

**THE REHABILITATIVE NEEDS OF FEMALE OFFENDERS:
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

by

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This study is dedicated to the prisoners and staff at Diepkloof prison who shared their thoughts and experiences about crime and rehabilitation with me, as well as the remarkable lecturers and mentors at Rand Afrikaans University who taught me worthy ways of thinking about people.

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SUMMARY

The aim of this study was to develop a comprehensive framework for the rehabilitative needs of female offenders, through the use of Grounded Theory methodology. The framework took the form of a two-axis structure, with axis one encompassing the management of prisons and staff, and axis two dealing with the management and rehabilitation of prisoners. Axis two was conceptualised as a sequence of stages from the start of imprisonment until post-release.

The framework is offered as a holistic structure for the development and integration of rehabilitative programmes. The framework is anticipated to assist in obtaining additional funding and support from the business community in order to make rehabilitative programmes available to a greater number of prisoners. The framework may also enable individuals and companies to determine where the specific resources at their disposal could be put to use with the greatest effect.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie was om 'n omvattende raamwerk vir die rehabilitasie-behoefte van vroue-oortreders te ontwikkel, deur van Gegrondeteorie-metodologie gebruik te maak. Die raamwerk het die vorm van 'n twee-asstruktuur aangeneem, waar as een betrekking het op die bestuur van gevangenis en personeel, en as twee te doen het met die bestuur en rehabilitasie van vroue-gevangenes. As twee is gekonseptualiseer as 'n reeks stadiums vanaf aankoms in die gevangenis tot na-vrystelling.

Die raamwerk bied 'n holistiese struktuur vir die ontwikkeling en integrasie van rehabiliterende programme aan. Na verwagting sal die rehabilitasiebehoefte-raamwerk 'n grondslag kan bied vir die verkryging van addisionele befondsing en ondersteuning van die sakegemeenskap, wat sou verseker dat die rehabilitasieprogramme aan 'n groter aantal gevangenes beskikbaar maak. Die rehabilitasiebehoefte-raamwerk mag ook individue en maatskappye in staat stel om te bepaal waar die spesifieke hulpbronne tot hulle beskikking ten beste aangewend kan word.

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THE REALITY

After a solemn public ceremony we pronounce [the offenders] enemies of the state, and consign them for arbitrary periods to institutional confinement on the basis of laws written many years ago. Here they languish until time has ground out so many weary months and years. Then with the planlessness and stupidity only surpassed by that of their original incarceration they are dumped back on society, regardless of whether any change has taken place in them for the better and with every assurance that changes have taken place in them for the worse. Once more they enter the unequal tussle with society. Proscribed for employment by most concerns, they are expected to invent a new way to make a living and to survive without any further help from society (Menninger, in: Muntingh, 2001).



THE VISION

You have just been sentenced. The court proceedings came almost as a relief, after the long period of waiting for your case to be heard. Maybe you were anxiously anticipating to be caught during your unlawful action(s). Maybe you were caught unawares while getting the most out of a situation that seemed impossible to manage without your illegal activities. Perhaps these activities were just your way of coping, or perhaps a way of rebelling against society. Perhaps you weren't aware of the consequences of your actions or perhaps you just didn't care.

You now find yourself in a scary and confusing environment, you don't know the lie of the land, who to trust, who to turn to. You are shown your bunk bed and the small strip of pseudo-private space in front of it that you are expected to occupy for

this arbitrarily allocated period of time determined by your sentence. You look around at the thirty-odd people who inhabit the cell already. But I am not a real criminal, you think, I just made a mistake. This is bad . The toilet is a space only partitioned by a curtain. The showers likewise. Nowhere to be private or to hide away

During the following days, you realise that you are allowed to move around only within the confines of your cellblock between the morning and early afternoon. Mid-afternoon you are locked up in a room the size of an average schoolroom, together with your cellmates. The door to your cell is only unlocked the next morning in time for breakfast. Too much time to ruminate

The days drag by. Your relatives visit you behind a glassed partition, and it is awkward to speak. You vacillate between feelings of guilt, anger, embarrassment, desolation, defiance, irritation, fear, sadness, loneliness, and



One day a member of the prison staff comes to fetch you, you are not told where you are going. In this place you are never told anything, that makes you feel helpless

*The member takes you to a building you haven't seen before. You are led through a passage into the centre of the building where you see a reception desk attended by a friendly-looking person. All around the perimeter of the circular reception area are doors, all painted in different colours except for a double-door that is made of wood. What is this all about? The friendly person greets you in a respectful manner -the first person in a position of authority to do so inside the prison. The friendly person leads you to a sofa where another pleasant and efficient-seeming person joins you. What **is** this? You sit, watch, and wait*

Ok, the pleasant person says, while you are here, let's help you get the most out of it. You must have noticed all the doors in the reception room? Well, each of

these doors leads into a different area of a person's life. And the big double-door leads to a room containing all the keys to the painted doors. All this is available to you, if you ask to come here. But you must ask to come when you are ready, not before. And it is your job to find the keys, nobody's going to give them to you.

So, what is this?...

...This is the researcher's vision of a new rehabilitation centre for incarcerated offenders, situated in the heart of each prison. When offenders are seated in the sofa with the pleasant person, they are given a choice of action. This is unusual in a prison. Normally, just about all decisions are made for them, and they can either acquiesce or make life difficult for themselves.

If the offenders decide to come back to this place, their first port of call is behind the double door. Through a holistic introductory course, presented in that room, it becomes their task to find whichever 'keys' they need. The 'keys' represent their rehabilitative needs.

Depending on which 'keys' they find, they can 'unlock' the corresponding painted doors. Behind these doors are the various rehabilitative programmes. What they do with what they find behind the doors is up to them.

It is the aim of this research to determine what the rehabilitative needs are, to provide a conceptual framework for what should be behind the painted doors.



CHAPTER 1

1 INTRODUCTION, MOTIVATION AND AIMS

If the South African society must bear the expense of housing and feeding the increasing number of female prisoners, while forfeiting their productivity for the incarceration period, it is crucial to maximise the positive outcome of this incarceration. With this in mind, this research examines and categorises the rehabilitative needs of incarcerated female offenders in South Africa, and organises these needs in order to provide a conceptual framework for rehabilitative needs. The purpose of this framework is to facilitate the future integration of existing programmes and the planning of new programmes that enable humane and cost-effective rehabilitation of incarcerated female offenders, in order to equip them maximally for reintegration into society. It is anticipated that a holistic rehabilitation framework will facilitate the selection of specific rehabilitative modules that are relevant to the particular needs of each individual offender.

South Africa is currently in the process of resolving the problems that were caused by fifty years of apartheid. This has meant the creation of a new constitution safeguarding human rights for **all** citizens. The South African society has an ever-increasing population of female offenders in its prisons. In keeping with the new constitution, the Department of Correctional Services strives to provide these offenders with various forms of rehabilitation in order to facilitate their successful reintegration into society after their release and to prevent recidivism. Although many rehabilitative efforts are presently taking place, the high incidence of recidivism shows that there is a need to further develop these efforts.

1.1 **THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES**

According to the South African Department of Correctional Services, most of the South African prisons have some form of schooling and education for the offenders, and vocational training is usually emphasised (Skosana, 2001). Skosana

(2001) asserts that the educational and occupational programmes, presently available in the prisons, provide opportunities to acquire education and training appropriate to the individual offender's needs, achievement, and ability. Wilkinson (1998) states that, although a variety of programmes and services are available to offenders, budget constraints limit the extent of these services.

In 2001, the Minister of Correctional Services, Mr. Skosana, stated in a keynote address at Pollsmoor Prison on Youth Day 2001 that the goal of the Department of Correctional Services is to educate prisoners so they can participate lawfully in the community. Skosana (2001) maintained that in order to enable the prisoners to participate lawfully in the community, they must be equipped with marketable skills and introduced to the principles of entrepreneurship in order to emphasise self-reliance. Skosana (2001) argued that on release the prisoners will find work opportunities scarce, and that it is therefore crucial to help the individual offender to become adaptable and used to learning, in order to meet the changing needs of society. As indicated by this statement, the Department of Correctional Services is predominantly focusing rehabilitative efforts on vocational development of prisoners, although there is a growing appreciation of the multitude of factors causing recidivism. In this regard, Skosana (2001) stated that the Department of Correctional Services is aware that the real test to prisoners begins upon their release, as they are often released from prison only to go back into dysfunctional circumstances in the different areas of their lives, and that these circumstances may predispose them to commit further crimes. Skosana (2001) stressed that to alleviate this problem, social workers, religious care workers, health care workers and psychologists should work as a team in dealing with the prisoners, their families, authorities and workplaces. Skosana (2001) further argued that the helping professions also need to join forces with the community to improve the prisoners' chances of effective reintegration into society upon their release.

The Department of Correctional Services (2000) acknowledges the great contribution of women to the development and welfare of the family and society, as well as the social significance of the mother in childrearing. Consequently, the Department of Correctional Services (2000) endeavours to ensure that the female prisoners are developed into responsible and caring citizens. This view of the role

of women in society indicates an understanding that female prisoners have rehabilitative needs that differ from those of male prisoners.

1.1.1 South Africa s Prisons: Some Facts and Figures

During the 1990's, the South African prison population grew by 33% (Walmsley, 2001). From 1998 to 1999, the male prison population grew by 13%, whereas the female prison population grew by almost 19% (Nxumalo, 2000). In December 1999, the total population of prisoners was 162 638 (Nxumalo, 2000), and in April 2000 there were purportedly 172 271 incarcerated offenders (Human Rights Watch, 2000). According to these figures, a further 9 633 offenders were thus incarcerated in South African prisons during the course of four months. Budgetary constraints have not allowed the Department of Correctional Services to match the rapid increase in the prisoner population by a similar increase in prison accommodation and as a result, overcrowding of the South African prisons had reached 62,9% in 1999 (Nxumalo, 2000).

The abovementioned prison population means that South Africa currently has 416 prisoners per 100 000 citizens, which gives South Africa the dubious distinction of having one of the highest incarceration rates in the world (Human Rights Watch, 2000). This fact indicates that crime is one of the major problems facing South Africa presently. The Interpol statistics for 1997 reveal that out of the 110 countries listed, South Africa had the highest per capita rate of robbery and murder, the second highest rate of robbery and violent theft, and the fourth highest rates of serious assault and sexual offences (Schönnteich, 2000). Schönnteich (2000) also mentions that the per capita serious assault rate for South Africa was 541 per 100 000 of the population. Besides the obvious implications for taxation of South African citizens, there are many less obvious costs of crime. To use just one example, Smith (1997) mentions that short-term insurance companies had to increase the cost of annual insurance premiums from 1,2% of annual salary in 1974 to 9,8% in 1996 as a direct result of crime.

