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The question to explore is whether social support, in its instrumental (manifested/ tangible form) or expressive forms (shared emotional/psychological), has the applied result of decreasing prisoner adjustment and delinquency problems. Social support has a positive effect on criminal behaviour, as indicated by correctional literature (Carney, 1977; Sampson, 2013). The question that many researchers aim to answer is whether it has the same effect within the correctional environment. Whilst being imprisoned, offenders experience disruptions in their education, relationships, work, community networks, and the breakdown of relationships amongst offenders and their friends and family (Petersilia, 2003). This results in the weakening of significant relationships and ultimately in their involvement in misdemeanours in prison, which could lead to recidivism. The way communities act in relation to criminal and delinquent behaviour is an indication of the social support structures that are prevalent in that community, according to Braithwaite (1989).

According to Braithwaite's (1989) approach, social systems where communities reside, and are a part of, teach their inhabitants and foster the inclination that members of communities have a moral and social obligation to go beyond self-serving motives (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997). They continue that institutional anomie theory gives another view into that, which affects social support and the way it is connected to criminality. With this theory, there is a direct referral to socio-economic issues and how it relates to the family and its influence on social control. This conjures up some levels of stress within families and thus the pressure to commit crime. According to Chamlin and Cochran (1997), neighbourhoods that are effective in accentuating noble and non-economically motivated goals, will be more relevant in their capability to limit and prevent crime. According to Sampson *et al.* (1997), with the notion of "collective efficacy", there is always a degree of social cohesion that occurs within a community or neighbourhood. This can be seen when a community gathers to deal with challenges. Connected to collective efficacy is the concept of social capital (Putnam, 1995; Coleman, 1990). Communities that are endowed with evidence of social networks and individuals that trust each other are said to have high levels of social capital. Community members can thus draw from this resource of social capital, when necessary.

### 3.1.2 Social efficacy: The theory

The concept of collective efficacy accentuates a resident's active commitment that is not well apprehended by the term social capital. Bandura (1997) asserts that the meaning of efficacy is understood within the ambit of control, raising the “agentic” part of social life over the view emphasising the amassing of cumulative resources. This idea of collective efficacy is in line with redefining what constitutes social capital by Portes (1993), which stipulates it as “an action within a collectivity”. Sampson (1997) refers to social capital for children as the resource possibility of organisational and personal networks, whilst collective efficacy is a task-specific idea that speaks to the collective prospects and shared commitment by adults in the active support and social control of children. Although these two ideas share plentiful similarities, the difference distinguishes the method of converting or activating social connections to attain preferred outcomes from the bonds themselves (Bandura, 1997).

From this viewpoint, networks or resource assets alone (friendship ties, intentional relations, organisational concentration) are unbiased and may or may not be successful tools to attain a projected result. Granoveter (1973) believes that robust personal connections can often limit successful action. The general idea is that neighbourhoods have regressed as imperative social units and this is based on the premise that neighbourhoods are exclusively primary social cohesive groups. Therefore, the author asserts that people in neighbourhoods, as the primary source of social togetherness, will only understand and experience face-to-face, intimate and affective relations there.

Most of the recent writings ignore the negative side of social capital – that is that the concept can be accessed for both its positive and negative values. Resources garnered through social networks can be used in several ways. Therefore, social capital (and by inferences, collective efficacy), has certain properties, depending on the end-goal in mind. It is clear that many believe that one should connect Coleman’s (1990) theory to a moral philosophy to justify the goal directedness when evaluating social capital and even collective efficacy. In acknowledging the properties of social capital, one should apply the filter and check if it indeed serves the collective social good (Coleman, 1990). This enables one to verify if it truly serves the collective wellbeing of children. Gang leaders give to communities so that their criminal deeds can be overlooked. Sampson *et al.* (1997) claim that the maintenance of ties between generations, the mutual interchange of service, advice and information between and amongst

families, and the shared preparedness to meditate on when children manifest a good, which in Coleman's (1990) view, delivers affirmative externalities, that actually benefit all the children.

Due to structural constraints, even though support in the form of safety is desired for children, it is still difficult to achieve. It will only be seen readily when we do not see collective efficacy and social capital as a divine all-purpose elixir, but an everyday occurrence connected to definite structural settings (Porte's, 1998). These structural frameworks are both external and internal to the neighbourhood (Sampson *et al.*, 1997). The latter researchers argue that human and physical capital (e.g., education, housing stock, and income) are often not evenly distributed through neighbourhoods and are often associated with political affiliations or factors such as gang territory.

According to Coleman (1993), the emergence of social capital is highly influenced by the continuous strength within the community structures. The disruption of entire social networks and severing existing social ties occur when residential movement occurs. Socio-economic disadvantage and racial segregation lead to ecological differentiation. Reasons for the topographical focus of working class and female-managed households have their roots in mainstream changes seen owing to the out-migration of young adults leaving poorer areas, as well as middle-class families leaving their areas (Cobbs, 1976). The disadvantages of certain neighbourhoods are fuelled by the economic stratification of race, education and political affiliation, increasing the social separation of single parent residents and of low-income families from access to resources that could assist them with collective social control. Sampson *et al.* (1997) contend that a lack of resources, in conjunction with race-based exclusion, functions like a force that limits collective efficacy.

Brooks-Gunn *et al.* (1993) claim that reduced expectation of neighbourhoods taking collective action can be seen when there are certain signs. These include, but not limited to fear, distrust, economic dependency, uncertainty and fear of strangers. There should be noted that the spatial concentration of residences by education, income, occupation and race, have increased over the last few years and this also adds to non-involvement of communities according to Brooks-Gunn *et al.* (1993). South Africa is still experiencing the effects of Apartheid's spatial planning Langa and Masuku (2015). The latter authors argue that it is the well-intended and positive influence of focused socio-economic resources, other than the existence of low-income neighbours, that improves the lives of adolescents.

Over the years there has been too much focus on adolescent poverty instead of exploring the issue of concentrated wealth according to Sampson (1997). He continues that we should be exploring the role that concentrated wealth plays in generating collective efficacy and social capital for children. The connectedness of neighbourhoods within the bigger picture of metropolitan areas has been overlooked in previous discussions regarding social capital Samson (1997) says. Research that considers neighbourhoods to be islands by themselves misses the theoretical point that social capital is a relational concept. According to Leoschut and Burton's (2009) political economy view, the material wellbeing of one neighbourhood is linked to the resources of the neighbouring communities.

Research shows that people leave neighbourhoods owing to violence, poverty and criminal occurrences, and also because of the structural make-up of the neighbourhoods themselves (Morenhoff and Sampson, 1997). This is indicative of how people make decisions when moving into a new neighbourhood, based on the equality of the area relative to the quality of the areas that surround it. Parents that have young children choose neighbourhoods with good schools and location, but also choose an area based on the neighbourhood's central features of connectedness and safety (Coleman, 1990). If the manifestation of the properties of social capital and the tangible mechanisms that produce collective efficacy are plentiful, according to Coleman (1990), then the benefits seen in one place may be seen in neighbouring communities. This is what is called "spatial externalities". For example, the benefits of inter-generational supervision and closeness of children accumulates for residents across areas.

Adults will invest in more efforts to monitor children when other adults are seen to be doing so. This is an issue that they consider when deciding to stay or move out of an area (Coleman, 1990). Neighbours whose children attend the same school will contribute to positive collective efficacy. By distinction, neighbourhoods with minimal hope and expectation for sparse inter-family exchange and social control yield negative spatial externalities for children and parents who live in adjacent areas. Therefore, Sampson (1997) hypothesizes that collective efficacy and social capital for children are partially insured by the make-up of nearby areas, which is really conditioned by areas adjacent to them in a geographically-linked practice, which eventually characterises the bigger metropolitan area.

If poor South African neighbourhoods are fixed and planted only in disadvantaged environments compared to equally rich and endowed White neighbourhoods, then the costs of racial separation may be far greater and more systemic than previously thought (Sampson,



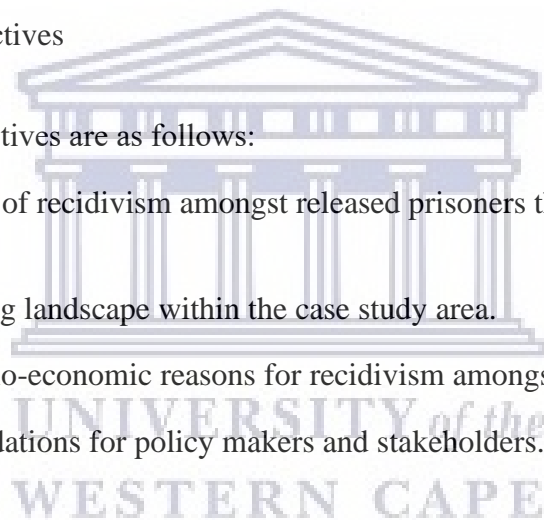
1997). In South Africa, it is noted by a number of sources like Lekalala (2016), that there has been a sharp increase in young adults returning to prison after being sentenced for previous offences and released on parole. This places an enormous burden on government and civil society. These young people return to communities with low levels of social support and social efficacy. It also raises the question whether the Department of Corrections is effective in their rehabilitation programmes. Although much has been published on the topic of recidivism at a macro level (Lekalakala, 2016), there is a dearth of information relating to factors that contribute to the return of released prisoners at a community level.

It is within the above context that the overall focus of this research explored socio-economic factors that entrench recidivism amongst released inhabitants that reside in Hanover Park on the Cape Flats.

### 3.2 Specific research objectives

The study's research objectives are as follows:

- (i) To establish the extent of recidivism amongst released prisoners that reside within the Western Cape.
- (ii) To sketch the prevailing landscape within the case study area.
- (iii) To determine the socio-economic reasons for recidivism amongst young adults
- (v) To provide recommendations for policy makers and stakeholders.



## CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A research design is a blueprint that guides a researcher to analyse collected data and to answer the research question in a way that aims to bring meaning to the research purpose (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Babbie & Mouton (2001) claim that a research design is a plan that details the procedure to analyse the collected data. The research design brings structure and order to the investigation process. This type of structure enables the researcher to gain in-depth knowledge about the research area. The design is in fact the framework for the action to be undertaken. This research study investigated parolees that reside in Hanover Park to gain insight into why some of them become repeat offenders.

### 4.1 Research Methodology

As means to answer the research questions, insights were applied from the positivist and interpretivist paradigms. Due to the nature of the research, numerical data substantiated by data gained through immersion within the community was studied and was found to be the most effective way to conduct the research. Thus, a mixed method approach was employed, using both qualitative and quantitative research approaches to collect the relevant data. The qualitative method was employed to better understand the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of parolees that reside in Hanover Park. The DCS's Parole Officer was interviewed to gain more insight into the daily challenges that parolees face whilst on parole. The quantitative method was also employed, using statistical methods to draw deductions and conclusions regarding the research topic.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches complemented each other and enabled the researcher to cover the undertones, nuances, as well as the statistical and numerical values of the collected data. The quantitative approach assisted the researcher to gather numerical and demographic data, whilst identifying certain biographical and socio-economic information about the parolees, which enabled the researcher to familiarise himself with the subjects and their living conditions within the community. Conversely, qualitative methods enabled the researcher to embed himself within the research community to better understand the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of the parolees that reside in Hanover Park. Quantitative methodology was used to explore exactly what, according to the parolees, causes them to

become repeat offenders. The mixed-method approach provided the researcher with a broader spectrum of the parolees' lived experiences, whilst providing a better picture on a macro level.



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**Figure 4.1: Parolee officer and parolee interview sheet**



### Interview schedule for DCS (parole officer) officials

1. What are your responsibilities as a parole officer and in which directorate do you work?
2. What are your key responsibilities regarding parolees?
3. How many parolees do you oversee and in which areas of Cape Town?
4. What crimes have the parolees committed, in general?
5. How many of the parolees have been incarcerated more than once?
6. How many of them find suitable permanent employment upon their release?
7. What are the parolees' socio-economic circumstances in their homes and the broader community?
8. What causes parolees to revert to criminal activity?

