective length of sentence, offence history, time lapse between current and previous convictions, history of violence, escape history, age at admission of the current sentence, crime committed in gangs/syndicates, number of victims, and motive/circumstances under which the crime was committed. A score from 11–28 indicates minimum risk; a score from 29–47, medium risk; and a score from 48–76, maximum risk. The classification also determines where the offender will be placed; that is, at either a minimum, medium or maximum correctional centre. The security classification also determines the risk level the offender poses: a minimum risk classification is a low risk, a medium risk classification poses a medium risk, and a maximum risk classification indicates a high-risk offender.



An Offender Profile Form G303C will be drafted in order to have a holistic view of the inmate concerned. All the above-mentioned documentation will be used to draft a Correctional Sentence Plan G303D for the offender. According to the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:133), the Department should develop an individualised Correctional Sentence Plan (CSP) that will take into consideration the specific correctional setting. This plan is based on the risks and needs of the specific offender. The Correctional Sentence Plan is a tool that the Correctional Assessment Officials at the West Coast Correctional Centre compile that serve as a guide in addressing the risks and needs of offenders from admission, throughout their sentenced period, and until their release back into the community. All the information gathered during the individual assessment is used to complete the Correctional Sentence Plan. Offenders serving a sentence of 24 months and longer must all have a Correctional Sentence Plan, which will determine the programmes, services and interventions needed to ensure the rehabilitation of the offenders holistically and in terms of security, facilities, corrections, development, care and social reintegration. The sentence plan must clearly indicate the programmes and services

that will be rendered to address the offender's needs during his or her stay within the correctional facility, as identified during the assessment. Offenders serving a sentence of less than 24 months do not have a Correctional Sentence Plan, which raises the question as to what intervention is done with offenders serving a short sentence. This will be addressed when correctional programmes are discussed below. The Offender Rehabilitation Path ([n.d.]:9) notes that one of the objectives of the CSP is to help offenders to develop skills to handle the socio-economic conditions that led to their criminality. The socio-economic conditions or environment is imperative for this study as this could be a contributing factor/challenge that leads to criminality and ultimately to recidivism.

The housing unit within the correctional centre is where the Case Review Team (CRT) consisting of a unit manger, case officers and case management supervisors will monitor the execution of the Correctional Sentence Plan. The CRT sits every three to six months (depending on the length of the offender's sentence) with the individual offender to complete the Correctional Sentence Plan Revision Framework (CSPRF) (Form G303E). This tool serves to monitor and evaluate the services/programmes offered to offenders as outlined in the CSP and also determines whether the /programmes and services rendered are needs-based, effective and efficient. The CRT makes a submission to the Case Management Committee (CMC), who in turn makes a submission to the Correctional Services Parole Board for the possible parole of the offender.

The ORP has contributed to the change in the organisational culture of the Department of Correctional Services and enables the Department to have a rehabilitative rather than a punitive approach to correcting the behaviour of offenders in order for them to become law-abiding citizens. Sustaining the rehabilitation after the offender's release, however, remains a challenge as some offenders keep returning to a lifestyle of crime, resulting in recidivism. The rehabilitation of offenders is a complex task.

3.1.2.4 Moral regeneration

The legislative framework for the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) within the Department of Correctional Services includes a number of policy documents such as the Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996; Correctional Service Act 111 of 1998; White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005); Correctional Services Code of Conduct (2000) and the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners Resolution 663 C (XXIV) of July 1957.

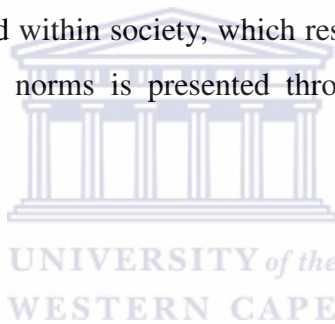
The Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, through the Bill of Rights Sections 9, 10 and 11, provides internationally acceptable values and norms guiding the interaction of the citizens of the country. Secondly, the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998 indicates that one of the purposes of the correctional system is to promote social responsibility and human development of all offenders and persons under the care of the Department. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:75) states that one of the key objectives of the correctional system is the provision of corrective and developmental measures to offenders. This the Department does by providing programmes for offenders in order to address, inter alia, the offending behaviour and to promote social responsibility, ethical and moral values, alternative lifestyle choices, and developmental needs. Chapter 3 of the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:67) stresses the importance of moral regeneration and the promotion of the ethics enshrined in the Constitution Act 108 of 1996 in the creation of an environment that will allow for community support as well as the reintegration of the offenders into a substantially transformed community. The Correctional Services Code of Conduct (2000) aims at creating acceptable behaviour and conduct of the correctional officials in the correctional environment. Section 66(1) of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners states that appropriate means, including the strengthening of the moral character of the offender, shall be used to encourage self-respect and develop a sense of responsibility.

The principles of the MRM indicate that every individual provided with appropriate resources and circumstances has the potential to change. The individual's genetic ability and the social, economic, physical and emotional environment influence his/her performance and behaviour. Positive manipulation of the environment will therefore increase/improve the performance/behaviour of the individual. The development and promotion of social responsibility and positive social values in offenders will contribute to the moral regeneration of our society. Every individual is a physical, emotional, social, intellectual, and spiritual being with specific needs that must be met for effective moral renewal (Department of Correctional Services 2006).

Without general moral regeneration and social crime prevention within society at large, the trigger factors of recidivism are likely to run their course. The good values and norms taught in households are often not upheld within society, which results in the breakdown of moral fibre. The restoration of values and norms is presented through correctional and developmental programmes.

3.2 Social reintegration

The Department is fully cognizant of the fact that the reintegration and the rehabilitation of offenders remains one of its most serious challenges. The notion of dealing with certain categories of offenders within the community, rather than within a correctional centre, was introduced to South Africa in 1990 by means of a system known as "non-custodial correctional supervision". The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:47) notes that social reintegration was introduced as a more effective way of dealing with inmates and as a response to overcrowding.



According to the Position Paper on Social Reintegration ([n.d.]:7), the aims of the Social Reintegration programme are to

- facilitate and prepare the inmate for successful re-entry and social reintegration;
- promote public safety;
- reduce the chances of relapse and therefore repeat offending;
- promote social responsibility;
- promote stable social and family relationships; and
- promote correction, reparation and victim empowerment.

Delivery of social reintegration is the collective responsibility of various role-players, including the family, communities, cluster departments, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs), Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) and the partners in the criminal justice system. The primary objective of social reintegration is to strengthen the support system for the re-integration of offenders into the community by involving various stakeholders. Social reintegration constitutes a significant element in the rehabilitation of offenders. This approach is initiated during the beginning stage of the sentence and continues throughout the sentence until the point of release. Social reintegration is a crucial element in the rehabilitation of offenders. It is clearly indicated in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:21) that social reintegration is seen as the most challenging aspect of rehabilitation, as affective reintegration is crucial in combating recidivism. In order to promote the effectiveness and sustainability of social integration, the need to create an integrated support system with active involvement of other role players such as community institutions and corporations is prioritised in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:22). This involvement will encourage further rehabilitation, employment opportunities, support services, and the prevention of recidivism.

Most leading countries in the field of penal reform have invested in alternative penal options, which make it possible to satisfy the community requirements for retribution and protection while keeping offenders with less serious offences out of correctional institutions. Two of these options are Correctional Supervision and Parole Supervision. These are sentences in their own

right which are served within the community and not within a correctional centre. A person who is serving a sentence of Correctional Supervision is known as a Probationer, and a person under Parole Supervision is known as a Parolee. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:34) indicates that the primary purpose of the correctional system is to enforce the sentences of the courts which remain valid until the sentences expire. This does not necessarily imply that an entire sentence of imprisonment must be served in a correctional centre. Part of the sentence may be served in the community under the supervision of officials of the Department of Correctional Services.

The Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 allows for a variety of non-custodial sentence options such as the following:

- In terms of Section 276 (1) (h), the court may sentence a person to correctional supervision not exceeding three years, after a report from a probation official.
- According to Section 276 (1) (i), the court may sentence a person to a period of imprisonment not exceeding five years, which may be converted into correctional supervision after the offender has served at least one-sixth of his or her sentence.
- In term of Section 276 (3) (a) (i), the court may sentence a person to a period of imprisonment not exceeding five years which may be referred back to the court after the person has served at least one quarter of the sentence.
- Section 287 (4) (a) makes provision for the court to sentence a person to a period of imprisonment not exceeding five years with the option of a fine, which may be converted into correctional supervision.

3.2.1 Social reintegration at the Malmesbury office

The case study area has two Correctional Supervision offices, namely Malmesbury and Vredenburg. The focus of the study will be only on the former. The Malmesbury Social Reintegration office is situated in central Malmesbury. Previously known as the Community Reintegration office, this office was opened in January 1993. It currently has a staff complement of sixteen, although it is supposed to have twenty-two members. It also has

‘unofficial’ satellite offices situated in Riebeeck Kasteel, Riebeeck West, Moorreesburg, Darling, and Atlantis. These offices are not official offices, but have been initiated at various churches or government buildings by the management of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office. According to the Head of the Social Reintegration office, this was done in response to the call from the Minister and Commissioner of the DCS to take the service to the community. The primary objective of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office is to exercise control over offenders within the community. Correctional supervision is a sentence option available to the courts of law that allow offenders who do not pose a threat to the community to serve their sentences within the community. Parole supervision is a service rendered in terms of which the Department of Correctional Services and the community have a joint responsibility to ensure that the transition from prison life to that of a law-abiding citizen is nurtured. Community re-integration may be defined as a continuous process that prepares the offenders for their release from a correctional centre with a view to assisting them with their re-integration back into community life as law-abiding citizens. Figure 3.2 illustrates the caseload of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office. The office currently (August 2010) has a case load which comprises awaiting trial detainees (3%), correctional supervision offenders (46%) and parole supervision offenders (51%).

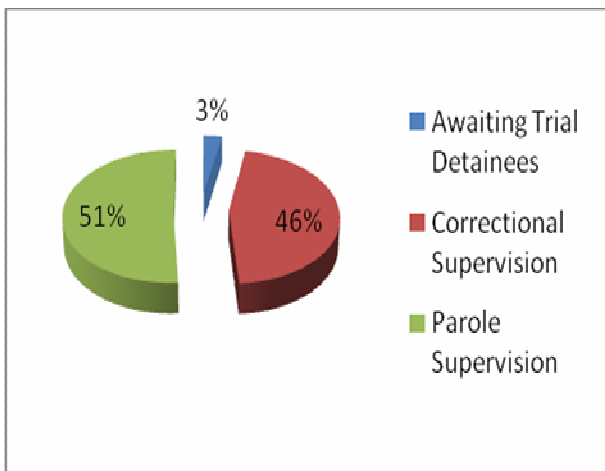
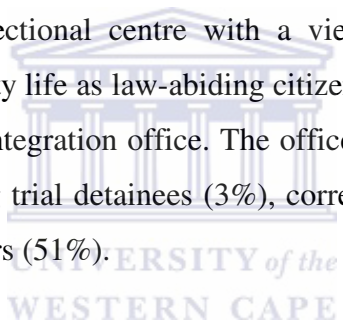


Figure 3.2: Malmesbury Social Reintegration caseload n= 586

3.2.2 Overview of the Atlantis community

Atlantis is a town situated 45 km north of Cape Town along the West Coast of South Africa. It was established with the intention of improving the quality of life for the people in the Western Cape. According to the West Coast Environmental Cooperative (2008:8), the town was designed to be a “Coloured dream-city” that would provide modern homes, factories and employment for the so-called Coloured (mixed-race) people of South Africa. Companies received incentives to move their operations to Atlantis. Initially, industries received a 40% tax rebate on wages, a 40% rail transportation rebate, and a 3% price preference in South Africa. Government later increased the subsidies to attract more companies.

The research conducted by the West Coast Environmental Cooperative (2008:27) further indicates that a number of residents still commuted to work in Cape Town, while the management, engineers and other skilled staff commuted from outside Atlantis to fill positions in Atlantis. In the 1980s, the economy slowed down, a number of people lost their jobs due to layoffs at the factories, and the cost of living became high and burdensome to the residents of Atlantis. The job losses devastated the morale of many workers, which resulted in a significant rise in the crime level, as well as drug and alcohol abuse. The cancelation of the subsidies aggravated the situation.

The Malmesbury Social Reintegration office has a satellite office within the Atlantis community. This is an ‘informal’ office as correctional staff make use of space within the Municipal Police offices. Offenders are seen on a weekly basis by parolee/probationer officials. Today, Atlantis is seen as a crime-ridden area, gangsterism is rife, and substance abuse is at the order of the day. Unemployment poses a major challenge to the residents of Atlantis. The research will focus on the respondents of the study: the parolees/probationers and their respective families residing in Atlantis.

3.3 The integrated support system

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:143) notes that the Department of Correctional Services regards rehabilitation as one of its top priorities with regard to offenders. A system is needed to strengthen the support system for the re-integration of offenders into the community. This can only be achieved by involving other role-players such as NGOs, CBOs, the family, judicial partners, and the broader community. The Position Paper on Social Reintegration ([n.d.]:20) states that the communities often prefer to leave the responsibility of supervising (family reintegration, adjustment and seeking employment) and monitoring of compliance with conditions to the law enforcement agencies. Successful social reintegration requires a multi-sectorial and community-driven process. The Department of Correctional Services regards itself as a guiding partner within this process; however, social reintegration should not be seen as the responsibility of the DCS alone.

Involving other role-players will entail creating an integrated support system. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:143) envisages that such a system will encourage the further delivery of rehabilitation programmes, provide employment opportunities, supervise community services, and provide continuation of services rendered initially within correctional centres. The aforementioned deliverables will be imperative to sustain the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders beyond their exit from the correctional centre. The Position Paper on Social Reintegration ([n.d.]:20) indicates that extended government social services (health, counselling, training for the labour market, provision of housing, etc.) promote social acceptance and family stability. This will assist in the combating of recidivism in South Africa.

The White Paper on Correction in South Africa (2005:144) stresses that the principles of the integrated support system policy of the Department of Correctional Services are based on the presentation of programmes to be shared with other role-players. Community-based, non-profit and non-governmental organisations will be involved in the reintegration process of offenders into the community. Offenders will be referred by the community correctional officials to various support services for the rehabilitation process within their residential areas. These support services will cater for the individual needs of the offenders in the community. The

provision of suitable accommodation for destitute offenders will be explored in consultation with other role-players. The families, friends, potential employers and other role-players will be involved in obtaining employment for offenders.

According to the Position Paper on Social Reintegration ([n.d.]:22), the purpose of the integrated support system for offenders is to enable them to attend rehabilitation programmes in their own residential areas. The offenders should be counselled by psychologists, social workers, and religious workers in their own residential areas or in their own environments. The system seeks to make provision for offenders to render community services within their own environment so as not to pay for transport, unless directed differently by a court. The establishment of satellite or sub-offices for probationers, parolees and awaiting trial persons is another objective of the system, which will assist with the development and rehabilitation of offenders through consultation with other role-players. Offenders should be given the opportunity to develop themselves within their own residential areas by attending programmes designed by Correctional Services in collaboration with other role-players for the enhancement of the offenders' reintegration and rehabilitation process. A further objective of the system is to assist offenders to secure employment or accommodation with the assistance of other role-players before being released or placed out.