Governmental policies regarding education and employment during the apartheid era have left South Africa in a situation where large numbers of people are unable to contribute to society in the form of taxes, due to unemployment. As a result,

the South African society now has to fund the many tasks of both governance and social reconstruction out of a very constrained budget. The national budget allocated to the Department of Correctional Services for the 1999/2000 financial year, was R4,6bn. This represents an increase of only 2,09% (R94 780 000) from the previous year, which is less than the rate of inflation. The cost of incarceration for each of the 172 271 offenders currently incarcerated is R80 per day. Of the total national budget for correctional services, the allocation for development of offenders was R414 489 000. This works out to an allocation of R2 406 per prisoner per annum for development (Nxumalo, 2000).

1.1.2 Objectives of Imprisonment

Imprisonment of offenders in South Africa serves three main objectives. The first objective is to incapacitate the offenders, by temporarily moving them to a place of safe custody so they cannot further harm society (Muntingh, 2001; Nxumalo, 2000). According to Conklin (1995), incapacitation is based on the idea that offenders will commit a certain number of crimes if they remain in society, and that placing the offenders in prison can prevent those crimes. The second objective is to punish the offenders according to the principle of retribution. Conklin (1995) states that the principle of retribution is based on the idea that people who violate the law are blameworthy and deserve moral punishment for their acts. The third objective is to rehabilitate offenders in preparation for their reintegration into society (Nxumalo, 2000). This study is concerned with the objective of rehabilitation.

1.1.3 Definition of Rehabilitation

The literature contains many definitions of what constitutes rehabilitation, and a selection of these will be presented. According to Reber (1995), rehabilitation involves the process of restoring a person to good form or proper functioning condition. Rostovsky (1998) maintains that rehabilitation is the process that offenders undergo in order to be able to live effectively in the community into which they are released. Muntingh (2001) asserts that rehabilitation involves the reintegration of offenders into society as constructive citizens. Conklin (1995) states that rehabilitation concerns the restoration of criminals to a law-abiding way of life through treatment. For the purposes of this study, rehabilitation will be

conceptualised as any programme, course or therapy, which facilitates the development of a female offender and promotes the prevention of recidivism.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH

Walmsley (2001) points out that as prisons often function as ‘universities of crime’, imprisonment can have the effect of further entrenching the offender in a criminal lifestyle. Muntingh (2001) and Hawkins (1976) concur with this view and add that research increasingly indicates that imprisonment causes emotional and psychological damage. Muntingh (2001) cites research indicating that prisoners may suffer from inability to concentrate, memory loss, dizziness, feelings of emptiness, atrophied bodily functions such as eyesight and musculature, hypersensitivity to noise, ulcers and fatigue, and he adds that the suicide rate for prisoners is six to seven times higher than that of the general population. Muntingh (2001) argues that this damage undermines the objective of rehabilitation and may increase the incidence of recidivism.

When considering that at least 95% of prisoners are released back into society and that between 85% and 94% of the released offenders will at some stage reoffend, the question of what happens to a prisoner during the period of incarceration becomes crucially important (Muntingh, 2001). Muntingh (2001) states that there are many rehabilitative and reintegrative programmes throughout the world but, as different offenders require different approaches, there cannot be one ultimate solution for everyone.

A number of studies have concentrated on assessing rehabilitative programmes, but Muntingh (2001) and Conklin (1995) assert that more research is needed on this issue, as the suitability of the different forms of rehabilitation for different types of offender needs is still not known.

In a survey of 231 studies of offender rehabilitation, Martinson (1974) concluded that rehabilitative programmes were largely ineffectual in preventing recidivism. One explanation offered by Muntingh (2001) for this phenomenon suggests that rehabilitation programmes are often mistakenly designed around available resources rather than needs, and that organisations involved in the programmes

have their own objectives and foci, thereby causing important dimensions of human existence to be ignored.

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) in South Africa calls for further studies on reintegration programme design and development, as well as reintegration problems faced by former offenders (Muntingh, 2001). Thus it appears that there is a need for research focusing on the development of an integrated framework for rehabilitation in order to prevent fragmentation and duplication of rehabilitative efforts, and in order to ensure that all of the offenders' rehabilitative needs are catered for in the framework.

A holistic course for offenders (adapted from Hansen, 1997) was initiated by Dr. Scheepers from Rand Afrikaans University, at Diepkloof female prison in 1999, and further presentations of the same course were offered subsequently by this researcher (Dannerup, 2001). Comments from the participants of the courses generally indicated that the course had enabled them to gain insight into the precursors and motivations for the destructive patterns of behaviour and interaction that had led to their incarceration. The participants further claimed that they had gained some insight into which areas of their lives would be in need of change in order for them to refrain from committing further crimes (Dannerup, 2001). Based on the experience gained from these courses, it seems that a holistic approach to rehabilitation may offer a framework for ascertaining the needs of the offenders in terms of rehabilitation and reintegration, and may also serve as a framework for categorising and organising rehabilitative programmes.

1.2.1 Problem Statement

Apart from the loss of the offenders' productivity in society, their incarceration is also a costly undertaking. For that reason it is crucial to ensure that when incarceration occurs, it has a constructive effect on the offenders. It is paramount how the resources for the development of offenders are spent, as this may well constitute the difference between recidivism and a productive place in society for the offender. When contemplating rehabilitation of female offenders in South Africa, a number of questions emerge:

- What is the impact of the socio-political climate on the crime rate in South Africa, and what does this mean in terms of the needs of female offenders?
- What is presently being done to rehabilitate female offenders in South Africa, both officially and unofficially?
- Which types of prison-based programmes are presently being seen to have a positive effect on female recidivism in South Africa?
- If criminal activities are viewed as detrimental life choices, can female offenders be helped to gain skills, abilities and new ways of relating to others and to society that will enable them to re-enter society as constructive and contributing citizens, rather than destructive consumers of physical, emotional, and social resources?
- What influence can prison-based rehabilitation conceivably have on the offender's conceptualisation of her role as a member of society?
- Which programmes are useful for each of the offenders' life roles and the settings in which they play out?
- What can be learned from the role players who have been -or are presently- involved in South African rehabilitative programmes?

1.2.2 Research Question

Although the above questions are all relevant to the issue of rehabilitation, it is evident that a one-person research project running over three years will not be sufficient to investigate these issues in depth. The research question must therefore focus on a manageable aspect of the field. In view of personal experiences in the female section of Diepkloof prison, it seems both logical and respectful to concentrate on exploring what causes women to commit the offences that cause them to land up in prison. Through this understanding, the research thus attempts to discover what might enable female offenders to refrain from committing further crime upon their release.

In this regard, Bernfeld, Farrington and Leschied (2001) refer to criminogenic and non-criminogenic needs. They explain that "...criminogenic needs are the dynamic aspects of an offender's risk level which when changed in a positive direction bring

about a commensurate change in the probability of reoffending” (ibid, p.271). With this in mind, the central research question may then be phrased as follows:

“What are the rehabilitative and reintegrative needs of female offenders, and how can these needs be categorised and organised in a rehabilitative framework?”

1.2.3 Aim and Purpose of Study

The aim of this study is to discover, categorise and organise the criminogenic needs of incarcerated female offenders in order to develop a conceptual framework for rehabilitation. The purpose of developing this conceptual framework is to provide a holistic structure for the facilitation of efficient and cost-effective rehabilitation that equips female offenders maximally for reintegration into society. It is hoped that this framework may be used in subsequent research to establish which needs are served by existing programmes and which types of programmes still need to be developed.

1.2.4 Positioning the Researcher

Having lived in South Africa for the past sixteen years, and having been blessed by the experience beyond all expectations, this study is offered as a means of reciprocation. During the past three years, this researcher has been involved in volunteer counselling and group-work at the female section of Diepkloof Prison in Johannesburg. The staff and prisoners – in concordance with statistics on recidivism– have constantly expressed the disturbing opinion that the majority of incarcerated women leave the prison less able to cope successfully than before their incarceration. In response to the privilege of witnessing the prison experience, this research aims to document the opinions and ideas of a selection of prisoners and staff at Diepkloof Prison, in the hope that such research may contribute towards making imprisonment a more constructive activity.

1.3 CONCLUSION

The current governmental policy emphasises social responsibility, and volunteers with the time and inclination to help now have the opportunity to promote constructive social development through the pooling of intellectual and networking resources. Thus, a major component in the restructuring of South African correctional facilities ought to revolve around the identification and deployment of the intellectual skills and resources of potential volunteer citizens as well as the prisoners themselves.

In discussions around correctional policy and practice during the past three years of involvement with Diepkloof Prison, it has become evident that many highly educated and accomplished individuals would welcome an opportunity to share their knowledge and experience with the prisoners as a contribution towards enabling the prisoners able to cope successfully upon their release. However, it seems that it is presently very difficult for potential volunteers to envisage where their specific skills and knowledge may be deployed. It is anticipated that a framework for the rehabilitative needs of female offenders may assist potential volunteers in determining where their expertise and resources may be of use.

CHAPTER 2

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In defence of rehabilitation

The appropriateness and functionality of crime and imprisonment have been considered and researched extensively from different perspectives during most of the preceding century (e.g. Cullen, 1994; Foucault, 1977; Fox, 1952; Hawkins, 1976; Holdaway, 1988; Howard, 1929; Hudson, 1996; Klare, 1960). As the different perspectives are considered within the social contexts in which they have each emerged, a pattern of circularity becomes apparent.

It seems that at any given time a social context produces a range of sociological perceptions about crime and imprisonment. Informed by these sociological perceptions, theorists examine the topic of crime and imprisonment in order to formulate ideological perspectives from which they develop their theories. The ideological perspectives and the theories then influence penological principles and procedures, and both ideological perspectives and penological principles in turn affect sociological perceptions of crime and imprisonment. The circularity is completed when the changing sociological perspectives on crime give rise to a re-examination of ideological perspectives and penological practice. Due to the rapid development of information technology, the sociological, ideological and penological perceptions of crime and imprisonment in different societies generate an increasingly global perspective. As societies differ in terms of their particular circumstances and problems, it is important to include the global level in a conceptual framework in order to consider which segments of the global perspective are relevant for a particular country.

If the circular development of perspectives is conceptualised as a set of reciprocally influencing levels of social discourses of crime and imprisonment as illustrated in figure 2.1, it then becomes possible to situate South African discourses of imprisonment and rehabilitation of women within these levels.