**Figure 4.1.2 Interview Focus group schedule**



### Interview schedule for parolees

1. Describe your upbringing.
2. Are you originally from Hanover Park?
3. What is your highest education level?
4. What extra-mural sport and cultural activities did you enjoy whilst attending school?
5. At what age did you commit your first crime?
6. What crime did you commit for your first prison sentence?
7. Describe the circumstances at Pollsmoor Prison during your incarceration there.
8. What rehabilitation programs did you participate in at Pollsmoor Prison?
9. Did the rehabilitation programs help you? Please explain.
10. How long was it before you returned to prison after serving your initial prison sentence?
11. How many times have you served a prison sentence?

#### 4.1.1 Quantitative methods

The gathering of numerical data, as part of the quantitative data collection method, was used to gather information from parolees. Data was collected about their age, gender, education levels, current employment, offences committed, sentence incurred and duration of sentence, number of incarcerations and the socio-economic circumstances of the parolee's nuclear family. This assisted the researcher to obtain an overall picture of the parolees that reside in Hanover Park. Hence, gathering this volume of data enabled the researcher to use numbers to create a better picture of the phenomenon, as Krishna and Shrader (2000) purport. The following section discusses the approach that the research study employed in this respect.

- Structured questionnaire and sampling method

Structured interviews were conducted with a total of 30 parolees in Hanover Park. The parole officer provided a list of parolees that reside in Hanover Park and respondents were selected through simple random sampling. Interviews took place at the homes of the parolees and the duration was about an hour long. These were arranged telephonically ahead of time. As indicated above, information relating to demographic and socio-economic data was collected, together with information relating to past crimes, incarcerations and repeated offences. This information provided better understanding of the types of crimes committed and factors that contributed to these crimes.

In addition, the researcher was able to understand the types of crimes committed, the factors that contributed to their initial incarceration, as well as what could have been done to prevent them from committing additional crimes after being released initially.

Figure 4.1.3 Parole interview schedule



### Interview schedule

#### Interview schedule for parent/ guardian/ family member

1. Describe your relationship to the parolee.
2. Please provide some insight into the parolee's upbringing and background?
3. What was the parolee's average monthly income over the last few years?
4. What was the first crime that the parolee committed?
5. How many times has the parolee been found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment?
6. What type of crimes were committed that led to imprisonment?
7. On being released from prison, what support is available for the parolee to be reintegrated into the community?
8. Does the community contribute to the integration and, if so, in which way?
9. In your view, what are the main causes of parolees committing additional crimes after serving their sentences?
10. In your opinion, what should be done to help with the rehabilitation of parolees?

- Sampling strategy

For sampling purposes, a total of thirty parolees were identified that reside in Hanover Park. The target sample size of 30 was the unit of analysis and these individuals were identified by the responsible parole officer through simple random sampling. From the entire list of 169 parolees, 30 were selected. The parents or guardians were interviewed based on their availability on the day. It was the researcher's aim to eliminate all forms of bias and to give all parolees that reside in Hanover Park an equal opportunity to be selected (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

#### 4.1.2 Qualitative methods

To enable the researcher to have a greater sense of understanding and analysis of the concept of recidivism, the qualitative methodology was employed (Krishna & Shrader, 2000). The use of qualitative data collection tools are particularly relevant for research of this nature, as the researcher needed to immerse himself within the community. This achieved a better understanding of the dynamics and lived experiences of the respondents within their home environment. To accomplish this, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews to gather data and to observe the parolees in their natural environment. The following section discusses the two methods.

- Semi-structured individual interviews

Semi-structured interviewing assisted the researcher on a one-on-one basis to gather more personal and in-depth information about the lives of the parolees, their living conditions, and how they experience their community in terms of feelings of acceptance, opportunities and challenges that impacted them. The 30 parolees were selected, using a systematic sampling method from the original sample list of parolees. The parole officer for Hanover Park was interviewed, using a semi-structured interview schedule (see Figure 6.1). From the interviews the researcher was able to better understand issues relating to their up-bringing, family life, educational history, as well as their experience within the prison system.

- Focus groups

Interviews were conducted with two focus groups within the case study area. Due to COVID-19 restrictions, each group comprised two to three respondents. Questions posed to the focus groups included information relating to how they function within their family setting, support



afforded, how they deal with employment and unemployment after release, personal experiences relating to their community at large, as well as their relationship with the parole officer. The researcher obtained permission from the respondents and the parole officer to record discussions on an electronic device.

This enabled the researcher to gain better insight into, and confirmation of, the topic under research. Here, 30 semi-structured interviews were employed to gather the information. From these interviews the researcher was also once again able to better understand issues of their upbringing, family life, educational history, their experience within the prison system, and the support afforded to them post their release.

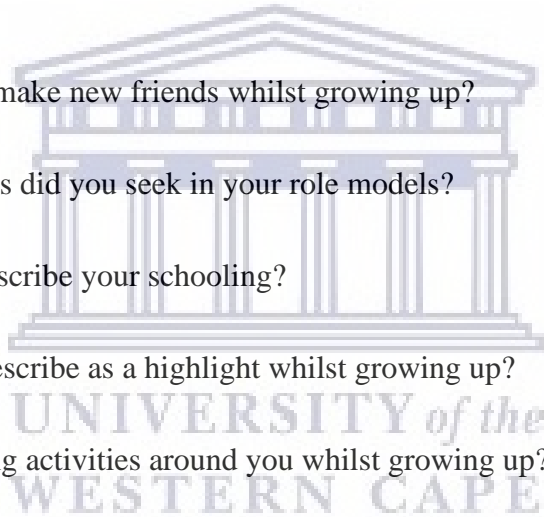


**Figure 4.1.4 - Interview focus group schedule**



Focus group questions

1. How easy did you make new friends whilst growing up?
2. What characteristics did you seek in your role models?
3. How would you describe your schooling?
4. What would you describe as a highlight whilst growing up?
5. Were there any gang activities around you whilst growing up?
6. What were your aspirations whilst growing up?



- Literature review and secondary analysis

The issue of recidivism has been explored and researched at length in the USA, South Africa, and in several other countries. This research study also drew on prior insights from other authors, individuals and NGOs that work in this field. Furthermore, the research study analysed documentation presented by the Department of Correctional Services relating to parolees and recidivism.

Participants in the group were recruited from the list that the Department of Correctional services provided. All of the participants lived in Hanover Park and ranged from 18 -65 years of age. The interviewees comprised gang members that were convicted for serious offences, as well as others who had been sentenced for crimes such as motor vehicle theft, armed robbery, burglary, shoplifting and fraud. The gender of the parolees included both males and females and some of the parolees were employed while serving their sentences outside the prison.

Due to the current violent environment of Hanover Park, caution prevailed not to conduct any of the interviews at night. Some of the participants belonged to opposing gangs and the researcher had to ensure that rival gang members were not brought to the same place for the interviews. All the interviews took place at the homes of the participants, including the focus groups with some of the family members. All the participants were told about the rationale for the research, whilst the researcher sought their consent to be interviewed, and reiterated that strict confidentiality protocols would be observed throughout the research process. None of their personal details were included in the report.

All the interviews were captured on a recording device, with the permission of the participants. Once the interviews were concluded, these were captured in a Word document via a quantitative and qualitative process. From this point, thematic diagrams were designed that subsequently functioned as the basis for data analysis.

## **Chapter 5: Data analysis**

### **5.1 Introduction and ethical considerations**

This research was only undertaken following approval from the relevant authorities, including the University of Western Cape Senate, the EMS Higher Degrees Board and the Institute for Social Development. Prior to commencing this research study, all permissions were sought from and granted by the Department of Correctional Services. Also, before the start of this research, voluntary permissions were sought from the participants. The intent of the study was communicated to all participants and they were informed of their right to extract and cancel their participation at any time during the research. Aliases were used at the final thesis submission stage.

Throughout the research project, the researcher remained committed to protecting the dignity of all participants. The gathered data was managed confidentially and used only for its intended purposes. It is worth noting that the bulk of the data was collected during a period when South Africa and the rest of the world was experiencing a severe pandemic. Data that was collected from participants was done with high regard for all the established legislative COVID-19 protocols

### **5.2 Data presentation, interpretation and analysis**

Gathered data was processed from both quantitative and qualitative tools. This study employed both qualitative and quantitative data analyses techniques. Microsoft Excel was used to analyse, code, label, tabulate and analyse the collected data. Graphs, tables and charts were used to present the data and make it more meaningful the reader of the research.

In terms of the qualitative data, information presented by the respondents was categorised into themes, which enabled the researcher to better reflect, understand and bring meaning to that data. The researcher also made use of descriptive statistics. Graphs, tables and charts were also employed to better describe the collected data. The content analysis technique was used to thematically record and transcribe the qualitative data that was collected. This data was presented using textual discussions, quotations, diagrams and verbal descriptions.

In this section the researcher ascertained reasons why the absence of social capital and support entrenches recidivism amongst male and female Hanover Park residents in the Western Cape, South Africa. The following section presents the data, as well as its interpretation and analysis. By analysing the data, the findings provided insight into the extent of recidivism amongst released prisoners that reside in Hanover Park. It also sketches the prevailing landscape within the case study area and helps to determine the specific socio-economic reasons for recidivism amongst young adults in Hanover Park. The findings pin-point factors that contribute to their return to criminality within the community, enabling the researcher to provide recommendations to policy makers and stakeholders.

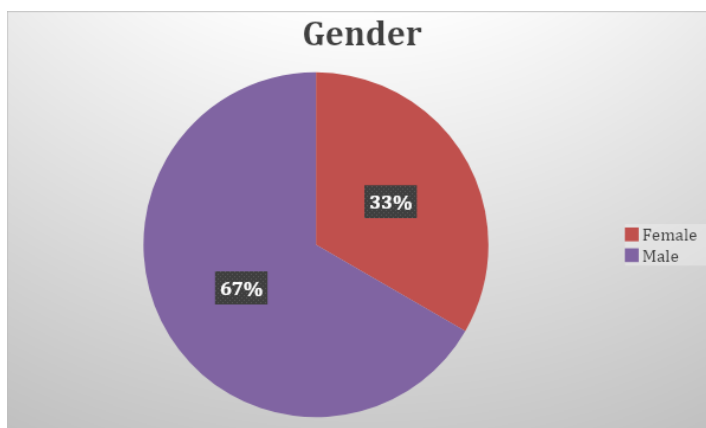
The findings were condensed through the use of graphical illustrations, statistical techniques, tables, pie-charts and direct quotations. This enabled the researcher to amplify the research findings. Research that was conducted previously also enabled the researcher to juxtapose against the current research findings.

### 5.3 Socio-economic factors and demographics

The following describes the collected data, exhibited through graphs, tables and summaries. Percentiles were used to describe the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, including their gender, educational status, employment status and household income.

#### 5.3.1. Gender

*Figure 5.1: Gender of sampled parolees*



The above figure graphically depicts data that can be characterised by the gender of the sampled population.

Figure 5.1 above indicates the spread of the collected sample relating to gender. It indicates that most of the participants consisted of males (67%). Of the 30 parolees, 20 were males and 10 were females. This indicates that more men commit crimes than females and consequently there are more men out on parole than women. This particular phenomenon of the gender breakdown of parolees is consistent with crime statistics that confirm that most crimes are committed by males in South Africa (StatsSA, 2019).

Studies show that men are more involved in criminal activities than women (StatsSA, 2019). Men are typically more prone to gang activity and are involved in delinquent behaviour from an early age. The historically dominant and generally accepted view is that males are much more likely than females to commit delinquent acts, and that when females deviate, their misconduct is much lower than their male counterparts. There are many reasons why there are gender differences amongst the rates of criminal activity and why females become delinquent at an early age.

