



EXPLORING THE ABSENCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN ENTRENCHING RECIDIVISM
AMONGST MALE AND FEMALE INHABITANTS OF HANOVER PARK, WESTERN
CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA

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Declaration

I, Frederick Albert Lucas, hereby declare that this Master's Thesis, entitled *Exploring the Absence of Social Capital in Entrenching Recidivism amongst Male & Female Inhabitants of Hanover Park, Western Cape, South Africa*, is my own work, and that I have received no other assistance than the stated sources and citations.

Frederick Albert Lucas

May 2021



Signed



Acknowledgement

This thesis is the result of tenacity and the spirit of humanity fuelled by deity. It is dedicated to the outcasts, the downtrodden, the forgotten. We see you. Your place is here amongst us. This work is for you - the seed that will supersede all expectations and produce generations of free thinkers and doers like you.



ABSTRACT

In this study, I explore recidivism, an ‘uncontrollable phenomenon’ in South Africa, within the context of rising crime and repeat offenders. Research has shown that the political economy of South Africa, inequality, persistent poverty within previously marginalised communities, high school drop-out rates among other factors, creates a breeding ground for criminal activity amongst adolescents, resulting in high convictions and prison sentences in the Western Cape. It is within this context that this study investigated recidivism and reasons for recurring trends, where first time offenders are more likely to return to prison after being released. Specifically, the study investigates why young men from Hanover Park are more likely to be repeat offenders and continuously incarcerated. Through qualitative interviews, focused group discussions and self-administered questionnaires with 30 ex-convicts and Parole Officers in Hanover Park, the study highlights the broader determinants and underpinnings of massive incarceration in Hanover Park. This research extends the body of knowledge by examining the extent and degree to which the availability of social capital/social support or its lack thereof, influence recidivism. The findings indicate that unemployment of the previously incarcerated, low skills, poor budgetary allocation for education within the DCS (Department of Correctional Services), punitive approach to crime without adequate rehabilitative measures, emotional, social and psychological challenges all converge to contribute to recidivism in South Africa. In addition, through internalized hopelessness, poverty, desperation, poor psycho-social support and unemployment due to stigma of incarceration, young men are more likely to return to a life of crime in order to survive life after incarceration.

Keywords: Recidivism, Parole, Rehabilitation, Social support, Social capital

Abbreviations and Acronyms

DCS - Department of Correctional Services

FRCC - First Resource Community Centre

DSD - Department of Social Development

SNS- Social Network Services

NCPS - National Crime Prevention Strategy

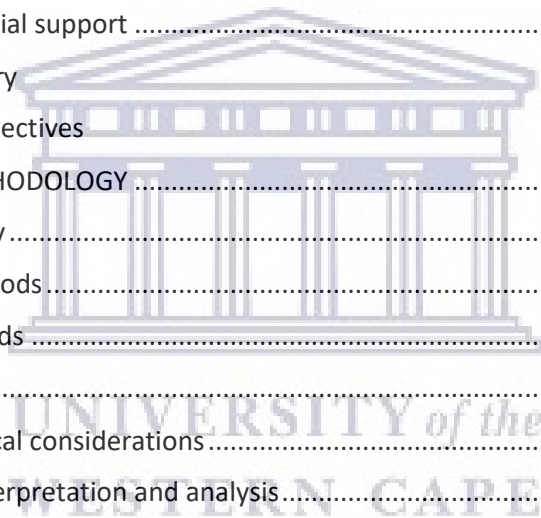
NICRO - National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders



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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and contextualisation

The World Bank (2012) Report clearly highlights and give detailed evidence to that which drives crime amongst youth in South Africa. The report notes that it is not a straightforward issue and remains complex and varied. It is not merely about creating jobs, as there are other socio-economic circumstances that should be considered. It further notes examples of adulthood behaviour that youth are exposed to, and how they are assisted, which continue to play a key part. The research points to empirical evidence that crime and violence have become part of their everyday life. This behavioural pattern forms part of their family life, schooling, their community and the exhibition of their social exchanges and conditioning.

It is known that children in poor communities experience a dire lack of developmental opportunities to assist them to become well-adjusted, balanced adults. Adding fuel to the existing structural menace, are shortages of recreation and recreational facilities, as well as after-care and general childcare. The absence of these interventions channel young children towards violent behaviour, no personal aspiration and parenting practices that promote conflict (World Bank Social Development Department, 2017).

According to the World Bank (2017), to address youth violence will require a dynamic methodology with multiple stakeholders. For this to occur, young people must be approached holistically by parents, principals, teachers, thought leaders, civil society, as well as other proactive role-models. The World Bank research raised two key issues: firstly, violent behaviour must have a life-cycle approach since the inconsistent exposure starts at birth, with the first negative effects only seen at the youth phase. Intervention must also focus on children and their caregivers who act as role-models for the children. The World Bank's report (2017) into youth violence in South Africa (World Bank Social Development Department, 2017) highlights that many parents battle to communicate with their children effectively in a manner that steers them in the right direction on their way to adulthood. Therefore, it is suggested that

care-givers such as parents, foster parents and other credible adults play a pivotal role in stemming the tide of youth violence at an early stage.

South Africa has been hailed to have one of the most progressive constitutions in the world (World Bank, 2012). According to the World Bank Report (2012), complementing this are progressive policies and legislation that support and develop youth to protect their basic rights, as well as enabled legal and statutory institutions, which deal with youth when they conflict with the law. Yet, there are systemic gaps that need to be visited and addressed. The World Bank report (World Bank Social Development Department, 2017) indicates that there is minimal legislation that specifically deals with and addresses youth violence, especially adult youth in violation and conflict with the law. The Child Justice Act (2010) and the Children's Act (2012) prohibits children and youth from being caught up in a criminal justice system aimed at adults. However, adult youth between the ages of 17 and 21 are treated as matured adults and subsequently dealt with by the Criminal Procedures Act (1951).

There is, therefore, no legislation that deals with older youth. This disables them from accessing the multiple rehabilitative avenues afforded to younger youth under the Child Justice Act. Hence, many of these adult youth end up being imprisoned with seasoned criminals and are set up to become repeat offenders and follow a pattern of recurring imprisonment. South Africa has a progressive legislative environment. This enables the country to deal with socio-economic drivers of violence and crime. Strategies like the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), unfortunately has failed dismally, since it has not been implemented properly. This strategy was supposed to be an integrated, proactive, multi-sectoral response to dealing with crime in South Africa.

Craven Engel (2016) of FRCC, a community-based organisation, claims that the country needs a holistic social crime prevention strategy, driven by multi-departments, but headed by the Department of Social Development (DSD). The World bank (2007) suggests that different government clusters, which aim to operationalise initiatives by departments such as the Department of Correctional Services, the Ministry of Police, and the Department of Justice, should work together to facilitate strategic national interventions.

Violent behaviour and criminality are familiar occurrences in the Western Cape (Newham, 2020). Young adolescent men are involved in brutal criminal activities. Poor socio-economic conditions, together with high school drop-out rates, create a breeding ground for criminality

amongst adolescents, resulting in convictions and prison sentences according to Newham (2020). It is within this context that this research will explore why some young men return to prison, and others do not. The high level of recidivism points to the importance of comprehensive research to ascertain why young people are not supported within their communities upon return from being incarcerated. People have become key to aspects of violence and crime in the Republic of South Africa, Newham (2020) continues.

1.2. Rationale and significance of the study

According to Norman *et al.* (2007), South Africa's murder statistics are amongst the highest globally. Violence within local communities is an everyday occurrence and young people living in Black townships have disproportionate experiences of violent crimes compared to suburban youth. This conditioning makes them a high-risk group (Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce, 2008). Statistically, youth in South Africa are exposed to elevated levels of violence and psychological distress and aggression (Shields *et al.*, 2008).

Historically, the majority of Black South Africans that live in townships and poor areas were oppressed to such an extent that the socio-economic and psychological effects have contributed to extensive generational poverty and high levels of youth violence (Norman *et al.*, 2007). Shields *et al.* (2008) assert that when youth are socially supported by family members, it reduces the effects of violence exposure on them. In the United States, researchers like Luthar *et al.* (2000) link close bonds and relationships with young adult resilience and their ability to withstand the lure into violent behaviour. O'Donnell and Muyeed (2002) agree with Luthar *et al.* (2000), stating that buffering support offered by parental monitoring limits the effects of youth exposure to violence.

Zimmerman *et al.* (1998) mentions that maternal support, in particular, helps youth by preventing them from being drawn into violent and deviant behaviour. Further, Andreas and Watson (2009) also identified positive family functioning as a mitigating factor against being drawn into violent behaviour. Zimmerman *et al.* (1998) assert that social support from teachers beyond the classroom is needed to assist to build youth resilience against negative influences. They agree that prosocial adult influence on youth is associated with them being less likely to be drawn into violent behaviour.

According to Guerra *et al.* (2003), family conflict and exposure to violent behaviour has a strong influence on violent behaviour amongst Black youth in the USA. Violent tendencies are

further enhanced by exposure to socialization of family members who indulge in violent and aggressive manners of conflict resolution. This entrenches a positive attitude amongst adolescents towards violence. Guerra *et al.* (2003) study supports the notion that witnessing and being a victim of violence does not lead to criminality, and neither is it connected to violent attitudes. It is thus evident that the intention to commit crime and participate in violent behaviour is more linked to experiences of people close to them and the absence of social support.

Young people who live in informal settlements and poor communities are exposed daily to horrors of high levels of crime in their communities, schools and homes (Shields *et al.*, 2008). Even though this is the case, the bigger effect of violence is violence that is committed by adults that are close to the youth and deemed more influential. Fowler *et al.* (2009) found that there are similarities between witnessing violence, victimisation and the violent behaviour of friends and the manner in which it is replicated by youth in both the US and South Africa. Black South Africans who have violent friends showed more signs of violent behaviour, according to Fowler *et al.* (2009), and affirms that the absence of positive role models has a direct bearing on violent behaviour amongst youth. Brown and Larson (2009) note that the connection between having violent friends and the violent attitude of youth, exacerbates the argument of the amplified salience of other youth during adolescence. These researchers found that youth would move towards behaviours with which they identified most.

According to a report published by Newham (2020), the latest crime statistics reveal a worrying trend in South Africa. Given these statistics, Langa and Masuku (2015) state that crime is not only a socio-economic issue, but has also become an issue of national importance. These authors paint a bleak picture highlighting that the biggest effect of youth crime is largely felt by the poor. South African youth are still being impacted by their history and as a result are still being disadvantaged. Despite the development and implementation of a National Crime Prevention Strategy in 1996, a White Paper on Safety and Security released in 1998 and an all-encompassing Crime Combatting Strategy debuted in 2000, the impact of these initiatives have not been evaluated. Within this context, Langa and Malungu (2015) point out that more people were incarcerated post-apartheid and fewer people rehabilitated over the last 30 years. This study sought to explore the possibility that the absence of social capital and social support play a role in either encouraging or discouraging these young people to pursue careers. The absence of social support and a social capital network stifles them from getting meaningful

opportunities in society at large. Due to unemployment, unfavourable socio-economic conditions, absent parents and poor guidance, many of the youth ultimately get into mischievous activities and then end up in prison. It is within this context and against this historical background that the thesis explores the connection between continual imprisonment of youth that reside in Hanover Park owing to the absence of social support and social capital.

1.2.1 Problem statement

Lekalala (2016) notes that within South Africa, there has been a sharp increase amongst 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. The phenomenon also raises the question whether the South African Government through the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) is effective in their rehabilitation endeavours. Although much has been published on the topic of recidivism at a macro level, according to Lekalala (2016), there is a dearth of information on factors that contribute to the return of released prisoners at community level. It is within the above context that the overall aim of this research focuses on identifying socio-economic factors that entrench recidivism amongst released inhabitants who reside in Hanover Park on the Cape Flats.