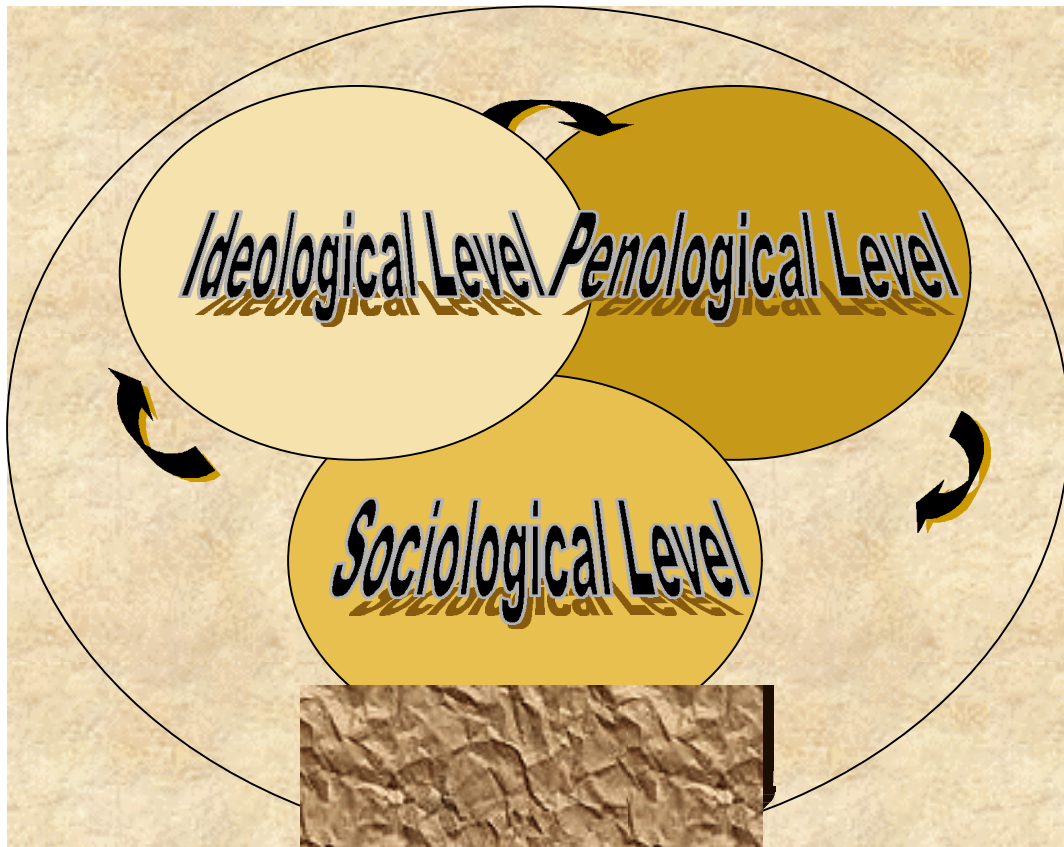


Figure 2.1 Graphic representation of the conceptualisation of crime and rehabilitation

2.1 CONCEPTUALISING CRIME AND REHABILITATION

Following the conceptualisation outlined above, perspectives on crime, imprisonment and rehabilitation may be conceptualised as belonging to one of four reciprocally influencing discursive levels, and any discourse around imprisonment and rehabilitation of women can then be situated within these levels. In keeping with this conceptualisation, the literature review will begin at the ideological level by considering various perspectives on the functions and causes of crime. Moving on to the penological level, the current objectives of imprisonment in South Africa will be examined. On the sociological level, the emergence of rehabilitation as a

means of alleviating crime will be considered, and various perspectives on the usefulness of rehabilitation will be offered. Finally, the relevance of global perspectives on crime and rehabilitation for the South African context will be examined.

2.1.1 Definition of Terms

Before embarking on an exploration of theories on the functions and causes of crime, certain terms that are central to the review must be clarified. According to Reber (1995) and Thompson (1997), **deviance** generally implies any pattern of behaviour that is markedly different from the accepted moral or ethical standards within a society. According to Thompson (1997), the term **crime** denotes an offence against another person or animal, property, or the state, which is punishable by law. An **offender** is thus a person who has been convicted of committing a crime (Thompson, 1997). For the purposes of this review, the term 'offender' is taken to denote a person who has committed one or more unlawful acts that have resulted in a criminal conviction and incarceration in a prison. The term '**recidivism**' derives from the Latin word for relapse, and denotes an individual's return to delinquency or crime (Reber, 1995). A recidivist is typically defined as an offender who has had a second (or further) conviction or incarceration (Conklin, 1995). According to Reber (1995), **rehabilitation** refers to the act of restoring someone or something to good form or proper functioning condition. In terms of this review, rehabilitation is conceptualised as any programme, course or therapy, which facilitates the development of an offender and aids in preventing recidivism.

2.2 IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL

On the ideological level, the literature abounds with theories on the societal functions of crime, as well as the causes of crime. Each of these theories is informed by the ideological perspective of the individual theorist. The ideological perspective of the theorist is influenced by the sociological perceptions of crime in the society in which the theorist lives, as well as the penological practices of that society. The theorist is further influenced, on a global level, by information from

other countries around the world through academic journals and books, international symposiums and seminars, and personal contact with theorists from other countries. A selection of theories on the functions and the causes of crime will be reviewed below.

2.2.1 Functions of Criminal Behaviour

According to Holdaway (1988) and Hudson (1996), various theories endeavour to explain the function of the phenomenon of crime in society. In the majority of the theories, **social control** emerges as the central theme, and this theme is dealt with from different perspectives depending on the ideological stance of the theorist. Theories on the functions of crime may be broadly subsumed under three perspectives, namely the social consensus perspective, the conflict perspective and the normalisation perspective.

2.2.1.1 *The Social Consensus Perspective*

Deviations [in behaviour] make other people alert to their common interests; it gives them a sense of common morality. A certain amount of deviance in a group can increase the sense of community among those who are conforming members and enhance the importance of conformity in the group, which might otherwise take it for granted (Holdaway, 1988).

With his notion of **normative functionalism**, Durkheim (in Bean, 1976; Durkheim, 1964a and 1964b; Holdaway, 1988) claimed that crime was an integral part of all healthy societies. In this regard, Rubington and Weinberg (1996) claim that deviance cannot be dismissed simply as behaviour that disrupts stability in society, but may in controlled quantities be an important condition for preserving stability. Thus, societies maintain social order through consensus of what, in a specific society, constitutes central values, and social responses to crime and deviance strengthen this consensus and further entrench the social order (Durkheim, 1964a). As Durkheim (1964b, p.81) said: “We must not say that an action shocks the common conscience because it is a crime, but rather that it is criminal because it shocks the common conscience. We do not reprove it because

it is a crime, but it is a crime because we reprove it.” According to Holdaway (1988), governmental and social responses to deviance demonstrate to the citizens of a given society how much deviance can be permitted before their society loses its social identity. Becker (1964a, p.15) provides a clear formulation of this function by stating that “It may be that without the ongoing drama at the outer edges of group space the community would have no inner sense of identity and cohesion, no sense of the contract which sets it off as a special place in the larger world.”

2.2.1.2 The Social Conflict Perspective

The social conflict perspective originated from Merton’s theory of **anomie**, which held that crime functions as a radical reaction to the differential opportunities for individuals to achieve consensual social goals, and that criminal activities may be seen as a way of forcing change in society through individual rebellion and conflict (Bean, 1976; Holdaway, 1988; Merton, 1968).

Holdaway (1988) explains that in the conflict perspective, crime is defined according to the interests, desires, values and norms of the social groups who have the power to translate their interests into public policy. In this way the definition of what constitutes crime varies from society to society depending on the political and economic structures of society. The Marxist version of the social conflict perspective maintains that crime enables the ruling class to create a false consciousness among the ruled by making them think their own interests and those of the ruling class are identical (Holdaway, 1988).

Foucault (1977) suggests that imprisonment of offenders serves to minimise social conflict in society, as those who do not accept the prevailing ideology are channelled into a criminal lifestyle and a life story of hopeless recidivism, and as a result their ideological views are prevented from gaining a foothold through politics, unions, riots, or revolutions (Fillingham, 1993; Foucault, 1977).

2.2.1.3 The Normalisation Perspective

In the normalisation perspective, socialising institutions such as prisons, schools, mental asylums, armies, and factories are seen to serve the **capitalist-industrial**

purposes of retention of control and power by the ruling class by normalising forms of behaviour that produce a disciplinary society (Foucault, 1977; Hawkins, 1976; Hudson, 1996). In this process physical force (might) and mental force (knowledge) is exerted by a powerful minority to impose their idea of truth on the majority. This force is imposed through a disciplinary structure that specifies a place in society for each person, controls people's activities through timetables, and creates socially desirable automatic responses to stimuli through repetitive exercises.

The disciplinary structure creates a complex chain of authority where each level of the hierarchy supervises a subordinate level, and the supervisors are encouraged to make normalising judgments about the behaviour of their subordinates according to the definitions set forth by the authorities (Fillingham, 1993). The result of this disciplinary structure is that the panoptical supervision by the hierarchical system exercises a constant pressure on individuals to conform, through the expectation of both punishment and reward.

Crime thus serves the function of social control, by making visible the consequences of engaging in behaviours that are considered abnormal according to the normalising judgment of society. The shame and humiliation of those who have been punished is meant to induce a fear in others of being similarly demoted to the lowest level of the social hierarchy (Foucault, 1977). In this regard, Jordan (2001) suggests that many people do not experience the restrictions on behaviour as the work of a hostile capitalist structure but relinquish their freedom to act to a self-imposed rationalisation of the need to adjust, because the structure is presented as so powerful that protest appears not only hopeless but also irrational.

2.2.2 Reflection on the Theoretical Perspectives

Although the theoretical perspectives describe three disparate views of the function of crime in society, it is thought that an integration of these perspectives may lead to a more complete view and at the same time help to indicate the limitations of each perspective.

According to the social consensus perspective, the citizens of any society must negotiate an agreement regarding acceptable behaviour in order to attain social order and a sense of shared social identity, and crime is perceived as helping to delineate the outer limits of this social identity. Although social consensus appears to be determined democratically, consensus favours the values of the majority of people in society while marginalizing the differential values of minority groups.

The process of social consensus is also subject to greater political forces, as dominant elite groups in society hold relatively more power (access to economic resources) to determine what is appropriate. When a dominant social group consistently disregards the values and needs of other groups, as happened during apartheid in South Africa, a point may be reached where the lack of access to institutionalised means to achieve consensual social goals, creates discontent and normlessness (anomie).

At some point in this process, a growing sense of inequity may cause individuals to feel that they are entitled to achieve social goals either through proscribed means (criminal acts) or through political activism. If the choice of action is organised political activism, conflict arises between the social groups, and social consensus may adapt to the demand for change. If an individual resorts to proscribed behaviour outside of a political context, the behaviour will be considered in isolation from societal processes and labelled as criminal.

When individuals in this way exceed the boundaries of normalised behaviour, the superordinate levels of the hierarchical structure of authority will demote that individual to a position in the hierarchy that is completely devoid of authority and autonomy, namely that of imprisoned criminal. The demotion incorporates the burden of a social judgment that is characterised by stigmatisation, shame and humiliation. The fear of social demotion serves to force other individuals, with similar needs for achieving social goals through proscribed means, to accept the normalised view of behaviour, and thereby the status quo of society is preserved.