The implementation of the integrated system by the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office will also be an area of focus in this study to shed more light on the support systems needed to prevent recidivism.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the West Coast Correctional Centre, its institutional structure, and the Atlantis community. The management approaches documented included unit management, offender rehabilitation path, and moral regeneration. The social reintegration of offenders, the principles of the policy, the case study area's social reintegration office in particular, as well as the integrated support system have been duly explained. The principles and the purpose of such a support system have also been outlined. All of these are crucial to

the study in order to shed more light on the challenges that offenders face upon release, and on the support systems that should be in place to assist in the combating of recidivism. The programmes and services rendered at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre have been discussed and each programme objective has been explained. This information forms the backdrop to the empirical fieldwork that will be discussed in the next chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

4. DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter first of all provides an overview of the characteristics of offenders in relation to the community environment, the economic and social aspects of their lives, their criminal behaviour, interpersonal affairs, gang affiliations, rehabilitation programmes, and recidivism. Secondly, the characteristics of parolees are discussed with reference to all of the preceding points. Thirdly, the chapter comments on the families of parolees/probationers with reference to their interpersonal, community and gang relations, and in relation to rehabilitation programmes, recidivism, and social reintegration.

Semi-structured interview protocols were used to conduct interviews with the following role players: the Head of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, a social worker at the same office, a social worker of NICRO, the Chairperson of the Atlantis Community Police Forum, and the Communication Official of SAPS Atlantis. Finally, the chapter discusses the programmes and services rendered within the case study area.

4.2 Offenders

4.2.1 General characteristics of offenders

The participants in the study were offenders at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre and had resided in the Atlantis community prior to their incarceration. The cohort comprised eight adult male offenders who had been incarcerated on more than one occasion. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and audiotape-recorded with the consent of the participants. The participants' ages ranged from 25 to 38 years at the time

the interviews were conducted. The results of the interview protocol will be discussed next.

4.2.1.2 Community environment

The participants were asked to describe their community environment, to state if they had ever felt unsafe within their community and, if so, the reasons for it. The participants described the community environment as being rough, with drugs and alcohol abuse very much in evidence, and with shootings and gangsterism rife within the area of Atlantis. Unemployment and poverty were at the order of the day. All the participants stated that they had felt unsafe within their former communities for the reasons mentioned. A reason frequently given was that other gang members would come into their “territory”. Participant number one, a former gang leader, stated that he had been responsible for roughness within the community: *“There were other non-violent gangs, but I started my own gang and I wanted to show the community I can force down authority. I always felt unsafe and had to walk around with an unlicensed firearm.”*

The availability of substances within the community the participants resided in was discussed. Substances like alcohol, dagga, Mandrax and TIK had been freely available in the community. Participant number eight remarked, *“It’s like a shop and they walk around in the streets with the drugs, selling it to the school children”*. The quality of schooling the participants had received was poor, and the reasons given for dropping out of school were the following: 25% had been obliged to go and work for the family; 25% had dropped out because of drugs; 25% had failed and never went back to school; 12.5% had left school because of their reluctance to stay with their grandmothers; and 12.5% had dropped out because of having been expelled from school due to gangsterism. Figure 4.1 illustrates the reasons for dropping out of school. Participant number five remarked, *“I was expelled from school, because I was caught with a gun in my schoolbag”*. Participant number eight said, *“I left school because of using TIK; I was given money on two occasions to pay my school fees; I bought TIK with the money”*. All the participants said gangsterism was a problem within the community. Asked what the community could

do to assist offenders coming from prison, the participants responded that, instead of labelling the former offenders, the community should assist them with work opportunities, treat them like human beings, see them as having served their sentences and paid their debt to society, and give them a chance to start a new life.

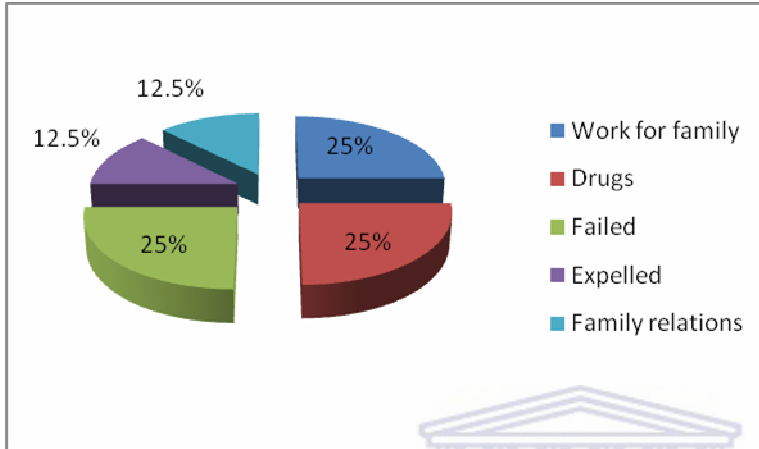


Figure 4.1 School Drop-out Offenders n= Drop-out

Participant number four stated that it is often difficult for the community to accept offenders back: “... *the things that were done in the past are kept against the ex-offender. Offenders are seen in the same light before they went to prison. A person can become a different person*”. That former offenders become involved in smuggling and gangsterism after their release often leads to the view that the community has of offenders, which participant number five characterises as, “...*the community think, if you were a prisoner once, you will always be a prisoner and if you were a gangster, you will always be seen as a gangster*”. This is where education is needed, so that communities will change their mindset regarding the rehabilitation of offenders. However, if the ex-offender once again commits crime, it tarnishes the trust of the community.

4.2.1.3 Economic aspects of offenders

The offenders were asked a number of questions about their economic situation prior to their incarceration to determine if employment is a factor influencing the behaviour of the individual offender. The sample shows that 50% of participants had been in full-time employment; 25% had had part-time employment; and 25% had been unemployed. The employed participants were all unskilled workers. When asked if they had been employed at the time the crime was committed, 50% indicated that they had been unemployed or earned a meagre salary. A number of participants said that, in order to survive financially, they had had to steal (37.5%), while others mentioned having had to assist a family member or sell fruit and vegetables. The fact that participants revealed that they had needed to steal or rob to survive financially indicates a direct link between unemployment and their criminal behaviour. The breadwinners in the households the participants mentioned were mothers, uncles, an aunt, a wife and parents. Household incomes varied as follows: 12.5% earned between 0–R500; 12.5% earned between R501–R1000; 25% earned between R2001–R4000; and 50% of households earned R4001 or more. This is illustrated in Table 4.1. The household income comprises the total wages of people in the same household.

Table 4.1: Household income per month (offenders)

Percentage	Amount earned per month
12.5%	0– R500
12.5%	R501–R1000
0%	R1001–R2000
25%	R2001–R4000
50%	R4001 and more
0%	Do not know

4.2.1.4 Social aspects of offenders

The participants described the community environment as being rough: drugs and alcohol abuse were very much in evidence, and shootings and gangsterism were rife. This portrayal of the environment can also be linked to the social challenges the participants had encountered within the community. The participants indicated that 25% of them had stayed with a single parent before being incarcerated. The rest had either stayed with their wives, an uncle or an aunt. The participants indicated that 90% of them had grown up in Atlantis and were living in the area when they committed their first crime. Substance abuse was a familiar phenomenon among the participants and 90% stated that they had been under the influence of a substance when they committed a crime. The substances used were alcohol, dagga, Mandrax and TIK. The latter two substances had been used by 50% of the offenders. The participants highlighted a direct link between their criminal activities and substance abuse. Criminal activities had either been motivated by the substance they had used or by their addiction. The interview results indicated that 50% of the sample had belonged to a community structure/bond, ranging from sports to church, although they had not been active in these structures.

The individual participants were asked to indicate the level of education they had completed. The study found that 25% of the sample had only completed a level between Grades 1-4; 25% had completed a level between Grades 5-8; 25% had completed Grade 9; 12.5% had reached Grade 10; and 12.5% had been in Grade 11. None of the sample had a Grade 12 or tertiary education. This is illustrated in Table 4.2 below. Participants seven and eight indicated that they were busy with educational studies at the West Coast Correctional Centre: participant seven was doing ABET level 3, which is equivalent to Grade 9, and participant eight was busy with computer studies. The educational pattern of the participants shows that they had a very low level of education, which definitely poses a challenge for offenders that have to compete in the job market with those that have a better education.

Table 4.2: Highest level of education (offenders)

0%	No Schooling
25%	Grades 1–4
25%	Grades 5–8
25%	Grade 9
12,5%	Grade 10
12.5%	Grade 11
0%	Grade 12
0%	Tertiary Education

4.2.1.5 Criminal behaviour of offenders

All the participants stated that, prior to their current sentence; they had been imprisoned on charges of burglary, theft, murder, rape, fraud, robbery, and possession of a firearm. There is evidence that 62.5% of the sample had been incarcerated on more than two occasions, and 37.5% had been imprisoned more than four times. The lengths of the sentences served by the offenders had ranged from six months to fifteen years; and their ages at the time of their first imprisonment, ranged from 12-15 (25%), 16-18 (25%), and 19-25 years (50%). The types of weapons they had used to commit the crimes were knives, firearms and explosives (62.5%).

4.2.2 Offenders' relations

The offenders' relations have been variously categorised as interpersonal relations, community relations, gang relations, relations to rehabilitation programmes and to recidivism. These will be discussed in detail as based on the results obtained from the sample.

4.2.2.1 Offenders' interpersonal relations

The participants were asked to describe the home environment of their childhood and youth, and their relationships with their parents and siblings. The participants mentioned that they had grown up in poverty. The results show that none of the participants had had a good relationship with his father. The fathers in the household had drunk a lot, which often resulted in domestic violence, leaving the mothers to fulfil the role of both parents. The parents had often been separated or divorced. The sample further revealed that 25% of participants had been raised by a grandmother and 25% by an aunt or uncle. Generally, all the participants had had a good relationship with their mothers, if there were any in the household. Participant number six stated, "*I did not have a mom or a dad. I was raised by my aunt. I was not given what my cousins received and for that reason I decided to steal to get myself clothing*". The participants were asked to define friendship, to indicate if they had any close friends and why they regarded them as such. Friendship was defined as "someone who is like a family member, someone who is close to you, somebody who can assist you, somebody you can do things together with, someone to look after you and always willing to help, a person you can depend on, somebody you can trust, and somebody who encourages you to do the right things".

The results signify that 75% of the participants had regarded their gang members as friends, and the reasons given were that they had done things together. Participant number six said, "*They used to give to me when I had nothing*". Participant number seven said that he had felt safe with the gang. Participant number two said that "*...the friendship was based on happy-go-lucky, but now I know it was based on a lie*". The study indicates that 37.5% of the participants had regarded the gang leader as their role model; 37.5% had regarded their mother as a role model; and 25% had regarded their sisters as role models. The reason given for the role models as gang leaders was that the gang leaders had taught them how to fend for themselves, how to support those that were close to them. Participant number five said, "*My uncle taught me how to defend myself and to make people be scared of you*". The aforementioned role models (gang leaders) had

impacted very negatively on the behaviour of the individual offenders and often resulted in criminal behaviour by the followers.

4.2.2.2 Gang affiliations of offenders

The participants were asked within the interview protocol to state if they had belonged to a gang and their reasons for joining the gang. The sample results indicate that 90% of the participants belonged to a gang either on the outside or to a prison gang, and the reasons given for joining a gang ranged from protection to safety issues. Clothing also played a major role. Youngsters needed to dress up, and in order to be “in” with the crowd, they would join gangs for money to obtain clothing. The name brands of the clothing (Nike, Reeboks, Levi and Billabong, etc.) and the “draping” (wearing) of clothing had caused the participants to resort to theft in order to dress up. Addiction to substances was also given as a reason for joining gangs as it was easier to feed the drug habit as a member of a gang. The roles of the participants within the gangs were the following: 62.5% had been followers or soldiers, as they are known in the gang; 25% identified themselves as having been gang leaders; and 12.5% said that they had not belonged to a gang. These results are reflected in Figure 4.2 below.

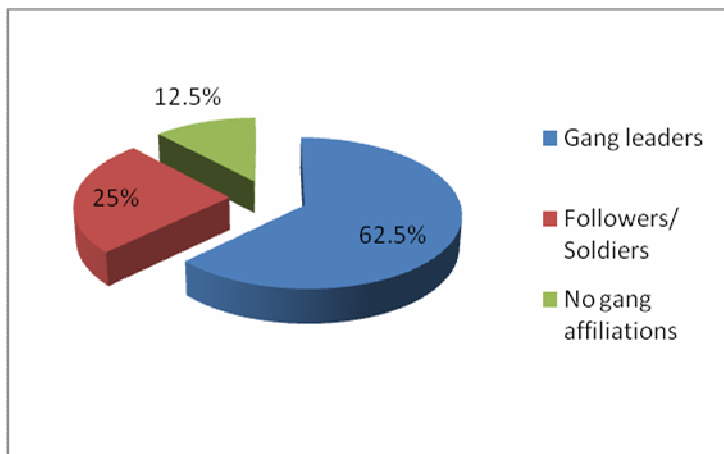


Figure 4.2 Gang affiliations and roles n=Gang affiliations

According to the results, 62.5% of the participants did not identify the influence of the gang as having been a factor in their returning to prison, and 37.5% indicated that their reincarceration had been due to gang influence. Participant number remarked, *“I am a gangster. I am not scared to come to prison, because inside the prison, as well as outside, they can do nothing to me. People are scared if they do not belong to a gang”*. The participants agreed that it is difficult for an offender who belongs to a gang to reintegrate, because of his parole conditions and peer pressure from the gang to rejoin them.

4.2.2.3 Offenders’ relations to rehabilitation programmes

Participants were asked within the interview protocol to state if they had an opportunity to attend any programmes during their incarceration, and they all answered affirmatively. The programmes that they attended were the following: restorative justice, aggression, Crossroads, Tough Enough, life skills, substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, education, and sexual orientation. The participants mentioned that they had learnt the following from the programmes attended: *“how to better your life, how to respect others, how to make the right choices, how to control my anger, how I need to approach life, not to take what does not belong to you, and how to handle problematic situations”*. Participant number seven remarked, *“I have learned how to handle a situation that is problematic, if a woman does not want to have sex, I must accept it”*. The participants pointed out that the programmes could only assist them not to return to prison if they applied what they had learned from the programmes. The participants were also asked to state whether they had attended any programmes within their previous sentences and why the programmes had not assisted them to remain outside. The results show that 62.5% had not attended programmes during their previous sentences. The reasons given were that they had not been interested in attending any programmes or that the sentence had been too short or that they had been active prison gang members. Participant number one speculated, *“No, I did not attend programmes in my previous sentence. I think this was the main reason why I kept coming to prison”*. The participants needed to indicate if they thought the programmes addressed the needs of the offenders. The results indicate that 75% felt that the programmes do address the needs of the offenders, and 25% disagreed. Participant number two said, *“It*

does not help to attend the programmes on the inside, because you cannot apply it outside. Outside it's way different and you focus on other things, i.e need to feed family, divorce, house, employment". This sentiment was also shared by participant number six, who remarked, *"Outside it is different. Here you have people that support you, outside it is not always like that"*. The majority of the respondents felt that the programmes do address the needs of offenders and that it depends upon the individual to apply what he/she has learned.