1.2.2 Research objectives

The following study objectives were established based on the identified research problem:

- To establish the extent of recidivism amongst released prisoners who reside in the Western Cape.
- To sketch the prevailing landscape within the case study area.
- To determine the socio-economic reasons for recidivism amongst young adults and contribute to their return to criminality in Hanover Park.
- To identify areas where the South African Government through the Department of Correctional Services are doing enough to support parolees through the reintegration process.

1.2.3 Research hypothesis

The hypothetical stance of the research is that the absence of strong social networks outside of prison accelerates the return of young males and females to prison.

1.3 Case study area

1.3.1 South Africa

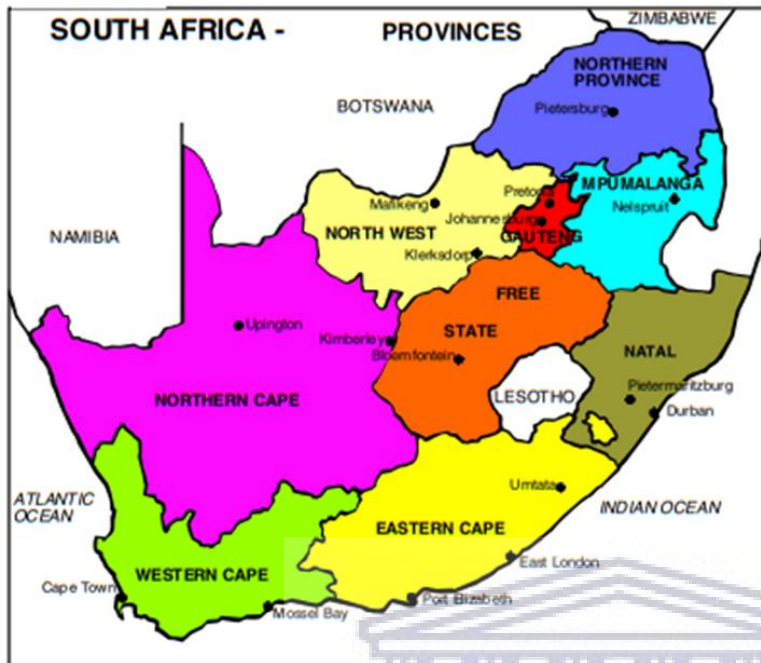


Figure 1.1 – Map of South Africa

When considering the history of South Africa, one should consider three important historical factors. One is the view of unequal power and unfree labour patterns; two is the issue of land deprivation; and three, the view of unfree Black labour, according to Terreblanche (2002). There are certain factors that have given rise to the increase in poverty and inequality in South Africa, namely the rise of China and the stagnation of the African economy. Even inequalities amongst countries have increased. The resultant effect is the longitudinal trend of massive inequality amongst and within countries as well (Potgieter-Gqubule, Ngcobo, 2009). Data shows that the highest levels of inequality is in Latin America and Africa, with southern Africa standing out above other African regions, according to Potgieter-Gqubule, Ngcobo, 2009)

South Africa has no official poverty line, making it impossible to obtain exact poverty and inequality figures. Reported figures differ amongst researchers, since they use different lines to gauge levels. This is influenced by the fact that collected data is not always of available for strata of the South African population. Inconsistencies between surveys and data quality problems, lead to differing views. It is near impossible to establish poverty trends in South Africa owing to inconsistent survey designs. The reality is that there is no reliable data available to confirm if poverty and inequality is increasing or decreasing. The most recent attempt at

analysing data between 1995-2000 shows that poverty is becoming worse, while the inequality gap is widening according to Dissel (2002).

Government purports that the data is misleading and says that poverty levels have been reduced owing to their massive cash grant scheme that has been rolled out to nearly 8 million of the population (Jules-Macquet, 2014). One un-denying fact is that in South Africa inequality is high and the South African Gini coefficient is amongst the highest in the world (Potgieter-Gqubule, Ngcobo, 2009). Hence, the South African landscape sees greater poverty levels compared to countries that have similar average income levels. Even though inequality amongst race groups has seemingly eased, inequality within racial groups have seen a marked increase according to Potgieter-Gqubule, Ngcobo (2009).

Potgieter-Gqubule and Ngcobo (2009) purports that South Africa has dedicated its resources to focus on the National Development Plan, which aspires to ensure that all its people are better off by 2030. They continue to state that this plan has focussed on ensuring that constitutional democracy is undergirded by strong economic growth and socio-economic conditions that benefit the welfare of the entire population. To this extent, the rehabilitation of offenders is not high on the list of economic and social welfare issues that the country faces, according to Potgieter-Gqubule and Ngcobo (2009).

1.3.2 Case study area - The Cape Flats (Western Cape)

According to Gastrow (1998), the Cape Flats comprises the geographical zones east of the southern and northern suburbs of Cape Town City and comprises Coloured blocks of flats, Black townships and informal housing. Organised criminal groups have expanded their illegal activities here significantly over the years. The area of the Cape Flats district constitutes in excess of 500,000 people who live there, comprising about 18 percent of the City of Cape Town's population (Gastrow, 1998). The Group Areas Act functioned as a key piece of legislation, as its primary goal was the prohibition of mixed neighbourhoods in favour of strict racially segregated communities, which forced neighbourhoods to develop along racial lines (South African Institute for Race Relations, 1950).

Most of the better areas close to the city centre were declared "Whites only" areas and every other race group was removed and placed in the vast area commonly known as the Cape Flats (Gastrow, 1998). This was also an area where cheap migrant labour would be located (City of

Cape Town, 2009). Geologically speaking, the Cape Flats is merely a piece of Aeolian sandy strip of marine origin that was blown into place from the surrounding sandy beaches. Constantia Nek, Table Mountain, The Back Table and Devil's Peak form the western boundary of the Cape Flats. The scenic and iconic view of a flat Table Mountain is not visible from the Cape Flats. This is usually seen by visitors when they enter the Cape Metropolitan area from the N2 highway. The geographical area has a Mediterranean climate with heavy flooding during winter. Life is particularly difficult for the inhabitants of the area as many live in sub-standard housing.

The area is a breeding ground for sickness and diseases like tuberculosis, according to the Spatial Development Plan and the Environmental Management Framework (City of Cape Town, 2009). The transmission of TB is connected with the continual exposure to living in poor socio-economic conditions (Tadokera, 2020). According to Gastrow (1998), during the apartheid era, many of the political heads like H. Verwoerd and P.W Botha saw it fit to embark on large housing projects to remove Coloured communities from areas like Constantia, Claremont, Harfield, the City Centre, District six and the Atlantic seaboard area, as these were then deemed to be White areas. This effectively meant that although Coloured and Black people could work in these areas, they could not live there (Gastrow, 1998).

Xhosa-speaking people of the area, including those who were born and raised in the area, were part of the Bantustan homelands and had to live illegally in areas like Khayelitsha and Gugulethu. This saw a massive increase in illegal dwellings being erected in these areas, according to Gastrow (1998). Dwellings here comprise of tin and iron sheets, constructed with wood and cardboard to keep the cold out. Twenty-five years ago, Cape Town had a housing backlog of about 50 000 houses. The current figure is about 400 000 houses that are needed to deal with the housing backlog, which was hoped to be addressed by the Reconstruction and Development Programme, according to Gastrow (1998).

Since the abolishment of the Apartheid system, inhabitants are free to live where they choose, but are still bound and affected by their history, economics, spatial planning and education of the area. According to a 2008 SALDRU report, most Coloured people live in Mitchells Plain and speak Afrikaans, while most Blacks live in Khayelitsha and speak mostly Xhosa. Over the last twenty years, the diversity of people cross-pollinating has increased across those designated racial areas (Nieftagodien & Yu, 2008). A few years later, poverty, unemployment and social and spatial degradation are still evident in these areas. The previous government,

together with the current ANC-led government, has not done enough to deal with the systemic and structural challenges that the Cape Flats faces (Pinnock, 1998). This is evident in the large number of crimes that are committed, the number of young people that are incarcerated and the massive levels of unemployment, Pinnock (1998) continues.

There are many initiatives afoot to help to rebuild the Cape Flats. Hanover Park's Ceasefire Programme was launched to stop gang violence and function as a mentor programme to stem young people from becoming involved in criminal activities (Engel, 2018). There are also an array of community and welfare organisations working within the Cape Flats area to deal with issues of health care, crime, education and sport for the upliftment of all its people Engel (2018) continues. Areas on the Cape Flats include, but are not limited to Athlone, Bonteheuwel, Elsies River, Khayelitsha, Heideveld, Manenberg, Hanover Park, Lavender Hill, Nyanga and Mitchell's Plain.

1.3.3 Hanover Park

The specific case study area for this research is Hanover Park, which is in the Cape Flats. The Cape Flats is a sandy flat corridor of land on the south eastern fringes of Cape Town. Under the forced removals that occurred in the 1960's, mostly Coloured families were relocated to this corridor of land. According to Cook (1991), people were uprooted from more affluent suburbs within Cape Town and its surrounding areas, and forcibly resettled and segregated into Coloured and African residential townships in the Cape Flats. The segregation policies initiated by the Nationalist Government altered the physical and social fabric of Cape Town. Cook (1991) argues that although 60% of Metropolitan Cape Town is accommodated on the Cape Flats, only 16% of employment opportunities are contained in the same area. These communities face a barrage of social, physical and geographical limitations such as high infant mortality, a lack of quality education opportunities, inadequate transport infrastructure, drug addiction, crime, poor service provision and unimaginative public open space, to mention a few.

Hanover Park has become synonymous with gang culture and violence (Engel, 2018). This phenomenon is evident daily within many other residential Cape Flats suburbs and has become entrenched within the daily lives of the people who reside there. Those who live in the case study area of Hanover Park and surrounding areas such as Manenberg, Mitchells Plain, Ravensmead, Bonteheuwel and Delft on the Cape Flats, are affected in the harshest sense by

gang activities (South African History Online, 2011). Hanover Park is an urban, working class area, located on the outskirts of Cape Town. Craven (2018) describes it as a place with high levels of unemployment, a history of drugs, gangsterism and low education level throughputs.

According to Lian Benjamin (2000), former Director at CASE, a community organisation working in the area, the community is regularly subjected to violence (physical, sexual and emotional). If not directly involved, the community regularly witnesses acts of violence. Learners at secondary schools are frequently the targets of gangs that operate in Hanover Park. CASE also notes with concern the effect that gang activity has had on the emotional and psychological well-being of learners in Hanover Park (Mingo, 1999). The latest statistics from Stats SA (2016) reveal that there are about 34 000 people who reside in Hanover Park, with about 33 000 of the residents classified as Coloured and the remainder of the designated groups of Black, White and Indian.

Education levels of Hanover Park residents range from no education to those who have PhD degrees. Around 76% of the residents completed grade 9 or higher, with nearly 48% having completed their matric level education. The unemployment rate in Hanover Park is estimated at around 44% and this includes the unemployed, discouraged work-seekers, as well as other non-economically active workers. There are about 19 000 individuals in Hanover Park that fall within the 19-59-year-old age category. This means that 62% of the people in Hanover Park are employable. The rest consist of minor children, pensioners, and individuals that are deemed unfit to work (StatsSA, 2019).