2.2.3 Causes of Criminal Behaviour

It is assumed, first, that human behavior is the product of antecedent causes. These causes can be identified as part of the physical universe, and it is the obligation of the scientist to discover and to describe them with all positive exactitude. Knowledge of the antecedents of human behavior makes possible an approach to the scientific control of human behavior. Finally, and of primary significance for the purposes at hand, it is assumed that measures employed to treat the convicted offender should serve a therapeutic function, that such measures should be designed to effect changes in the behavior of the convicted person in the interests of his own happiness, health, and satisfaction and in the interest of social defense (Allen, 1971).

As the above quote illustrates, any deliberations on rehabilitation must endeavour to examine the causes of criminal behaviour. In the available literature, the causes of criminal behaviour are typically divided into biological, psychological, cognitive, socio-economic and political explanations and the same format will be applied here in order to facilitate an overview of the field. However, it must be pointed out that there is a need to integrate the criminogenic factors into a holistic general theory of crime.

2.2.3.1 Biological Causes of Criminal Behaviour

Biological explanations of crime typically propose that offenders differ from non-offenders in some physiological or anatomical way, and thus attribute crime to individual traits and factors (Conklin, 1995). The earlier theories usually held that criminals were of a substandard breed, distinct from law-abiding citizens because of some hereditary or genetic defective composition, and Lombroso's **theory of atavism** from the turn of the century (Lombroso, 1911) and Sheldon's (in Conklin, 1995) **theory of somatotypes** may be mentioned as examples of this perspective.

The later theories on biological causation of crime are less inclined to categorise individuals as inherently substandard, but still look for intraindividual causes of criminal behaviour. Barlow and Durand (1995) claim that family, twin, and

adoption studies all suggest a genetic influence on criminal behaviour, but that a gene-environment interaction explanation is more plausible since genetic factors only play a role in crime causation in the presence of certain environmental influences.

Conklin (1995) cites growing evidence that brain dysfunctions and neurological defects are more common among offenders than among the general population, and claims that brain disorders, learning disabilities, and poor conditionability may predispose individuals to crime and delinquency, and that the poor academic performance, social rejection, and stigmatisation of people afflicted with these conditions may provide further cause for criminal activity. Barlow and Durand (1995) explain that according to the **under-arousal hypothesis** abnormally low levels of cortical arousal cause individuals to engage in stimulation-seeking behaviours such as violating the law, in order to reduce the boredom and negative affect often associated with chronically low arousal levels. Another proposition mentioned by Barlow and Durand (1995) is the **fearlessness hypothesis**, which holds that psychopaths have difficulty in associating certain cues or signals with impending punishment or danger, thus preventing them from developing an adequate capacity for impulse control.

Conklin (1995) further mentions that lower levels of monoamineoxidase have been associated with extreme impulsivity, sensation seeking, childhood hyperactivity (attention deficit disorder), poor academic performance, and recreational alcohol and drug use, all of which have been linked to criminal behaviour. Specific to female criminality, a study on female offenders found that criminal activities are more likely to occur during the four days before and the four days during menstruation (Conklin, 1995).

2.2.3.2 Psychological Causes of Criminal Behaviour

Psychological explanations have, to some extent, replaced the biological explanations of crime during the twentieth century, and the current view of offenders as somehow psychologically unbalanced has brought about the present philosophy of rehabilitating offenders through various types of counselling (Conklin, 1995). The move toward psychological explanations may be linked to

the emergence of the psychoanalytic perspective, in which individuals are regarded as antisocial by nature and therefore in need of socialisation to avoid becoming criminals (Conklin, 1995; Eysenck, 1970). From a psychoanalytic perspective, deviance and unlawful behaviour was thus seen as a result of faulty or inadequate socialisation, which could be remedied through psychological treatment, whilst the mental health worker was seen as an agent of social control (Becker, 1964b).

Initially, psychological causes of criminal behaviour were thus believed to be located intraindividually in the form of low intelligence, psychopathology, and defective development, and therefore seen as unrelated to the individual's environment. This belief has gradually been challenged as the psychological effects of interindividual factors such as childhood violence, childhood abuse and -neglect, early trauma, sexual abuse, loss of one or both parents, dysfunctional family relations, unemployment, and poverty became increasingly well documented as criminogenic factors (Conklin, 1995; Eaton, 1993; Hudson, 1996; Steinberg, 2001). As an example of locating psychological causes of crime intraindividually, the mental deficiency theory may be mentioned.

The **mental deficiency theory** sees offenders as having a generally lower intelligence quotient, and that as a result, they are unable to appreciate the reasons for the existence of the law, and the consequences of their actions, or are unable to control their actions (Conklin, 1995; Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). This view is challenged by Cullen (1994), who found that the effects of intelligence on crime to be insignificant and further criticised the mental deficiency theory for ignoring white-collar crime completely.

Hirschi's Control theory (in Conklin, 1995) appears to support the belief that psychological factors cannot be seen in isolation from interpersonal factors. Hirschi's Control theory proposes that individuals who commit crimes lack the intimate attachments, aspirations and moral beliefs that bind law-abiding individuals to a conventional way of life. Specifically relevant for the proposed research, is the suggestion by Sampson and Laub (in Conklin, 1995), that lengthy incarceration and the social stigma attached to imprisonment further weakens the social bonds referred to by Hirschi (in Conklin, 1995). Further to this point,

Carson, Butcher and Coleman (1988) maintain that maladaptive peer relationships in childhood have been linked to later criminal behaviour.

In terms of **personality characteristics**, researchers have as yet not been able to demonstrate conclusive evidence linking personality to criminal behaviour, despite the fact that a great number of studies have initially shown tenuous links to various traits (Conklin, 1995). However, Tittle (1985) maintains that various conditions, such as coming from a broken home, having a personality disorder and being susceptible to peer pressure, may result in interpersonal insecurity, which may predispose an individual to criminal behaviour. A low frustration threshold, high levels of aggression, and an inability to delay gratification have also been linked to criminal behaviour (Conklin, 1995). Carson et al. (1988) and Barlow and Durand (1995) add that impulsivity, defiance, resentment, absence of feelings of remorse or guilt, indifference to the concerns of others, inability to establish and maintain close interpersonal traits, and inability to learn from experience, are the typical traits of the psychopathic personality. Barlow and Durand (1995) claim that many psychopaths are at greatly elevated risk for criminal behaviours, and suggest that the difference between the psychopaths who become criminals and those who do not is one of intelligence. Carson et al. (1988) mention research on differences in the quality of socialisation in nonoffenders, first offenders, and repeat offenders, finding that repeat offenders are the most poorly socialised. Related to this issue is Rubington and Weinberg's (1996) proposition that the development of a deviant personality is influenced by the response of other people to the alleged deviant act. Depending on the identity of the persons responding, approval and disapproval of the act may either facilitate or inhibit the development of the deviant personality, as a function of inclusion in or exclusion from a certain social group.

2.2.3.3 Cognitive Causes of Criminal Behaviour

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) claim to have identified **criminal thought patterns** that are supposedly responsible for criminal behaviour, and Conklin (1995) refers to Walters and White's claim that **faulty and irrational thinking** characterises lifestyle criminals. Barlow and Durand (1995) claim that psychopaths process reward and punishment differently to non-psychopaths in that they are less likely to be deterred from a goal by the lack of reward or the likelihood of

punishment. Barlow and Durand (1995) speculate that psychopaths may have genetically inherited weak behaviour inhibition systems and overactive reward systems, according to their exposition of Gray's model of brain functioning. These factors, combined with dysfunctional parental child-rearing practices and interactional style of the family, may account for dysfunctional cognition (Barlow and Durand, 1995).

The **rational choice perspective** (Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Conklin, 1995) focuses on the rewards and risks of criminal behaviour, and emphasises the individual's strategic thinking, decision making, processing of information, and the evaluation of opportunities and alternatives. The rational choice perspective lists a number of possible **rewards** for criminal behaviour, such as financial gain, a sense of personal power and control, freedom from taxation, satisfaction, alleviation of boredom, a sense of achievement, peer-respect and solidarity, prestige, defence of honour or self-esteem, vengeance, amount of leisure time, lack of job prospects, alleviation of the effects of drug addiction, being one's own boss, and free board and lodging in prison. On the flipside, the **risks** associated with criminal behaviour may be the likelihood of being caught, loss of freedom, loss of work-related benefits, physical and psychological harm, inability to provide for dependents if incarcerated, estrangement from family and friends, loss of job prospects, exposure to hardened criminals, and social stigma.

As a cognitive cause of criminal behaviour, Conklin (1995) suggests that individuals may use various **neutralisation techniques** to minimise their commitment to the law, and that these techniques serve to justify their offences to themselves and to others. One technique of neutralisation mentioned by Conklin (1995) is the denial of responsibility for one's actions. Claiming to be a victim of circumstances thus permits an individual to explain his or her criminal actions as restitution for past injustices. Another technique of neutralising commitment to the law is to deny that any injury is caused by the crime (Conklin, 1995). Utilisation of this technique suggests that individuals who break the law may be less sensitive to the effects of their criminal behaviour on individuals and society. Other techniques of neutralisation include justification of the criminal behaviour by claiming that

circumstances necessitate it, or that the violated law is unnecessary or unjust (Conklin, 1995).

2.2.3.4 *Socio-economic and Political Causes of Criminal Behaviour*

Merton (1968) examined social structures as a cause of criminal behaviour, and his theory of **anomie** suggested that normlessness occurs when social structures prevent individuals from reaching culturally approved goals through institutionalised means, and thus individuals have to resort to violations of the law to reach the goals that society considers to be desirable. From this assumption, Merton's theory on adaptation to the social structure arose, which proposed that five modes of adaptation occur (Merton 1968; Conklin, 1995). In this theory, the most common mode of adaptation is conformity, in which both the cultural goals and the institutionalised means to reach those goals are accepted. The innovation mode is most relevant to the study of criminal behaviour, as in this mode the goal is accepted but the means by which the goals are achieved are regarded by society as unacceptable. In this mode, the motivation for crime is egoistic and individual (see the final mode for contrast). The ritualism mode is not significant for the study of crime, as the socially approved means are accepted, but cultural goals are abandoned, leading to indifference and lack of achievement. The retreatism mode not only abandons the cultural goals, but also the institutionalised means, and may often be found in alcoholics and drug-addicts. The final mode of adaptation is rebellion, in which the social goals are rejected and replaced with new goals and crime is motivated by communal altruism.