Researchers like Petersilia (2003) claimed that at some point gender difference in crime rates were because female criminality was a biological anomaly and that females were generally less aggressive. It was also believed by some experts that males are more aggressive owing to the hormonal differences that exist even though some females may act more aggressively than males. Other researchers like Chamlin and Cochran (1997) opine that females are less aggressive owing to social conditioning. It was noted that there exists a correlation between a destructive home life and rebelling against parents that are abusive. There are feminist views that purport the change and subsequent increase in female criminality, which reflect changes in socialisation and life circumstances. This same view also holds that female delinquency is directly related to male abuse and male domination (Chamlin and Cochran, 1997).

In South Africa, women comprise 51% of the population and the growth rate is 1,45% for females and 1,71% for males. Adult females over the age of 20 make up 66% of the female population, whilst 38,3% are under the age of 19. Female headed households constitute 37, 5 % of the population. Females that receive money via salaries and wages account for about 44%, whilst those that obtain an income via grants and pensions, are 36,4 %, according to a NICRO report (Jules-Macquet, 2016). The report also found that female-headed households are more likely to be poor and experience dire levels of hunger than male-headed households. The report

also found that 80,9% of women are literate compared to 83% of men (Department of Correctional Services, 2011).

Since 1995/1996 there has been a massive increase of 33% of women that have been incarcerated (Potgieter & Ngcobo, 2009). A total of 44,8% of these women that are incarcerated are there for economic reasons, 35,7% for aggressive crimes, 11,74 for drug-related offences, and 6,84% for crimes that are not specified, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations' South Africa Survey (2013). The reintegration needs of female offenders are different to their male counterparts (Jules-Macquet, 2016). The largest age group of female offenders that partook in the NICRO research were in the 19-25-year-old category.

**Table 5.1: NICRO report - Female offenders by age**

| Row Labels | Under 18 | 19-25  | 26-29  | 30-39  | 40-49 | 50-59 | Over 60 | No Data | Grand Total |
|------------|----------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|---------|---------|-------------|
| #          | 857      | 1504   | 649    | 1027   | 462   | 215   | 95      | 1       | 4 810       |
| %          | 17.82%   | 31.27% | 13.49% | 21.35% | 9.60% | 4.47% | 1.98%   | 0.02%   | 100.00%     |

According to the NICRO report (Jules-Macquet, 2016) shown above, 85,47 % of female offenders are first time offenders compared to 82,17% amongst the male respondents. Recidivating female respondents account for 4,93% of the data set, whilst the male data set is more than double at 11,35%.

About half of the female offenders in the NICRO study were recipients of diversion orders compared to the 41,12 % of males in the study. The total of females that return to prison accounted for 9,70%, whilst their male counterparts totalled 29,29%. Based on the data, it appears that the judiciary system is more lenient towards female offenders.

According to Jules-Marcquet (2016), theft and attempted theft is the most common type of offence committed, followed by shoplifting, assault, common assault, possession of drugs, and malicious damage to property and, finally, trespassing, according to the research.

According to NICRO, about 70% of all child abuse instances are committed by females. In all probability, this is because women have more regular contact with children. Female offenders were responsible for 22,7% serious assault cases, with 18,44% cases relating to domestic



violence, 9,41% of the statistics relating to murder or attempted murder, and nearly 33% contributing to public violence violations.

NICRO (Jules-Macquet, 2016) acknowledges that although the majority of offences are committed by males, huge percentages of females committed violent acts of aggression. The data points to the fact that not all the female aggressors are homogenous. There were three different types of female partners that exhibited violent behaviour identified through the study: firstly, those that committed the offence in self-defence; secondly, mutual aggression (both parties equally responsible) and, thirdly, primary aggression. Most of the violent offences committed by females happen within the context of an intimate relationship. The prevalent conditions within which these types of crimes are committed are, but not limited to, unemployment, younger age, low socio-economic status, poverty and a lack of social support. According to Jules-Macquet (2016), the treatment and care of female offenders must be supported by the investment of resources for the development of culturally relevant risk assessment tools, as well as social reintegration programmes. These should occur early at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of crime prevention. A key issue is the mother-child relationship, which, when not addressed appropriately, will have inter-generational consequences. The effects of female incarcerations have a massive effect on children in the area of their education, behavioural challenges and being at risk. Within the South African context, these conditions are even more salient, given the historical social marginalisation of people of colour (Jules-Macquet, 2016).

### **5.3.2 Age distribution**

Legislation for the Child Justice Act (2008) aimed to change the minimum age of someone that can be held responsible for their crime. This legislation would be different from the normal Criminal Procedures Act and aimed to only deal with children that have committed crimes. It was enacted on April 1, 2010 (Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons, 2012). This act changed the age at which a person can be held responsible for criminality, namely from the age of seven to ten (Child Justice Act, id. at 7[1]). The ambit of the act precludes that children between 10 and 14 do not have the capacity to commit crimes, unless otherwise proven in court. The state is required to prove that the child in question could distinguish the difference between right and wrong at the time of committing the alleged criminal offence. The act requires that an assessment should be conducted by a probation officer to ascertain whether the child needs protection and care to gather information needed to formulate their release conditions or

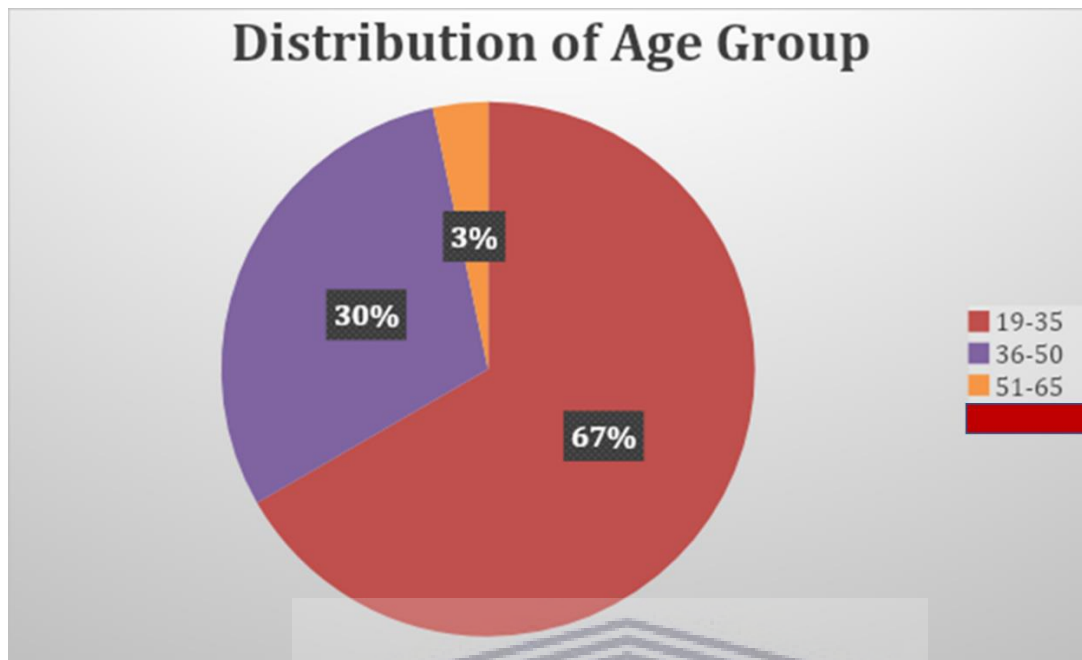


placement. The assessment must also verify if the child has been used by an adult to commit the criminal offence.

Many of the respondents did not have the luxury of being protected by this particular act when they themselves were found guilty of engaging in criminal activities at a young age. Hence, many of them were incarcerated at juvenile corrections centres and at the juvenile section at Pollsmoor Prison. As a result of this initial incarceration, many were exposed to and joined prison gangs.



*Figure 5.2: Distribution of age group of parolee sample*



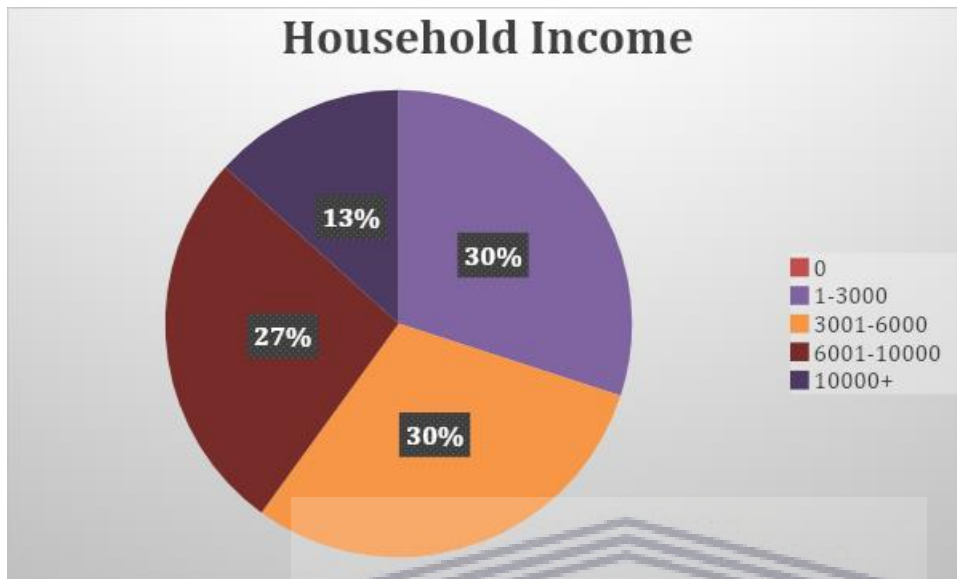
*The above figure depicts the age distribution of the participants*

The data collected indicates that most of the respondents fall in the age category 19-35 years of age. This is normally where young people are in the prime of their lives. At this juncture, their work-life should have started, they should have started families, built careers and should have started with families. Young people must take their rightful place in South Africa and society must guide and protect these young people, according to Muntingh (2009).

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### 5.3. Average household income

*Figure 5.3: Average household income for parolee sample*

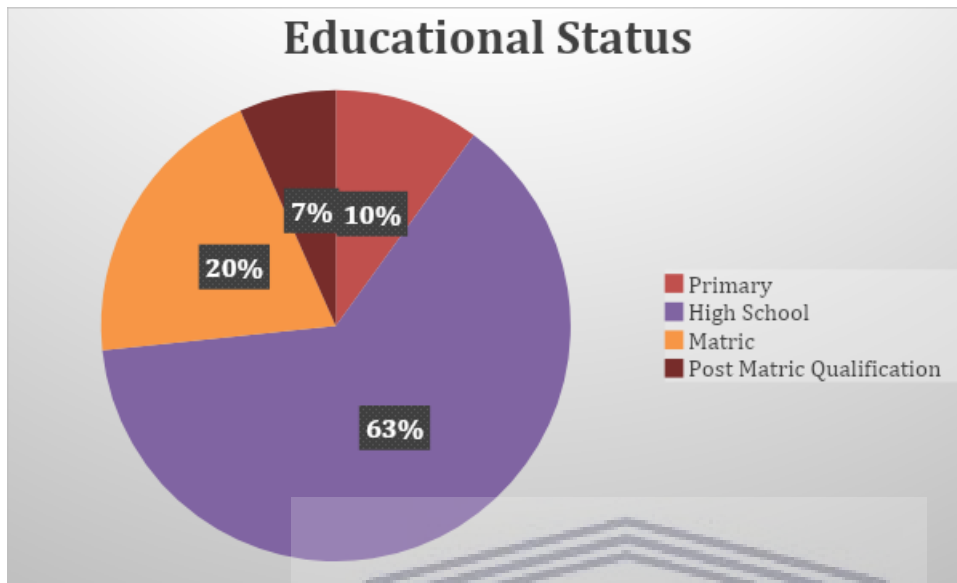


*The above figure depicts the average household income of the sampled population group*

The data indicates that nearly 60 % of the respondents belong to families where the total income does not exceed R6000 per month. 87% of the respondent's family income is below R10 000 per month. This is a clear indication of the levels of poverty experienced by poor families living in areas like Hanover Park. This affects their quality of life in a variety of ways. Access to quality health care, schooling and opportunities is affected by the disposable income. 13% of the respondents indicate that their household income exceeds R10 000 per month. Most of those also indicate that someone in their family are active small business owners, who runs either a spaza shop, or sell goods for profit.