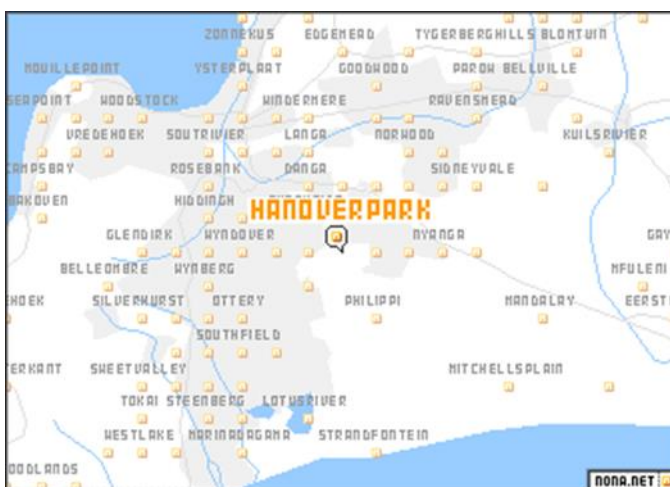


Figure 1.2 - Map of the Cape Flats and Hanover Park

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Literature review

This chapter explores existing literature on recidivism. The focus covers operationalization, contextualization, defining key terms, interrogating the extent of the problem, both internationally and locally, identifying relevant legislation and, finally, discussing risk factors that lead to recidivism and challenges that offenders face upon release from prison.

2.1 Definition of terms

2.1.1 Recidivism

Dissel (2002) defines recidivism, at its most basic level, as ‘the return to prison as a result of a criminal activity after being released from incarceration’. Similarly, Winnicott (1984) defines recidivism as a criminal’s tendency to repeat criminal activity after his/her release even after efforts to reform. Van Ness and Strong (1997) note that the recidivism rate for prisoners is high owing to the fact that ex-offenders do not have stable environments to return to upon their release. Recidivism has its root in the Latin word “recidere”, which means to “fall back” (Maltz, Wells & Minor, 2012). This definition suggests that someone who has committed a crime, and was supposed to be rehabilitated, “fell back” into their previous criminal behavioural patterns. Prinsloo (1995), in defining recidivism as a general academic term, notes that when an offender commits a crime and is sentenced through the courts, then re-commits a recordable crime within the follow-up period and is, therefore, resentenced, the term falls within the category of recidivism. Recidivism is viewed to be a paralysing norm in prisons within an African context (Munting, 2003). There are multiple reasons why prisoners repeat behaviour that will result in them being re-incarcerated (Petersilia, 2003).

2.1.2 Delinquency

According to Sykes and Matza (1957), delinquency refers to anti-social behaviour, which is learnt in the process of social interaction. Drawing on Sutherland’s Differential Association theory, Andoh and Bosiakoh (2010) argue that delinquent behaviour is immersed in the individuals’ motives, techniques and attitudes towards violation of the law. Within this framework, the concept of juvenile delinquency can be viewed from two perspectives: first, it is viewed as a product of internal emotional and personality conflicts and, second, it is pointed

out as a result of being exposed to a deviant social subculture. This culminates in individuals expressing deviant behaviour (Burgess & Akers, 1966).

2.1.3 Parole

Parole is a designed programme that is intended to have prisoners released earlier than specified at sentencing, so as to serve the rest of their sentence outside of prison and within their communities (Florida Parole Commission, 2008). When offenders have served their prescribed minimum detention period, they qualify to be considered to serve the remainder of their sentence under strict monitored conditions under the control and supervision of the Department of Correctional Services (Department of Correctional Services, 2004). According to Formby and Smykla (1984), once prisoners have served their minimum sentence requirements, they could be considered to be paroled under the supervision of the Parole Board and managed by a parole officer. The authors add that the authority to release an individual lies solely with the Parole Board and this authority can also revoke the liberty, should the parole conditions be violated. It is important to note that there are two types of paroles, namely Court Parole and Department of Correctional Services (DCS) parole. Carney (1977) states that in the first instance the court passes a sentence whereby the individual will serve the sentence under “parole” conditions administered by the court of law. Such an individual will not necessarily end up in prison, should they adhere to the conditions. In the second instance, the Parole Board, based at the Correctional Services Centre, will decide on whether the individual can be considered for parole after serving part of their sentence.

2.1.4 Social support

Social scientists have only recently added the words “social support” to their lexicon even though this concept is not new to research on recidivism. Caplan’s (1974) definition of “social support” includes “continual social aggregates” that offer people some evaluation about themselves and to help them validate the expectations of others. Cobb (1976) differs markedly from Caplan (1974) in defining the concept of social support. He believes that, excluding aid and resources, social support makes the individual feel “appreciated, loved and valued”. Furthermore, House (1981) denotes “social support” as interpersonal transactions that involve multiple factors to help individuals cope with stressful occurrences. The general consensus is that there is support that can influence an individual’s health and well-being.

2.1.5 Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation, according to Champion (2001), is the vocational and educational training of prisoners whilst in prison. The aim of such training is to bring about reformation in the behaviour of prisoners and to promote the successful reintegration of prisoners back into their communities. Before prisoners are released under parole supervision, the Parole Board would use their willingness to participate, their involvement in and the success achieved during rehabilitation as an indicator of their release-readiness (Solomon, Kachnowski, & Bhati, 2015).

2.2 Extent of recidivism: A comparison of South Africa and the global context

2.2.1 International context

A comparison of recidivism rates at an international level reveals, to a certain extent, the effectiveness of efforts to rehabilitate prisoners and criminal justice policies (Yukhnenko, 2014). However, comparisons prove difficult owing to the inconsistent reporting of re-arrest rates. Scholars such as Yukhnenko (2014) and Fazel and Wolf (2015) refer to the difficulty of comparing recidivism rates at an international level owing to different recording and reporting practices. In addition, different definitions such as re-arresting, re-offending and re-imprisonment differ amongst countries. Furthermore, samples taken within countries differ and can include prisoners, offenders and other misdemeanours from other institutions (Fazel & Wolf, 2015). Studies by Fazel and Wolf (2015) provide evidence of re-imprisonment rates within a two-year cycle for a number of countries. Countries with the highest numbers include Australia (45%), Canada Quebec and New Zealand (43%), Israel (28%) and North Carolina in the USA (21%).

The South African Context

The National Youth Victimization Study (2009) indicates that criminality amongst young adults in South Africa have seen a drastic increase in numbers over the last ten years. The study shows that close to a million young South Africans have committed criminal acts (Leoschut & Burton, 2006). The latest research shows recidivism statistics are at 50% to 70% in terms of offenders who migrate back into a life of crime and are re-incarcerated within a period of three years according to (Kwela, 2015). According to Kwela (2015) the time-frame by which recidivism is observed in South Africa is three years.

Even though recorded crimes in 2018 were indicated as 2,09 million cases, which is lower than 2017 (2,12 million), this figure is still high. Maepa (2008) notes with concern that it is estimated that between 85% and 94% of prisoners return to prison after committing additional crimes in South Africa. Dissel (2002) suggests that rehabilitation and investigation into the causes could be key to address this downward spiral and ever-increasing phenomena, where many young people become repeat offenders after their initial incarceration.

2.2.3 South African prison environment

In South Africa, the Department of Correctional Services manages prisons. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa is a blueprint that the Department of Correctional Services has used to guide its vision since 2005 (White Paper, 2005). The White Paper aims to establish guidelines to direct focus on rehabilitation and not punishment. South Africa has 240 prisons, with 34000 employees (DCS, 2014). In addition, approximately 156 000 prisoners, as of August 2016, were held in the 240 prisons, which includes eight for female prisoners, thirteen for juvenile prisoners, while the rest are for male prisoners (Macquet, 2014).

Jules-Macquet (2014) argues that the average cost of an individual's incarceration is approximately R123.37 per prisoner per day, which is paid from the national government's budget. According to Morris (2013), the Department of Correctional Services has a high rate of imprisonment in South Africa and one of the largest prison populations in the world. It costs the South African taxpayer about R69 000 per annum to take proper care of a single prisoner according to Morris (2004). According to Morris (2004), 68% of the prison population is serving sentences of five or more years, and approximately 8 000 prisoners are serving life sentences. For prisons and prisoners, government expenses total nearly R12 billion per annum Morris (2004) continues. He further elaborates that one of the main problems within the prison environment is that of overcrowding and that the general occupancy rate for all prisons in South Africa is about 145%. He notes that, Gauteng Province's occupancy rate is much higher than the national average at 177%. Gangs, overcrowding, poor hygiene, a lack of medical care and a lack of security were issues that the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons Report highlighted (2008).

2.3 Legislative framework

This section documents the legislative and policy frameworks that govern incarceration and rehabilitation.

2.3.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

Chapter 3, Section 35, of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) sets out the general aim relating to the rights of prisoners (RSA, 1996). According to Mubangizi (2001) “the introduction of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution has brought a new dimension and challenge to the protection and realisation of prisoners' rights in South Africa”. Further to this, Ward and Langlands (2008) states that the concept of restorative justice is enshrined in the Constitution and is linked to human rights whereby offenders are to be fairly treated as human beings first.

2.3.2 Correctional Services Act and Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977

The Department of Correctional Services is also guided by the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998 (RSA, 1998). This Act aims to foster a correctional system that offers custody, rehabilitation and later the placement of all offenders under human conditions. It also makes provision for a Judicial Inspectorate of prisons, a National Council for Correctional Services, and an Independent Correctional Centre for Visitors that deals with the rights of families visiting prisoners. This act functions as an oversight legislation for the Department of Correctional Services in the execution of their mandate.

Criminal Procedure Act No. 51 of 1977

There are specific parts of the Criminal Procedure Act (CPA), 1977 (Act No. 51 of 1977) that are important to the DCS, especially Section 63A (RSA, 1977). Section 63A deals with the head of prisons applying to the courts for the release of prisoners under certain bail conditions. The Department of Correctional Services is required to release certain types of prisoners that are close to the end of their prison sentence period (Morris, 2004). This, according to Gideon Morris (2004), is based on their behavioural records whilst serving their sentences. Requests for the release of prisoners could also be owing to parole conditions being met, or to overcrowding, or as a result of the numbers having to be lowered owing to health and safety concerns. Chapter 28 and section 299A of the CPA, which deals with the reasons for releasing prisoners on parole, also focuses on sentencing and deals with the sentenced prisoner applying to be considered for parole. Chapter 28 of the CPA (1997) deals solely with the mandate of the DCS, as indicated by the Corrections Services Act of 1998 (RSA, 1988). Both the Criminal

Procedure Act, as well as the Correctional Services Act, successfully balances the rights of prisoners with fairness towards society (Morris, 2004).

2.3.3 White Paper on Corrections, 2005

The White Paper on Corrections (2005) necessitates that the Department of Correctional Services should promote public safety and stifle criminality (White Paper on Corrections, 2005). The White Paper (2005) guides the DCS to function as a security institution, whilst acting as centres that foster rehabilitation, social reintegration and corrections. Furthermore, the White Paper (2005) provides for policy development, legislation and guidance for the DCS, with a strong emphasis on prisoner re-integration into society. As part of the White Paper's implementation plan, a procedure of policy identification alignment was undertaken (White Paper on Corrections, 2005). Added to its scope, an addition to the White Paper's mandate is to make the paper more user-friendly and in line with the philosophy with the concept of corrections. Within the system of governance and oversight, the White Paper can draw links regarding broader relations. The White Paper also provides strategic direction for penal reforms within the South African prison environment (White Paper on Corrections, 2005). In addition, it also guides the relationship between the DCS, civil society and other government departments according to Morris (2014).