Merton's (1968) anomie theory was challenged by Agnew (in Conklin, 1995) who thought that the focus on access to social goals was too limited. Agnew (in Conklin, 1995) developed a **general strain theory**, which holds that there are various sources of strain that cause crime. Agnew (in Conklin, 1995) proposed that 'the actual or anticipated failure to achieve positively valued goals', 'actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli', and 'actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli' may be seen as three measures of strain that may cause criminal behaviour depending on the magnitude, recency, duration and clustering of strainful events. According to Agnew (in Conklin, 1995), the impact of strain is influenced by individual adaptability as well as factors such as

temperament, intelligence, interpersonal skills, self-efficacy, association with delinquent peers, and conventional social support. Agnew's (in Conklin, 1995) theory is of specific value in the South African context, as it provides an opportunity to examine the factors underlying white-collar crime. It is hypothesised that the strains of 'actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli', and 'actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli' are being experienced by many affluent South African citizens due to societal changes following the abolition of apartheid, and that the experience of such strain may precipitate white-collar crime.

Carson et al. (1988) state that periods of extensive **unemployment** are typically accompanied by an increase in crime. According to Conklin (1995), the connection between unemployment and crime is complex, as some crimes can only occur as a result of opportunities found in the job situation, whereas other crimes occur as a consequence of being unemployed. Conklin (1995) also states that steady employment tends to give people a stake in society, which they do not want to jeopardise by committing crimes. Losing a job, or the fear of losing a job, may cause people to act violently towards colleagues and supervisors. This factor is especially relevant in South Africa, where the high unemployment rate makes it difficult for individuals to find a job (Conklin, 1995; McGee, 1994).

Conklin (1995) states that **competition**, pursuit of profits, and the threat of bankruptcy, may account for the deception inherent in many white-collar crimes. In large corporations, the bureaucratic structure of a company may mean **fragmentation of responsibility**, lack of control over business activities, poor information flow, and **disloyalty** to the firm (Conklin, 1995). Zeitlin (1971) suggests that because many jobs are monotonous, unchallenging, or lacking in prestige, workers may resort to criminal behaviours to make the job more challenging or to increase their sense of worth. Conklin (1995) also mentions that given the low risk of arrest and conviction it may seem rational for white-collar workers to commit fraud if the gains are great.

Relative deprivation is an important issue in the causation of crime. As Conklin (1995) states, resentment of poverty is more common among the poor in a wealthy

nation than among people in a poor nation. It is thus the perception of an unfair distribution of wealth rather than the person's actual level of poverty that causes violations of the law. Conklin (1995) also refers to people's expectations (entitlement) and capabilities (perceptions of access to goods and opportunities), and suggests that the sense of relative deprivation may increase as a result of a growth in expectations. Conklin (1995) further suggests that the belief that some people may get more than they deserve relative to their efforts, may produce a sense of inequity. Conklin (1995) adds that women may experience a sense of relative deprivation or entitlement if they are paid less than their male colleagues for the same work, producing frustration that may lead to criminal activities.

Differential association theory claims that criminal behaviour occurs as a result of the individual having learned an excess of definitions of the law that encourage criminal behaviour (Conklin, 1995). Closely related to this theory is the **differential identification theory**, which argues that criminal activities are pursued to the extent that an individual identifies with real or imagined persons from whose perspective the criminal behaviour seems acceptable (Conklin, 1995). Although an individual may initially violate a law by chance or out of ignorance, the social **labelling**, devaluing and stigmatisation of the individual may cause the deviant aspects of the individual's behaviour to be overemphasised. The effect of this overemphasis may cause changes in the individual's self-concept, leading to feelings of unworthiness and hostility towards society. A consequence of labelling may be continued criminal behaviour, association with a subculture of labelled individuals, and limitation of opportunities for success (Conklin, 1995).

According to Holdaway (1988), **racial inequality** may cause people of colour to choose a criminal career as an expression of contempt for the 'system that puts them down', and even if they endeavour to conform to societal norms, it is likely that they will experience rejection on racial grounds when they seek employment. Conklin (1995) cites research in which four fifths of the black participants thought that laws had been created by Whites to control Blacks, that Blacks lacked equal access to participation in social institutions, and that Blacks were not protected by the law in the same way that Whites were, and he concludes that these views may provide justification for criminal behaviour. Along the same lines, Jankowski

(1991) and Conklin (1995) claim that individuals may join a criminal gang or subculture because it provides them with a protective group identity and a sense of belonging and that criminal activity provides a collective solution to the shared problem of blocked opportunities. Further to the effects of racial inequality on gang formation, Wermölder's (1997) research shows that Moroccan youths in the Netherlands develop from loose-knit groups into delinquent gangs as a reaction to disapproval and rejection by the outside world, and to obtain a sense of mutual support. Wermölder (1997) maintains that the rejection causes the youths to have less ties with conventional institutions, and that this marginalisation leads to increasingly inadequate socialisation. Integral to the process of marginalisation is the role of the environment, and in this regard, Stark's (1987) theory on the ecology of crime contends that the density, poverty, transience, and dilapidation of urban neighbourhoods reduces social control and increases moral cynicism, opportunities for crime and deviance, and the motivation to deviate.

2.2.4 Reflection on the Causes of Criminal Behaviour

Lynch and Groves (1993) argue that a general theory of crime is impossible, as there is too much variation in both human behaviour and the environment to expect one theory to be applicable in all instances. In contrast, Tittle (1985) contends that it is indeed possible to construct a general theory on the causation of crime, as different phenomena relating to crime may be included within a theoretical commonality so that what appears to be different causes may actually be expressions of a common causal dimension. Both of these arguments are of value, as it is assumed that while the causes of criminal behaviour should not be simplified into mere causal dimensions, the development of a conceptual framework for rehabilitation of offenders should nevertheless be based on some form of complexified theory of crime, as the individual and societal needs underlying criminal behaviour must be understood fully in order to ensure that they are met in rehabilitation.

If the offenders are respected as competent agents of their own lives when afforded adequate access to information and resources, it becomes possible to provide a framework in which the individual offender can consider her personal and social reasons for acting unlawfully, and be assisted in finding ways of meeting

her needs that are constructive for herself and for society. In a holistic framework for rehabilitation, a theory of crime must be sufficiently flexible to include whatever the individual offender regards as her particular reasons for acting unlawfully, and for considering these reasons in a sociological, political and historical context.

2.3 PENOLOGICAL LEVEL

On the penological level, the review needs to consider the societal structures responsible for the practice of imprisonment, as well as the underlying principle for imprisoning people who break the law. Figure 2.2 depicts a tree that has been bound to an upright pole in order to straighten its growth. The rope with which it is bound is tied loosely in order to avoid stunting the growth of the tree. If the tree was not bound, it would have fallen over or the trunk would have cracked as the crown became heavier. If the tree were situated in a forest, the distorted growth of the tree would negatively affect the development of the trees around it. If this illustration is used



Figure 2.2 Management of criminal behaviour

as a metaphor for the interdependence of human beings, it seems obvious that the development of individuals has to be subject to a measure of social control (the rope and post), but that it is equally important that this control does not stunt the development of the individual (the rope must be loosely tied).

2.3.1 Management of Crime and the Agents of Social Control

Haviland (1996) explains that a society maintains social control through political organisation, and that such organisation is usually either uncentralised and informal as in bands and tribes, or relatively centralised and formal as in chiefdoms and states. In bands and tribes, political organisation is usually uncentralised and

informal as each group is economically and politically autonomous. As the population is usually small and relatively homogenous in uncentralised societies, social control is vested in individuals, and violations of socially accepted behaviour are resolved through negotiation and mediation (Haviland, 1996).

In chiefdoms, a degree of centralisation and formality is needed due to the larger population size, and the authority is usually vested with individuals whose position is ascribed through heritage. In chiefdoms, social control is based on unwritten rules of conduct. In states, larger heterogeneous populations and complex social structures require a more formal and centralised political organisation, and the authority to exert social control is vested in the state, rather than in individuals. In states, violations of socially accepted behaviour are defined according to codified statutes which are formal, written laws formulated by the legislative branch of the state, imposed by the judicial branch, and punished according to stipulated sanctions by the executive branch (Haviland, 1996; Encarta, 1999).

Although being composed of tribes and chiefdoms prior to colonisation, the South African society of today is centrally and formally organised and therefore the state, and not individual citizens, is vested with the authority to exert social control. The state's responsibilities of social control are, as in other states, divided into the legislative-, judicial-, and executive branches. The executive branch, which is responsible for the implementation of sanctions meted out by the judiciary, is in South Africa called the Department of Correctional Services (DCS). The DCS appoints formally trained staff to execute the specialised tasks of social control over criminal behaviour. In 2000, 34 552 personnel positions existed within the DCS to carry out the objectives of imprisonment, and manage the prison population of around 170 000. The staff were distributed among nine occupational classes. Listed from highest to lowest number of employee posts created, the nine occupational classes include custodian, management, nursing, social services, educationist, information technology, medical, chaplain, and legal personnel (Nxumalo, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 2000).

2.3.2 The Official Objectives of Imprisonment

Although a variety of official objectives account for the practice of imprisoning those who violate society's laws around the world (Klare, 1960), the DCS maintains that the most important objectives of imprisonment in South Africa today are incapacitation, punishment and rehabilitation (Nxumalo, 2000; Skosana, 2001). The first objective of imprisonment is to incapacitate offenders so they cannot further harm society, by removing them from society and placing them under custody of the state (Hawkins, 1976; Muntingh, 2001; Nxumalo, 2000). According to Conklin (1995), **incapacitation** is based in the idea that offenders will commit further crimes if they remain in society, and that placing the offenders in prison can prevent those crimes (Conklin, 1995; Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Muntingh, 2001; Nxumalo, 2000). Dissel and Mnyani (1995) state that the decision to incapacitate an offender is based on the interests of society, the nature of the offence, and the personal circumstances of the offender. The incapacitation may take the form of life imprisonment, imprisonment for an indefinite period, imprisonment for a definite period, or periodical imprisonment.

The second objective of imprisonment is to punish the offenders according to the principles of **retribution** and **deterrence** (Hawkins, 1976). Conklin (1995) states that the principle of retribution is based on the idea that people who violate the law are blameworthy and deserve punishment for their acts. Dissel and Mnyani (1995) maintain that the punishment inflicted should be proportionate to the crime committed and to the moral blameworthiness of the perpetrator. The principle of deterrence is closely linked with the idea of crime as a function of rational choice, as it is based on the assumption that people choose to commit a crime only after carefully considering the costs and benefits of the crime (Conklin, 1995; Hawkins, 1976). Deterrence may be divided into specific and general deterrence. Specific deterrence refers to the punished individual refraining from further criminal acts because of the risk of being punished again. General deterrence denotes the effect of offender punishment on the general population, in terms of preventing others from choosing to commit a crime.