### 5.3.4 Highest level of education

Figure 5.4: Parolee education levels

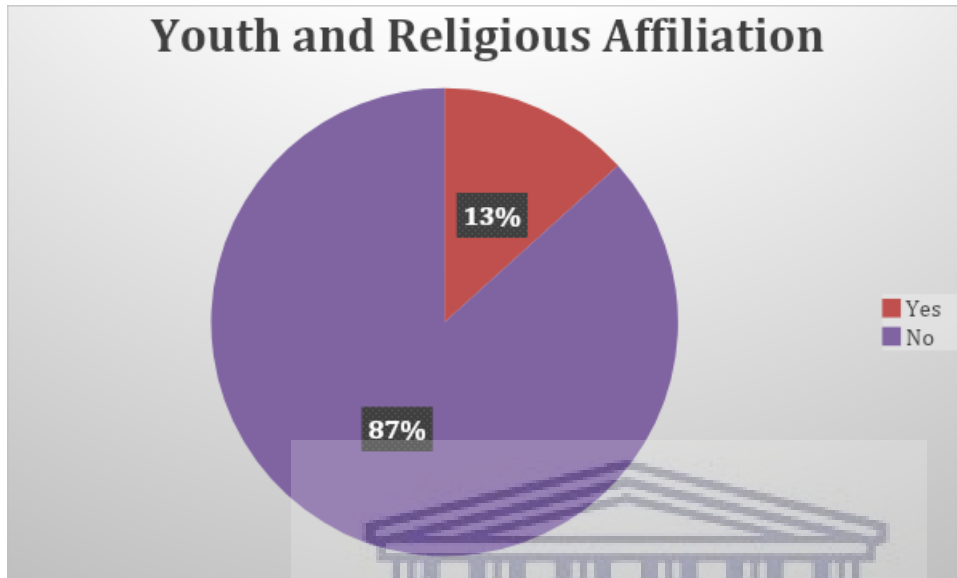


The above figure graphically depicts the educational levels of the sampled group

The vast majority of the parolees have some level of high school – without matric. Many of them indicated that their mischief and misdemeanours started in high school which led to the end of their schooling. 20% of them have completed the minimum requirements to get a matric certificate, but has not pursued tertiary studies for various reasons. All of them have some reason why they have not. Currently they feel disillusioned about pursuing studies with a criminal record hanging over their heads. There are 7% that have done some courses whilst incarcerated, even though that has not given them any advantage in getting stable jobs. There is also the 10% that have only completed or partially completed primary school education. They indicated that they also battled academically and that crime was their way to quit school.

### 5.3.5 Youth and religious affiliation

*Figure 5.5: Youth and religious affiliation of parolees in sample*

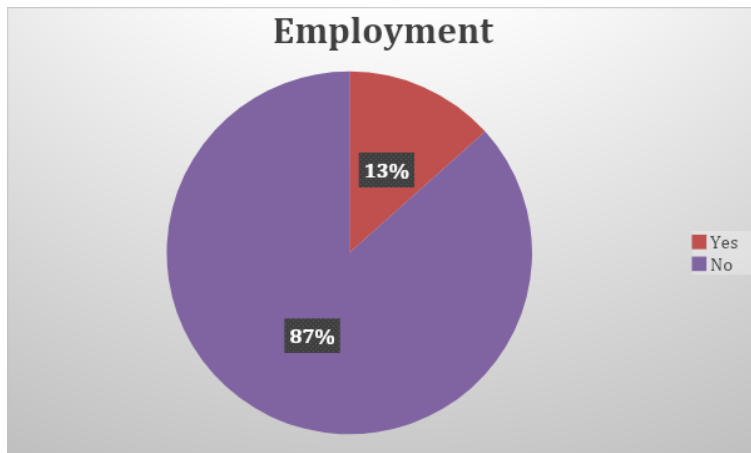


*The above figure depicts the sampled group and their religious affiliation*

87% of the respondents indicated that they have no religious affiliation now. There was a very strong "Christian" component to the group. Many indicated that they have been part of youth groups and spoke fondly of going on youth camps, having attended catechisms classes, whilst others went through religious rites process. They conformed that they do not attend any form of religious gatherings and would prefer not to go, as a result of the stigma attached to their incarceration. 13 % percent t indicated their active involvement in their local church/ mosque and says that they found solace and support from their religious fraternity.

### 5.3.6 Unemployment / Employment

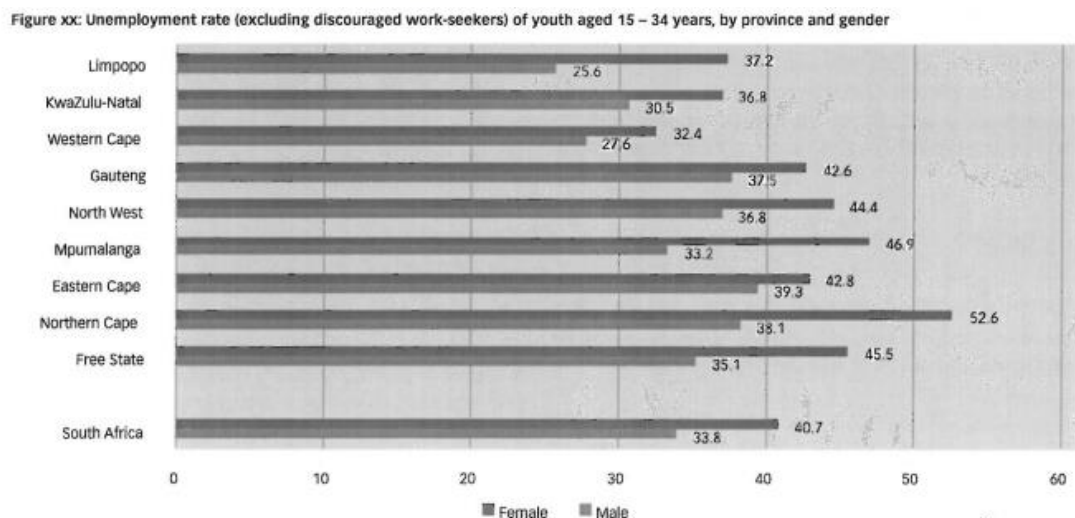
*Figure 5.6: Employment status of parolee sample*



*This figure depicts the employment status of the sampled group*

87% of the respondents are unemployed. This is the key issue that all of the respondents keeps referencing. The unemployed have indicated that “not being able to find work is the number one threat that they have to fight daily, so as to resist the temptation of going back to a life of crime. It is clear that employment is linked to self-esteem, identity and social connections, besides the fact that it gives the individual a means to self-sustenance. The rest of the group (13%), even though not employed in high-paid jobs, have expressed their appreciation of being able to earn some money and provide for their families.

*Figure 5.7: Unemployment rate per province of youth ages 15 -34 years old*



Source: Statistics South Africa (2015) National and Provincial Labour Market: Youth Q1: 2008-Q1: 2015. Statistical release P0211.4.2. Pretoria: Stats SA.

Coloured and Black youth are at a higher risk of unemployment than their White counterparts. Unemployment rates for White youth are 11%, Indian youth 23%, Coloured youth 32% and Black youth 40%. There are a range of reasons for this manifestation including, but not limited to, inequality and the schooling system (Mlatsheni, 2014). Young people are the least skilled and this is what drives unemployment rates higher, since the demand is highest for skilled employees. South Africa's economic policy shifted in the 1990's and early 2000's towards a more technology-driven and productivity-oriented economy. The intention was to stimulate skills development, higher wages and to create a platform for more international investment (Mlatsheni, 2014). These all occurred at the same time with a massive increase in youth unemployment and a move away from labour intensive employment. Subsequently, during this period, there was a drop in the demand for unskilled labour and little upward movement in the anticipated growth areas. For technological development to happen, higher skilled, post-secondary school skills were needed. According to Mlatsheni (2014), the labour force's absorption rates are generally higher with a post-secondary school qualification, of which South Africa does not have many.

Unemployed youth (between 15-35 years of age) without matriculation certificates are highest at 55%, whilst those with a matric qualification plus tertiary education (certificate, diploma or degree) is only 8%. Within youth unemployment, there is no real concern about graduate unemployment. The majority of South African young people fall within the low skilled workforce category, whereas the economy requires higher skilled individuals. The majority of the respondents interviewed were within this category. A total of 95% of the participants do not have a matric certificate and were unemployed before and after their incarceration. Many of them speak of the dreaded question of having a criminal record. Most of them were also subject to poor basic and secondary school infrastructure and a school system that is severely under-resourced. Most of the respondents attended both high school and primary school in Hanover Park.

These schools are not only plagued with violent crime at school but become an extension of gang turf war. Many of the respondents have to leave school out of fear for their lives and find jobs to help make ends meet in their respective homes. The resultant premature entry into the world of work, combined with little post-matric education, no work experience and skills mismatch, entrenches long term unemployment for these young people. Another key driver, according to Mlatsheni (2014), is that these young people have no work readiness or any

references that they can add to their resumes to find meaningful work. They compete not only with their peers who form part of a large pool of jobless unskilled youth, but also with older adults who are jobless.

Besides the obvious limitations that the labour market structure places on these young people to enter the job market, there are also other factors with which they have to contend. These include household, community and personal factors. There are other negative factors that add to the effects of the Apartheid legacy. Little thought was given to town planning in Hanover Park, especially regarding open spaces and recreational facilities. The travel distance between Hanover Park and major employment centres and business districts like Cape Town's CBD and Bellville, is also a major issue that affects commuting to find employment. This is a consequence of both Apartheid and post-Apartheid town planning that has kept unskilled individuals far away from job centres.

The personal effects on youth searching for employment is huge. Many of the respondents indicated that they engage in risky behaviour like unprotected sex and alcohol consumption as means to deal with frustrations and boredom. They opt to stay with their live-in partners without receiving or providing any form of financial stability. Discouragement, low self-esteem and depression are all part of their emotional rollercoaster experienced owing to long term unemployment. The correlation between unemployment, mental ill-health, depression and poverty have been well documented, according to Mlatsheni (2014). The transition from school to work for most youth of colour is characterised by some period of unemployment.

It is during this time that they are also exposed to risk factors. When these young people do not possess qualifications required by the economy, they are even more affected during this period of unemployment. These factors merely perpetuate their disadvantage. According to Mlatsheni (2014), young people should do some form of work whilst still at school to enable them to understand the dictates of the working world better. Most of the respondents that were interviewed never had any real work experience prior to being incarcerated. Having a criminal record disadvantages them further. The missed opportunities for proper schooling and post-matric qualification means that unemployment will persist and these youth will remain in poverty longer than anticipated.



All of the above-mentioned challenges widen the inequality gap between advantaged and disadvantaged youth even further. Youth emanating from middle- and upper-class families can easily navigate from school to post-secondary education into permanent employment. These young people benefit from their access to better education and financial resources through their social and cultural capital. Later on, these same youth leverage their social capital for access to the job market. The respondents have no linking capital that gives them access to job markets, according to a speech delivered by Craven Engel (where the writer was present) at the of the First Resource Community Centre in Hanover Park, where they can scan and email a CV and receive assistance with interview preparation. This, he says, is only possible if there are no gang fights in the area. This is only part of the available bridging social capital. Their bridging social capital includes religious organisations like churches and mosques, NGOs and some active political parties (normally vying for votes). Once they have left the schooling system and do not qualify for grants in aid from the government, unemployment awaits them.