The participants felt that the rehabilitation programmes should address the real-life issues that offenders face on the outside. Skills development, short courses, business skills, entrepreneurial skills, and trades such as plumbing, carpentry, and brick-laying should form part of the rehabilitation programmes. The aforementioned skills-development programmes are facilitated by Correctional Services, but the services are not rendered at all correctional centres. The participants felt that the DCS can do the following to sustain rehabilitation programmes: it should assist ex-offenders to become employable; it must be compulsory for parolees/probationers to attend programmes on the outside, and this must form part of the parole conditions; programmes should be facilitated within the community where the parolee resides; and the Department can assist by liaising with businesses to give offenders with a trade a chance in the job market. Participant number seven suggested that *"the programmes given should be given at schools to youngsters in order to teach them not to become involved in crime"*.

4.2.2.4 Offenders' relations to recidivism

The participants were asked what had influenced their behaviour and led to their first imprisonment, and the reasons for their returning to prison or re-committing crime. The sample results reflect that 50% said that the need for clothing was what had influenced their behaviour to commit a crime. Participant number five stated, *"I wanted to prove to myself that I can take care of myself. I wanted money, clothing, the things that others had. I wanted to be like others"*. Participant number six mentioned the same reason, saying, *"I did not get what my cousins received from my aunt, so I decided to steal to get*

clothing for myself". As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the need to dress up and be recognised by others plays a role in how individuals perceive themselves. The types of clothing that are worn are about the status linked to the name brands. This is very prevalent within communities on the Cape Flats as children as young as two years of age are dressed up by their parents in name brands such as Reebok or Nike ["takkies"]. The participants averred that clothing is used by the gangsters to draw youngsters into the gang. The remaining 50% of the sample responded that substance abuse, for example alcohol and drugs, had influenced their criminal behaviour and led to their first imprisonment. As participant number two said, *"I used to love stealing stuff, because I needed to feed my drug habit"*. The reasons given by the participants for returning to prison were the following: 62.5% of the results show that economic reasons and peer pressure had been the causative factors, and 37.5% stated that it had been the need to feed their drug habit. Those unemployed had needed to obtain money, and this had resulted in crime.

The entire sample agreed that they had made the wrong choices in the past. According to the participants, the challenges that force an offender to re-commit crime are unemployment, substance abuse, peer pressure, nagging family members, and poverty. Participants number seven and eight stated that nagging by the family resulted in unemployed individuals committing crime in order to contribute to the household.

The participants were asked what they thought the Department of Correctional Services could do to assist offenders upon their release to ensure that they did not re-offend. They responded by saying the Department should assist offenders coming from prison with housing and employment opportunities, and that the DCS must liaise with businesses for employment opportunities. Participant number seven said that the stigma attached to ex-offenders prevents employers from employing them. He further argued that the certificates and school reports obtained by the offender should not have the stamp of the Department of Correctional Services on them as this automatically disqualifies the individual from seeking employment. Employers are reluctant to give an ex-convict an opportunity.

From the above responses it is clear that the overarching challenges that offenders face are unemployment, substance abuse, and peer pressure. As indicated above, 90% of the respondents stated that they had been under the influence of a substance when they committed a crime. It is, therefore, clear that substance abuse can be a determining factor in so far as it influences offenders to turn to crime and risk imprisonment. The fact that participants revealed that they had needed to steal or rob to survive financially establishes a direct link between unemployment and their criminal behaviour. Economic challenges and pressure from the families for individuals to contribute to the household lead to their criminal behaviour, because individuals will steal or obtain money illegally to contribute to the households.

None of the participants had had a good relationship with his father. The absence of the father figure and the presence of gang leaders as role models have a huge impact on the behaviour of offenders. It is clear that the participants did not have enough positive role models to guide them to live as law-abiding citizens. The participants described the community environment as rough, with drugs and alcohol abuse very much in evidence, and shootings and gangsterism rife within the area of Atlantis. The above-mentioned results shed light on the challenges that offenders face after their release and that often result in their committing crime again and facing imprisonment. Parolees'/probationers' relations will be discussed next.

4.3 Parolees/probationers

4.3.1 General characteristics of parolees/probationers

The participants in the study were four adult male parolees resident in the Atlantis community and serving a parole supervision sentence at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office. They had all been imprisoned more than once before and were between the ages of 29 to 66 years at the time the semi-structured interviews were conducted and audiotape-recorded with their consent. The results of the interview protocol will be discussed next.

4.3.1.2 Community environment

The parolees were asked to describe their community environment, to indicate if they ever felt unsafe in their community and, if so, the possible reasons for it. The parolees felt the community environment was "all right" and stable, but that drug and alcohol abuse was evident, as was the significant presence of shebeens (unlicensed houses or shops selling alcohol), merchants (drug lords), shootings and gangsterism. The view held by the parolees was similar to that of the offenders. Participants number twelve and thirteen stated that the community was quiet during the week, but that over the weekends one could see it coming alive. According to all the participants, the people in the community struggle to survive due to the high rate of unemployment. Of the sample, 50% indicated that they felt unsafe, as opposed to 50% that never felt unsafe in the community. Participant number eleven said, *"I felt unsafe when I came out of prison, because I needed to adapt"*. Similar to the responses of the offenders, the parolees pointed out that substances such as alcohol, dagga, Mandrax and TIK are always available in the community. Participant number eleven remarked that *"...drugs are available 24/7"*.

The quality of schooling the participants had received, and the reasons given for their dropping out of school are as follows: 50% had dropped out because of gangsterism; 25% had left school because they had to work for the family; and the remaining 25% had left school because of peer pressure from friends. Participant number twelve significantly commented, *"I was not focused on school, because my mind was on the street with the gangsters. I committed crime with the gang that is why I left school"*. The educational data was collected not only to secure the participants' parole status but to have a holistic background of the individuals. The participants were asked if they thought gangsterism was a problem within their community. As many as 50% of the participants thought that it was a problem, whereas 25% said that it all depended on the locality within the community as participant number 11 remarked: *"Gangsterism is not rife where I'm staying, but other areas are rough"*. The remaining 25% said that they only read or heard about the gangs, drugs and alcohol in the media. Participant number twelve stated, *"Yes, gangsterism is a problem in the community, because of the influence the gangsters have*

on the youngsters". He also mentioned the role of clothing, saying, *"It is not what you are but what you wear"*.

The parolees were also asked what the community could do to assist offenders coming from prison. The participants said that communities should not label the offenders but come together to discuss how they could support and treat ex-offenders better. Participant number eleven vehemently stated: *"They must stop labelling the offender as a "bandiet" [prisoner]*. Participant number twelve responded, *"I do not know what the community can do, but I think it is up to you"*. Participants were then asked why they thought it was difficult for the community to accept offenders back. Participant number eighteen stated that often it is difficult for the community because *"... the offenders come out and go back to their old life-style and that is why the community don't accept them"*. Participant number twelve felt that the reason for not accepting offenders back was due to the pain, hurt and suffering the perpetrator had caused, which is hard to deal with. He said, *"It is like opening a wound, they will forgive you, but they will not forget you"*. The view of participant number twelve regarding the pain, hurt and suffering is also the pillar of the Restorative Justice Programme, where the perpetrator's deed is not only seen as the breaking of a law, but also as an injury caused to the individual. Offenders are taught within the programme to accept accountability for the deeds they committed.

4.3.1.3 Economic aspects of parolees/probationers

The economic questions were posed to parolees in order to determine if employment is a factor influencing the behaviour of the individual. The sample illustrates that 50% of participants were unemployed, 25% had part-time employment, and 25% received a state grant. The participant that was in part-time employment was an unskilled worker. The participants were asked if they had been employed when they committed the crime, and the response was that 50% had been unemployed and 50% had been in part-time employment at the time. Half of the participants stated that, in order to survive financially, they had had to steal, whereas the rest said they had depended on a state grant and on selling fruit and vegetables. Economic survival had been a challenge for the

parolees, and there is reason to believe that financial need had been directly implicated in their unemployment, criminal behaviour, and incarceration. The participants stated that they were prepared to work, but that work opportunities were scarce because of their criminal record.

The breadwinners within the households the participants mentioned were mothers (50%), a father (25%) and a brother (25%). The results of the household income indicate that 50% earned between R1001–R2000, 25% earned between R2001–R4000, and 25% did not know the income of the household. This is illustrated in Table 4.3. The household income comprises the total wages of people in the same household.

Table 4.3: Household income per month (parolees)

Percentage	Amount earned per month
0%	0–R500
0%	R501–R1000
50%	R1001–R2000
25%	R2001–R4000
0%	R4001 and more
25%	Do not know



4.3.1.4 Social aspects of parolees/probationers

As in the case of the offenders, the participants described the community environment as "all right" and stable, but drugs and alcohol abuse were evident, as were shebeens, merchants (drug lords), shootings and gangsterism. The participants' portrayal of the environment can also be linked to the social challenges they encounter within the community. Participants are of the opinion that people in the community struggle to survive as a result of the high rate of unemployment.

The participants were asked whom they were staying with at the time of the interview. The results show that 75% of the sample was staying with their mothers and 25% with a friend. The rest were either staying with their wives, an uncle or an aunt. The participants indicated that 50% of them had grown up in Atlantis and had been living in the area when they committed their first crime; 25% had grown up in Hanover Park; and the remaining 25% had been raised in De Doorns. Substance abuse was a familiar phenomenon among the participants, and 75% stated that they had been under the influence of a substance when they committed a crime. The substances used were alcohol, dagga, Mandrax and TIK, and as many as 75% of the offenders had used dagga. The participants highlighted a direct link between their criminal activities and substance abuse, mentioning that their criminal activities had either been motivated by substance abuse or by their addiction.

The individual participants were asked to indicate the level of education they had completed. The study found that 50% of the sample had completed a level between Grades 1–4, 25% had completed Grades 5–8, and 25% had been in Grade 11. None of the sample had a Grade 12 or tertiary education. This is illustrated in Table 4.4 below. The participants' educational pattern shows that they had a very low level of education, which definitely presents a problem for the parolees who have to compete within the job market with those that have a better education.

Table 4.4: Highest level of education (parolees)

0%	No schooling
50%	Grades 1–4
25%	Grades 5–8
0%	Grade 9
0%	Grade 10
25%	Grade 11
0%	Grade 12
0%	Tertiary education

The participants' results show that none of the sample of parolees was actively involved in a community structure/bond, although 50% of them did belong to one (sports). This result will be discussed later in the light of Hirschi's (1969:11) belief that the lack of involvement in a structure/bond can lead to deviant behaviour.

4.3.1.5 Criminal behaviour of parolees/probationers

All the participants stated that they had been in detention more than three times for different crimes such as housebreaking, possession of an illegal substance, theft, assault, and prison murder. A total of 50% of the sample had been incarcerated more than three times, and 50% more than four times. The lengths of the sentences served by the participants in the study ranged from six months to twenty-five years. Participant number sixteen had served 25 years for a murder committed in prison and is currently on parole for 50 years. He had received the death penalty, but the sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. He is 66 years of age and in a wheelchair. The participants' ages had ranged from 12–15 years (25%), 16–18 years (25%) and 19–25 years (50%) when they went to prison for the first time. Only participant number sixteen mentioned the use of a weapon, which was a screwdriver, when the crime was committed.

4.3.2 Parolees'/probationers' relations

The parolees'/probationers' relations have been categorised as follows: interpersonal relations, community relations, gang relations, relations to rehabilitation programmes, and relations to recidivism. This will be discussed in depth as based on the results obtained from the sample.

4.3.2.1 Parolees'/probationers' interpersonal relations

The participants were asked to describe the home environment of their childhood and youth, and their relationships with their parents and siblings. All the participants mentioned that they had grown up in poverty. The results show that 25% of the sample

had left home at a young age to live on the street; 25% indicated having grown up in a good Christian home with a strict father; 25% pointed out that they had not enjoyed a good relationship with their siblings because they were always blamed when things went missing in the house; and the remaining 25% had grown up with only a mother as the father had died while they were still young. As in the case of the offenders, the mothers often had to fulfil the role of both parents. The participants were asked to state how many people there were in the household. The results show that there were between 4 to 8 adults and an average of five children in each household. The houses had two to three bedrooms, but in most of the cases a “Wendy house” (wooden structure) was attached to the dwelling. Generally, all the participants had had a good relationship with their mothers, where there was a mother in the household. Next, the participants were asked to define friendship, to indicate if they had had any close friends and why they had regarded them as close friends. Friendship was defined as “somebody that cares, someone that assists you, a relationship between people, as trust, and as someone you can have a conversation with and who is always there when needed”. All the participants said that they had not experience any close friends, because “friends do not visit you when you are imprisoned, only disappoint you, are never there when you need them, and friends only use you for their benefit”.

The results signify that 100% of the participants had regarded their fellow gang members as friends, because that they had done things together and cared for each other as brothers. *“They are always there when I need them; however, in reality they are only your friend for their benefit”*, said participant number twelve. The study indicates that 50% of participants had no role model; 25% regarded their mothers as a role model; and 25% regarded Denzil Washington, the film star, as their role model. When participant number eleven was asked why he had chosen Denzil Washington as his role model, he responded, *“Denzil achieved a lot in life as an actor, he made good movies”*. The lack of a positive role model in the lives of 75% of the sample clearly shows that no guidance was given to individuals, or the participants did not have someone as a positive role model to influence them.

4.3.2.2 Gang affiliations of parolees/probationers

The participants within the interview protocol were asked to state if they belonged to a gang and, if so, their reasons for joining the gang. The sample results indicate that 100% of the participants belonged to a gang either on the outside or to a prison gang, and the reasons given for joining a gang were feelings of loneliness, the need for protection, peer pressure, and safety considerations “*The gang was a passport to me, in order to defend myself,*” participant number eighteen mentioned. Participant number twelve explained his reasons for joining a gang by saying, “*I joined because I needed to survive within the community and I could handle pressure*”. As regards the roles of the participants within the gangs, 75% were leaders and 25% identified themselves as a shooter within the gang. According to the results, 75% of the participants affirmed that being part of a gang had influenced their return to prison while only 25% indicated that their re-incarceration was not due to gang influence. Participant number sixteen said, “*I was part of a prison gang that committed a murder*”. The parolees shared the same sentiment as the offenders, namely that it is difficult for an offender who belongs to a gang to reintegrate because of his parole conditions and peer pressure from the gang to rejoin them. Participant number twelve pointed out that “*... it is hard to survive on the outside. It is different from prison, because everything in prison is free. Outside nothing is for free*”.