Gibbs (1975) points out that conventional incapacitation and punishment rarely reform offenders. With this in mind, Gibbs (1975) maintains that a penal policy

based entirely on incapacitation and deterrence is difficult to defend since official statistics around the world show that recidivism accounts for a substantial proportion of crimes. Therefore, the third objective of imprisonment must be to rehabilitate offenders in preparation for their reintegration into society (Nxumalo, 2000). Although many definitions of criminal **rehabilitation** may be found, it seems that most are in accordance with the official definition of the South African Department of Correctional Services (Nxumalo, 2000), which states that rehabilitation involves the process of enabling offenders to live as constructive and law-abiding citizens in the community into which they are released (Bean, 1976; Conklin, 1995; Muntingh, 2001; Reber, 1995; Rostowsky, 1998). This definition of rehabilitation focuses on social cooperation and it is therefore suitable for the purpose of examining the current practice of rehabilitation from a sociological perspective. For the purposes of this review, rehabilitation will therefore be conceptualised as any programme, course or therapy, which facilitates the development of an offender and promotes the prevention of recidivism.

2.4 SOCIOLOGICAL LEVEL

On the sociological level, the effects of imprisonment on the offenders' lives as well as on society will be examined. Rehabilitation will then be considered from different perspectives as a means of optimising the positive effects and minimising the negative effects of imprisonment. Finally, the effectiveness of rehabilitation will be considered.

2.4.1 The Effects of Imprisonment

The effects of imprisonment may be seen on many different levels. The literature shows that the individual offender, the family of the offender, the offender's social network, the offender's employment and career opportunities, and the larger society are all impacted by the effects of imprisonment.

2.4.1.1 Effects on the Individual

Muntingh (2001) claims that imprisonment may increase the incidence of recidivism, as well as cause emotional and psychological damage. Muntingh (2001) states that such damage to offenders may take the form of an inability to

concentrate, loss of memory, dizziness, feelings of emptiness, hypersensitivity to noise, ulcers, fatigue, atrophied bodily functions such as eyesight, and a suicide rate for prisoners that is six to seven times higher than for the general population. Moore (1996) reports that incarceration erodes the offender's sexual, social and coping skills. According to Gibbs (1975), imprisonment publicly identifies the perpetrator as 'criminal' and this identification becomes a source of stigmatisation and subsequent social condemnation with wide-ranging effects on all areas of the offender's life. Eaton (1993) maintains that because all decisions are made for the offenders due to the authoritarian structure of the prison, prisoners tend to lose their autonomy, become passive, and dependent. This has grave consequences for their ability to cope after their release, and often ex-prisoners report that they find it difficult to make decisions and organise their lives.

2.4.1.2 Effects on the Family and Social Network

Gibbs (1975) claims that offenders often face the prospect of incontestable divorce during their incarceration, and that friends and family frequently terminate relationships as a result of the imprisonment. Gibbs (1975), Howard (1994) and Moore (1996) add that the removal of a member of a family has far-reaching consequences for the well being of the family, in terms of trust and cohesion within the family, financial strain, reorganisation of roles in the family, spousal conflict, and the nurturing and supervision of children. Howard (1994) states that the stigmatisation and ostracisation of the spouse and children by relatives, friends, peers, and the community is more demoralising than if the incarcerated family member had died, and may cause aggressive behaviour, depression, social withdrawal, and feelings of guilt and blame. Moore (1996) adds that the longer the sentence, the greater the difficulties when the offender is released. Eaton (1993) reports that many prisoners suffer from guilt feelings as they see the effects of their incarceration on their families. The result of imprisonment is thus often alienation and isolation of offenders from their social support network, and disintegration of both the nuclear- and extended family.

2.4.1.3 Effects on Employment and Career

Gibbs (1975) maintains that the stigmatisation offenders experience after imprisonment often result in the loss of employment, and being denied access to

alternative employment opportunities. If the offenders succeed in securing jobs after their incarceration, it is often accompanied by a humiliating level of distrust and lack of respect from employers and colleagues, and post-release surveillance by parole officers (Conklin, 1995; Moore, 1996; Muntingh, 2001; Perlstein & Phelps, 1975).

Eaton (1993) points out that -apart from needing the money- offenders also need acceptance, validation, and recognition in their work role in order to feel a sense of accomplishment and purpose. These needs are most often not met, as the stigmatised status of ex-prisoners prevents them from securing meaningful and stimulating employment. Moore (1996) adds that the earlier in life the offender is incarcerated, the more dysfunctional are the offender's work habits. The marginalisation and rejection experienced by the ex-prisoners may cause them to return to crime in order to make a living, create a more purposeful existence, or associate with others who will not judge them negatively (Gibbs, 1975).

2.4.1.4 Effects on Society

Research increasingly indicates that imprisonment may have the effect of further entrenching the offender in a criminal lifestyle, through subversive learning experiences in prison (Carson, Butcher & Coleman, 1988; Eaton, 1993; Hawkins, 1976; Muntingh, 2001; Walmsley, 2001).

Gibson (2000) adds that although the stigmatisation of imprisonment may be considered to have a deterrent effect on nonoffenders, those who have been imprisoned may commit even more crimes as they are forced to turn to those who attach no stigma to imprisonment when normal social relations are terminated due to the stigma of imprisonment. The deleterious individual, familial, relationship, and employment effects of imprisonment on offenders cause higher rates of recidivism, necessitating increasing governmental expenditure on apprehending and managing criminals, as well as increased moral and economic destabilisation of society (Moore, 1996).

2.4.2 Rehabilitation as an Objective of Imprisonment

Rehabilitation seems to be a controversial topic as the reviewed literature presents an ongoing debate around the appropriateness of rehabilitating offenders. To provide an overview of this debate, various views have been grouped into four perspectives, namely the public, political, humanistic-utilitarian, and official perspective.

In what may be termed a **public perspective** on rehabilitation, the views are informed mainly by the individual's status as citizen and potential victim of crime, rather than any notions of political righteousness or humanitarian values. These views arise from the experience of living in communities with high crime rates, and a feeling of vulnerability to the effects of crime. As an example of the fear of crime, Hawkins (1976) claims that although there is widespread public support for rehabilitation of offenders, the level of community tolerance for released offenders is very limited. A recent article (You Magazine, August 2, 2001) on rehabilitation of prisoners sparked angry letters from the public. One such letter (You Magazine, August 30, 2001) protested against the rehabilitation of criminals, and argued that the offenders had forfeited their right to be treated as human beings when they committed their crimes. This perspective represents the one side of the debate around rehabilitation, and it is centred on the principle that, although the offenders need to be rehabilitated in preparation for their release, they should not in any way benefit from having committed their criminal acts, but be made to suffer for their wrongdoing. Perlstein and Phelps (1975) claim that four issues keep emerging in public opinion regarding criminals. Firstly, correctional facilities are excessively lenient towards lawbreakers. Secondly, correctional systems favour the welfare and rights of lawbreakers over the welfare and rights of their victims and the law-abiding citizens. Thirdly, the discipline and respect for authority which is eroded by the 'coddling of criminals' must be restored through harsh measures. Lastly, the major objective of rehabilitation must be the protection of law-abiding society, not the welfare of the offender. On a South African note, Stavrou (1992) and Khuzwayo (1994) report that South African township residents generally prefer the harsh justice meted out by the peoples' courts in the townships since the peer

pressure applied by the local community is perceived as being far more effective in preventing criminal recidivism than any of the more impersonal official measures.

To be cured against one's will and cured of states which we may not regard as disease is to be put on a level with those who have not yet reached the age of reason or those who never will; to be classed with infants, imbeciles, and domestic animals. But to be punished, however severely, because we have deserved it, because we ought to have known better is to be treated as a human person made in God's image (Lewis, 1971, p.306).

The above quote illustrates the political side of the debate around rehabilitation. In the **political perspective**, rehabilitation is seen as detrimental in that it deprives the offenders of their integrity, and conveys the message that the offenders are somehow defective and morally infantile and therefore in need of 'correction' through some form of intervention by the agents of social control, in order to repair the flawed morals and render the offenders 'functional' (Foucault, 1977; Gibbs, 1975; Hudson, 1996; Perlstein & Phelps, 1975). Foucault (1977) further suggests that rehabilitation in prison serves the needs of the capitalist factories by producing docile automaton-like workers who obey orders without question. In terms of the political perspective, criminal behaviour is aggravated by the brutalising criminal justice process of imprisonment, an argument that is used to justify the demand that the process be abolished. Prison-based rehabilitation is seen as a complete illusion, as it has never been seen to work. Instead, as many persons as possible must be diverted from the criminal justice agencies and into community-based service programmes, with imprisonment being only the last resort for the few who are proven to be highly dangerous.

After a solemn public ceremony we pronounce [the offenders] enemies of the state, and consign them for arbitrary periods to institutional confinement on the basis of laws written many years ago. Here they languish until time has ground out so many weary months and years. Then with the planlessness and stupidity only

surpassed by that of their original incarceration they are dumped back on society, regardless of whether any change has taken place in them for the better and with every assurance that changes have taken place in them for the worse. Once more they enter the unequal tussle with society. Proscribed for employment by most concerns, they are expected to invent a new way to make a living and to survive without any further help from society (Menninger, in: Muntingh, 2001).

The above quote illustrates the principles of the **humanistic-utilitarian perspective**, in which the idea of rehabilitation is accepted on condition that the people who offer the rehabilitative programmes respect the integrity, needs, and human rights of the offenders (Hudson, 1996). In this perspective it is assumed that the offender is not likely to become a better citizen if she is not a fully consenting participant in the programmes being offered. As a result, grossly intrusive techniques like aversion therapy, chemical reduction of aggression and libido, psychosurgery, and so forth are rejected in this perspective (Hudson, 1996). Proponents of this perspective insist that rehabilitation workers need to examine their assumptions about what constitutes socially desirable behaviour and ‘moral rectitude’ (Heather, 1976). In keeping with a respectful stance toward the individual, this examination should serve two purposes. Firstly, the rehabilitation worker must consider whether his or her notion of a desirable rehabilitative outcome is actually relevant to the offender, or whether a demand for such change would violate the worldview and the dignity of that individual. Secondly, it is essential that the rehabilitation worker examines whether the proposed interventions are motivated by a desire to make the offender conform to societal stereotypes, or by a desire to create a space in which the offender can manage her own unique change and development (Conklin, 1995; Foucault, 1977; Heather, 1976; Hudson, 1996).