2.4 Risk factors affecting recidivism

There has been a marked increase in juvenile recidivism rates in South Africa (Muntingh, 2009). Although juvenile arrests have decreased owing to application of the Child Justice Act and the Child Justice Act Amendment Bill, there is still an upsurge in youth and juvenile reoffending. This is evident, as nearly fifty percent of youth offenders who are out on parole, are recurring offenders. There are tens of thousands of youth and juveniles that are currently incarcerated and out on parole (Puzzanchera, Adams, & Sickmund, 2010). Nadeau (2007) asserts that many of these youth offenders are products of a conditioning process driven by other contributing factors such as poverty. For instance, if there is a dire need for money to support a drug habit (Nadeau, 2007). The issue of recidivism among young delinquents is a huge issue and concern for communities on the Cape Flats and a problem for NGOs and civil society engaged in rehabilitative work with young offenders.

The rehabilitation of young offenders, through statutory and therapeutic programmes, aims to keep young people out of prison according to Munting (2004). The success of these programmes, both inside and outside of correctional centres, are being questioned, since the number of those that become repeat offenders are increasing. More should be done to better understand the thinking of these young offenders. It is essential to also consider other factors that influence these young people to resort to a life of crime, even after they have attended different rehabilitation programmes. A fundamental supposition is that better insight of different aspects that young recidivists consider to be adding to their reoffending will enable those wanting to help and guide them, to avoid re-offences. The literature refers to a number of barriers that prevent the reduction of recidivism (Tewksbury, 2014). Some of these barriers are discussed in the section below.

2.4.1 Age of offenders

It is suggested that among demographic variables, age could be identified as a concrete indicator of recidivism amongst young Langa and Masuku (2015). Recidivism rates peak during adolescence, according to Hirschi and Gottfredson (1990), and younger juveniles are more likely to fall prey to recidivism. This is particularly true within disadvantaged communities and the youth from low-income families are more prone to be exposed to delinquency. Research undertaken by Acton (2015) indicates that juveniles that are involved in delinquent behaviour from an early age run a greater risk of recidivation. Adding to this discussion, Blankenship and Bontrager (2008) assert that the seriousness and degree of prior offending can be used as an indicator in respect of whether juveniles will become repeat offenders. They opine that juveniles that are punished with community service or having to pay back their victims, are less likely to become repeat offenders.

2.4.2 Parental and sibling criminality

Recidivism is further exacerbated when parental and sibling criminality, together with a disintegrating family structure, is prevalent according to Langa and Masuku (2015). They continue to state that juveniles are easily influenced by their siblings owing to the strong bond that exists within families, which results in younger siblings copying the behaviour of older siblings. It is stated that delinquent siblings have an unswerving effect on juvenile recidivism (Frola, 2009). The sibling criminality-effect influence is a concept that speaks to how one sibling may have an influence on another. Rowe and Gulley (1992) further state that sibling

pairs who have common friends are found to be more similar behaviourally, and to the extent that one can identify copy-cat behaviour being exhibited. Research by Rowe and Gulley (1992) shows that sibling influence on their criminal behaviour is not only a result of parental substance use, social class or rearing styles.

2.4.3 Dysfunctional families and gang affiliation

The large increase in incarceration globally has resulted in research on how a dysfunctional family influences criminality that leads to imprisonment (Rodrigues, Smith, & Zatz, 2009). A dysfunctional family environment also influences recidivism, while the absence of parental role-modelling and domestic boundaries has also been identified as factors that increases the possibility of prisoners returning to crime, following their release (Christiansen & Vincent, 2013). Recent studies have shown that children of incarcerated parents face multiple difficulties before, during and after their parents' incarceration. Research by Rodrigues, Smith and Zatz (2009) further links delinquent peers, family conflict and poor school performance to the dysfunctional family. All of these variables create a platform for criminality.

Gang involvement, limited education and association with other delinquents are regarded as significant indicators of recidivism (Barrett *et al.*, 2014). According to Hertz, Ryan and Bilchik (2010), another predictor of recidivism is the affiliation to gang membership. The criminogenic desire of gang-affiliated youth, and the possibility of recidivism for gang-affiliated youth is gaining more attention in social research. Studies conducted by Chi Meng Chu (2010) identified a strong correlation between gang affiliation and recidivism. The author's multivariate analyses point to the fact that youth involved in gang-affiliation has a higher level of involvement in weapon and substance use, as well as violent acts. The numbers are much higher than youth that are not involved in gangs. The study by Chi Mng Chu (2010) elaborates further that gang-affiliated individuals who have spent time in prison also scored higher on indicators for recidivism and were more active in violent and criminal activity. It is, therefore, evident that there is a significantly strong correlation between recidivism and gang affiliation.

2.4.4 Influence of other delinquent peers and school criminality

Family, neighbourhoods, communities and significant others play strong roles in the conditioning and persuasive roles of a child's development journey according Langa and

Masuku (2015). They further state that the community in which a child grows up shapes their world view, whilst the community wherein they live dictate the conditioning of their behaviour. There are really two polarised communities to which a child can be exposed. One is a community riddled with crime and social disorganisation and a community where crime and violence are not accepted as norms and the lives of the citizens are valued Langa and Masuku (2015) continues.

According to Siegel, Welsh and Senna (2003) family life is the primary socialization agency for a child, whereas the school and the community are considered secondary social influencers. It is at the school where the child is conditioned to accept said authority, adhere to rules and regulations, and work with other children (Siegel, Welsh and Senna, 2003). It is here that children meet, interact and learn from their peers and make friends. These friends and peers will always be a strong part of their adolescent journey. If the influence from peers or friends are negative, this is commonly known as peer pressure.

According to Siegel, Welsh and Senna (2003), the child will have difficulty to accept authority structures at school when the family fails in their task to guide the child regarding this issue of respecting authority, respecting older persons and getting along with their peers. When children do not have a positive self-esteem, cannot function independently and stand up for themselves, it indicates that the family has not fulfilled its obligation toward their initial upbringing, which results in children falling prey to peer pressure. Parents play a vital role in emphasising the valuable contribution of education in a child's life to become successful adults. Siegel, Welsh and Senna (2003) note that the outcome of a child's life can easily become negative, based on with whom that child socialises. When a child is exposed to strong negative influences, this may lead to involvement in gangs, truancy at school and participating in the use of drugs, which could later turn into criminality.

Undeniably, the neighbourhood and community wherein the child resides and within which the child is raised, plays a pivotal role in that child's forthcoming behaviour. Angenent and de Man (1996) purport that the relationship concerning the residential area of an offending criminal depends on two factors, namely the contact that youth have with friends and peers in the neighbourhood, while the other deals with prospects for wrongdoing, misdemeanour and crime that are prevalent in the youth's neighbourhood. Children are conditioned to know what is acceptable in a community, as they socialise through observation and acquire their values and norms within their community. Hence, if the community turns a blind eye to crime, children

might interpret this to mean that it is acceptable and perhaps even desirable behaviour, according to Angenent and de Man (1996).

Mkhondo (2005) claims that when young children are exposed to violent crime, the resultant effects are substance abuse, poor school attendance and academic performance, as well as behavioural challenges. Some prisoners link their violent behaviour to their homes and communities where this type of behaviour was modelled. These prisoners describe how they became oblivious to shootings, stabbings and murders in their respective communities. They never had opportunities here to learn conflict resolution and social skills (Mkhondo, 2005).

Siegel, Welsh and Senna (2003) consider the community wherein a school is located as a connection to crime. The authors established that any criminal action in the school is owing to the community in which the school is located. They assert that delinquency in schools happens in union with and because of the influence of other delinquency activities within these respective communities. According to the authors, there are two key factors that play a role in criminal activities at schools and their association with communities. The first is the issue of poverty and disorganisation in neighbourhoods. Families here rely on social grants, are mostly unemployed and entrenched in poverty. This poverty in the areas surrounding the school strongly influences the social behaviours of these young children.

The second issue that influences young children is neighbourhood crime. According to Siegel *et al.* (2003), evidence confirms a connection between misbehaviour and delinquency in schools and the social microcosm prevalent in the area surrounding the school. Students fear criminals in their area and witness their peers carrying weapons for protection on their way from home to school and back. This exposes these young children to many potential dangers and they might end up on the wrong side of the law. Youth criminality is evident everywhere and has posed great concerns for many social and judicial agencies everywhere. When juveniles interact with delinquent peers, it leads to criminal activity, according to Laedsrich and Ralston (2010).

The authors mention that variables such as substance abuse, victimisation at an early age and maltreatment have been huge predictors of recidivism and criminality. When others commit crimes, the lure of material resources gained from criminal activity, together with unemployment, draws those that were previously released back into the life of crime (Agenyi, 2017). Coupled with unemployment, criminal activity is a huge drawcard for young people

who want to access material things. Delinquent peers have a strong bearing on the behaviour of other unemployed young people, according to Rowe and Gulley (1992).

2.4.5 Neglected childhood

Makiwane and Kwizera (2009) state that about 60% of South Africa's children live in absolute poverty. These children can be found in rural areas and on the peripheries of cities. According to Brooks-Gunn and Duncan (1997), 41% of the population comprises children under the age of 18 years. It was also noted that 55% of these children are in rural areas. There are many factors that contribute to youth poverty, according to Makiwane and Kwizera (2009). Some of those factors include young people's living conditions, length of time taken to complete schooling, early childbearing, unemployment of parents, violence, and so on. There is a huge need for a greater focus on the development of children and youth in South Africa. A focus on poverty amongst younger generations (both children and youth) are important for several reasons. Firstly, they, especially children, are at a critical point of their development: "one that offers a critical opportunity to influence the physical, intellectual and emotional stages of development of human beings" (UNICEF, 2003). It is imperative to tackle poverty at the beginning of a child's development since it can have a crippling effect on their well-being.

The second reason is that children and youth depend largely on adults and are, therefore, the most exposed members of any society according to Makiwane and Kwizera (2009). They continue to stipulate that most children do not have the agency to change their economic dispensation. Even though it is hugely evident amongst children, it is increasingly evident within the daily lives of the youth. According to Makiwane and Kwizera (2009), unemployment rates are nearly double amongst young people compared to adults, while they are unemployed for long periods of time, and, therefore, remain dependent on support from adults (and older members of their families), and often only find meaningful employment in their mid-twenties. Only a small number (21.1%) of these young people in the age category 18-24 years are self-supportive, whilst amongst the 25-35-year-old group, only 58% support themselves.

Thirdly, according to UNICEF (2003), a child whose upbringing is subjected to poverty will most likely be a poor adult, who in turn will raise children that will continue the same level of poverty. Laederich and Ralston (2010) and Herz and Frola (2009) declare that a neglected child may participate in crime for attention, has limited opportunity to learn self-control and is

more likely to be involved in recidivism. The above authors highlight how the psychological effects of physical abuse, neglect, maltreatment, victimisation and sexual abuse can leave lasting imprints on juveniles. It is, therefore, evident that acquiring criminal behaviour, in addition to abuse, is more likely to morph into individuals that will be involved in recidivism.

2.4.6 Absence of societal support

The era of burgeoning prison populations has placed a greater emphasis on quality of life and the possibility of offenders being restored back into society upon being released (Petersilia, 2013). The author notes that more than 30% of released prisoners are rearrested within six months after serving their initial sentence. There are numerous programs such as those offered by the Hope Prison Ministries' Outreach Program that attempt to address issues that inmates face when returning to society. There are vast amounts of empirical research, theoretical constructs and policies that are dedicated to issues that surround re-entry (Lattimore & Steffey, 2010). Scholarly writings indicate that recidivism is a growing trend and is placing an enormous strain on national corrections' budgets.