4.3.2.3 Parolees’/probationers’ relations to rehabilitation programmes

When the participants were asked within the interview protocol to state if they had had an opportunity to attend any programme during their incarceration, they affirmed that they had all been given the opportunity to attend programmes on life skills, the Tough Enough (pre-release programme) offered by NICRO, and programmes on HIV/AIDS, biblical studies, aggression, and educational topics. The participants mentioned that they had learned the following from the programmes attended: how to respect others, how to make the right choices, how to communicate with others, and how to adapt within the community. Participant number sixteen stated, “*Yes, I have learned a lot and that is why I am still outside and programmes also keep you away from crime in prison*”. The

participants also pointed out that the programmes can only assist them not to return to prison if they apply what they have learned from the programmes. The participants were asked to state if they had attended any programmes during their previous sentences and why the programmes had not assisted them to remain outside. The results show that not all the participants had attended programmes during their previous sentences. The reasons given were that the sentence had been too short, and that they had been active prison gang members. The participants were also asked if they thought the programmes facilitated inside the correctional centres addressed the needs of the offenders. The results revealed that 50% felt that such programmes did in fact address the needs of offenders, and that 50% disagreed. Participant number eleven said that “... *the programmes need to address the community environment needs*”. This sentiment was also shared by participant number eighteen, who remarked, “*Outside the needs are different and parolees are not interested to attend programmes when they release from prison*”. The majority of the sample felt it was up to the individual to apply what he/she had learned.

The participants agreed that the rehabilitation programmes should address the real life issues offenders’ face after their release. Skills development, short courses, business skills, entrepreneurial skills, and trades such as plumbing, carpentry, and brick-laying should form part of the rehabilitation programmes. The participants felt that the DCS should sustain rehabilitation programmes by implementing them within the community for parolees/probationers, and by giving regular talks within the community.

4.3.2.4 Parolees’/probationers’ relations to recidivism

The participants were asked to indicate what had influenced the behaviour that led to their first imprisonment, and the reasons for their returning to prison or re-committing crime. The sample results show that 50% said that they had been unemployed and needed money; 25% stated that it had been the need to impress friends; and 25% gave the reason as having been away from home. Participant number eighteen stated, “*I wanted to impress my friends and entertain them, so I went to steal goods to sell*”. Substance abuse, for example alcohol and drugs, had also influenced the criminal behaviour that led to

their first imprisonment. As participant number twelve said, “*It was my greediness for drugs and pille [Mandrax]*”. According to the results, 50% of the offenders had returned to prison because of economic reasons; 25% stated that it had been the need to feed their drug habit; and 25% could not say why they had returned to prison because it was too long ago.

The entire sample agreed that they had made the wrong choices in the past, because if they had made the right choices, they would not have been incarcerated. The challenges pointed out by the participants that cause an offender to re-commit crime are economic factors, substance abuse, peer pressure, idleness, stigma and poverty. The participants were asked what they thought the Department of Correctional Services could do to assist offenders not to reoffend after their release. The Department should assist offenders coming from prison with employment opportunities, skills programmes, and offer group sessions to parolees/probationers, they replied. The participants indicated that the DCS must liaise with businesses for employment opportunities.

The participants described the community environment as being "all right" and stable, but pointed out that drugs and alcohol abuse were evident, as was the presence of shebeens, merchants (drug lords), shootings and gangsterism. The participants also indicated that communities should not label the offenders, but come together to discuss how they can support and treat ex-offenders better. Participant number eleven expressed himself strongly and said, “*They must stop labelling the offender as a “bandiet” [prisoner]*”.

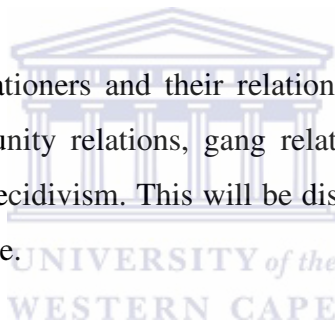
From the participants' responses it is clear that the same challenges listed by the offenders for example, unemployment, substance abuse, peer pressure and the lack of positive role models are social blights that the parolees struggle with. The labelling of ex-offenders by the community becomes a serious problem as offenders are often seen as criminals, even though they feel that they have paid their debt to society by serving their sentence. This notion of labelling is also what causes employers to dismiss employees when it becomes known that the individual has been imprisoned before. The community environment can

also be linked to the social issues that community members struggle with, for example poverty, gangsterism and unemployment.

The closing down of numerous factories and businesses within the community of Atlantis is forcing people to look for other ways of obtaining money, which results in criminal activities, especially by habitual criminals who find it hard to secure employment. The nagging demands of family members who insist that parolees contribute to the household budget is putting extra pressure on the parolees to find money, which often results in criminal activities. The parolees'/probationers' family relationships will be discussed next.

4.4 Families of parolees/probationers

The families of parolees/probationers and their relationships have been categorised as interpersonal relations, community relations, gang relations, relations to rehabilitation programmes, and relations to recidivism. This will be discussed in depth as based on the results obtained from the sample.



4.4.1 General characteristics of families of parolees/probationers

The participants in the study comprised four family members of parolees who are still serving a parole supervision sentence at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office. All the participants reside in the Atlantis community and were therefore observed in their natural setting. Observation took place within the immediate surroundings of the parolee as well as during interview sessions with the family at home. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and were audiotape-recorded with the consent of the participants. The results of the interview protocol will be discussed next.

4.4.1.1 Demographics

The four participants interviewed were all related to the parolees. The demographic results obtained from the interviews conducted show that 50% of the sample had four adults staying in two-bedroomed households; 25% had adults in a three-bedroomed household; and 25% had seven adults in a three-bedroomed house. The families' main sources of income derived from a state grant, a tuck shop, a mother employed as a home care worker, and a mother doing needlework to generate revenue. The results also show that 50% of the sample received State support in the form of a pension and a disability grant. The houses were semi-detached homes.

4.4.1.2 Community environment defined by family members

The family members were asked to describe their community environment, to indicate if they had ever felt unsafe within their community and, if so, what the reasons were. The community environment was described by 50% the participants as being quiet in certain areas such as Protea Park, but other areas such as Dura Flats were describe as problematic due to drugs, alcohol abuse, and gangsterism. Dura flats are three-storey apartment blocks. Participant number thirteen said, *"The Atlantis community is a busy community. If something happens, the people will make it their business to know"*. The remaining 25% stated, *"We staying long here in Atlantis and we are familiar to the area"*.

Family members were asked if they ever felt unsafe in their community, and 75% of the participants replied that they did as a result of other gangs coming into the area, shootings, gang fights, burglaries, and TIK houses. A parent of a parolee, participant number seventeen, said that she never felt unsafe because of the community but because of her son: *"I fear his behaviour and how he reacts"*.

According to all the participants, the people in the community struggle to survive because of social ills within the community. Similar to the responses of the offenders, the parolees' family members pointed out that substances like alcohol, dagga, Mandrax and TIK were always available within the community. All the family members felt that the

community can assist by giving good advice to ex-offenders, motivating them to become law-abiding citizens, and by accepting them back after they have served their sentences. Asked why they thought it was difficult for the community to accept offenders back upon their release from prison, the participants replied that the community respond to the things that they have heard about the individual, find it difficult to accept that the person could have changed, fear the type of person the individual was before his imprisonment, and because the offenders are discriminated against by employers. Participant number seventeen said that the community members are afraid and make comments like, “*He is back, lock your doors*” or “*Die skelm is terug*” [The thief is back]. “*That is the image the community has of a person coming from prison*”.

None of the family members interviewed belonged to a community structure such as a church, mosque, choir, or sports body. The participants indicated that some of the challenges within the community that make it difficult for offenders to adapt after their release from prison are stigmatisation (being called a murderer or rapist), unemployment, the absence of support from family members, and the need for new clothes. It is significant that the family members also alluded to clothing as becoming a dire need. As participant number thirteen had stated, “*In our community clothing say a lot about a person*”.

4.4.1.3 Social aspects of the family members of parolees/probationers

The portrayal of the community environment by participants as being prone to drugs, alcohol abuse, unemployment, shootings, fighting and gangsterism can be linked to the social challenges the participants encounter within the community. Participants are of the opinion that people struggle to survive because of the social ills in the community. Participants were asked to describe their relationship with the parolee, and the results of the interviews indicated that 75% confirmed that they had a good understanding as a family and 25% felt that they were trying to find each other.

The participants had to explain the type of friends the parolees had interaction with within the community. They replied that they either did not have any friends in the area or did not have many friends. Participant number nineteen said, "*The friends my son have are problematic*". The characters of the parolees were explained as good, quiet, well-behaved, respectable, and understanding; however, participant number seventeen said, "*My son is very aggressive and he needs to bring his part by contributing to the household. He terrorises his dad and I*". The characterisation of the parolees is often indicative of how the individuals are seen within the household, but in many instances this characterisation is different when the individuals are outside the boundaries of the household. According to all the participants, watching television, especially soapies, together is how they spend quality time.

4.4.1.4 Gangsterism within the community

Participants were asked within the interview protocol to explain if gangsterism was a problem in their community. The sample results indicate that 100% of the participants were of the opinion that gangsterism was a problem within Atlantis, but the area where all the participants resided, Protea Park, was described as being quiet. Gangsterism in Atlantis, according to the participants, differs from area to area. Dura Flats was an area they all cited as being rife with gangsterism. The reasons given by family members why they thought people joined gangs were the following: the spoiling of children by the parents, protection by the gang, the feeling of invincibility, the status of being a gang member, the provision of clothing by other gang members, and the grooming of the members by the gang. Grooming takes place in the form of things provided to the youth by the gang members for free in return for favours. All the family participants agreed the challenges to reintegrate are bigger for an individual who belonged to a gang than for a non-gangster. Peer pressure from within the gang for the individual to join again is enormous and often makes it difficult for the parolee to adhere to his parole conditions.

Gangsterism is not only prevalent in Atlantis, but rife in the Cape Flats suburbs. The gangs rule by might and authority, and youngsters fall prey to the gangs by being told that they would receive a lesser sentence as youngsters when they committed a crime. Gangsterism is a major problem within the Western Cape, and the law enforcement agencies are struggling to curb the criminality caused by the gangsters. The results show that gangsterism is indeed a challenge that individuals face and that it contributes to recidivism.

4.4.1.5 Family members' understanding of rehabilitation programmes

Participants were asked within the interview protocol to state if they were aware of any programmes the parolees had attended during their imprisonment. As many as 75% of the sample indicated they did not know of any programmes that had been attended by individuals, and 25% said they were aware of some but did not know the details. Participant number fourteen said that her son had matriculated, studied through the University of South Africa while he was imprisoned, and that he had also completed a computer literacy course. The family members felt that rehabilitation programmes should be facilitated within the community to compensate for the idleness of unemployed parolees and that the programmes should also include potential employers. It is evident that family members could not respond to some of the questions about rehabilitation programmes as they were uninformed about them. This could be a challenge as the departmental rehabilitation programmes needed to be sustained after the release of the offender, and since the family plays a pivotal role within the rehabilitation cycle.

4.4.1.6 Families' relations to recidivism

The participants were asked to indicate what they thought had influenced the parolee's behaviour that led to his imprisonment/sentencing and the reasons for his returning to prison or re-committing crime. The sample results demonstrate that while 25% did not know anything about the sentence of the parolee, 75% thought that it might have been a love triangle, naughtiness, or the aggression of the individual. The reasons the family

members advanced for the parolee's return to prison were that the individual had not learnt from his previous mistakes, had caused problems at home, idleness, and group pressure. Of the family members' sample, 75% pointed out that the parolees were accepted back by segments of the community such as the elderly or the neighbours, and 25% thought that the community rejected the individual. Participant number fourteen remarked, *"My son stayed in the community, but the community rejected him because of the crime he committed. I did not feel well as his mother"*. Asked what crime participant number fifteen's son had committed, the participant mentioned that he had killed his wife.

The challenges identified by family members as causing ex-offenders to re-commit crime are unemployment, gangsterism, peer pressure, group pressure, substance abuse, nagging by family members, and the individual's need to prove himself. The participants were asked what they thought the Department of Correctional Services could do to assist offenders upon their release so as not to re-offend. They responded by saying the Department should assist offenders coming from prison by means of employment opportunities. Moreover, the DCS should engage with employers to provide skills programmes and offer group sessions to parolees/probationers to prevent idleness. As in the case of offenders, the family members mentioned the need for the DCS to liaise with businesses for employment opportunities for those that have been released from prison. The family of parolees/probationers and their relations to social reintegration will be discussed next.

4.4.1.7 Family and social reintegration

The researcher wanted to see if the participants were aware of the parole/supervision conditions of the parolee or probationer. The results reflect that 75% did not know the parole conditions of the parolee, and that 25% said they knew and mentioned that the parolee could go to work, that he had to provide proof of employment, and that he had to be in the house by 14h00 or at a certain time of the day. None of the participants were being consulted at home by a psychologist, social worker, or religious worker from the

Department of Correctional Services. None of the participants knew where the Social Reintegration office was situated, and 75% did not have the contact number of a correctional official at the Social Reintegration office in case of an emergency. None of the family members had been counselled by DCS staff in preparation for the parolee's release, and all indicated they had only been asked to sign that the parolee could stay at their house. The proactive measures that family members suggested were that the DCS should offer programmes at the Social Reintegration offices to prevent idleness, teach parolees entrepreneurial skills, use parolees to talk to the youngsters at school not to become involved in crime, and to engage with businesses for employment opportunities for those with a criminal record.

From the results it is evident that the family members know nothing about the social reintegration process of parolees. The effective reintegration of offenders upon release is dependent on a joint partnership of all stakeholders such as business, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, faith-based organisations, the judicial cluster, and the family of the offender.

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4.5 Staff of the Department of Correctional Services, the South African Police Services, and the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of offenders (NICRO)

4.5.1 Staff of the Department of Correctional Services

The participants in the study were the Head of the Social Reintegration office, the social worker at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, the communication spokesperson of the South African Police Services at Atlantis police station, and a social worker employed by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO). All the participants work within the Atlantis community. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and audiotape-recorded with the consent of the participants. The results of the interview protocol will be discussed next.

4.5.1.1 Head of the Social Reintegration office

A semi-structured interview protocol was used to find out from the Head of the Social Reintegration office what services were being rendered by his office with regard to the integrated support system. The following demographic information was obtained. The Head has 32 years of service in the Department of Correctional Services and has been working at the Social Reintegration office since October 1998. As illustrated in Figure 3.2, at the time of the interview (August 2010), the caseload of the office stood at 586, comprising awaiting-trial detainees (3%), correctional-supervision inmates (46%), and parole-supervision inmates (51%). The office had a staff complement of sixteen officials.

The Head was asked to indicate if parolees/probationers attended programmes in their own residential areas as outlined in the Integrated Support System. The results confirmed that parolees/probationers do attend programmes within their residential areas through the satellite offices in the communities. The Malmesbury Social Reintegration office has satellite offices in Riebieck Kasteel, Riebieck West, Moorreesburg, Darling, and Atlantis. According to the Head, the satellite offices were opened as the result of an instruction given by the Minister and Commissioner of Correctional Services to take the service to the community. It must be mentioned that these are not official offices, but offices negotiated by the management of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office who approached the faith-based organisations for office space to see their clients in the area. The Atlantis satellite was first based at the South African Police station, but due to breakages and theft at the building by parolees the office had to be moved to Hardebeeskraal. The Hardebeeskraal satellite office subsequently had to move again for the same reason and is now situated at the Municipal Police offices.