The **official perspective** on rehabilitation is offered by Skosana (2001), who states that the Department of Correctional Services is aware that the real test for prisoners begins upon their release, as they are often released from prison only to return to dysfunctional circumstances which may predispose them to commit further crimes. This statement suggests that there is a growing appreciation of the

multitude of factors causing recidivism, and that these factors should be addressed in rehabilitation to prepare prisoners for their release. Skosana (2001) states that the goal of the Department of Correctional Services is to educate prisoners so they can participate lawfully in the community, by equipping them with vocational and entrepreneurial skills in order to emphasise self-reliance as employment opportunities are scarce. Skosana (2001) stresses that it is essential to integrate the efforts of the different helping professions involved in dealing with the prisoners, their families, the authorities and the workplaces, and to collaborate with the community to improve the prisoners' chances of effective reintegration into society upon their release. According to the Department of Correctional Services (Skosana, 2001), most South African prisons offer different levels of schooling, education and vocational training suited to the individual offender's needs, ability and prior achievement (see table 2.1 to 2.7). The Department of Correctional Services (2000) emphasises the need to ensure the development of female prisoners because of their role in child rearing and in the welfare of the family. Implicit in this view is an understanding that female prisoners have rehabilitative needs that differ from those of male prisoners. Although the female prison population is currently only 2,12% of the total prison population, the need to develop a rehabilitative approach specifically for female prisoners is made all the more pressing by the fact that the female prison population is currently growing at a higher rate than the male population. As a result of this increased growth rate, overcrowding has reached 200% in some female prisons which severely limits the female offenders' access to rehabilitative services (Nxumalo, 2000).

As was the case with the views of the functions and causes of crime, each of the perspectives on rehabilitation seem to contain a facet of the total reality. The outrage of the citizen at seeing a person, who has taken from or hurt others, reaping welfare and educational benefits from their crime, is understandable. The politics surrounding rehabilitation, and the implicit assumptions about the defective morality of offenders conveyed by the practice of rehabilitation, cannot be ignored. The utility of a humane preparation of offenders before their release seems obvious, and the appreciation of the antecedent causes of crime inherent in the endeavours of the Department of Correctional services is encouraging. It is thus

not possible to dismiss any of the perspectives of rehabilitation in their entirety. In order to arrive at **an integrated view** of rehabilitation, it is necessary to find a quality that is shared by all the perspectives. Responsibility may be considered a shared quality of all the above perspectives of rehabilitation. In the public view, the offender must be seen to take responsibility for her actions. In the political view, the responsibility rests with the Department of Correctional services, in ensuring that the rehabilitative ideal is not defined by the norms of a powerful elite. In the humanistic-utilitarian view, the responsibility lies both with the rehabilitation worker who must be aware of the conflict between the dual role of social agent and facilitator of individualised change, and with the offender who must take responsibility for her own development. In the official view, the state must take responsibility for the criminogenic effects of previous and current social policies. The task is thus to determine how such responsibility may be achieved. An integration of the state's responsibility, the rehabilitation worker's responsibility, and the offender's responsibility for rehabilitation must start by acknowledging personal, familial, political and societal influences on behaviour, and end with a sense of responsibility for the positive outcome of the imprisonment which is shared by both the offender and society.

2.4.3 The Need for Prison-based Rehabilitation in South Africa

Hawkins (1976) states that in the majority of imprisonments, the offender will be returned to the community. This statement is also applicable to the South African context, as approximately 95% of all prisoners will eventually be released back into society (Muntingh, 2001).

When considering that between 85% and 94% of the released offenders will reoffend within a ten-year period, the question of what happens to a prisoner during the period of incarceration appears to be of ultimate importance (Muntingh, 2001). Nxumalo (2000) points out that the increase in the average length of prison sentences negatively impacts on the reintegration prospects of the prison population, which makes prison-based rehabilitation programmes an absolute necessity.

2.4.4 Assessment of Rehabilitative Efforts

A number of studies have focused on assessing rehabilitative programmes (Bernfeld, Farrington & Leschied, 2001; Dissel & Chung, 1999; Fine, 1996; Gendreau & Paparozzi, 1995; Martinson, 1974; Muntingh, 2001; Perlstein & Phelps, 1975), but Muntingh (2001) and Conklin (1995) claim that it is still not known which of the different forms of rehabilitation are suitable for the different types of offender needs.

In a survey of 231 studies of offender rehabilitation, Martinson (1974) concluded that rehabilitative programmes were generally ineffectual in preventing recidivism. As one explanation of the unsuccessfulness of rehabilitative programmes, Muntingh (2001) suggests that rehabilitation programmes are often mistakenly designed around available resources rather than needs, and that organisations involved in the programmes have their own objectives and foci causing important dimensions of human existence to be ignored. This seems to indicate a need for research focusing on the development of an integrated framework for rehabilitation, in order to prevent fragmentation and duplication of rehabilitative efforts, and in order to ensure that all of the offenders' rehabilitative needs, and the needs of society are catered for.

2.4.5 Prisoner Programmes and Services in SA Prisons

The tables on the following pages outline the prisoner programmes and services that are currently recognised by the Department of Correctional Services in South Africa.

Table 2.1 Programmes and services available to all sentenced prisoners

Psychological Services	Social Work Services	Religious Care	Education and Training	Generic programmes
Individual therapy	Individual therapy	Religious and Church services	ABET	Life Skills
Group therapy	Group therapy	Group sessions	Mainstream education	HIV / AIDS
Family therapy	Family therapy	Personal interviews	Correspondence studies	Investment in Excellence (IIE)
	Pre-release preparation	Personal religious needs	Technical studies	Behaviour Awareness Programme (Cross Roads)
		Alpha – inter-denominational introduction to the Christian faith	Vocational training	Drug and substance abuse
		New life behaviour ministries	Occupational Skills Training	Sexual behaviour
		Evangelism expansion 111 (EE3) – programme aimed at equipping prisoners to share their faith with others	Entrepreneurial Skills Training	
		Crime free-lessons in honest living: Scripture Union life skills education	Computer Based Training	
		Kairos-project – programme aimed at reaching gang leaders with the gospel and witness	Recreation and library education	

Table 2.2 Number of prisoners involved in ABET programmes

	Academic year 1999	Academic year 2000	January to March 2001
TOTAL	6 214	6 559	8765

Table 2.3 Number of prisoners involved in mainstream education

	Academic year 1999	Academic year 2000	January to March 2001
TOTAL	3 387	5 155	5554

Table 2.4 Number of prisoners involved in other studies

	Academic year 1999	Academic year 2000	January to March 2001
Correspondence studies	551	818	807
Technical studies	1 049	308	1473
TOTAL	1 600	1 126	2 280

Table 2.5 Number of prisoners involved in informal educational programmes

	Academic year 1999	Academic year 2000	January to March 2001
Recreational Education Programmes	12 419	32 935	5 878
Specially organised sporting events	13 358	11 624	2 989
Libraries: Number of libraries	127	124	124
Libraries: Number of readers	58 519	101 312	59 080
Libraries: Number of books issued	158 495	135 986	92 234

Table 2.6 Prisoners involved in vocational training programmes

Programmes	Academic year 1999	Academic year 2000	January to March 2001
Building training	714	799	494
Hairdressing training	67	48	135
Workshop training	575	681	670
TOTAL	1 356	1 528	1 299

Table 2.7 Prisoners involved in occupational skills training programmes

Type of training	Courses presented			Prisoners involved		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
External career-directed training	169	205	Figures for 2001 not available	2 226	2 460	2753
Agricultural training	323	185		962	1 951	1898
Internal career-directed training	337	151		1 266	1064	1093
In-service training	79	118		849	619	502
Entrepreneurial skills training	103	170		2 212	1 790	1693
Computer skills training	47	70		580	922	982
TOTAL	1 058	899		8 095	8 806	8 921

Table 2.8 Total number of prisoners in education and training programmes

1999	2000
9 848	23 174

2.5 GLOBAL LEVEL

On a global level, the relevance of various international perspectives on crime will first be considered in the light of the current South African situation. Secondly, rehabilitation will be contemplated from a contextual perspective, through the examination of both local and foreign views on human behaviour.

2.5.1 The Relevance of International Perspectives for South Africa

As mentioned under the section on socio-economic causes of crime, Stark's (1987) theory on the ecology of crime contends that decaying urban neighbourhoods reduce social control commitment to social norms and increase opportunities for crime and deviance. Although Stark's (1987) theory was not developed around racial inequality, it may be considered applicable to urban Black South Africans, as the marginalizing and criminogenic urban conditions described by Stark (1987) are prevalent in Black townships such as Soweto and Alexandra, as well as in the most densely populated areas of the South African city centres.

The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) in South Africa claims that there is a need for further studies on rehabilitation programme design and development that are relevant to the South African context, as well as on reintegration problems faced by former offenders (Muntingh, 2001). The Department of Correctional Services in South Africa has initiated a number of rehabilitative programmes (see tables 2.1 to 2.8), but resources for this endeavour are limited, and the outcome of rehabilitation efforts seem to be inadequate at present. Nxumalo (2000) maintains that it is not sufficient to provide prison-based rehabilitation programmes, but that professionals, academics and the business community must be engaged in a

coordinated effort to provide prisoners with alternative ways of thinking about their role in society, and about more constructive ways of making a living.

2.5.2 Rehabilitation: Behaviour in Context

Gilliland and James (1997) believe that the essence of crisis embodies both 'danger' and 'opportunity', and maintain that practically all counselling is initiated as crisis intervention. Therefore the crisis of being deprived of one's freedom to make personal choices may be seen as an opportune time for the offender to change the thinking and behaviour that led to the criminal act in the first instance. For the purposes of this review, it is assumed that the person who commits a crime does not do so within a vacuum, but in a historical and current context of personality, family background, peer influences, educational standards, employment opportunities and limitations, social constructions of power and status, as well as social and economic government policies.

In order to rehabilitate offenders, it is necessary to understand human behaviour contextually. In this regard, Bee's (1996) insistence on a holistic collaboration of the disciplines of anthropology, biology, sociology, criminology and psychology is valuable. Baltes, Reese and Lipsitt (1980) conceptualised human development as an outcome of the interactions of age-graded, history-graded and non-normative developmental influences. They maintained that as development is a life-long process, there is at any point in the life-course of an individual the capacity for change depending on socio-cultural conditions and experiences (Baltes et al., 1980). Further to this point, Heller (1989) maintains that there is a lack of concern for the social structures and cultural regularities that determine the options available for individual choice, and he claims that the socio-cultural context influences people's perceptions of themselves and their prospects.

The narrative approach (White, 1995) offers an opportunity to consider the socio-cultural influences on behaviour, as it is based on the assumption that people's perceptions of themselves are based on a personal narrative, which provides a context for the attribution of meaning. The meanings thus derived are not neutral but affect people's lives and the choices they make. In this approach, societies are seen to impose a discourse of a preferred way of being and thinking on individuals,

which directs their perception of themselves, others, and society, and govern their thoughts, relationships, and behaviour (White, 1995). According to White (1995), the internalised discourses erase contexts and relationship politics and prevent people from examining their motives for action and reaction. In narrative therapy, the personal narratives constructed by individuals are assessed for their underlying cultural and political assumptions. White (1995) calls this process “externalising the internalised discourse” and suggests that the process challenges the taken-for-granted reproductions of culturally prescribed ways, and helps the person construct a more empowering personal narrative. In the rehabilitative context, this approach may enable the offender to examine options for behaviour that they previously considered inaccessible.