Household and community level factors include the family and individuals not having access to the internet and money for internet cafés to apply for work and access to post-matric development opportunities. These are factors that were pointed out by the respondents and their family members. Unlike youth in more affluent areas, they lack social capital and social support to assist them. These factors are so important to help them to navigate access into workplace opportunities. Many young women have to take care of responsibilities in their respective homes and some of them become pregnant and also have to care for their child and siblings. Qualitative evidence suggests that in addition to their hamstrung work situation, young people that do actively try to pursue job opportunities still have varied expectations of what to expect in the workplace and what salary band is commensurate with their limited skills. Some of the respondents indicated that they engage in entrepreneurial activities, whilst others pool their resources together to buy and sell popular items. One participant runs a small spaza shop where he sells sweets to kids en-route school.

National government, the City of Cape Town, NGOs, religious groups and local civil service groups have all tried to implement programmes, policies and interventions to deal with youth unemployment. Many of the respondents indicated that they have all been part of some program offered in Hanover Park over the last period once their parole started. Most of those interventions, like the Expanded Public Works Program only afford young unemployed youth short term work opportunities. The educational system must produce more job seekers with

skill sets that are in demand and the labour market must also be willing to absorb more unskilled youth. Whilst this is not the case, initiatives must be launched to help young people find work.

In South Africa, youth economic participation has been given some level of impetus through the Youth Employment Accord (Kwela, 2015). These include youth entrepreneurship initiatives, increasing youth employment targets, enhancing public employment schemes (Expanded Public Works Program) and, in some areas, community-based public works programs, creating mechanisms for youth to be exposed to the world of work and improving skills development. While these efforts are found to be noble in their intent, there is no coordination of these endeavours and a lot of the time it is only a matter of statistics being politicised. There are two major mass youth employment initiatives in South Africa. These are the Extended Public Works Program (EPWP) and the Community-based Public Works Program (CBPWP). These programs provide short-term employment and training on a large national scale, where the aim is on long-term permanent employment.

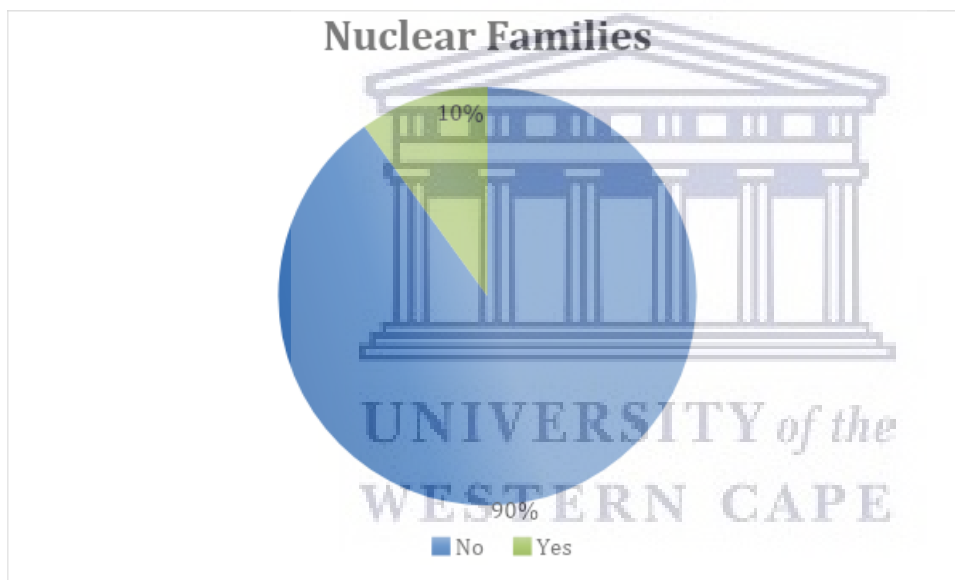
These programmes have intakes, where about 40% of young people in a geographic area employed, are between 18-35. These programmes, according to critics, do not transfer enough critical skills to enable these young people to function independently in the open job market, or have enough skills and knowledge to start their own business and become part of the informal economy. Critics purport that these programs are like stop-gap initiatives and are not moving masses of young people to better employability and marketability. The Employment Tax Incentive (ETI) requires a huge amount of state financial resources and enables organisations to employ young people and receive a rebate on PAYE in return. This recent national intervention obviously does not go without critics. There are many large organisations that do not participate, since they do not see the real benefit in employing these low skilled young people.

### **5.3.7 Family**

The study indicated that the diversion of the respondents into a life of crime started with the disintegration of the family structure. Many of the young people grew up in single parent households and many of them without fathers. During interviews conducted most of the respondents indicated how their upbringing was marked by poverty, lack and difficulties. They have also stated that most of their values and norms came from outside their homes. Socialisation is a continuous and lifelong process, where children and youth learn to operate in

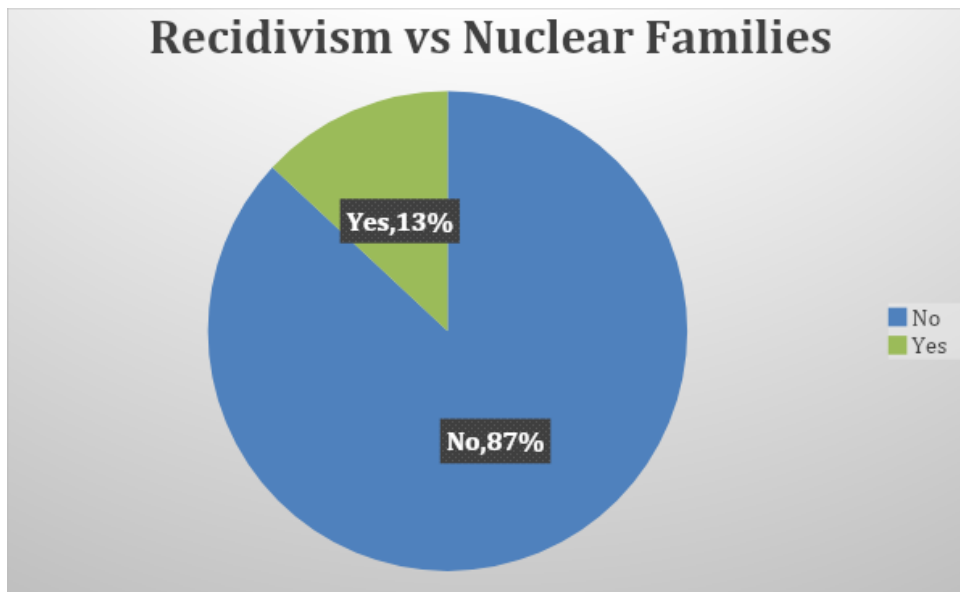
a society, changing and adopting the values, norms, attitudes and behaviour of the respective communities and society in which they live (Barrett *et al.*, 2013). Predominantly, socialisation is supposed to occur within the family, at school, in churches and other religious institutions, the community, amongst respective peer groups and the media. In the case study area, amongst the respondents, the family has not played a dominant role. It was noted that many of the care functions of the family have been replaced by organs such as churches, schools, old age homes and welfare agencies, as well as gangs. These respondents indicated that they have started and will probably end their life with some form of intimate relationship, in most cases its withing gangs.

**Figure 5.7: Proportion of parolees with nuclear families**



*This figure depicts the proportion of parolees that have existing nuclear families*

Fig. 5.9 Recidivism and the nuclear family



*This figure depicts the parolees within nuclear families who are affected by recidivism*

Of the 30 parolee respondents, 90% of them did not come from nuclear families and 87% of those who recidivated did not have this familial structure and support available to them. The correlation coefficient between individuals who recidivated and those not part of nuclear families was found to be 69%, indicating a strong relationship between the two. The chi-squared test statistic also exceeded the determined critical value, which further supports rejecting the null hypothesis.

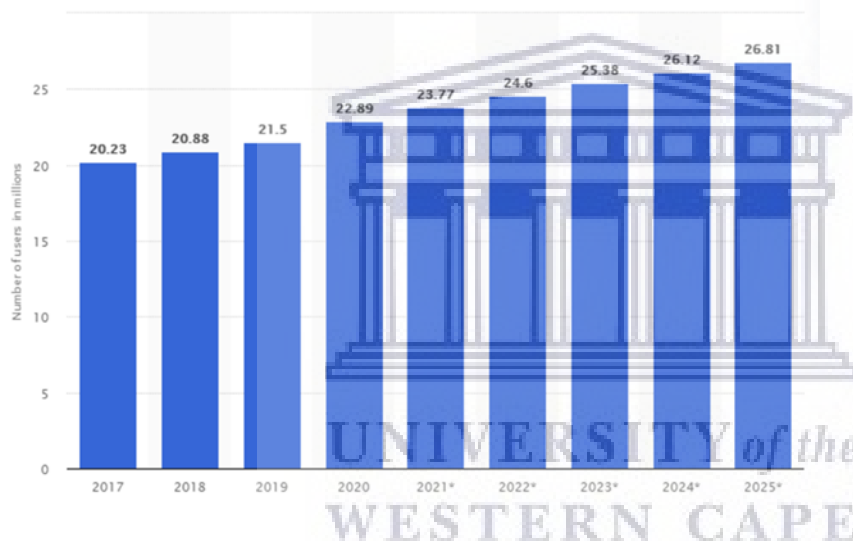
| Nuclear family | Number of times sentenced |          |                |           | Total     |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
|                | 1                         | 2        | 3              | 3+        |           |
| No             | 7                         | 7        | 6              | 7         | 27        |
| Yes            | -                         | -        | -              | 3         | 3         |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>7</b>                  | <b>7</b> | <b>6</b>       | <b>10</b> | <b>30</b> |
| p – value      | 0.08                      |          | Correlation    | 69%       |           |
| Test statistic | 3.00                      |          | Critical value | 0.82      |           |

### 5.3.1.8 Youth, technology and social networking

The debate around youth, technology and social networking has traditionally centred around the dangers and pitfalls of the ever-increasing phenomenon. Many of the respondents indicated that even whilst they were in prison, they had access to the internet. This kept them abreast with what was happening outside of prison. Some of the males indicate that access to the

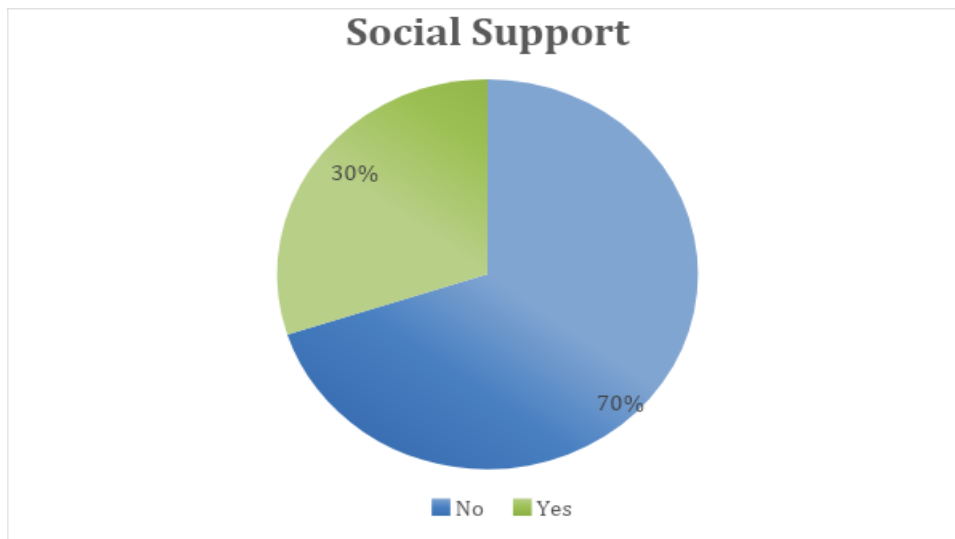
internet has given them the opportunity to access pornography. By the own admission, this was not a good thing. They assert that the desire for sexual intimacy is further enhanced when seeing these images and video content. The respondents acknowledged the potential that the internet has, but also acknowledges that they have limited knowledge inside and outside of prison. The respondents have seen the new possibilities that smart have. They state that have seen the potential for communication, social networking, media use and production, education and political activism. They point out that social media is a wonderful thing and would like to know how they can use it to find meaningful work.