The Social Reintegration office offers a psychological counselling service, and a social worker at the satellite office offers community programmes in addition to consulting at the homes of the supervision cases if the need arises. The community services rendered by the parole/correctional clients take place at government institutions, the South African Police Services, hospitals, courts, municipal buildings, schools, homes for the elderly,

and at churches. The office determines where the parolee/probationer must work. This is a community service and forms part of the sentence, thus there is no remuneration. As the need arises, cases are referred to mentors from NICRO, especially in the Atlantis area, by the correctional supervision official. No correctional programmes are implemented by the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office as the staff still needs to be trained; therefore, the only programmes offered are those of the social worker and NICRO. According to the Integrated Support System, programmes must be designed together with local role players to assist in the rehabilitation process, which is however not the case at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office. The office is currently quality-assuring a local programme designed by the Swartland Development Foundation. When asked how the office motivates parolees/probationers to continue to develop themselves, the Head responded by saying that motivation is done by encouraging parolees/probationers to abide by the conditions set and during the normal house monitoring carried out by officials.

The participant was then asked if any assistance was given to offenders in partnership with other role-players to secure employment or accommodation before their release. The Head indicated that this function was the responsibility of the social reintegration official working at the correctional centre. From time to time, the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office would arrange for accommodation to be made available at the Malmesbury night shelter, and would also liaise with employers for employment opportunities. No statistics could, however, be provided of any job placements. It is the responsibility of the parolee/probationer upon securing a job to advise the correctional supervision official and sometimes to provide a pay slip as proof of employment.

Home visits to supervision cases by the parole official or social worker only occur as the need arises. The office arranges four to five “imbizos” (information sessions) annually in the form of an open evening, and invites various stakeholders such as community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations, families, members of the community, neighbourhood watch, and ward councillors to attend. These information sessions are held to inform the broader community about the rehabilitation,

reintegration and the conditions of the correctional supervision cases. According to the Head, 90% of the family members are aware of the parole/probation conditions, but as monitoring officials have to reach a certain target of cases seen per day, there is no qualitative interaction between the monitoring official and the family. The time allocated per case ranges from one to five minutes per visit. In most cases, the parolee only signs the given form that he was monitored. The reason given for the time duration of visits was that the office had a shortage of staff. Satellite offices help to deliver a better service, because previously the supervision case had to travel to Malmesbury for an office visit. The areas serviced by the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office are classified as rural and lack proper public transport.

According to the Head, the challenges experienced by offenders upon release are unemployment, the absence of a family structure or support, drugs, alcohol, and peer pressure. Whether or not the community would assist offenders upon release, the Head mentioned, depended on the relationship they had with the office. He pointed out that employment agencies could assist in securing employment for ex-offenders, and suggested that the community establish a database of the unemployed within its ranks and that released offenders be permitted to put their names on the register. Asked why he thought it was difficult for the community to accept offenders back, the participant said that acceptance by the community was not an easy task as the crime was still fresh in their minds. Often the released individual would re-commit crimes in the same community, which angered the community. Barriers that prohibit the successful reintegration of offenders into the community are the misuse of substances, unemployment, the absence of a proper family structure or support system, and alcohol and drugs. He argued that the community environment could present a barrier, because the area could influence the individual's behaviour. In mentioning proactive measures that the DCS should introduce, the Head said, "*... there should be crime prevention at schools to address the children on the prison conditions and use the talk as a shock therapy. We need to show the children the reality of prison life*".

The Integrated Support System in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa stipulates that there should be a monitoring and evaluation tool to measure community participation. The Head said there was no such tool in place. Asked if re-offending statistics were kept by his office, the Head replied that no such statistics were being kept, that there was no system to monitor re-offending, and no function to determine if the offender had been incarcerated previously and had come in with an alias (pseudonym). Numerous offenders would come to a correctional centre without an identity document, which made it difficult to determine if the inmate had indeed been incarcerated previously. To determine if the offender had been imprisoned previously, the DCS would request a SAP69 document from the South African Police Services which indicated all the previous convictions.

4.5.1.2 Social Worker at the Social Reintegration office

A semi-structured interview protocol was used to find out from the social worker at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office what social services and programmes were offered by the office. The following demographic information was obtained. The social worker has ten years of service in the Department of Correctional Services and has been working at the Social Reintegration office since August 2008. His role entails offering needs-based programmes, determining a risk and needs assessment, and facilitating programmes on sexual-orientation (SORP), aggression, marriage and family care, life-skills, alcohol and substance abuse, in addition to support services. These include HIV/AIDS and trauma counselling, as well as individual therapy. The Social Reintegration office has two social workers and a caseload of 586. The ratio for a social worker per parolee/probationer caseload should be 1:240. The different areas serviced by the office have been divided up between the two social workers. Atlantis falls under the social-work supervisor, who visits the Atlantis satellite office twice a month and works hand in hand with the Correctional Supervision official.

Social work in the area of Atlantis is not conducive to implementing programmes after hours. Some parolees/probationers are employed and only available for programmes from 18h00-20h00; however, the areas are considered to be in the so-called red zones where it is dangerous to monitor or facilitate programmes. Implementing a programme after hours would definitely pose a risk, even though it would be the ideal time. The participant also mentioned that socio-economic conditions in Atlantis are a challenge due to widespread unemployment as only a few factories still remain, for example Weet-Bix, Tedalex, and a brick-making concern.

The participant was asked if he conducted home visits to the family/friends of parolees/probationers at their respective homes. The response was, "*I only conduct visits upon assessment and especially when crises arise*". The social worker mentioned that the community can assist ex-offenders by not stigmatising them. He indicated that parolees are perceived in terms of their past offences, and that the community is not willing to accept the offenders back upon release. Especially the acceptance of the ex-offender in cases of rape and murder becomes a problem in the community as the family members of the victim label the parolee as a rapist or murderer. The participant further mentioned that at times even family members are unprepared to accept the offender upon his release as they do not feel safe having the individual around.

The social worker listed the following challenges that offenders face upon release: getting accepted by the family, finding employment, avoiding relapse, making good decisions, and living up to their own expectations. In addition, drug and alcohol abuse is rife; TIK and similar substances are readily available within the community; unemployment leads to smuggling; there is negative peer pressure from friends; ex-offenders have the need to dress beautifully; and there is no effective support system. For the Department to render an effective service, it would have to revise the caseload of each social worker as it is currently too heavy, with the result that social workers prioritise court referrals for intervention. There is a waiting period of six to eight months for a sexual offender to form part of a certain module within the sexual-orientation programme, even though intervention occurs during supportive services. The fact that the

Case Intervention Officials (CIOs) are not implementing any programmes places an additional burden on the social work division. Asked if he thought the implementation of programmes by CIOs would assist, the social worker stated, *“If programmes are to be rendered it will address the different needs of the parolees/probationers”*. The participant was asked if the programmes offered by the social work division address the real-life issues the parolees/probationers encounter within the community. The response given was that they only do so in part as the needs and circumstances of the parolee differ from those of incarcerated offenders. The needs of the parolee change: inside the correctional centre, the relevant needs are seen to by the State, whereas upon his release, it is the parolee himself who has to see to and sustain his immediate need for employment, food, and clothing. Programmes are also presented by service providers such as NICRO and the South African National Council of Alcoholism and Drug Dependency (SANCA). NICRO facilitates the Tough Enough programme; and SANCA, the individual therapy and drug and alcohol programme. The participant was asked if any programmes were being presented within the community, and the response given was, *“Yes, we are taking the service to the client. Previously the parolee had to travel to the office in Malmesbury. Now the satellite is situated in the centre of Atlantis”*.

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The social worker mentioned that, in order to sustain rehabilitation programmes on the outside, the Department should make provision for the necessary infrastructure to render a service within the community from Monday to Friday. However, there is no formal agreement with regard to the use of the satellite office, and no resources at the satellite. The participant even said that, *“...we make use of milk crates to cart the files of the parolees”*. About 10 parolees are admitted every day, seven of whom will be from the Atlantis community. The caseload of parolees/probationers within Atlantis is approximately 300.

Barriers prohibit successful reintegration: for example, a group starts with twelve parolees, but halfway through the programme nine have dropped out but may not be replaced; consequently, others are deprived by having to wait for the commencement of the new programme. The fact that the social worker at the Social Reintegration office is

non-centre-based (working indirectly with offenders) can also inhibit the efficient and effective delivery of services available to the client. The participant pointed out that social workers should be centre-based so that group sessions can take place on Saturdays. This would ensure that more parolees/probationers attend programmes. Proactive measures that the Department can introduce through the Social Reintegration office include getting more stakeholders involved as service providers within the community.

4.5.1.3 Social worker of NICRO

A semi-structured interview protocol was used to find out from the social worker at the NICRO office what social services and programmes are offered by NICRO. The following demographic information was obtained. The social worker has three years of service at NICRO. Her role entails facilitating the Tough Enough programme as well as services such as individual counselling, family counselling and support. Tough Enough is a life-skills programme involving eight sessions, facilitated twice a week. The programme focuses on the individual and topics such as Who am I? Where am I in life? The Vicious Cycle, the reasons for unemployment, the importance of a support system, substance abuse, perceptions and peer pressure. The programme is currently facilitated at the West Coast Correctional Centre and not within the community. The intention is to facilitate it within the community at a later stage. NICRO also facilitates another programme on mentorship which takes people from the community as positive role models, because offenders/parolees can relate to people from their own community. The office of NICRO is situated within the Atlantis community and rents office space from the Catholic Development Network.

NICRO has what is termed an *intake* which involves assessing new clients who have been referred to the organisation at its Malmesbury and Moorreesburg satellite offices. The office will, however, also conduct family visits if the need arises. NICRO provides emotional support and assistance with compiling curricula vitae. Challenges that the parolees encounter, according to the participant, are unemployment and the need for food and clothing. Integration into the immediate family is also a challenge as there are more

mouths to feed. Nagging by family members for the parolee to contribute and accept responsibility also becomes a challenge.

The participant described the community as violent, with a lot of substance abuse, gangs, and shebeens, which the Community Police Forum tries to control through legalisation. The participant indicated that the South African Police Services place time restrictions on the operating hours of the shebeens. Shootings in the area have now subsided.

Asked if NICRO conducts home visits, the participant responded by stating, *“Yes, if the need is there. Referrals are made by the Social Reintegration officials or social workers from the DCS to conduct home visits”*. According to the participant, it is difficult for the community to accept offenders back upon their release as the community is tired of crime, trust is often broken, re-incarceration causes major problems, and often the victim also resides in the same area. The participant indicated that the DCS needs to lobby on a higher level with employers for employment opportunities for ex-convicts. Offenders and parolees are taught entrepreneurial skills, but the problem is that they cannot access funds. The criminal record of the offender upon release is also an area that the judicial cluster needs to re-evaluate as it only results in victimisation.

The NICRO office works in conjunction with the Pre-release Unit and the Social Reintegration official at the West Coast Correctional Centre. The NICRO staff also have a close relationship with the Unit Manager of the Pre-release Unit. The Social Reintegration official identifies the participants to include in the programme: *“It is easy to present the programme inside, because outside people are just not interested in attending programmes”*, said the participant. NICRO’s focal area is the youth. Through NICRO’s diversion programme the youth are referred by probation officers of the Department of Social Development; the non-custodial cases are not done by the Atlantis office; and offender reintegration takes place when a court refers an individual for intervention.

The participant mentioned that the families of offenders should be more involved in their rehabilitation programmes as this is where the support system will benefit the offender upon his release. The families should also be educated about the conditions of the parolees/probationers. The participant was asked to explain how often she heard of cases that had gone through NICRO's programme but nevertheless re-offended. She replied that she knew of only five individuals since 2007. The programmes are facilitated three to four times a year, with twelve participants in each group session.

According to the participant, existing barriers are the result of skills not being applied outside and poverty within the community as people do not have money to buy what they need and then resort to crime to obtain money. She believes that the DCS should also partner with existing projects within the community to involve parolees/probationers.

4.5.1.4 Chairperson of the Atlantis Community Police Forum

An interview was conducted with the Chairperson of the Atlantis Community Police Forum (CPF) to establish a better understanding with the Atlantis community. The participant was asked how he would describe the Atlantis community. He responded by saying that "*Atlantis is a very controversial community ...*", that the unemployment rate was extremely high and that the community was also not very involved in community projects. The Chairperson pointed out that the numerous promises made by government officials during national and local election times fail to materialise. According to the Chairperson of the CPF, there is a younger breed of gangsters coming into the area and wiping out the older gangsters.

The participant stated that it was difficult for offenders to re-integrate upon release, because they return to the same community environment they lived in prior to their sentence. He believed that government departments are failing, because there is no sustainability of projects within the community of Atlantis. When asked how many shebeens there are within the Atlantis community, the participant said that there are more than 600 of which only 28 are licensed as special liquor consumption places. The CPF

has a Sensible Drinking project whereby “*smokkelhuise*” (illegal liquor houses) are targeted within the different sectors of the community to inform the owners about how to apply for a liquor license. The sectors are divided and each sector has four licensed shebeens.

The participant mentioned that there are more than 70 NGOs, FBOs and political parties linked to the CPF, and that their credo is to serve rather than be served. The Chairperson was asked if there is anything that the Department of Correctional Services can do to sustain the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders upon release. He indicated that the DCS should liaise with the CPF and SAPS before the release of a person. The DCS should take the community environment into account before the offenders are released. He pointed out that the DCS forms part of the CPF, but that it is currently only providing statistics to the Forum. The chairperson stated that the CPF needs to establish a bigger partnership with the Department of Correctional Services so that parolees/probationers can also be monitored by the Atlantis Community Police Forum members.

4.5.1.5 South African Police Services spokesperson

An interview was conducted with the Head of Communication of the Atlantis South African Police Services (SAPS) with a view to establishing a better understanding with the Atlantis community.

The participant, who holds the rank of Captain, has 20 years of service in the SAPS and is Head of Communication in, and the spokesperson for, the Milnerton cluster, which includes the areas of Milnerton, Melkbostrand, Blouberg, Tableview and Atlantis. The spokesperson's role is to focus on all SAPS projects, community upliftment, and the anti-crime awareness project. The participant explained his interaction with the youth, and said his target areas are high schools (4) and primary schools (12). Community projects for the physically challenged are running at Orion and for physically challenged persons at Dawn.

According to the participant, gang activities have escalated in the Atlantis community due to territorial control by gang bosses and the fight for control of the illegal drugs and alcohol. The latter substance was mentioned as definitely being a major problem within the Atlantis community and one that leads to violence, rape and assaults. The participant pointed out that rehabilitation and reintegration are difficult as the person returns to the same environment upon release, and because the gang members use threats to coerce the probation/parolees into joining in the wrong-doing which “...is seen on a daily basis within the community”.

The Captain indicated that it is always the negative events in the community that are publicised at the expense of the good news. He felt that it was important for the DCS to relay positive stories to the community to encourage them to accept ex-offenders. He further indicated that the DCS sends the Atlantis branch of the SAPS a list of offenders to be released, but that the SAPS can only give recommendations, and that the Atlantis Police station is not directly involved in the parole process. The spokesperson added that “... sometimes people are even released without SAPS knowledge”. There is no interaction between the departments of Justice, Health, and Social Development, the DCS and SAPS within the Atlantis community. Stronger partnerships should be forged between all the stakeholders. The Captain confirmed the presence of registered liquor outlets and also produced a list, but said he could not with any certainty say how many liquor houses there are within the Atlantis community.