Davis, Bahr and Ward (2012) stipulates that prisoners returning to society after being incarcerated remain a challenge for society, at large. Offenders face many challenges upon their release from prison (Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). These challenges stifle rehabilitation efforts and increase the chance of prisoners reoffending. Davis *et al.* (2012) note that returning to mainstream society is a shock to the prisoners when they are released. Prisoners struggle to cope, since the outside world is vastly different to prison life. For prisoners that have served long periods in the correctional system, being released is even more difficult. Clearly, this poses huge challenges for prisoner reintegration. The science of offender reintegration must be explored if South Africa wants to address the serious issues of crime. Davis *et al.* (2012) mention that a better understanding of prisoner reintegration enables their family, professionals and communities to assist and support the change for prisoners when released, which helps to reduce chances of recidivism. The issue of prisoner reintegration is still a sensitive issue for mainstream society. The stigma attached to being an offender works to the disadvantage of both society and the offender (Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). The challenge is that some ex-offenders cannot successfully transition back into society and remain free of any criminal behaviour. There are many areas where ex-offenders need support once they leave the prison. Some focus on transport, work, accommodation and emotional support (Harry Holzer, 2007).

2.4.7 Unemployment, limited educational background and economic opportunities

Limited educational background, unemployment and no economic opportunities are barriers that stifle offenders' transition back into society (Munting, 2003). This lack of education disempowers ex-offenders who are not able to access and use digital opportunities for available jobs (Lattimore & Steffey, 2010). This not only impedes pursuing job opportunities, but also limits them from learning new skills. Offender reintegration comprises the change from being imprisoned into mainstream society and back into their respective communities. This is where the offenders attempt to adjust to the new life outside of prison after spending time in prison. The reintegration of an offender is defined as "a systematic and evidence-based process by which actions are taken to work with the offender in custody and on release, so that communities are better protected from harm and reoffending is significantly reduced. It encompasses the totality of work with prisoners, their families, significant others and victims in partnership with statutory and voluntary organisations." (Liptin *et al.*, 2004). Every initiative aimed to support the offender before and after their release to ensure that they remain law-abiding citizens, is termed re-integration.

It is vital that during reintegration that the offender's family, other professionals and their respective communities support this process, according to Shinkfield and Graffam (2009). The authors emphasise that reintegration is a long journey and cannot be perceived as a once-off event. Muntingh (2005) states that after 1994, South Africa shifted its focus from a retributive penal system to that of a more restorative and rehabilitative penal code. Rehabilitative approaches see imprisonment to a restorative end, whereas a retributive approach sees punishment as the end. Rehabilitative approaches aim to get the reformed offender to become a productive citizen of society again (Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). The core thinking surrounding the rehabilitative approach is the holistic recovery and support of the offenders. This includes support in the emotional, psychological, resources, career and employment areas of the offenders according to Davis, Bahr and Ward (2012).

Munting (2003) claims that the offenders alone cannot be blamed for the crimes committed, but that society created breeding spaces for these criminal acts to occur. Society is, therefore, partly responsible to help with the reintegration process. Hence, it is important for the same society to be part of offering solutions. Muntingh (2003) asserts that it is better for people to live in harmony with each other and, if harmony is not present, then everything should be done

to pursue it. The author continues to state that, historically, the punitive approach belittles offenders and stimulates recidivism.

The absence of trust and support causes generational disruptions within neighbourhoods and, therefore, reform and reintegration should be the main aim of reintegration according to Munting (2003). According to the SA criminal justice system, reintegration of offenders into society is a collective responsibility. The White Paper on Corrections (2005) emphasizes that the seamless reintegration of offenders back into the communities will only be successful through the participation of all stakeholders. Most offenders that are released on parole, or after completing their prison sentences do not have the educational qualifications to find meaningful work. Besides the fact that ex-offenders have to deal with the stigma of a criminal record, it is difficult to access employment and economic opportunities.

According to Denney et al., (2014) there are no real structures in place to afford individuals with a criminal record the opportunity to apply for a loan or be able to register for any business opportunity. They continue to assert that most of the individuals that have served prison terms hail from economically and/or socially disadvantaged backgrounds (Denney *et al.*, 2014). The limited and/or poor skills and work experience of most ex-prisoners are generally not aligned to the requirements and demands of the job market and economic opportunities in the marketplace. Most of them exited school at an early age when they were involved in delinquent criminality. Denney et al., (2014) stipulates that these delinquents have no access to further training and studying, while economic opportunities are scarce. Their criminal records are a massive stumbling block to enter the mainstream workplace, allowing them to find long term, meaningful work according Denney et al., (2014).

Upon their release they are doomed to long periods of unemployment. Most community workers want the government to do more to assist with prisoner education whilst in prison. This combination of factors like unemployment, limited education and no economic opportunities are a quagmire for offenders, as it could easily lead to recidivism (Denney *et al.*, 2014). Institutions such as the police, civil society, municipalities, and business are all part of the multi-faceted approach required to assist with the successful reintegration of offenders. While most of these institutions claim to be doing this, there are massive, identified gaps (Denney *et al.*, 2014).



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CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For several decades the concept of behaviour has been explained by different theories (Bandura, 1977). The Social Support Theory (Orrick 2011), Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977) and the Strain Theory (Merton, 1964) are paradigms that have been used to explore criminal behaviour. These theories have provided a background and a baseline for many when discussing criminal behaviour and, more specifically, delinquency. There is widespread agreement that social influence plays a powerful role in the development of young people (Denney & Tewksbury, 2014). Several significant expressions have been used by researchers whilst studying the concept of social relationships (Merton, 1964). The web of social connections surrounding individuals is called social networks (Coleman, 1993). An important function of a social network is the provision of social support. Thus, the expression 'social network' refers to links between individuals, who may or may not offer social support and may assist in other ways of providing support. The concept of social capital has been used to label resources that emanate from social networks (Merton, 1964).

The edifice of social networks can be defined by means of their dyadic competencies (that is, appearances of definite connections amongst the central individual and others in a system) and in terms of the network's make-up as a unit, according to Coleman (1993). There are instances where the characteristics also comprise the degree to which assets and provisions are both set down and given, as well as received in a particular relationship (reciprocity), the manner in which emotional closeness (power or strength) is displayed, the manner in which a relationship is entrenched in a proper institutional structure (formality), and the extent to which this relationship functions in a variety of contexts.

Examples of characteristics that describe this type of network comprises the extent to which those in the network share the same demographics in terms of race, age and socio-economic status. According to Coleman (1993) the degree to which members live in proximity to that of the key person, as well as how well those members know one another and how often they interact with each other. These social matrixes give birth to various social functions such as social influence, social undermining, social comparison and companionship, social control and social support. Various researchers have defined and measured social support in several ways. Coleman (1993) defines social support as the practical and active component of relationships that can be classified into four main types of acts or behaviours:

- (i) Emotional support, which encapsulates the offering of empathy, love, care and trust.
- (ii) Instrumental support, which includes providing physical assistance and services that directly help people in need.
- (iii) Informational support, which includes providing information, advice, guidance, suggestions and information that people can use to deal with their challenges; and
- (iv) Appraisal support which comprises the provision of information that is valuable for self-evaluation reasons and, which enables an individual to constructively receive affirmation and feedback.

Barret *et al.* (2013) explain that even though these four categories of support can be distinguished theoretically, it is not straightforward. These relationships and connections that offer one category of support, frequently also offer some of the other type of support. This makes it tough to observe and research them as separate constructs. They note that social support can be easily differentiated from other functions of social relationships, arguing that the intention of the provider of social support is for the support to be helpful.

3.1.1 Conceptualizing social support

According to Burton (1977), even if intentional help is viewed or seen as being valuable by the one receiving, it is an issue of personal interpretation, and negative consequences and perceptions of well-meaning interpersonal interactions have been seen. Social support is wilfully given, which is different from the social influence applied via simplistic surveillance of the observed behaviour of other people (Bandura, 1977), or from social comparison processes that are initiated by the receiver. By providing social support to an individual, especially informational support, can sway the behaviour and thinking of the receiver (Burton 1977). He continues to state that this kind of informational assistance is given in an interpersonal setting of trust, caring and respect for each other, allowing each one to make their own choices. This feature differentiates social support from any other type of social influence that stems from the capacity to deliver or hold back the desired assets or endorsement (Burton, 1977).

The provision of social support has several advantages, according to Bandura (1977). Firstly, a social network methodology can integrate the tasks or competencies of social relationships,

and not merely social support. According to Agenyi (2017), there is growing indication that negative interpersonal exchanges can be traced. Issues such as mistrust and criticism, correlates to aspects such as depression, negative moods and susceptibility to infectious disease. The myth is that it is connected to a lack of social support.

Secondly, social support methodology typically emphasises one relationship at a time, while a social network method permits the study of how fluctuations in one social relationship influence the other relationships (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997). Thirdly, a social network methodology assists the exploration of how fundamental network features impact the quality and quantity of social support that are swapped and exchanged (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997). This knowledge can be imperative for the expansion of successful support-enhancing solutions.

There exists no wide-spread agreement on what constitutes the conceptualisation of social support. Cullen (1994) states that social support is a common theme, whether “implicit” or “explicit”, in preceding criminological theories. He continues that social support, or a lack thereof is directly correlated to crime and can be used as an “organizing construct.” Cullen (1994) states that communities and neighbourhoods that are able to provide “expressive” and “instrumental” resources to others will enable that community or neighbourhood to experience less crime. Cullen (1994) further mentions that the origin of social support could be from both private and or public channels. He argues that the value of close bonds in the form of family support also placed a weightier value on social programs and governmental support. Specifically, he points out that no matter where the social support originates from, it reduces criminal behaviour. Chamlin and Cochran (1997) place a greater value on the altruistic concepts of the construct of social support. Both researchers explored the notion of social altruism, which, according to them, is the “readiness” of neighbourhoods and communities to pledge limited resources to help members of their community. This is distinctly different and separate from state assistance (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997).

Due to the focus of this research, the Social Support Theory will be used as a theoretical framework and backdrop for the empirical fieldwork phase. The last twenty years have seen an explosion in the number of studies that have explored the relationship between a number of stressors in the lives of people and the psychological effect that it has on them. These studies have their origin in a number of fields and points of departure. Many of these studies that have been conducted by individuals like Cullen (1994) have explored the impact of these stressors and specific health outcomes. The researchers have explored how life and health stressors can

be better managed, and when biological, behavioural and situational factors can be better anticipated and subsequently handled. A particular variable that has been identified in many research endeavours is social support and efficacy. In essence, this theory suggests that communities and neighbourhoods that have less support structures in place will have higher crime rates (Caplan, 1974). A huge difference exists amongst researchers in respect of where this “support” should come from. The argument is whether it should be “welfare” or “charitable” support in order to see large scale effects.

It was the Chicago School in the US that perpetuated the idea that the Social Support Theory is rooted in how structured organisations of connected people can assist others to help meet both instrumental and expressive needs, which limit crime (Colvin, Cullen, & Vander Ven, 2002). The origin of Social Support Theory (SST) also hails from work done in the arena of the sociology of mental illness, and whose research indicates how social support limits the effects of stressors on existing mental illness (Braithwaite, 1989). One thing that is common amongst many of the proponents of the SST is that there is validity in its operationalisation to reduce crime and criminal intent. Societies where there are organised efforts to offer support will have minimal possibilities for recurring crime. Braithwaite (1989) summarises that social support, together with a community’s willingness to respond to criminal and delinquent behaviour, stifles crime. He adds that the type of communities with strong cohesion, social structures, and a willingness to teach their members social and moral obligations, also limit crime (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997). Ultimately, communities that promote non-economical and altruistic ideals should be more effective to limit crime and criminal behaviour (Chamlin & Cochran, 1997).