**Figure 7.9: Number of social media network users in South Africa from 2017-2025 (in millions) Source: Statista (2020)**



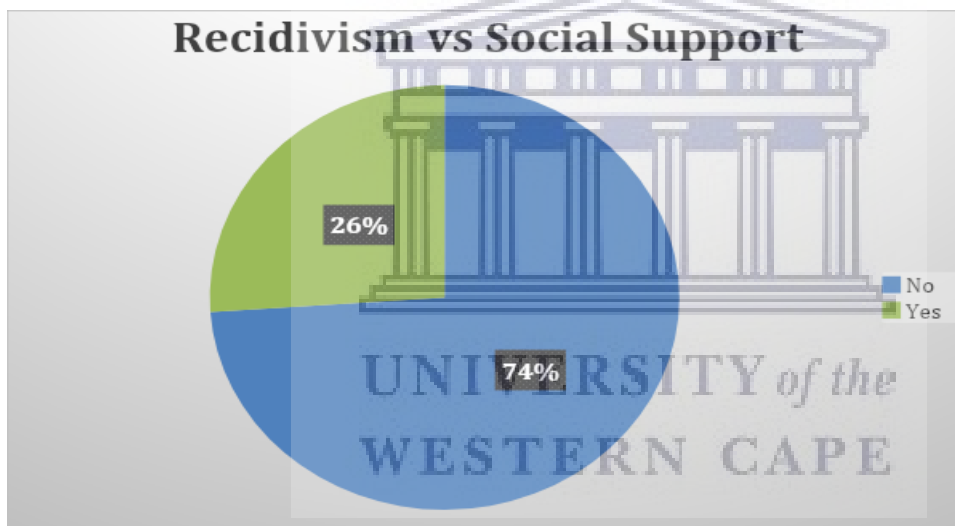
Boyd (2008) believes that even though the relationship between social cohesion and social networking sites are not properly researched, there remains agreement amongst researchers that such social networking sites support existing networks and help others to connect based on their shared political, religious, geographical and other interests. Boyd (2008) opines that social networking sites “are inherently web based sites that enable and allow users to build a public profile embedded inside an enclosed network system, communicate with a list of other users that they have a common connection with, and view a matrix of other connections also using the site”.

**Figure 5.9: Parolee sample social support**



*This figure depicts the parolees who indicated that they do receive social support*

**Figure. 5.10: Recidivism in relation to social support**



*This figure depicts the parolees that recidivated without receiving any form of social support.*

A 92% correlation was found between recidivism and a lack of social support, indicating a significant positive relationship between these two factors. Of the 30 respondents, 74% of those who recidivate indicated that they did not have any form of social support.

| Social support found | 1        | 2        | 3              | 3+        | Total     |
|----------------------|----------|----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| No                   | 4        | 6        | 3              | 8         | 21        |
| Yes                  | 3        | 1        | 3              | 2         | 9         |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>7</b> | <b>7</b> | <b>6</b>       | <b>10</b> | <b>30</b> |
| p – value            | 0.39     |          | Correlation    | 92%       |           |
| Test statistic       | 0.73     |          | Critical value | 0.82      |           |

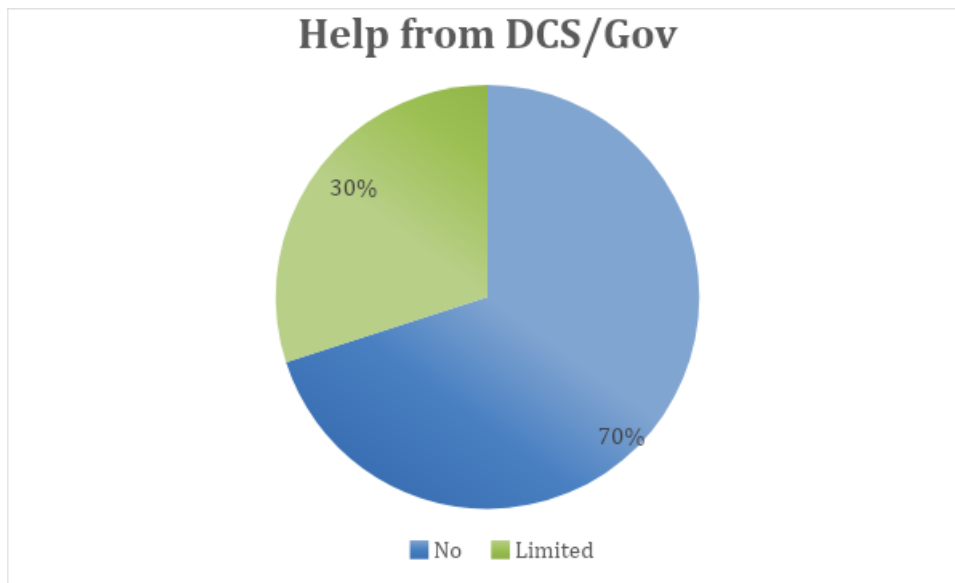
### 5.3.9 Support and wellbeing of young people

It is clear from the study that most young people are not fully supported in Hanover Park. The safety and security of young people seems to be far more important than their material and resource wellbeing. This point forms part of the study's recommendations. Burton (2007) points out that young people have been the focal point and have been disproportionately represented as both the victims, as well as the perpetrators of crime and violence in South Africa. Hanover Park is no different.

The offenders between 19-35 are the largest part of the study group. Hertz's (2010) study also confirms that the peak years of the age of offenders and victims are between 12 and 21 years of age. The study highlights a few trends - besides the previously stated age of offenders, the rate mentioned is double that of the adults. In Hanover Park this is the group between 36 – 65 years of age.

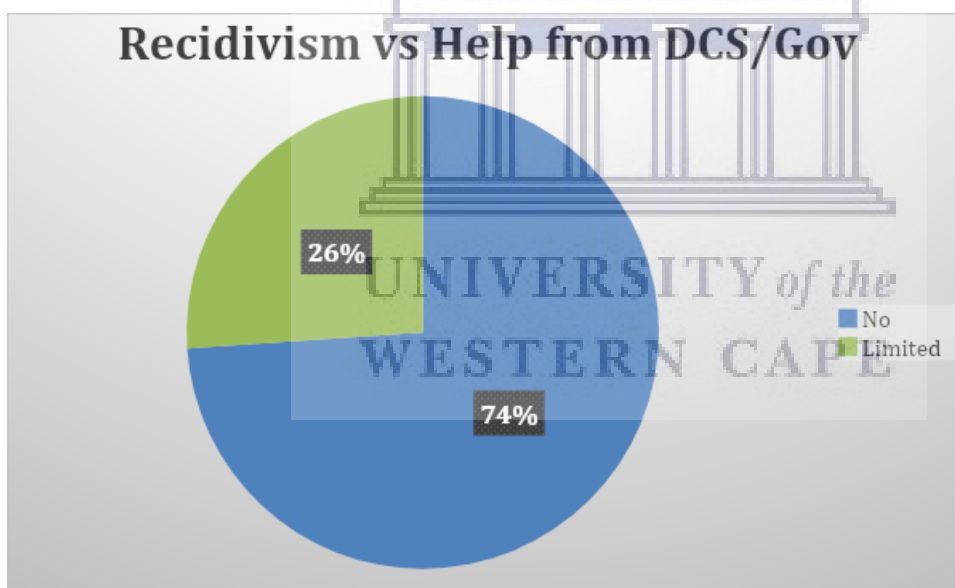
They majority of the respondents also stated that they have been victims of crime. This is in line with statistics and findings that paint a bleak picture of a prevailing culture of violence amongst South African youth. The statistics of violence at schools are alarming, as well as the rate of violent crimes committed by young people. This does not bode well for the general safety and security of youth in Hanover Park. Anti-social or violent behaviour have their roots amongst those who have been victims of similar crimes. This is evident in Hanover Park . These young people perceive crime and criminal behaviour as a norm, and hence levels of violence can only increase over time (Burton, 2007).

**Figure 5.11: Sampled parolee's support from DCS/Government**



*This figure depicts participants that receive assistance from DCS / Government.*

**Figure 5. 12: Sampled parolees receiving assistance**



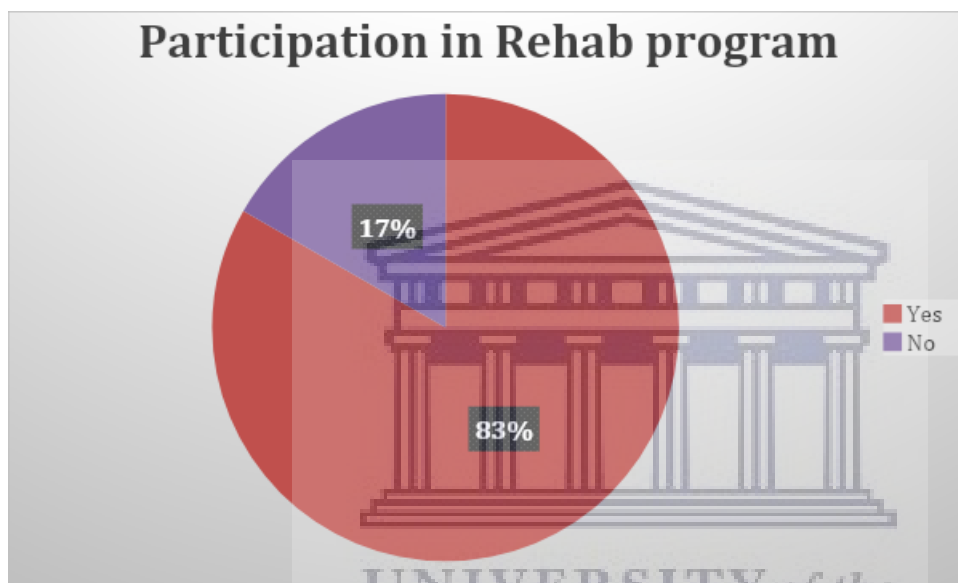
*This figure depicts those participants that receive assistance from DCS / Government.*

| Help from DCS/Gov | 1        | 2        | 3              | 3+        | Total     |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| No                | 4        | 6        | 4              | 7         | 21        |
| Limited           | 3        | 1        | 2              | 3         | 9         |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>7</b> | <b>7</b> | <b>6</b>       | <b>10</b> | <b>30</b> |
| p – value         | 0.03     |          | Correlation    | 89%       |           |
| Test statistic    | 4.57     |          | Critical value | 0.82      |           |



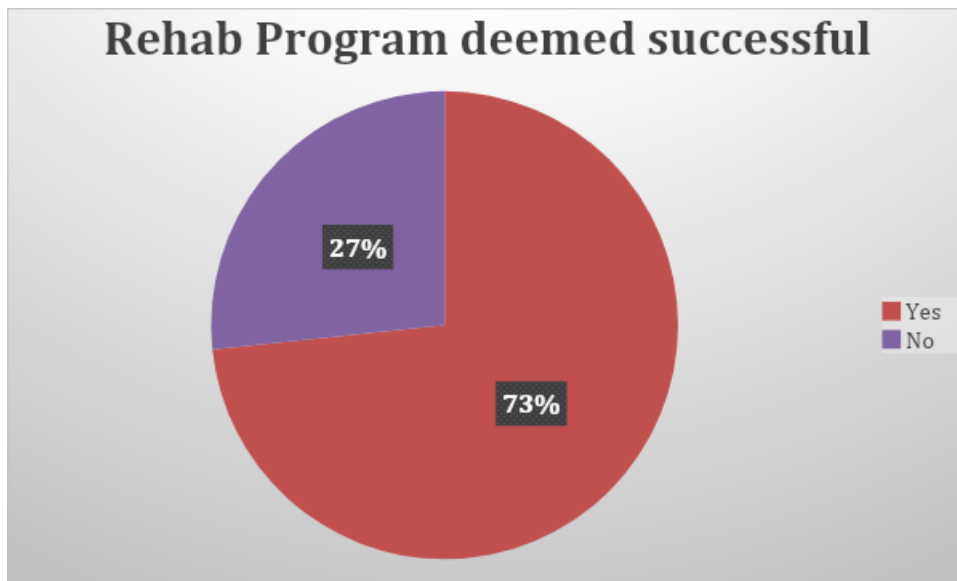
A significant correlation of 89% was observed between recidivism and a lack of support from DCS and/or government. It was found that a total of 74% of parolees who recidivate did not receive any governmental support or support directly from DCS inside and outside of prison. In addition, the test statistic far exceeded the critical value determined with a significance level of 5%, which further confirms this relationship.