4.6 Programmes and Services rendered to participants in the case study

Offering programmes to offenders is the mechanism used by the Department of Correctional Services to rehabilitate and reintegrate them. According to the publication entitled Correctional Programmes Targeting Offending Behaviour ([n.d.]:6), the responsibility of the Department of Correctional Services is primarily to correct the offending behaviour in a secure, safe and humane environment in order to facilitate the rehabilitation process. Inkanyezi Initiatives (cited in Correctional Programmes Targeting Offending Behaviour [n.d.]:6) states that the focus in the rehabilitation and effective

reintegration of offenders should be more on influencing behaviour and ultimately on facilitating individual behaviour change. Correctional programmes should focus on raising awareness of the need to change behaviour, thereby reducing the likelihood of re-offending. The range of programmes offered to offenders at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre will be presented below.

4.6.1 Correctional Rehabilitation Programmes

Correctional Programmes are defined within the booklet entitled Correctional Programmes Targeting Offender Behaviour ([n.d.]:8) as needs-based programmes that address the offending behaviour. It is compulsory for all convicted offenders serving a sentence of 24 months or longer to attend correctional programme sessions. The Department of Correctional Services has developed and sourced eight correctional programmes, as described below:

- The Anger Management Programme is aimed at raising offenders' awareness of the causes and symptoms of anger and teaching them how to manage their anger.
- The main purpose of the Crossroads Correctional Programme is to target offending behaviour through the implementation of basic behaviour modification techniques.
- The Preparatory Programme on Sexual Offences' main objective is to involve sexual offenders in this programme by addressing their sexually offending behaviour through the relevant knowledge and skills.
- The Pre-Release Programme is designed to prepare offenders for successful reintegration into society by providing them with skills and information to enable them to cope with the possible challenges they may have to face after their release. These challenges will be alluded to at the end of the paragraph on correctional programmes as this will shed more light on the aims of this study.
- The Substance Abuse Correctional Programme's main purpose is to help participants gain insight into the negative effects of substance abuse.

- The Restorative Justice Programme's objective is to orientate offenders in respect of restoring justice and to prepare them for further intervention through restorative justice programmes; that is, through victim and offender mediation.
- The main objective of the Behaviour Modification programme is to raise awareness among offenders about gang-related activities and their negative consequences. The programme further equips the participants with practical skills to change their behaviour and cope in a correctional centre without any affiliation to any type of gang.
- Lastly, the New Beginnings Orientation Programme is aimed at empowering offenders to be more aware of themselves and the situation around them, and allows for the offenders' transition and adjustment to the correctional centre.

The above-mentioned programmes are presented by Correctional Intervention Officials (CIOs) who have been trained to facilitate and implement them. It is not compulsory for offenders to attend all these programmes, unless indicated within their sentence plan. It should be mentioned that a gap was identified in that little or at times no intervention occurs with offenders serving a sentence of less than 24 months. The reason is that only offenders serving 24 months and more have a Correctional Sentence Plan. Short-term offenders are profiled for risk assessment, but not for programme attendance. The possible challenges mentioned in the Pre-release programme that offenders may face after their discharge are unemployment, overcoming the difficulties associated with reintegration, the lack of support systems, the temptation to commit crime again, family changes, substance abuse, and non-reconciliation with the community. These pose a great risk of recidivism for offenders who remain alienated from the community.

4.6.2 Development and Care Programmes and Services

One of the major challenges for the Department of Correctional Services is to ensure that as much as possible is done with regard to the development and support of offenders while in the care of Correctional Services. It is for this reason that the Department has specialised professionals to assist and empower offenders. The Department of

Correctional Services has identified programmes that will assist in transforming offenders' behaviour into proper conduct.

The services rendered at the West Coast Correctional Centre are spiritual care (including church services), group sessions and personal interviews, lectures on substance abuse, value-based life style, and moral conduct. The social work services include life skills, alcohol dependency, drug dependency and crisis handling. Psychological services include cognitive skills and life-skills programmes. Education and training services include educational, care and guidance programmes; life skills; recreation training programmes; and vocational training. Health and physical care services include voluntary counselling and testing (VCT), HIV/AIDS awareness, tuberculosis, etc. The objective of the labour supply service is to ensure that offenders are occupied with some form of work and that they receive *gratification* (compensation) for services rendered as cooks, maintenance workers, shop monitors, etc. It is also intended to combat idleness. The West Coast Correctional Centre, Development and Care branch has entered into an operational agreement with the Services SETA and IETI (service providers) to assess and train experienced tradesmen (offenders) and to ensure Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL). The offenders received RPL in the following trades: electrical work (11); bricklaying (10); carpentry (7); plumbing (10) and welding (11). A total of 49 offenders completed their trade tests, and currently 15 welders, 13 bricklayers, and 9 electricians are preparing for a trade test.

It is worth mentioning that the Department of Correctional Services also has industrial products and services which are intended to support the Department's mission to uplift the offender and reduce government expenditure. Industrial products and services include the production of food for consumption by the offenders, the manufacturing of workshop items used in the Department as well as in other government departments. These services are available at the West Coast Correctional Centre and at selected correctional centres such as Drakenstein and Pollsmoor.

4.7 Conclusion

The findings of this investigation have demonstrated the challenges that offenders face upon release that contribute to recidivism. The general characteristics of offenders were documented with reference to the following: demographics, community environment, the economic and social aspects of offenders, as well as the criminal behaviour of offenders. The different offender relations were then conceptualised as personal relations of offenders, gang affiliations of offenders, offenders' relations to rehabilitation programmes, and the offender and recidivism.

This was followed by the general characteristics of parolees/probationers with reference to the following: demographics, community environment, economic aspects of parolees/probationers, social aspects of parolees/probationers, and the criminal behaviour of parolees/probationers. The different offender relations were then conceptualised as parolees'/probationers' personal relations, gang affiliations of parolees/probationers, parolees'/probationers' relations to rehabilitation programmes, and the parolees/probationers and recidivism.

The families of parolees/probationers were then discussed with reference to the following: the general characteristic of families of parolees/probationers, demographics, community environment as defined by the family members, the social aspects of the family members of parolees/probationers, gangsterism within the community, family members' understanding of rehabilitation programmes, family and recidivism and, lastly, the family and social reintegration.

Semi-structured interview protocols were used to conduct interviews with the following role players: the Head of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, the social worker at the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office, a social worker of NICRO, the Chairperson of the Atlantis Community Police Forum, and the Communication Official of SAPS Atlantis.

This penultimate chapter concluded with a discussion of the programmes and services rendered at the West Coast Medium 'A' Correctional Centre, and each programme objective was explained. Attention now turns to the final chapter in which the general conclusions, theoretical considerations, reflections on recidivism, limitations of the study, recommendations, and suggestions for future research will be presented.



CHAPTER FIVE

5. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the general findings of the research conducted. It outlines a number of theoretical considerations, provides a critical reflection on recidivism, and recommends a number of measures that the Department of Correctional Services can introduce to break the cycle of recidivism and develop a more sustainable approach to rehabilitation. This is followed by a brief discussion of the limitations of the study, the final conclusions arrived at, and suggestions for future research.

5.2 General findings

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the challenges that offenders face and which contribute to recidivism after their release from prison. It is evident from the study that the main barriers to the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders are unemployment, gangsterism, peer pressure, group pressure, substance abuse, nagging by family members, economic conditions, and the need for the individual to prove himself. These barriers are challenges that offenders encounter upon their release and which lead to the re-committing of crime and, ultimately, to recidivism.

From the research it is clear that society is reluctant to receive perpetrators back into the community. Society as a whole contributes to the offenders' delinquent behaviour, and their lack of acceptance as a result of negative perceptions influences the ex-offender's behaviour. To compound matters, the challenges that ex-offenders face—for example, institutional conventions, family, peers, the wider community, poverty, drugs, education, and unemployment—all militate against their reintegration and contribute to recidivism.

Socio-economic survival was a challenge for both the offenders and parolees in the study, and the financial need they experienced as a result of unemployment proved to be a direct cause of their criminal behaviour. The criminal record of the ex-offender makes it difficult to secure employment as employers are reluctant to employ such a person if it becomes known that he has spent time behind bars. The closing down of numerous factories and businesses within the community of Atlantis forces people to search for alternative measures to obtain money, which often results in criminal activities. Offenders and parolees find it hard to secure employment. Thus the socio-economic hardships experienced by ex-offenders/parolees have a direct impact on their behaviour, lead to the re-committing of crime and, finally, to recidivism.

The programmes presented at the West Coast Correctional Centre were found to be effective in addressing the needs of the offenders. However, in the case of the parolees, it became evident that support programmes should address the real-life issues that they encounter within the community. None of the parolees had attended programmes during their previous sentences. While there were reasons for their non-attendance, all the participants agreed that if they had attended the programmes, it could have assisted them to become rehabilitated and reintegrated. The application of what was learned through the rehabilitation programmes was seen as crucial by the participants. To sustain the overall rehabilitation programme, a participant stated, it must be compulsory for parolees/probationers to attend programmes after their release, and that this should form part of the parole conditions. This shows that respondents do have the will to be rehabilitated and live a successful life on the outside. The compulsory programmes will assist the parolees/probationers to become rehabilitated and reintegrated into society successfully.

Substance abuse was a familiar phenomenon among the participants, because the majority stated that they were under the influence of a substance when they committed a crime. Criminal activities were either motivated by the substance they used or by their addiction. Drugs and alcohol were easily obtainable within the community and contributed to the breakdown of the moral fibre of society. The drug dependency of the

respondents impacted negatively on their behaviour. The researcher is of the opinion that the need to feed the drug habit was as much a motivation for committing economic crimes as were theft and robbery. Discussions with respondents revealed that the exposure of young people to drugs and alcohol within the community from an early age as the result of observing their parents, family and friends use such substances made it acceptable to use a substance, but with dire effects such as addiction.

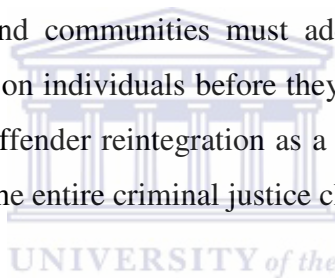
5.3 Theoretical considerations

According to Findley (1999:vii), crime cannot be understood outside of its social context. He notes that its context is a transitional state within which crime influences, and is influenced by, a variety of social, cultural, political and economic determinants. The argument advanced by Findley seems to be particularly true for the respondents in this research as the findings reveal that crime in Atlantis is influenced by a range of socio-economic factors that impact on parolees/probationers in the community. The subculture of gangsterism is influenced by crime, and this in turn influences the community. Crime is clearly visible within the social context of Atlantis, and the community environment can be described as rough with gangsterism at the order of the day. The respondents pointed to poor family networks, lack of parental guidance and support, and non-existent role models as factors that contribute to substance abuse and crime. Poverty and unemployment are additional motivating factors noted by the respondents.

Social reintegration is a crucial element in the rehabilitation of offenders. It is clearly stated in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005:21) that social reintegration is seen as the most challenging aspect of rehabilitation since effective reintegration is essential to combat recidivism. The findings of the study show that family members do not know the parole conditions set by the Department of Correctional Services. The family members were not prepared for the release of the offender, and this resulted in challenges for both the family and the released offender. The offender had gone through a process of counselling, attended programmes, and learned new lessons during his imprisonment, while the family received no guidance. No psychologist, social

worker or religious worker from the Department of Correctional Services had interacted with the family before the offender's release from prison.

The researcher strongly believes that interaction with the immediate family of the offender is of the utmost importance as this will prepare the family for his/her release. As some offenders had actually been the breadwinners of their respective families prior to their incarceration, their family members fell prey to hardship as a result of their imprisonment. The limited knowledge that family members have of the social reintegration process and where to find assistance in an emergency is cause for concern. Contrary to the belief of the Head of the Malmesbury Social Reintegration office that family members are aware of the social reintegration process, this study found the opposite. The family is an integral part of the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders/parolees. Families and communities must address the causes of crime and exercise a correcting influence on individuals before they fall foul of the criminal justice system. Similarly, successful offender reintegration as a strategy to reduce crime should be the objective or purpose of the entire criminal justice cluster.



Mpuang (2001:85-94), in her study on the reintegration of offenders, posits that most offenders in South Africa are unemployed, impoverished, uneducated and by reason of these socio-economic circumstances often find themselves driven to a life of crime. Her description correlates with the findings of the current research concerning the circumstances of the offenders and parolees in Atlantis. Most of the participants were unemployed, impoverished, had a low level of education, and had been incarcerated for theft or robbery. Crime had become a means of survival for the participants in the study. Upon their release from prison, offenders and parolees generally return to criminal activities, largely as a result of their socio-economic environment.

According to Newman (1972:83), there is a link between crime and the physical design of the environment. Berg and Theron (2003:28) also share the view that human behaviour is a function of the interactions of personal characteristics and environmental factors. They further posit that individual behaviour patterns are affected by societal agents such

as cultural values, habits, myths, rituals, social roles, interpersonal relationships, communication patterns, family influences, economic conditions (poverty, prosperity, unemployment and peace), political ideologies and social constructions. The social agents listed by Berg and Theron were explored in the current research, which found that the relations of offenders and parolees to their family, friends, the community environment, gangs, and economic conditions are influenced by individual behaviour patterns. In other words, the social agents mentioned contribute to the factors that influence the individual to commit crime and ultimately lead to recidivism. The following theories provide some insight into the complex etiology of the phenomenon of recidivism.

5.3.1 Functionalist theory

Haralambos and Holborn (1991:585) note that a functionalist analysis of deviance begins with society as a whole, rather than starting with the individual. Giddens (2001:207) indicates that functionalist theories see crime and deviance as resulting from structural tensions or a lack of moral regulation within society. The functionalist perspective that views crime and deviance as beginning with society is relevant as the social, cultural and economic structure of the community environment affects the individual's behaviour. Structural tensions exist within the community of Atlantis, because people do not share the same values and norms, nor do they agree with the values and norms held by the gangs in the community. The lack of moral regulation in Atlantis leads to normlessness in the absence of positive role models within the community. Furthermore, the social conditions in the crime-ridden Atlantis community can contribute to crime and deviance.

5.3.2 Interactionist theory

According to Giddens, "... sociologists studying crime and deviance within the framework of the interactionist approach focus on deviance as a socially constructed phenomenon" (2001:209). Sociological theories suggest that behaviour characteristics are located in the individual's environment and social relationships. The relations of the offender, parolee and the family members indicated that the socially constructed variables

in the community—for example, unemployment, gangsterism, peer pressure, group pressure, substance abuse, nagging by family members, economic conditions, and the need for the individual to prove himself—impact on the behaviour of ex-offenders, parolees, and probationers. This leads to the recommitting of crime and, ultimately, to recidivism. In the case of Atlantis, the prevailing environmental factors are a challenge to the person's behaviour, as the community is defined as being rough, with drugs, alcohol abuse, shootings and gangsterism very much in evidence.