Social support exchange is a vital characteristic of human survival and group togetherness (Caplan, 1974). This social exchange and support occur between communities, churches, tribes, families, government entities and schools. There is always an issue regarding how much offenders need our empathy and support during and after their sentencing, even-though policy-makers and researchers recognise the need for it through community networks, churches, social welfare, schools and criminal justice agencies (Petersilia, 2003). Attention on balancing social support, in conjunction with prisoner accountability, has increased via the legal system and courts, counselling support services within prison communities, and offender rehabilitation programs for those offenders that committed violent crimes. Notwithstanding the strides made concerning social support in the criminal justice system, policymakers and corrections

researchers have been slow to research to what degree social support in the correctional environment may influence results related to offender behaviour and its importance for institutional control.

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,

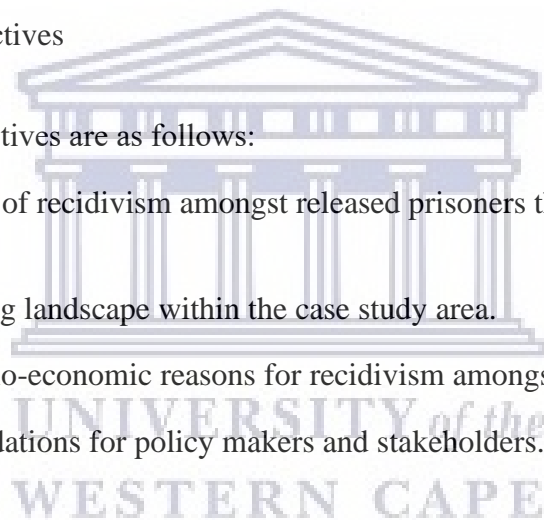
1997). In South Africa, it is noted by a number of sources like Lekalala (2016), that there has been a sharp increase in young adults returning to prison after being sentenced for previous offences and released on parole. This places an enormous burden on government and civil society. These young people 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.

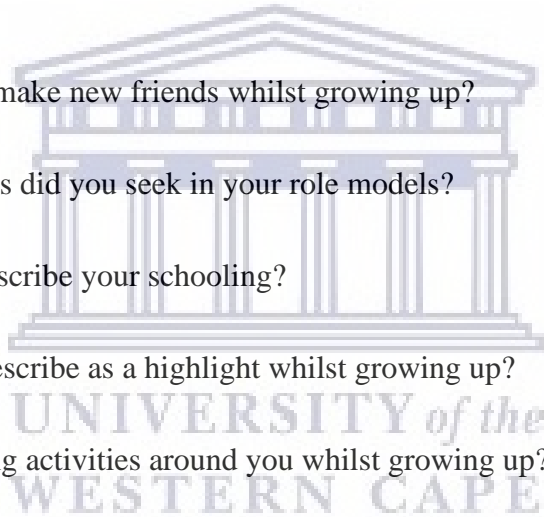


Figure 4.1.4 - Interview focus group schedule



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.

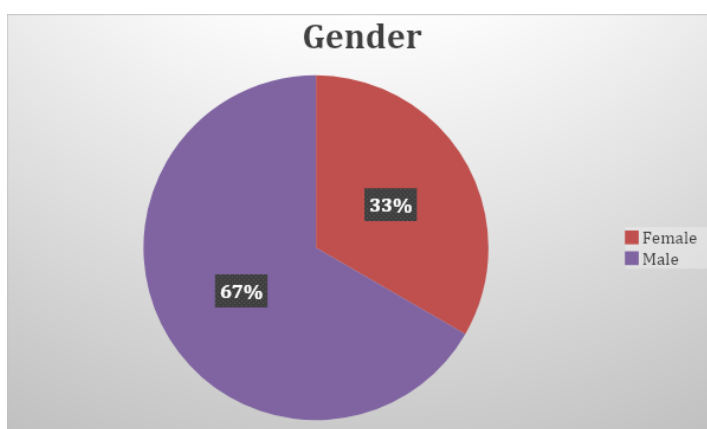
The findings were condensed through the use of graphical illustrations, statistical techniques, tables, pie-charts and direct quotations. This enabled the researcher to amplify the research findings. Research that was conducted previously also enabled the researcher to juxtapose against the current research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

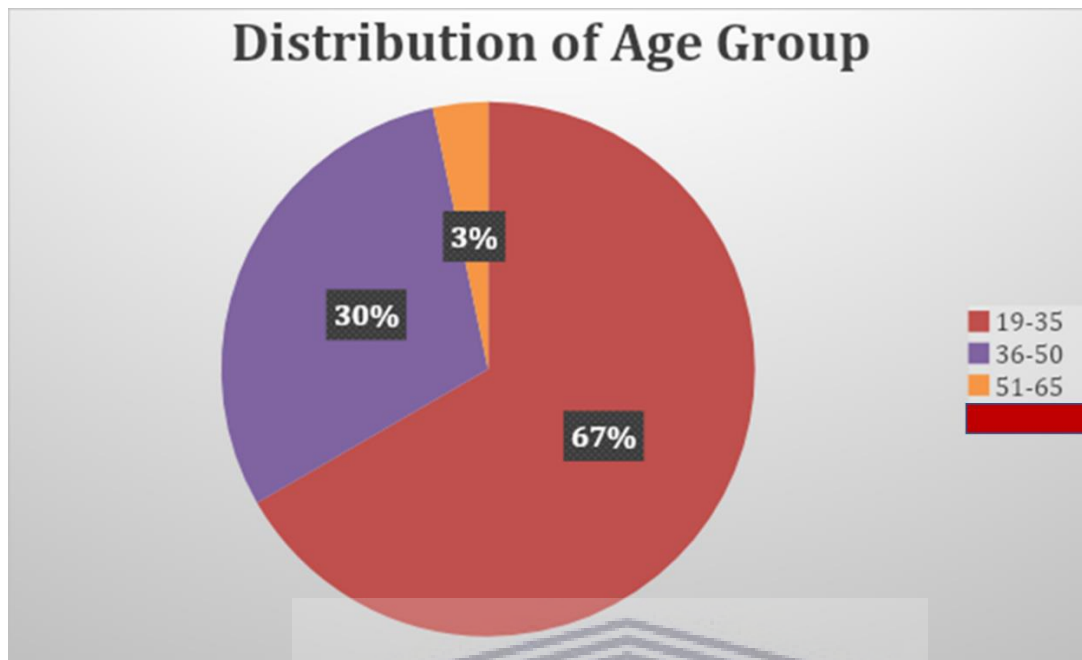
Legislation for the Child Justice Act (2008) aimed to change the minimum age of someone that can be held responsible for their crime. This legislation would be different from the normal Criminal Procedures Act and aimed to only deal with children that have committed crimes. It was enacted on April 1, 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



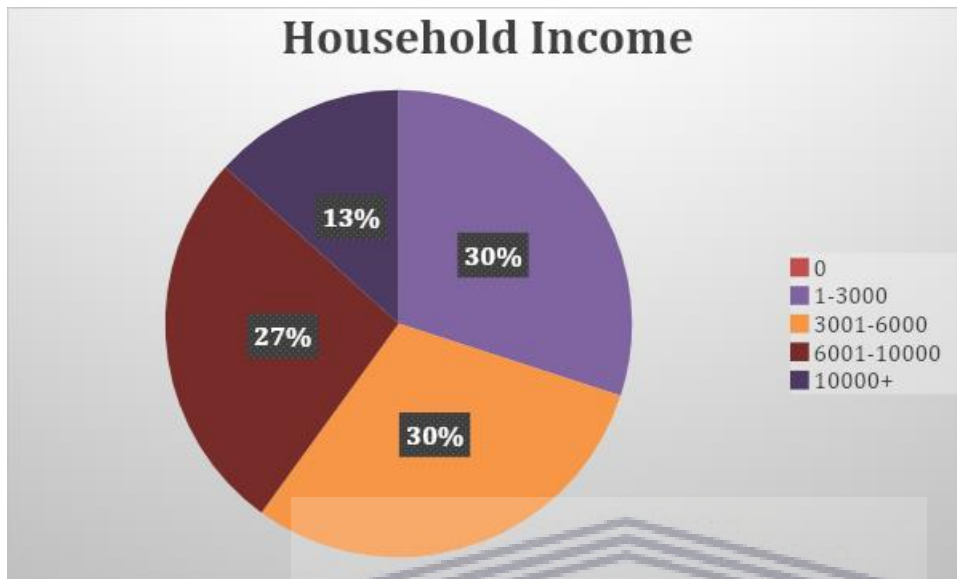
The above figure depicts the age distribution of the participants

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

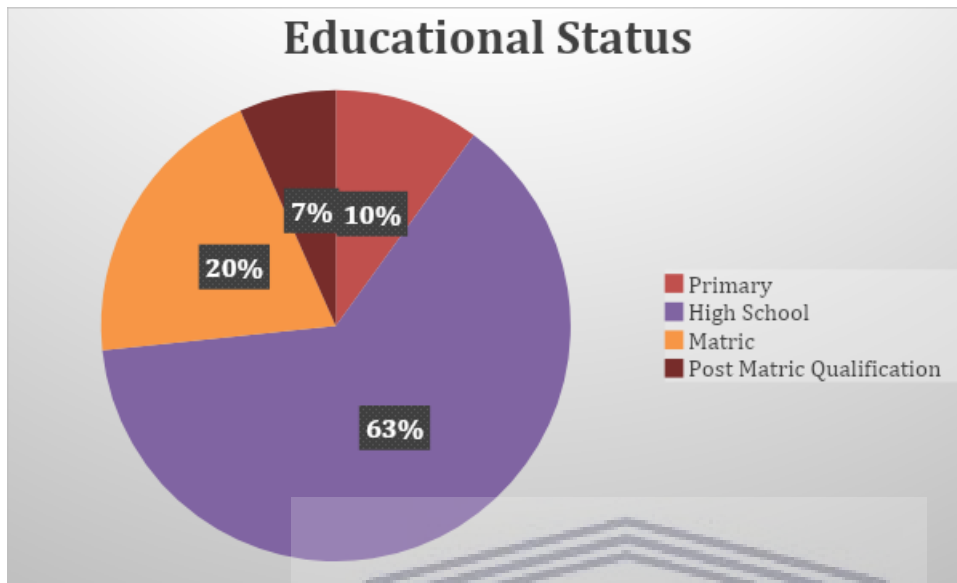


The above figure depicts the average household income of the sampled population group