**Figure 5.13: Participation and success of rehabilitation programs**



*This figure depicts the views of parolees of the outcome of rehabilitation programs.*

Figure 5.14: Rehabilitation programs deemed successful



This figure indicates parolees that perceive the rehab programs to be effective and helpful.

Of the 30 respondents, 83% indicated that they participated in rehabilitation programs inside prison and 73% said that these programs were helpful. However, 77% of these respondents still recidivated, with 53% of them being sentenced more than twice. It is worth asking if these rehabilitation programs are indeed effective in prison. In their report, "Building resilience to crime and violence in young South Africans", Leoschut and Burton (2009) agree with these rehabilitation measures as a means to tackle the cycle of violence amongst youth. They mention nine vital aspects, which boost the capacity of young people and children to assist them to not participate in crime and violent activities.

These include education (ensuring that youth endure and finalise their schooling and with added opportunities for post-school education); engendered interventions relating to violence and how to deal with it from a male and female perspective; help and support for the formation of non-violent family surroundings; regulating and reducing publicity and exposure to criminal role-models; interventions on abstinence and substance abuse; more frequent exchanges and interactions with non-delinquent peers; introducing interventions to reduce child and youth victimisation; and altering societal approaches to viciousness and anti-social behaviour. This should be extended to inside prison, using structured levels, where the outcomes must be monitored and measured.

### *Map of themes*

This chapter thus starts with an illustrated depiction of the thematic map, which came forth from the analytical process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). With reference to this thematic map, relevant themes, which inductively emerged from the interviews with the research participants, were explored and discussed in further detail. Three main themes and nine sub-themes emerged from the analysis process, subsequently incorporating the research questions, objectives, literature review, and main theoretical underpinnings of the research study. All the emerging themes explored the primary research objective of the research study, namely sociologically exploring addiction experiences. Participants' views were used and represented in their interviews and narratives to ensure authenticity, refraining from finalisation, as no narrative is ever complete.



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## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The quantitative data confirmed what most of the participants stated. Even though many have some level of work experience, unemployment is a major stumbling block on their way to recovery, and in their quest to steer clear of re-offending. Most of the data indicated the employment status of being unemployed and almost all of the participants admitted that their criminal history drastically reduces their employment prospects. In total, 81% of the interviewed parolees were found to be unemployed at the time of the interviews. Their numbers are much higher than the South African statistics for those in the same category of young people (19-35) that are unemployed, whilst also higher than average statistics for the Western Cape, which stands at 32%. The rest of the participants (19%) are either employed on a part-time basis or are involved in a small business or assist a family member with his/her small business activities. One participant said that she applied for so many positions, but all came back negative without any explanations. Another participant completed an N3-level Electrical certificate whilst incarcerated, hoping to be more employable once released. He is still unemployed. Many of the participants expressed the belief that they will never find meaningful employment and that their future success depends solely on criminality. The reality is that most employers have policy requirements for employment, which include a reference, and credit and criminal checks that are conducted before any employment contracts are extended.

According to the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, No. 65 of 2008, an ex-offender can apply for the expungement of their criminal record only ten years after serving their sentences, if they have not been convicted of any other crime during this period. Questions that many ex-offenders pose is that whilst this is the case for ten years, how will they find employment and how will they be able to sustain themselves? Clearly, this provision within the Criminal Procedures Act affects ex-offenders negatively. This means that they will have to sustain their families and themselves, whilst hoping to find income streams. This scenario effectively means another “pseudo sentence” with a huge possibility of recidivating back to a life of crime. This scenario could help to explain the high numbers of recidivism (around 80%-94%) amongst ex-offenders in South Africa (Dissel, 2002). This set-up adds to high levels of anxiety, stress and low self-esteem and even self-doubt. Many ex-offenders perceive that the doors of opportunity for them have been shut, with dire consequences for them, their families and in the long run, society at large. Creating employment opportunities for ex-offenders to help support their families and to assist them to reintegrate into society would ultimately eliminate chances of recidivism (Acton, 2015).

Ruddell and Winfree (2006) assert that 97% of expunged prisoners did not commit any crimes for at least 30 years. Those who committed less serious crimes should be given an opportunity that will allow their records to be expunged in a shorter period of time. Some of the participants who were found guilty, for example, of shoplifting baby nappies, are now subjected to a 10-year waiting period for expungement. People do have the capacity to change. Advocacy groups, civil society, churches and NGOs should be at the forefront lobbying for policy changes, whilst helping to create better prospects for employment opportunities for ex-offenders. The benefits are for both the ex-offender and society at large. Employment increases the possibility of rehabilitation. A comprehensive crime fighting strategy should include strategies that consider employment opportunities for ex-offenders.

The collected data indicated that 63% of the participants reached high school level without completing matric, while only 20 completed matric, and 7% of them have some level of post matric qualification. Many of the respondents identified early involvement in delinquency and gang activity as key reasons why they left school. Many of the gangs are in areas close to schools. After being incarcerated, they had had no career advice and only attended the rehabilitation programs that were offered at the prisons. One individual completed his matric whilst incarcerated at Pollsmoor Prison. Many of the offenders mentioned that they had aspired to pursue careers, but the absence of career guidance, the lack of motivation and funds and being caught up in criminal activities all contributed to their current situation. Most of them acknowledged that the Department of Correctional Services could do more to assist with vocational and skills training whilst they are incarcerated.

Any plan to effectively deal with crime should include strategies that deal with unemployment and poverty and must include the development and education of offenders whilst incarcerated to prepare them for when they return from prison to become law abiding and productive citizens. A stable and crime-free life can only be achieved when offenders are trained and educated to hold a job and can start a small business and have a stable income. One should keep in mind that the majority of the prison population come from poor backgrounds with no or limited education or job opportunities. Most of the offenders that participated in the study have skills that are in abundance and of no value to a job market that requires a different skill set. This is indicative of most offenders. One should remember that these deficits in social and economic issues come as a result of years of deprivation and dehumanisation, limited education

and development and social support. The DCS cannot be solely responsible for the improvement of offenders' lives, as this should be a collective social responsibility.

Considering the number of prisoners and the limited number of DCS educators, assistance and support from civil society, NGOs, churches and businesses are required for the education and development of offenders. Even though the education and rehabilitation of offenders is one of the core functions of DCS, they do not have the capacity for this level of service commitment. The reality is that the majority of offenders will be released into society, under-educated, unskilled, socially unsupported and unmotivated and will in all likelihood become part of the recidivism statistics. The punitive approach to crime and rehabilitation is not effective if recidivism levels is anything to consider. Safer communities and more productive and contributing ex-offenders can become a reality if more is done to develop them whilst they are incarcerated. The budget allocated towards educational, social and psychological support within DCS amounts to about 8% of their annual budget. In any case, not many people perceive that education can be a viable tool to combat crime.

Most of the offenders indicated that educational programs were on offer at Pollsmoor Prison. Some pointed to the fact that many were in the remand section of the prison and not afforded the chance to participate in its official educational programs such as Grade one to ten, ABET, Grade 11 and 12, computer classes, and entrepreneurship and vocational skills classes. Some spent months in the remand section owing to them not being able to afford bail money. For some, being moved to another prison means that their attendance at education classes is interrupted, and this happens, for example, owing to overcrowding, gang violence and the outbreak of diseases. This presents quite a quagmire, since the time that offenders spend in incarceration is not fully utilised because of staffing and resources limitations, as well as foresight from the DCS to prepare offenders for their release. They should, upon arrival of the offender at the correctional centre, immediately commit to a development framework for each offender, based on the length of time that they will spend there.

The collected data shows that about 60% of the participants' collective household income is not more than R6000 per month, which affords the entire household R200 per day. This R6000 represents the total available to cover all expenses, including purchasing food, electricity, clothing, rental and municipal fees, as well as travel and transport costs. It is clear from the conducted interviews that households are at pains to afford their expenses. One participant offered his services to the local primary school in lieu of not being able to afford school fees

for his daughter. However, the school's governing body did not feel comfortable having a person with a criminal record on the school's premises. It is a known fact that income differences amongst racial groups remain unequal, whilst poverty has increased substantially. Many of the participants reflected on how their parents have also had to struggle in the previous generation. They stated that conditions were even worse presently and with even less opportunities for them. Several researchers, including Whiteford and Van Seventer (2000) note increases in poverty levels, especially in Black communities in South Africa.

It is not surprising that the biggest effect of poverty is on the generic Black population, since they are the least skilled and earn the least compared to their White counterparts in South Africa. This awareness of inequality and unequal opportunities amongst race groups does not bode well for race relations in South Africa. Many of the participants said that their parents and grandparents gave their lives to end Apartheid and to bring about change to the political spectrum. Yet, many feels that the economic and social landscape has remained the same over the last 25 years. One participant referred to how his grandparents were forcibly removed without compensation from Harfield Village in Cape Town. Now, with his limited artisan skills in painting, he earns R150 per day when the opportunity presents itself for him to go and help with painting houses in the same area in which his family once lived (Kammies, 2008). This fuels race hate, since it not only affects the core of their beliefs, but also their daily survival. Many of these ex-offenders are already at risk of falling into the trap of becoming part of recidivism statistics, and the fact that they receive a meagre income and see how others flourish, is a dangerous lure to criminality.

Offender reintegration is not a simplistic task and the effect of certain strategies is also not easy to measure. The measure of any social reintegration of offenders back into society is the decreasing recidivism numbers. Offenders can desist from recidivism. A 48-year-old ex-offender, who was found guilty of more than 40 counts of shoplifting, decided to not return to criminality. She cited the following factors that assisted her to make this decision, namely a supportive family, understanding and caring neighbours, employment and an NGO rehabilitation program that she attends on a weekly basis. Other participants noted that significant life partnership, acquiring a new skill, religious group membership and ultimately full-time employment helped them steer clear from recidivism. A few of the participants mentioned in the interviews that negative social circumstances increase the urge to desist criminal opportunity, especially when it comes to accessing money and other valuable



resources. Many of the participants that recidivated previously, acknowledged that it is a long process to change their prison mindset. The focus on prisoner rehabilitation is that change is possible and one should have a longitudinal approach to this.

What is critical in this rehabilitation journey is a combination of social and human capital initiatives. Social capital are supportive relationships, other relationships and strong familial ties. Human capital refers to when an individual makes the required changes on this journey to rehabilitate. For any offender to successfully reintegrate into their community, one should understand the multiple factors that come into play. There are both static and dynamic types of factors. The static factors are the factors that do not change like the type of crimes, age, gender, psychological make-up, and so on. Dynamic factors refer to those issues inside and outside of prison and the legal system. Both of these sets of factors must be considered for reintegration. Not all programs help all offenders. It is also important to have categories of offenders and interventions that deal with them specifically. Therefore, there should be categories that include ones with low (no) education levels, those with drug addiction or disorders, those that are unemployed, and repeat offenders.