5.3.3 Conflict theory

Horton and Hunt distinguish between cultural- and class-conflict theory. Cultural-conflict theory, they assert, holds that "... when there are a number of subcultures (ethnic, religious, national, regional, class) in a society, this reduces the degree of value consensus" (1984:176). By contrast, class-conflict theorists attribute deviation not to different cultural norms, but to different interests. The gangs within the community of Atlantis are a subculture with a value system that differs from that of the community who believe in social order through shared values and norms as opposed to the predatory behaviour of the gangs.

Horton and Hunt further argue that the clash of different subculture norms "...creates a condition of anomic normlessness" (1984:176). The study found that norms and values are being taught in households, but are not upheld by individuals outside the boundaries of the household. *Anomie* is experienced when old customs, values and beliefs are discarded and not replaced with an appropriate value system. This is the case in the Atlantis community where individual perpetrators discard the good societal values and norms for the criminal morality of the gangs.

5.3.4 Control theory

Control theory emphasises the bond which ties the individual to conventional society. Hirschi (1969:11) uses the concept of *involvement* to denote people's activities in community institutions such as the church, school and local organisations. Hirschi asserts that lack of involvement in a structure or bond can account for deviant behaviour. The current research found that none of the participants in the study had been actively involved in a community structure/bond, which could explain the deviant behaviour of the ex-offenders and parolees in the research sample. Involvement in a community structure/bond leads to conformity to the set norms and values of the group they belong to. Since the participants formed part of various gangs within the community, their affiliation to a particular gang could be said to have constituted a bond, albeit a destructive one.



5.3.5 Labelling theory

Becker (in Thomson 2004:14) argues that a label may become a “master status”. Thomson explains that what Becker means by this is that, in their reaction to deviants, the public tend to forget about the other statuses that the individual may possess (that is, of a father, teacher, soccer player, etc.) and only concentrate on the deviant (stigmatised) status (for example, that of a drug addict) of the individual. This theory correlates with the findings of the study, namely that the former were being labelled after their release from prison. Becker (in Thomson 2004:14) avers that a deviant label can lead to further deviance. The struggle to secure employment upon release, and the label attached to the individual, force the former offenders/parolees to find other ways and means to survive. This leads to criminality and recidivism. The stigmatisation and labelling of the individual makes it difficult for the former offender to be rehabilitated and reintegrated into society.

5.4 Reflections on recidivism

The White Paper on Corrections (2005:145) notes that international experiences have shown that the monitoring of recidivism rates over a period of time represents a critical indicator of the success and effectiveness of needs-based rehabilitation and improved service delivery. The fact that the Department of Correctional Services, as pointed out by the Head of Social Reintegration, does not have a mechanism for monitoring the recidivism rate over a period of time means that the effectiveness of this form of rehabilitation cannot be evaluated properly. The only indicator of success would be a decline in the recidivism statistics.

According to the offender participants, the challenges that contribute to the re-committing of crime include unemployment, substance abuse, peer pressure, nagging by family members, and poverty. The parolees supplemented this list by adding idleness and stigma. The family members listed the same factors and added gangsterism, group pressure, and the need for the individual to prove himself. All of the aforementioned challenges were found to be variables that contribute to recidivism.

Recidivism is a phenomenon that occurs due to the various challenges encountered by ex-offenders and parolees within the West Coast Correctional Centre and the Atlantis community. The successful reintegration of offenders is ultimately in the interests of the community, but the stigma attached to the offenders/parolees by the community of Atlantis more than likely results in vulnerable individuals once again reverting to crime. The facilitation of the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders back into their respective communities needs to be the core objective of the DCS. As offenders return to their point of origin, which is the community they resided in previously, they often regress to their former previous habits of committing crime. This recidivism leads to re-incarceration and results in overcrowding in the already full correctional centres in South Africa. The challenges that contribute to recidivism within the West Coast Correctional Centre and the Atlantis community as outlined above can only be overcome through a

collective social responsibility by all stakeholders; that is, the DCS, NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, the business community, family and friends.

5.5 Recommendations

As a sequel to the research aim of discovering the challenges that offenders face after their release and which lead to recidivism, the researcher wishes to recommend the following actions:

- The Department of Correctional Services should create a mechanism for monitoring the recidivism rate over a period of time.
- The Department of Correctional Services, South African Police Services, National Prosecuting Authority, Department of Justice, Department of Social Development, and Home Affairs should use an integrated computerised system to access information more easily and improve service delivery.
- The Department of Correctional Services should liaise with businesses for employment opportunities, specifically for the parolees/probationers.
- Skills development, short courses, business skills, entrepreneurial skills, and trades such as plumbing, carpentry, and brick-laying should form part of the rehabilitation programmes requested by the participants.
- The Department of Correctional Services, through the Social Reintegration office, should offer correctional programmes that are relevant to the parolees' and probationers' needs to prevent idleness.
- Family members should be encouraged to become more involved in the rehabilitation and reintegration process. In order to understand what interventions the offender has gone through, the families concerned should be guided through counselling and family group sessions to prepare for the offender's release, and not only sign an agreement that the individual can stay at their particular address.
- After-care should receive much more attention to sustain the rehabilitation of the ex-offender after his release from prison.

- The Department of Correctional Services should budget for the infrastructure of satellite offices within communities and move away from ‘informal’ satellite offices.

5.6 Limitations

The nature of the research limits the study to the challenges that offenders face and which contribute to recidivism after their release from prison. The methodology used to arrive at a deeper understanding of the challenges was qualitative in nature and can therefore not be used to constitute a general perspective. The aim of study was not to ascertain the recidivism rate of offenders, as this is a complex issue in itself and would involve finding a mechanism to monitor the recidivism rate of offenders in order to research this important phenomenon comprehensively.



5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, the purpose of the study was to explore the challenges that offenders face and which contribute to recidivism after their release from prison. The study found that most offenders and parolees/probationers are unemployed, impoverished, uneducated and, by reason of their social, economic and demographic circumstances, often find themselves driven to a life of crime. The offenders and parolees/probationers lacked positive role models and social support. This makes it abundantly clear that recidivism is multifaceted in its causation. Consequently, the effective reintegration of offenders after their release from prison is dependent on a joint partnership of all the stakeholders, including the family, businesses, communities, cluster departments, NGOs, FBOs, CBOs and the other partners in the criminal justice system. It is apparent that the implementation and monitoring of the Integrated Support System as outlined in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa would be crucial in breaking the vicious cycle of crime and recidivism.

5.8 Suggestions for future research

The socio-economic consequences of crime are one of the most serious dangers facing South African society today. Crime has a devastating effect on the general quality of life of every member of society, and adverse socio-economic circumstances and economic austerity in particular result in a spiral of habitual criminal activities committed by vulnerable members of society. In consequence, costly interventions in the form of rehabilitation programmes funded by the South African taxpayer are needed to correct the offenders' behaviour and protect society. Ironically, the ongoing rehabilitation of the offenders after their release from prison is under threat because the various communities are reluctant to reintegrate the offenders into their ranks. Instead, they resort to stereotyping and stigmatising the former offenders and parolees, which has far-reaching consequences in that the latter act out the labels attached to them, re-commit crime and risk becoming repeat offenders. Breaking this vicious cycle is a societal responsibility, and the effective rehabilitation and reintegration of former offenders/parolees can only occur if every member of society is willing to help them to become law-abiding citizens leading constructive lives.



The research focused on the challenges that offenders face upon their release from prison, but further research is needed to fully comprehend the vicious cycle of recidivism and to find a mechanism for monitoring the recidivism rate of offenders in South Africa. Secondly, comprehensive research is needed to explain the dichotomy between theory and practice with regard to recidivism and unravel the complexity of this social phenomenon. The reason is that current recidivism statistics appear to be at odds with the overcrowding within the correctional centres in South Africa. Thirdly, the feasibility of sustaining the existing rehabilitation efforts so as to reintegrate the offenders into society after their release from prison is another area that needs to be researched extensively in order to discover why rehabilitation and reintegration are so difficult to sustain in society. Finally, the ramifications of recidivism for the already overpopulated South African Correctional Centres warrant urgent and extensive research.

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Interview Guide

Appendix A

Semi-Structured demographic questionnaire (offenders)

1. Participant number

2. Gender

<input type="checkbox"/>	Male
<input type="checkbox"/>	Female

3. How old are you?

4. Before coming to prison who were you staying with?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single Parent
<input type="checkbox"/>	Both Parents
<input type="checkbox"/>	Family member e.g. wife; uncle, aunt, granny etc.
<input type="checkbox"/>	On the street
<input type="checkbox"/>	Institution or orphanage
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other: Specify

5. Have you ever been to prison before?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

6. If yes, How many times?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Once
<input type="checkbox"/>	Twice
<input type="checkbox"/>	Three times
<input type="checkbox"/>	More than three times
<input type="checkbox"/>	Awaiting trial

7. What were the reasons for your imprisonment each time and what was the length of your sentence each time?

	Sentences	Reason for Imprisonment e.g. theft, murder	Length of sentence	Indicate which sentenced is current
6a	First time			
6b	Second time			
6c	Third time			
6d	Fourth time or more			
6e	Awaiting Trial			

8. How old were you when you first came to prison?

	12-15
	16-18
	19-25
	26-35
	36-49
	50 & older

9. Which area were you living in when you committed your first crime?

.....
UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

10. Were you under the influence of a substance, **when you committed a crime?**

	Yes
	No

11. If yes, please indicate what substance?

	Alcohol
	Dagga
	Mandrax
	TIK
	If Other Specify

12. What type of weapon (s) were used when you committed the crime

No Weapon		Firearm		Knife		Explosive		Other Specify
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13. What is the highest level of education you completed?

	No schooling
	Grades 1 - 4
	Grades 5 - 8
	Grade 9
	Grade 10
	Grade 11
	Grade 12
	Tertiary Education

14. If you dropped out from school, what was your reason for leaving school?

15a Have you ever been employed?

	Yes, full time
	Yes, part time
	un-employed

15b If yes, what type of work did you do? (skilled /unskilled)

15 c When you committed the crime were you employed?.....

15 d If you were un-employed, how did you survive financially?.....

15 e Who was been the bread winner in your household? e.g. mother , father or you etc.

--

15 f What did the others in the household do?

15 g What was the total income in your household per month?

	0 - 500
	501 - 1000
	1001- 2000
	2001- 4000
	4001 and more

16 Did you belong to any community structure / bond?

	Yes
	No

17 If yes, indicate what structure / bond?

	Church/Faith
	Sports Body
	Drama
	Choir
	Any other Specify

Appendix B

Interview Protocol (offenders)

1. Interpersonal relationships

- Describe your home environment while you were growing up?
- Describe your relationship with your parents and siblings? (mom, dad, brothers and sisters)
- As a child, what was your position in the family e.g. eldest, youngest
- How would you define friendship?
- Do you have any close friends and why do you regard them as a close friend?
- If you were part of a gang outside, did you see them as friends? Explain
- Who is your role-model and why this particular individual?

2. Community environment

- Describe the community you grew-up in?
- Did you ever feel unsafe in your community?
- If yes, what caused you to feel unsafe?
- How available are substances like drugs and alcohol in your community?
- How would you describe the quality of your schooling?
- Is gangsterism a problem in your community? If, yes explain?
- What can the community do to assist offenders coming out of prison?
- Often it's difficult for the community to accept offenders back, why do you think it is like this?

3. Gangs

- Do you belong to a gang and if so, why did you join the gang?
- Were you part of a gang when you committed the offenses? Yes /No
- If yes, which gang did you belong to? e.g. prison number gang, American, Hard Living etc.
- What was your role / position in the gang? e.g. leader, follower, soldier etc.
- Did being part of a gang influence your returning to prison? Explain your answer.
- How do you think reintegration affects an offender who belongs to a gang?

4. Recidivism

- What influenced your behavior that led to your first imprisonment / supervision?
- What are the reasons for you returning to prison / crime?
- Do you think you made the right choices in the past? Explain your answer.
- According to you, what are the challenges that cause offenders to commit crime?
- Would you come back to prison/ or commit crime, if you had a choice? Explain your answer.
- What to you think the Department of Correctional Services can do to assist inmates when they are released not to re-offend?

5. Rehabilitation programmes

- Did you have an opportunity to attend any programmes, during your sentence?
- If no, why do you think you were not afforded the opportunity to attend?
- Did you take part in any rehabilitation programmes, while in prison or at Community Corrections?
- Did you learn from the programmes, you attended?
- How do you think these programmes would help you not to return to prison or do crime again?
- In your previous sentences, did you attend any rehabilitation programmes?
- If yes, why did the rehabilitation programmes not assist you to remain outside?
- Do you think the programmes address the needs of the inmates? Explain your answer.
- What aspects would you like to be included in rehabilitation programmes offered by the Department of Correctional Services?
- What to you think Department of Correctional Services can do to sustain rehabilitation programmes on the outside?

Interview Guide

Appendix C

Interview protocol social reintegration (Head social reintegration)

The integrated support system

1. How long are you working in DCS?
2. Since when are you in your current position?
3. What is your case load at Malmesbury social reintegration office?
4. What is your staff head count at the office?
5. Do parolees attend rehabilitation programmes in their own residential area, as outlined in the integrated support system? Please explain
6. Are parolees/correctional supervision individuals consulted by psychologist, social workers and religious workers in their own residential areas/within their own environment? Please explain answer
7. Parolees/correctional supervision cases render community services, are these services within their own environment, to eliminate the need to pay for transport? Unless court directs otherwise.
8. What are the community services rendered by parolees/correctional supervision individuals?
9. If the need arise for further assistance or support during the reintegration process, are cases referred to other agencies? If yes, kindly name some of these agencies utilized.

10. What are the programmes presented by the social re-integration office?
11. Are local programmes designed with local role-players to assist with the rehabilitation process?
12. How do you motivate individuals to continue to develop themselves?
13. Reintegration is a social responsibility. Are assistance given to offenders in partnership with other role-players with regards to secure employment or accommodation before they are released?
14. If yes, how many employment placements and accommodation opportunities (for offenders with no positive address confirmation) were done for the month/year?
15. Are visits being conducted with family/friend and love ones. Here I don't refer to the monitoring official only, but by parole officials, social workers. Please explain how visits are conducted.
16. Does your office involve CBO's; NPO's, NGO's and FBO's in the reintegration process of offenders into the community. Please explain their involvement.
17. Do community correctional officials refer offenders to various support services within their residential areas for purpose of rehabilitation? Name some support services that your office use to make referrals.
18. Upon release do you engage with families/friends, potential employers or other role-players to obtain employment for the offender? If yes, how?

19. Are there any satellites or sub-offices for probationers, parolees and awaiting trial persons established within their communities, through consultation with other role-players?
20. If yes, do you think it helps you to deliver a better service to the offenders? Please explain.
21. What do you think are possible challenges that offenders face after release, which may lead to their re-incarceration?
22. What can the community do to assist offenders being released from prison?
23. Often it's difficult for the community to accept offenders back, why do you think this is the case?
24. Do you have sufficient staff to render programmes to offenders at your social reintegration office? Please explain.
25. What are the existing barriers that prohibit the successful reintegration of inmates into the community?
26. What proactive measures can the Department of Correctional Services introduce, through their social reintegration office, in order to address the needs of the offenders and parolees, before recidivism occurs?
27. Do you have a monitoring and evaluation tool to measure the Community Participation Policy?