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

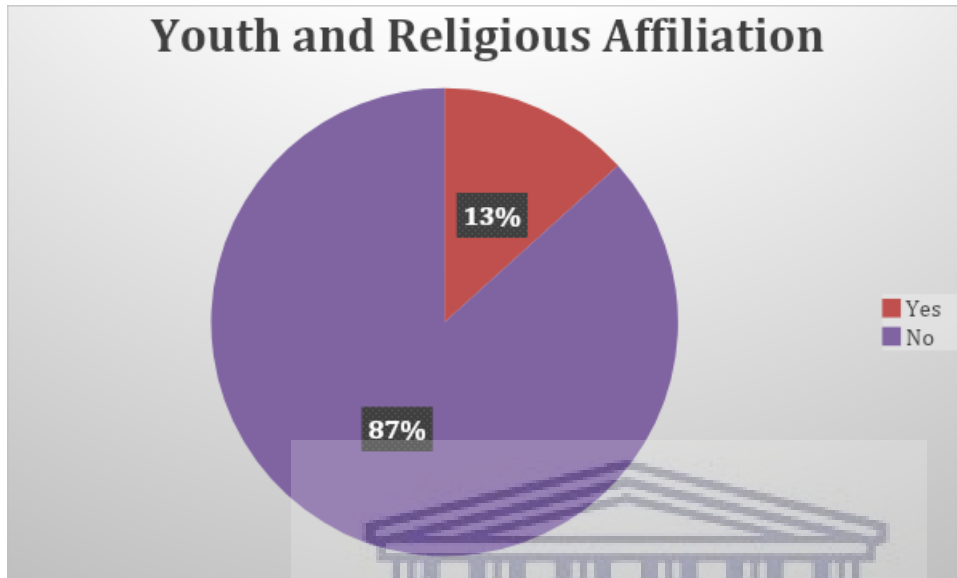


The above figure graphically depicts the educational levels of the sampled group

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

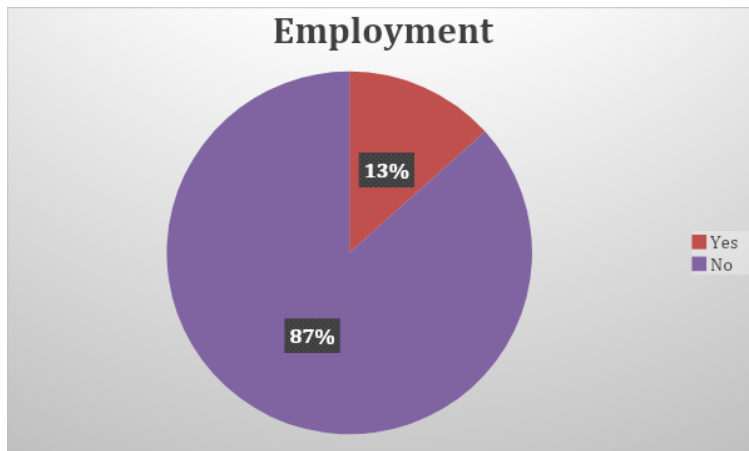


The above figure depicts the sampled group and their religious affiliation

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

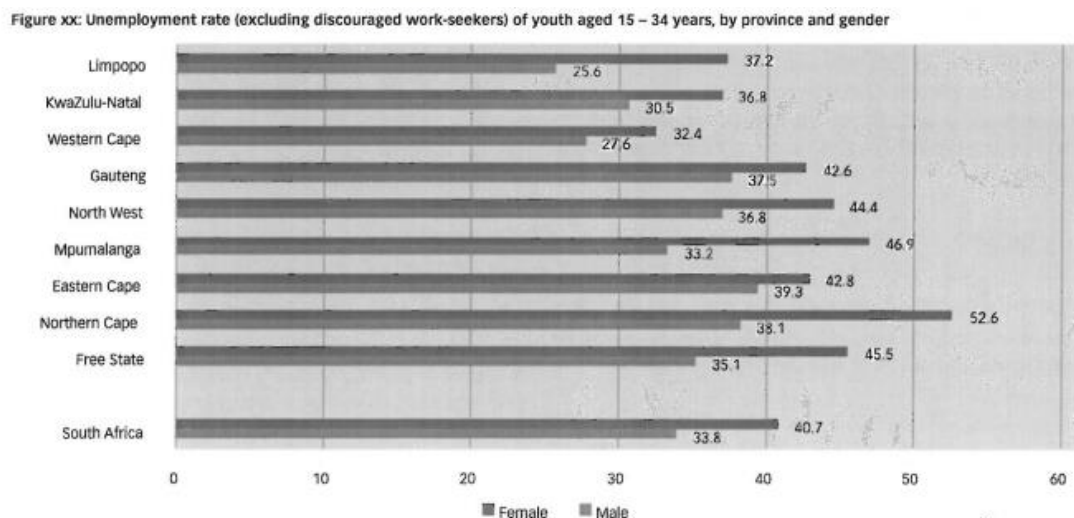
Figure 5.6: Employment status of parolee sample



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.

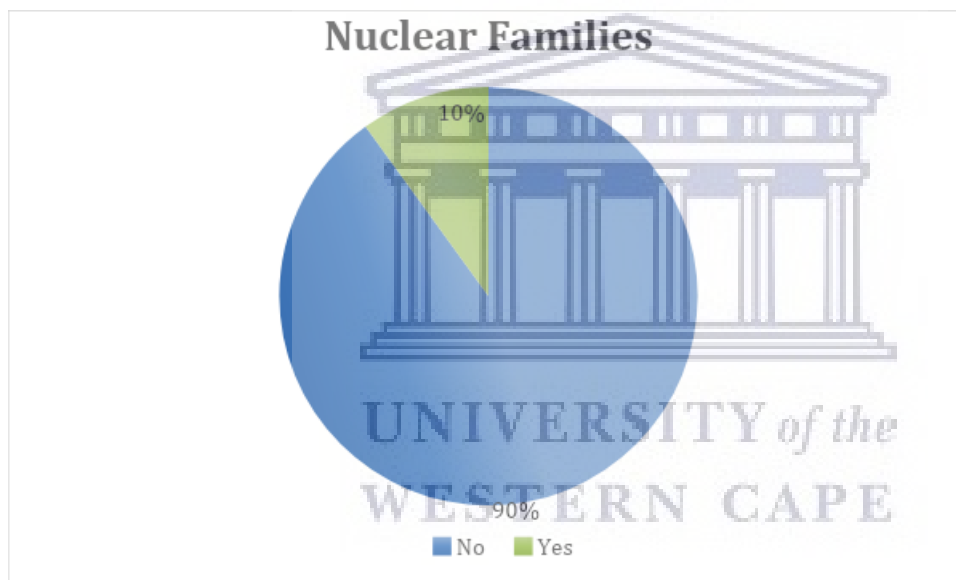
These programmes have intakes, where about 40% of young people in a geographic area employed, are between 18-35. These programmes, according to critics, do not transfer enough critical skills to enable these young people to function independently in the open job market, or have enough skills and knowledge 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

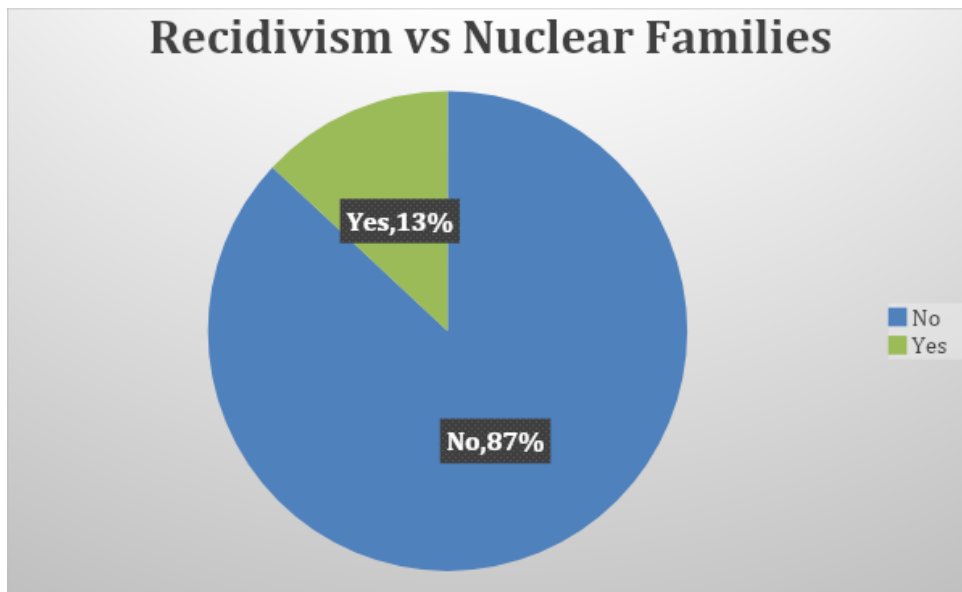
a society, changing and adopting the values, norms, attitudes and behaviour of the respective communities and society in which they live (Barrett *et al.*, 2013). Predominantly, socialisation is supposed to occur within the family, at school, in churches and other religious institutions, the community, 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.

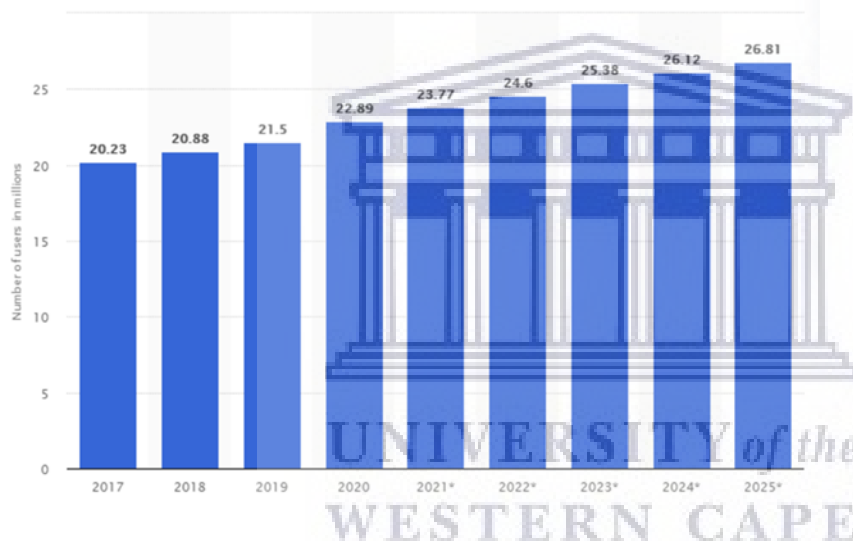
Nuclear family	Number of times sentenced				Total
	1	2	3	3+	
No	7	7	6	7	27
Yes	-	-	-	3	3
Total	7	7	6	10	30
p – value	0.08		Correlation	69%	
Test statistic	3.00		Critical value	0.82	

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

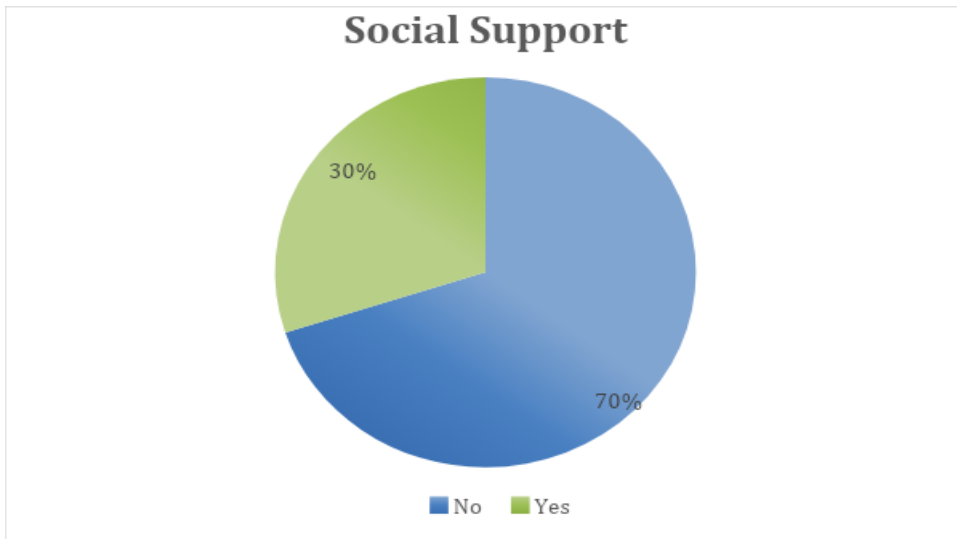
internet has given them the opportunity to access pornography. By the own admission, this was not a good thing. They assert that the desire for sexual intimacy is further enhanced when seeing these images and video content. The respondents acknowledged the potential that the internet has, but also acknowledges 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)