It was evident that when offenders are confronted with social realities and economic hardships, their go-to place are the gangs and criminal activities. Some of the participants acknowledged support that they receive from criminal gangs in their neighbourhood, versus the critique that they receive from the neighbourhood. Some of these offenders were tried under the Criminal Procedures Act, which was intended to deal with adult criminality even though they were in their early teens and should have been tried via the Child Justice Amendment Act. As a result of this, many were held at the adult remand centres across the Western Cape and experience a range of challenges currently like marginalisation and social isolation, poor employment or unemployment, a criminal lifestyle, mental disabilities, illiteracy and innumeracy, emotional and physical abuse and involvement in a criminal lifestyle that began at an early age. Churches, community-based organisations and other civil society institutions must assist by focussing on education, motivation, skills development, accommodation, employment, health care and other cognitive behavioural areas. To address recidivism, we may have to consider revisiting legislation aimed at preventing recidivism. In Hanover Park alone, the DCS Officer responsible for community corrections pointed out how interventions are scattered and that there is no connectedness amongst organisations whose individual aim is to help these ex-offenders. The social reintegration strategies must be part of a wider crime prevention strategy that must



include different levels of government, agencies, prison administration, and law enforcement, with the sole purpose of preventing crime and preventing re-offending and ultimately ceasing recidivism.



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## CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

It is evident from results of the data analysis that a strong positive relationship exists between recidivism and the lack of social capital and support. This is further entrenched by the absence of structural interventions at a community, local government and national government level. Some of the respondents were also caught up in the criminal justice system as young boys under the Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977. Hence, many of them ended up in juvenile detention centres and subsequently became involved in gang activities and the numbers gangs.

The key to assisting young people should be to make them employable and marketable in meaningful jobs with their current low level of skills. Entrepreneurship development programs, learnerships, short-term skills development programmes and service programmes must be the focus of civil society, the state and the private sector. Learnerships or on-the-job-training programs will assist the unemployed youth, especially those out on parole. It will enable these young people to complete their matric or post-secondary qualifications, whilst obtaining work experience and being exposed to the real world of work. This approach enhances their possibilities of employment. The National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) operates a year-long program called the National Youth Service Program, which is based on a global initiative called the Youth Build Model. These are structured programmes with a strong focus on life, and technical and work-readiness skills. Young people are enticed into these programs, since they are offered close to home, have easy enough entry requirements, with no stressful application process and minimal costs to participants.

There are several barriers to accessing the labour market, besides merely having a criminal record. Pundits of the idea feel that more should be done to enable these unemployed young people who have criminal records. High transport costs are a real issue when it comes to travelling for opportunities and interviews. They need financial assistance - a stipend of some sorts. Critics perceive that these ex-offenders should be given transport vouchers to help them. A grant to aid them starting a small business, covering transport costs and pursuing post-secondary school opportunities, would be hugely beneficial in this respect. This could be added to the government's existing social grant scheme. There are quite a few ideas and initiatives that are in policy, practice and research phases that are geared at the employability of young people. These must also include young people who have criminal records. Yet, these initiatives are not really coordinated nationally and, at best, are seen to be fragmented.

There exists the scope and opportunity to conduct an interdisciplinary, cohesive examination of that, which drives youth unemployment. This, together with interventions and policies that intend to reinforce the demand side of the labour market, whilst pushing for growth in the youth employability sphere. These young people need employment assistance. The interventions and research focus mentioned above should identify gaps in knowledge and policies, explore evidence that works, and start to explore a harmonized theory of transformation to deal with youth unemployment. Most of the interventions target young people once they leave school and become unemployed. These programs should aim to reach young people once they exit the Child Support Grant. By doing this, short and long-term unemployment can be mitigated with support initiatives that will limit long-term unemployment.

The South African government is currently considering extending the current Child Support Grant beyond the age of 18 and is considering creative ways, including financial, skills development support, subsidising post-secondary studies and assisting with job applications. They should also include young people who have had a brush with the law. Creating part-time employment for school-going youth over school holidays and weekends will also prepare young people to be workplace ready and give them social and cultural capital once they head out to work. A growing area that could provide massive relief for the unemployment of young people, is the informal economy. This is an area where parolees can excel and become “normal” within their respective communities. It is also an area that has been proven by qualitative research to be fruitful in alleviating unemployment and creating sustainable incomes, albeit on a smaller scale.

The road from the school desk to the workplace is riddled with challenges for young people and that more should be done to help them. The expungement of sentences is another major hurdle for many individuals with criminal records. According to the Dullah Omar Institute (2018), the removal of one’s criminal record by the Criminal Record Centre of the South African Police Service (SAPS) is possible under certain conditions. This enables an individual to live a normal life without discrimination and be able to apply for jobs without prejudice. Accordingly, an expunged record does not exist; therefore, the individual is not legally obliged to declare it.

The respondents indicated that the issue of having a criminal record is one of the biggest stumbling blocks in finding meaningful, full time employment in the formal economy. It is slightly easier to find employment in the informal economy. The stigma of having spent time in incarceration remains, however. The respondents need psycho-social help post their release. The responsibility of DCS ends once they have served their sentence, including probation and parole. The emotional, social and psychological challenges do not end once they have served their full sentence. In fact, not only do they have to deal with an unforgiving society, but they also have to contend with existing unemployed people. It would be worth considering an allowance for travel, transport and applications for work for these previously incarcerated. The state should simply do more in this regard. These individuals return to a life of crime owing to hopelessness and desperation.





## **Interview schedule**

### **Interview schedule for DCS (Parole Officer) officials**

1. What are your responsibilities as a parole officer and in which directorate do you work?
2. What are your key responsibilities regarding parolees?
3. How many parolees do you oversee and in which areas of Cape Town?
4. What crimes have parolees committed, generally?
5. How many of the parolees have been incarcerated more than once?
6. How many of them find suitable permanent employment upon their release?
7. What are the socio-economic circumstances of the parolees within the home and within the broader community?
8. Why do parolees revert to criminal activities?
9. Do their respective communities offer them any support?
10. How does the DCS support parolees?

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## **Interview Schedule**

### **Interview schedule for parolees**

1. Describe your upbringing.
2. Are you originally from Hanover Park?
3. In what type of dwelling do you currently live?
4. What is your monthly household income?
5. What is your highest education level?
6. What extra-mural sport and cultural activities did you enjoy whilst attending school?
7. What crime did you commit that resulted in your first prison sentence?
8. What was your first prison sentence for?
9. Describe the circumstances at Pollsmoor prison during your incarceration.
10. What rehabilitation programs did you participate in at Pollsmoor?
11. Did the rehabilitation program help you? Motivate your answer.
12. How long was it before you returned to prison after serving your initial prison sentence?
13. How many times have you served a prison sentence?
14. What support do you receive from family members?
15. Are you employed? If not, who supports you financially?
16. Who helps you with job applications, obtaining finances and counselling?



## **Focus Group Schedule**

### **Focus group questions**

1. How easy did you make new friends whilst growing up?
2. What are some of the characteristics that your role models have?
3. How would you describe your schooling?
4. What would you describe as a highlight growing up?
5. Did you witness any gang-related activities while growing up?
6. What were your aspirations whilst growing up?



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*Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa*

*Telephone: (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865*

*E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or akarriem@uwc.ac.za*

### **Letter of consent- Parolees**

*I, ....., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details that I required.*

*I agree to take part in this research.*

*I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without having to explain myself.*

*I am aware that this interview might result in research, which may be published but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).*

*I understand that if I do not want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.*

*I may also refuse to answer any questions that I do not want to answer.*

*Mr. Frederick Lucas has provided the details of a Professional Counsellor, Mrs. Louisa Van Romberg (0739710428), should I need one, which will be free of charge.*

*Date: .....*

*Participant name: .....*

*Participant signature: .....*

*Interviewer name: .....*

*Interviewer signature: .....*

*If you have any questions concerning this research, feel free to call Fred Lucas at 083 293 4143 or my supervisor, Dr S. Penderis at 021 959 3858.*





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## **INFORMATION SHEET – Interviews with parolees**

**Project title:** Exploring the absence of social capital in entrenching recidivism amongst male and female inhabitants in Hanover Park, Western Cape, South Africa

### **Description What is this study about?**

This research project is conducted by Fred Lucas, a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this study as you are on parole and reside in Hanover Park. The purpose of this research is to determine why young men who have served prison sentences return to prison after committing criminal offences. We hope that the research will provide possible suggestions and recommendations for government to consider the issue of recidivism.

### **What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?**

You will be asked to participate in an interview in which you will be asked to share information, suggestions and your opinions of your personal experiences whilst growing up in Hanover Park, spending time in Pollsmoor and being released on parole. The interview will take 30-45 minutes and it will take place at your house. You will have an opportunity to seek clarity on any of the questions, and/or for these to be translated into Afrikaans.

### **Will my participation in the study be kept confidential?**

All your personal data will be kept confidential and you will remain anonymous if you so desire. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The identity of the interviewees will be kept confidential and details of the identities will only be provided voluntarily or used only with consent. The collected data will be kept safe and used only for the purpose of this research project. The research report will protect the identity of participants to the maximum.

**What are the risks of this research?**

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. The aims and objectives will be clarified from the start.

**What are the benefits of this research?**

This research is not designed to help the participant personally. The findings from the research will, however, provide recommendations for effective and efficient implementation of future programmes for government and all stakeholders.

**Do I have to participate in this research and can I withdraw at any time?**

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose to withdraw at any time, and should you do so, or decide not to participate at all, you will not lose anything.

**Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?**

There are no negative effects associated with participating in this study.

**What if I have questions?**

This research is conducted by Fred Lucas, a student at the University of the Western Cape. His contact number is +27 83 293 4143.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Dr Sharon Penderis at the Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape, at +27 (021) 959 3858. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant, or if you wish to report any problems that you may have experienced related to the study, please contact:

**Sharon Penderis**

Acting Head of Department: Institute for Social Development

School of Government

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17

Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

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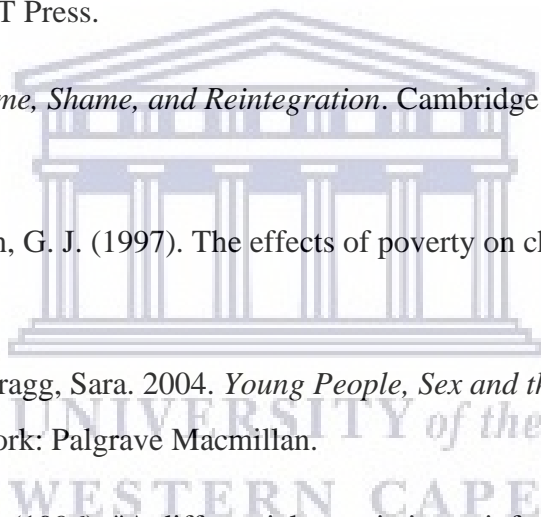
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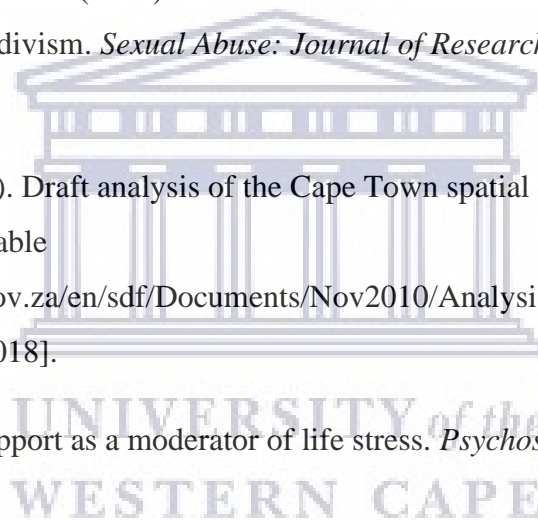
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