28. Do you have any re-offending statistics?

29. Do you have a system at the social reintegration office to monitor re-offending?

30. Do you think an integrated system with other stakeholders in the security cluster will be useful?

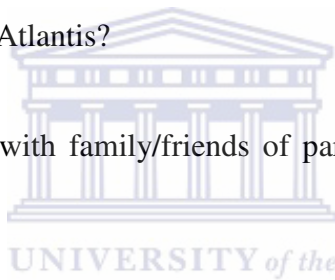


Interview Guide

Appendix D

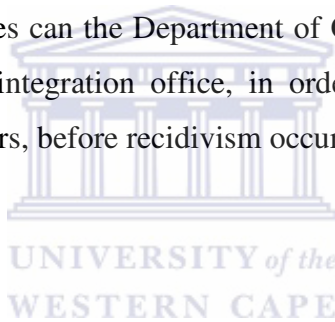
Interview protocol (social worker)

1. How long have you been working in the Department of Correctional Services?
2. What does your role entail as a social worker?
3. You working in the Atlantis community, correct?
4. How would you describe the community of Atlantis?
5. How often do you visit Atlantis?
6. Do you conduct visits with family/friends of parolees and probationers at their respective homes?
7. Correction is a societal responsibility. What can the community do to assist offenders being released from prison?
8. Often it is difficult for the community to accept offenders back, why do you think this is the case?
9. What do you think are some of the challenges offenders face upon release that causes them to re-commit crime?
10. What can the Department of Correctional Services do to assist offenders upon release not to re-offend?
11. How do you motivate individuals to continue to develop themselves?



12. Does every parolee/probationer get an opportunity to attend social work programmes?
13. Are there any other programmes presented at the social reintegration office beside the social work programme? Example, by case officers or case intervention official.
14. Do you think the programmes address the real life issues the parolees/probationers encounter within the community?
15. Are programmes being presented within the community environment? Example, in Atlantis.
16. What other aspects that can prevent recidivism can the Department of Correctional Services include in their rehabilitation programmes?
17. What can the Department of Correctional Services do to sustain the rehabilitation programmes on the outside?
18. How many social workers are you currently at Malmesbury social reintegration office?
19. According to the head count, how many should you be?
20. What is your service level standard against your caseload?
21. What are your admissions per day?
22. How many cases do you have of offenders that have gone through social work programmes and re-offended?

23. Do you have any backlogs of parolees or probationers that needs to attend social work programmes
24. If, yes why do you have a backlog?
25. Are you making use of any Service Providers, if yes who.....
26. What services are the Service Provider rendering to DCS?
27. What are the existing barriers that prohibit the successful reintegration of offenders into the community?
28. What proactive measures can the Department of Correctional Services introduce, through their social reintegration office, in order to address the needs of the parolees and probationers, before recidivism occurs?



Interview Guide

Appendix E

Semi-structured demographic questionnaire (parolee/probationer)

1. Participant number

2. Gender

<input type="checkbox"/>	Male
<input type="checkbox"/>	Female

3. How old are you?



4. Who are you currently staying with?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single parent
<input type="checkbox"/>	Both parents
<input type="checkbox"/>	Family member e.g. wife; uncle, aunt, granny etc.
<input type="checkbox"/>	On the street
<input type="checkbox"/>	Institution or orphanage
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other: specify

5. Have you ever been imprisoned more than once?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

6. If yes, how many times?

	Once
	Twice
	Three times
	More than three times
	Awaiting trial

7. What were the reasons for your imprisonment each time and what was the length of your sentence each time?

	Sentences	Reason for imprisonment e.g. theft, murder	Length of sentence	Indicate which sentenced is current
6a	First time			
6b	Second time			
6c	Third time			
6d	Fourth time or more			
6e	Awaiting trial			

8. How old were you when you first went to prison?

	12-15
	16-18
	19-25
	26-35
	36-49
	50 & older

9. What area were you living in when you committed your first crime?

.....

10. Were you under the influence of a substance, when you committed a crime?

	Yes
	No

11. If yes, please indicate which substance?

	Alcohol
	Dagga
	Mandrax
	TIK
	If other specify

12. What type of weapon (s) were used when you committed the crime

No Weapon		Firearm		Knife		Explosive		Other: specify
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13. What is the highest level of education you completed?

	No Schooling
	Grades 1 - 4
	Grades 5 - 8
	Grade 9
	Grade 10
	Grade 11
	Grade 12
	Tertiary Education

14. If you dropped out from school, what was your reason for the drop out?

15a Are you currently employed?

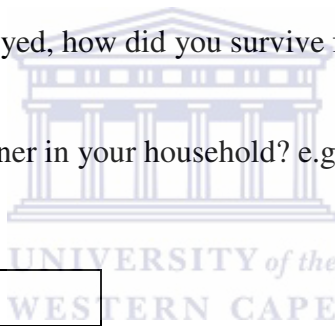
	Yes, full time
	Yes, part time
	un-employed

15b If yes, what type of work are you doing? (skilled /unskilled)

15 c When you committed the crime were you employed?

15 d if you were un-employed, how did you survive financially?

15 e Who is the bread winner in your household? e.g. mother , father or you etc.



--

15 f What are the others in the household doing?

15 g What is the total income in your household per month?

	0 - 500
	501 - 1000
	1001- 2000
	2001- 4000
	4001 and more

16 Do you belong to any community structure/bond?

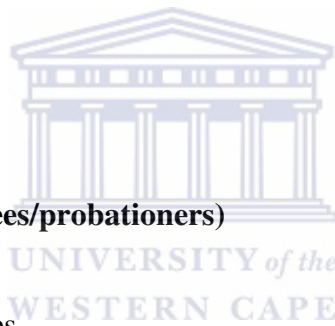
	Yes
	No

17 If yes, indicate what structure/bond?

	Church/Faith
	Sports body
	Drama
	Choir
	Any other specify

Appendix F

Interview protocol (parolees/probationers)



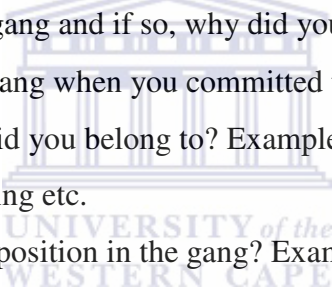
1. Interpersonal relationships

- Describe your home environment while you were growing up?
- How many people are staying in your household now?
- Describe your relationship with your parents and siblings? (mom, dad, brothers and sisters)
- As a child, what was your position in the family i.e. eldest, youngest
- How would you define friendship?
- Do you have any close friends and why do you regard them as a close friend?
- If you were part of a gang outside, did you see them as friends? Explain
- Who is your role-model and why this particular individual?

2. Community environment

- Describe the community you grew-up in?
- Did you ever feel unsafe in your community/
- If yes, what caused you to feel unsafe?
- How available is substances like drugs and alcohol in your community?
- How would you describe the quality of your schooling?
- Is gangsterism a problem in your community? If, yes explain?
- What can the community do to assist offenders coming out of prison?
- Often it's difficult for the community to accept offenders back, why do you think this is the case?

3. Gangs

- 
- Do you belong to a gang and if so, why did you join the gang?
 - Were you part of a gang when you committed the offenses? Yes/No
 - If yes, which gang did you belong to? Example prison number gang, American, Hard Living etc.
 - What was your role/position in the gang? Example leader, follower, soldier etc.
 - Did being part of a gang influence your returning to prison? Explain your answer.
 - How do you think reintegration affects an offender who belongs to a gang?

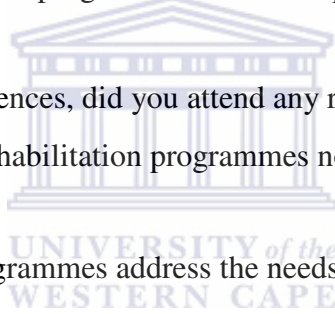
4. Recidivism

- What influenced your behavior that led to your first imprisonment / supervision?
- What were the reasons for you returning to prison / crime?
- Do you think you made the right choices in the past? Explain your answer.
- According to you, what are the challenges that cause offenders re-commit crime?
- What are some of the challenges that you face as a parolee/probationer?

- Would you go back to prison/or re-commit crime, if you had a choice? Explain your answer.
- What do you think the Department of Correctional Services can do to assist inmates when they are released not to re-offend?

5. Rehabilitation Programmes

- Did you have an opportunity to attend any programmes, during your sentence?
- If no, why do you think you were not afforded the opportunity to attend?
- Did you take part in any rehabilitation programmes, while in prison or at Community Corrections?
- Did you learn from the programmes, you attended?
- How do you think these programmes would help you not to return to prison or to re-commit crime?
- In your previous sentences, did you attend any rehabilitation programmes?
- If yes, why did the rehabilitation programmes not assist you to remain outside?
- Do you think the programmes address the needs of the inmates? Explain your answer.
- What aspects would you like to be included in rehabilitation programmes offered by Department of Correctional Services?
- What do you think the Department of Correctional Services can do to sustain rehabilitation programmes on the outside?



Interview Guide

Appendix G

Interview protocol (probationers' family member)

1. Demographic

- Participant number

- How many people are staying within the household? Adults and children.
- How many rooms do you have within the house structure?
- Who is the bread winner in the household?
- What is the family's main source of income?
- Is there anyone in the household getting a state grant?

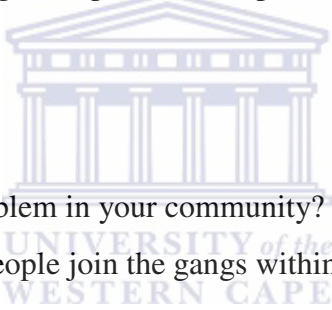
2. Interpersonal relationships

- Describe your relationship with parolee/probationer.
- According to you what type of friends does the parolee/probationer have?
Please explain.
- How would you describe the character of the parolee/probationer?
- How did the individual's sentence affect the family?
- What is the relationship amongst the family members, like?
- What is done by the family to spend quality time together?

3. Community environment

- Describe the community you living in?
- Did you ever feel unsafe in your community?
- If yes, what caused you to feel unsafe?
- How available are substances like drugs and alcohol in your community?
- What can the community do to assist offenders being released from prison?
- Often it is difficult for the community to accept offenders back, why do you think this is the case?
- As a family do you belong to any community structure within the community? Example church, mosque, choir, sport body.
- What are some of the challenges within the community that makes it difficult for offenders coming from prison to adapt?

4. Gangs

- 
- Is gangsterism a problem in your community? If, yes explain?
 - Why do you think people join the gangs within the community?
 - Did being part of a gang influence the parolee / probationer previously returning to prison/or to re-commit crime? Explain your answer.
 - Do you think it's difficult for an offender who belongs to a gang, to reintegrate?

5. Recidivism (Returning to prison)

- What do you think influenced his/her behavior that led to his / her imprisonment/sentence?
- What were the reasons for him/her returning to prison or re-committing crime?
- Does the community accept the offender back upon release? Please explain
- According to you, what are the challenges that cause offenders to re-commit crime?
- What can the individual (former offender) do to not return to prison or re-commit crime?

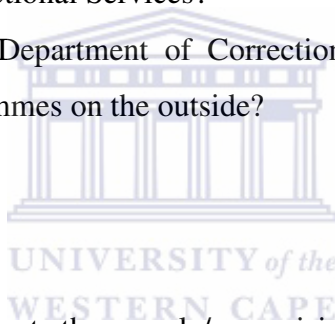
- What do you think the Department of Correctional Services can do to assist inmates when they released not to re-offend?

6. Rehabilitation programmes

- Are you aware of any programmes that the individual has gone through whilst being in prison?
- If yes, do you think he/she learned from the programmes, he /she attended? Please explain your answer.
- Do you think these programmes assist the individual not to return to prison again?
- What aspects should be included in rehabilitation programmes offered by the Department of Correctional Services?
- What to you think Department of Correctional Services can do to sustain rehabilitation programmes on the outside?

7. Social reintegration

- Are you aware about the parole/supervision conditions of the parolee/probationer?
- Have you as the family been consulted by psychologist, social workers or religious worker at home?
- Do you know where the social reintegration's offices are situated?
- Do you have a contact number of a correctional official at the social reintegration office if an emergency occurs?
- Were you as the family prepared by DCS officials for the release of the offender? Explain how?
- What proactive measures can the Department of Correctional Services introduce, through their social reintegration office, in order to address the needs of the offenders and parolees, before they re-commit crime?

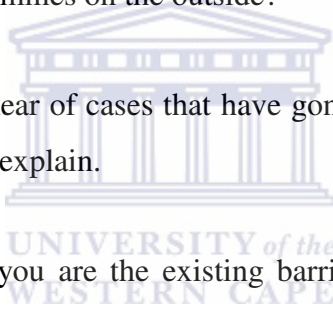


Appendix H

Interview protocol (NICRO)

1. How long have you been working for NICRO?
2. What does your role entail as a social worker at NICRO?
3. Where is the office of NICRO that you report to situated?
4. How would you describe the community of Atlantis?
5. What services are you rendering to DCS as a Service Provider?
6. How often do you render programmes to offenders/parolees or probationers?
7. Does NICRO conduct visits with family/ friends of parolees and probationers at their respective homes?
8. Correction is a societal responsibility. What can the community do to assist offenders being released from prison?
9. Often it is difficult for the community to accept offenders back, why do you think this is the case?
10. What do you think are some of the challenges offenders face upon release that causes them to re-commit crime?
11. What can the Department of Correctional Services do to assist offenders upon release not to re-offend?
12. Does every parolee/probationer get an opportunity to attend your programme?

13. Who selects the programme participants?
14. Do you think the programme you facilitate address the real life issues the parolees/probationers encounter within the community?
15. Are programmes being presented within the community environment?
Example in Atlantis.
16. What other aspects that can prevent recidivism can the Department of Correctional Services include in their rehabilitation programmes?
17. What can the Department of Correctional Services do to sustain the rehabilitation programmes on the outside?
18. How often do you hear of cases that have gone through your programme that re-offended? Please explain.
19. What according to you are the existing barriers that prohibit the successful reintegration of inmates into the community?
20. What proactive measures can the Department of Correctional Services introduce, through their social reintegration office, in order to address the needs of the parolees and probationers, before recidivism occurs?





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Annexure I

Dear Participant

Questionnaire: The challenges that offenders face upon release that leads to recidivism (re-offending)

My name is Jerome Samuels. I am attached to the Department of Correctional Services in Goodwood in the capacity of Chaplain. I am conducting research through the Institute for Social Development (ISD) at University of the Western Cape (UWC). This research forms part of a Masters Degree in Development Studies.

My research will focus on the challenges that offenders face upon release that leads to recidivism (returning to prison). Throughout the research process, all interviews that are conducted will remain strictly confidential. No person will be asked to provide their name or any contact details. Respondents will therefore remain anonymous. I assure you that under no circumstances will your confidentiality be broken in any way. All participation is voluntary and no inmate will be coerced into participating.

I strongly appeal to you to participate in this research. It is a very important topic and will assist in understanding why certain offenders keep returning to prison. This information will be used to devise rehabilitation programmes that meet the needs of inmates.

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this research.

Jerome Samuels

Researcher: University of the Western Cape