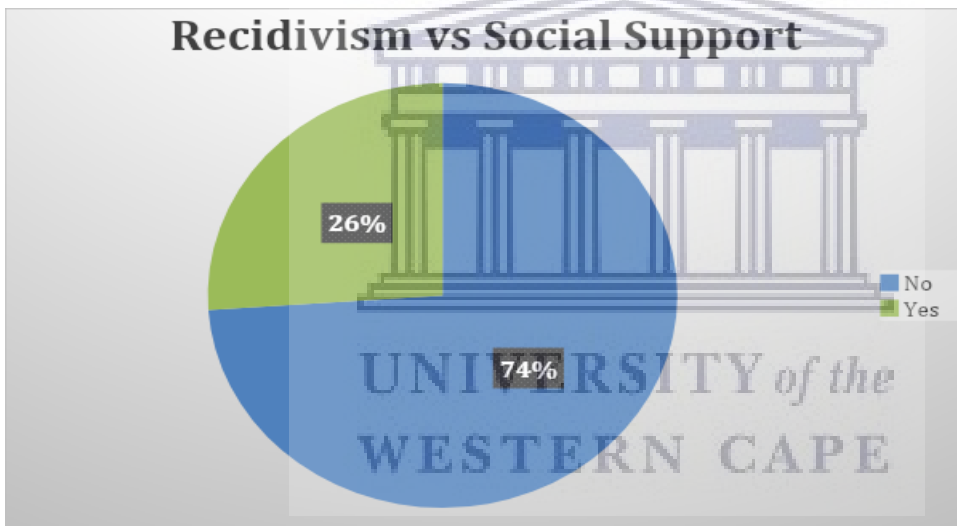
Boyd (2008) believes that even though the relationship between social cohesion and social networking sites are not properly researched, there remains agreement amongst researchers that such social networking sites support existing networks and help others to connect based on their shared political, religious, 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
Total	7	7	6	10	30
p – value	0.39		Correlation	92%	
Test statistic	0.73		Critical value	0.82	

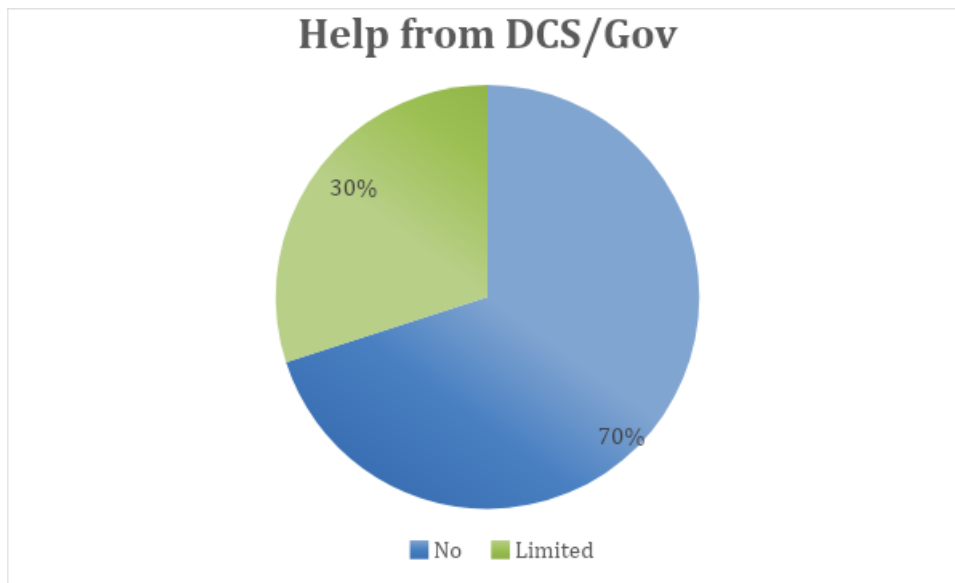
5.3.9 Support and wellbeing of young people

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.

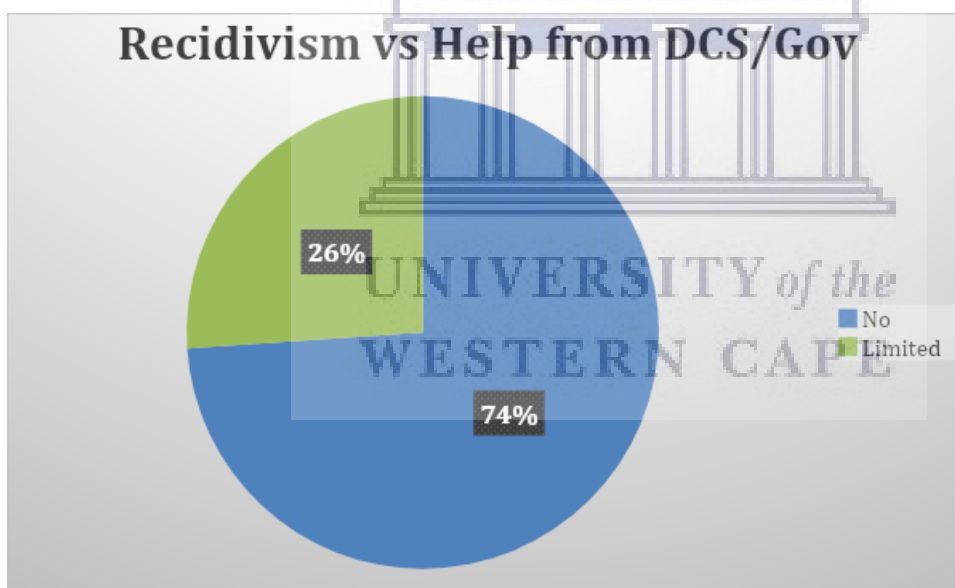
The majority of the respondents also stated that they have been victims of crime. This is in line with statistics and findings that paint a bleak picture of a prevailing culture of violence amongst South African youth. The statistics of violence at schools are alarming, as well as the rate of violent 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

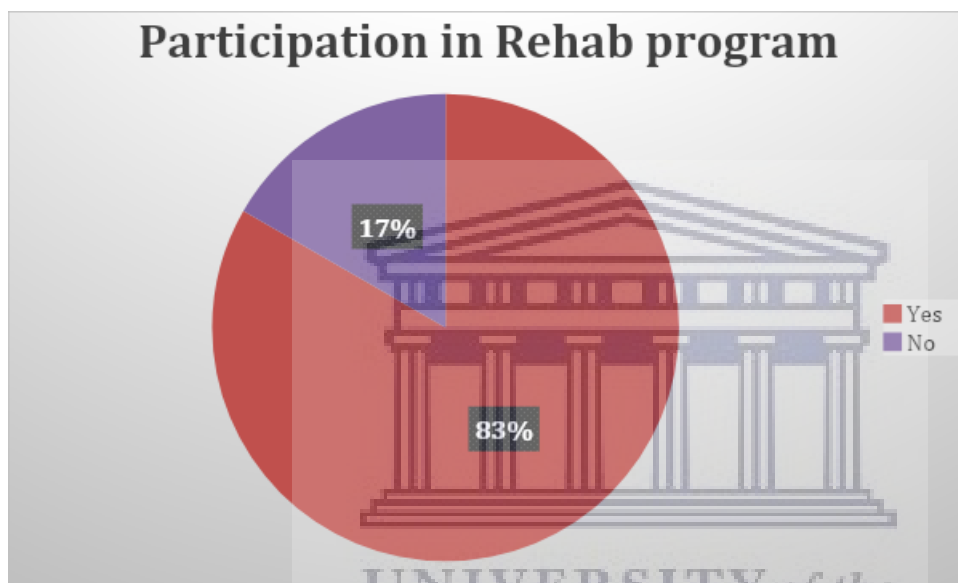


This figure depicts those participants that receive assistance from DCS / Government.

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

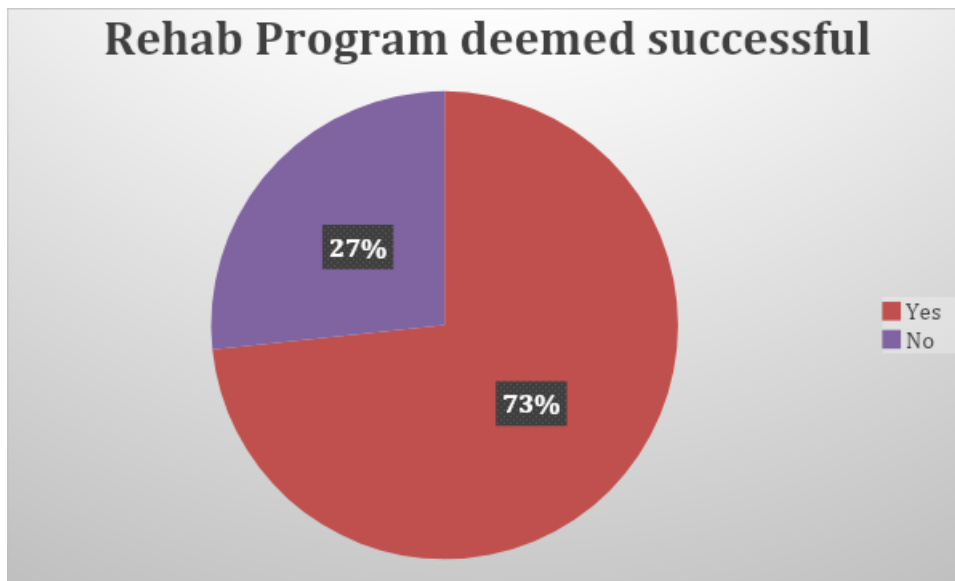
A significant correlation of 89% was observed between recidivism and a lack of support from DCS and/or government. It was found that a total of 74% of parolees who recidivate did not receive any governmental support or support directly from DCS inside and outside of prison. In addition, the test statistic 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.



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 feel 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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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.



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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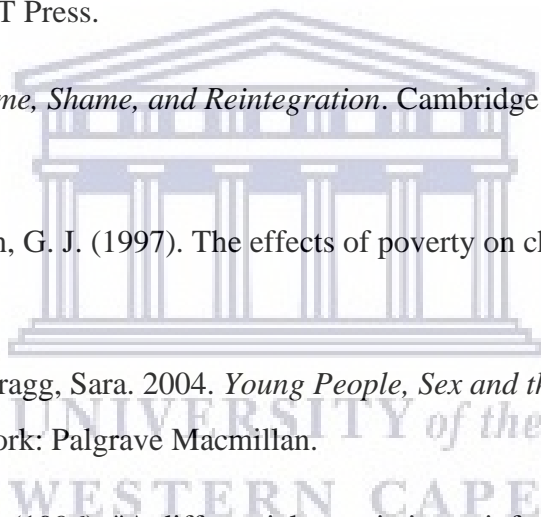
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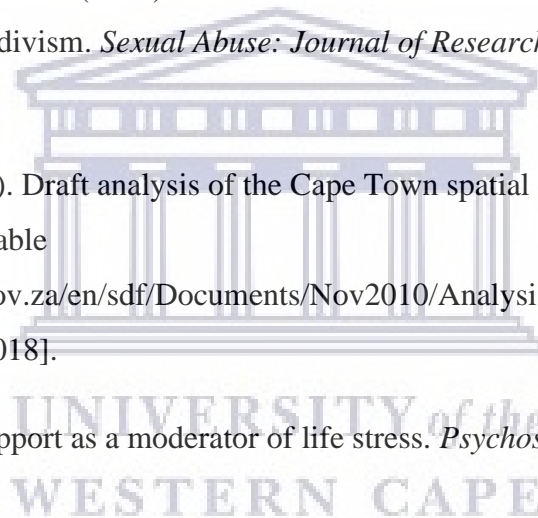
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