In rehabilitation, the offenders should be enabled to consider their choices for behaviour holistically, in order to discover what unique value they are able to contribute to society in all spheres of their lives. As an example of a holistic approach, Integrative Life Planning (ILP) is a systems theoretical approach, which proposes a practical, group-oriented approach to life choices, incorporating **identity dimensions** (race, ethnicity, gender, ability, class, sexual orientation, religion, etc.), **developmental domains** (social, intellectual, physical, spiritual, emotional, and vocational), **personal styles** (decision style, learning style, personality style, and life style), **life roles** (child, student, leisurite, citizen, worker, parent, spouse, pensioner, and homemaker), **settings** (home, family, leisure, work, organisation, community, and society), and **influences** (economic, political, religious, historical, social and cultural) (Hansen, 1997). Hansen (1997) argues that individuals must see their lives as an integrated whole, rather than a simultaneous juggling of discrete roles and tasks. The aim of ILP is to empower individuals to shape the direction of their lives, manage change, and contribute to the larger society and common good, through awareness of the factors that influence their choices of action. Hansen (1997) believes that a shift towards connectedness, pluralism, spirituality, subjectivity, wholeness and community is needed. Further to this point, Ferguson (1999) suggests that individuals need to attain a sense of themselves as intrinsic parts of a larger whole, such as the family, church, community, globe, or even some greater purpose.

My family were visiting me [in prison] after a few sessions of the Integrative Life Planning course, and they were asking me what had changed since I seemed so different. I told them that I was being helped to understand myself and why I act the way I do, and that this insight helps me to see what I need to do to develop myself and find hope for the future again (Anonymous female prisoner at Diepkloof prison, personal interview, June 20, 2001).

This quote illustrates the impact of a holistic course for offenders (adapted from Hansen, 1997), which was presented at Diepkloof female prison in 1999, 2000 and 2001 (Dannerup, 2001). Comments from participants of the courses generally indicated that the course had enabled them to gain insight into the pre-cursors and motivations for the unlawful actions that had led to their criminal conviction. The participants further claimed that they had individually gained some insight into which areas of their lives they would like to change in order to develop their own potential and eliminate their need for criminal action in the future (Dannerup, 2001).

Experiences with the offenders during the presentation of the holistic programmes suggest that every prisoner has a personal history that - while never excusing the crime - may explain how it came to happen (Dannerup, 2001). It generally seemed that a series of detrimental choices were made, the last of which was the one that landed the offender in prison. In addition, it appeared that the offenders lacked the skills needed to find information about alternatives, and were unable to access support in finding socially constructive solutions, which severely restricted their choices of action. Most of the offenders indicated that the criminal acts which led to their incarceration were committed without an understanding of the wider legal, social, and personal implications of their actions, both for themselves and for the society they offend by their punishable action (Dannerup, 2001). The participants' comments indicate that the social responsibility of the offender may be promoted through a holistic framework of rehabilitative programmes, which is the responsibility of the state to provide. The rehabilitation workers must exercise their sense of responsibility through utilising only those programmes that take a respectful stance towards the offenders.

2.6 A RATIONALE FOR PRISON-BASED REHABILITATION

The social discourses reviewed in this chapter convey a need to restore societal imbalances, as these are seen to bring about the high level of crime and the consequent depletion of societal resources. The understandings derived from examining the offenders' needs demonstrate to some extent how the imbalances can be restored in order to attain a less tenuous social equilibrium. This research may thus help to determine which of these imbalances may be addressed – or partly addressed - from within the prison walls. Thus, we return to the central research question: **what are the prisoners rehabilitative needs?** Before exploring these needs, it may be useful to consider why incarceration and incapacitation of offenders should not be the only goal of the prison system, and why it makes sense to invest energy and resources in rehabilitation. This question may be answered through reviewing some of the most obvious individual, familial and social cost of criminal behaviour. These costs are usually economic, emotional, moral, spiritual and physical and arise throughout the crime and incarceration process:

- When the crime is planned and committed. Criminal activities usually result in a variety of adverse consequences to the victims (individuals, the community, or society), the offender and the offender's family.
- Police work and court procedures entail major economic and human resource expenses.
- The loss of the offender's productivity during imprisonment constitutes another major cost, as the prisoner is not active in an occupation, and makes no economic and vocational contribution.
- The family and community of the offender experience negative effects during the offender's incarceration (Moore, 2001).
- The employment of staff to manage conduct the incarceration process by operating and maintaining the eight female prisons (buildings, water, electricity, food, bedding, medicine, etc) involves a considerable economic and human

resources cost. Table 2.9 below lists the number of female prisons per province (Mti, 2002).

Table 2.9 Female prisons per province

Province	Prisons
Gauteng	Johannesburg and Pretoria
Limpopo	Thohoyandou
Free State	Kroonstad
Western Cape	Pollsmoor and Worcester
KwaZulu-Natal	Durban and Pietermaritzburg

- The offender usually experiences an insidious loss of ability and confidence because of inactivity during incarceration, which results in her inability to become a productive citizen upon her release (Stevens, 1991).
- Incarceration usually results in some degree of disintegration of the offender's family and support network, which has consequences for the level of social cohesion and interconnectedness which diminishes the individual's sense of social responsibility.

The above points constitute the disadvantageous effects of crime and incarceration. By contrast, it seems that the only advantage derived from the imprisonment of offenders is the formation of a precarious societal sense of security through the knowledge that individuals - who have hurt others or their society in some way - cannot do so while incarcerated. Mti (2002) reports that the Department of Correctional Services' current total annual expenditure amounts to approximately R6,5bn. As the total national revenue expenditure for the 2001/2002 financial year amounts to approximately R265bn (Statistics SA, 2003), the Correctional Services expenditure constitutes roughly four percent of the available government budget. This percentage may seem small until one considers that incarceration merely provides a temporary respite from the commission of further offending.

One might hope that offenders are deterred from committing crime again by the prospect of repeating the incarceration experience. However, the current 85-94% recidivism rate (Muntingh, 2002) indicates that prisoners typically become an increased liability to society upon their release, as their attitudes, abilities, support-networks and access to resources have deteriorated during their incarceration. If we put aside the issue of deterioration for the moment, it is clear that offenders should be prevented from committing further crimes, and that the prison structure can serve this purpose. Nevertheless, in order to provide lasting benefits, some form of organised input must be established to achieve positive change in the prisoners. However, offenders must be willing to change in order to correct their deleterious behaviour, and it is obvious that not every offender will find that willingness in herself. There should be clearly defined consequences of being willing - or not willing - to change and act in a socially constructive manner, in terms of the position one is allowed to take in society upon release.

At present, our prisons are modelling consequences to prisoners merely in terms of their loss of freedom and the deterioration of their ability to cope successfully upon their release. However, hand-in-hand with modelling the negative consequences should go the opportunity to explore alternative behaviour and access to learning and resources which afford offenders the prospect of sustaining a non-criminal existence after release. It is hoped that sometime in the future, the prisons can be reframed as

- schools that promote constructive values, individual growth and the acquisition of new skills.
- places where individuals can work towards restoring themselves and the people they have hurt through their criminal acts.

2.7 CONCLUSION

When considering the ideological, penological, sociological and global perspectives on criminal conduct as well as the rationale for prison-based rehabilitation, it appears that societal structures and beliefs do indeed create criminogenic contexts. In view of this, it is obvious why mere incarceration does not serve as a powerful deterrent to future criminal conduct. It is therefore imperative to restructure South

African penal practice to provide for the rehabilitative needs of offenders on a wider scale than is currently the case. Whether the offenders choose to act on the new skills and insights they have gained through rehabilitation should determine how they are allowed to position themselves in society in the future.

CHAPTER 3

3 METHODOLOGY

When considering the most appropriate method for a study of this nature, the choice was ultimately guided by the aim of the research. If the aim had been merely to describe the field of study, phenomenological methodology might have sufficed. However, as the aim was to describe the field of study as well as develop a rehabilitative framework for practice, it was necessary to turn to Grounded Theory methodology.

3.1 WHY GROUNDED THEORY

According to Glaser (2000), researchers turn to grounded theory when the more preconceived methods do not give relevant answers, and look for methodologies that will result in data and theories relevant to what is going on in their area of interest. Grounded theory allows the researcher to escape the preconceived problems and format methods of more traditional types of research. Charmaz (1995) claims that grounded theory methods are suitable for studying individual processes, interpersonal relations and the reciprocal effects between individuals and larger social processes. Grounded theory thus seemed an obvious methodological choice for the study of female offender needs for the purpose of developing a conceptual framework for offender rehabilitation. Grounded theory methodology is especially relevant in the heterogeneous South African societal context. A quote from Glaser (2000) may illustrate this:

Researchers are constantly running into the multitude of ways in which diversity affects the world. The formulated evidentiary methods work far better in more homogeneous environments of culture and structure. In culturally diverse environments, these methods do not work as well because preconception can lead the researcher astray from realities that are not in his or her cultural view. These

differences cannot be imagined or conjectured. They must be discovered to be relevant, work, and fit... Grounded theory tells us what is going on, tells us how to account for the participants' main concerns, and reveals access variables that allow for incremental change. Grounded theory is what is, not what should, could, or ought to be. The conceptual grab frees the researcher to be his or her own theorist, and it is empowering the comparative process constantly raises the conceptual level of the study, which gives the researcher a continually transcending perspective, a constantly larger and less bounded picture (Glaser, 2000, p. 2-4).

An overview of the customary process of grounded theory is described in section 3.1.3. The process followed in this study is described in section 3.2.

3.1.1 Premises of Grounded Theory

Dick (2000b) explains that grounded theory begins with a research situation, in which the task is to understand what is happening through observation, conversation, interview and literature. Grounded theory is explicitly **emergent** (discovered in the data), in that it does not test preconceived hypotheses but sets out to discover the theory implicit in the data. Strauss and Corbin (1990) state that grounded theory is not generated a priori and then tested, but is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. For this research, the grounding of a theoretical framework in the research phenomenon was seen to be of ultimate importance as the literature indicates that the host of earlier research in this field has been unhelpful in generating constructive solutions to criminal recidivism (e.g. Martinson, 1974).

Pandit (1996) states that the three basic elements of grounded theory are concepts, categories and propositions. **Concepts** are the basic units of analysis, **categories** are representations of concepts on a higher and more abstract level, and **propositions** (hypotheses) are indications of generalised relationships between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories.

In grounded research, the processes of data collection, concept formulation (coding) and memoing occur simultaneously from the beginning of the research, whereas sorting only takes place when all categories are saturated. Both

methodology and theory are allowed to develop gradually as data and interpretations accumulate (Dick, 2000a).

Charmaz (1995) states that grounded theory methods are a logically consistent set of data collection and analytical procedures, which stress discovery and theory development, shape research processes and products from data, check developing ideas with further specific observations, and analyse the actual process of research as it happens. Charmaz (1995) describes the grounded theory procedures of concept formulation, open coding, memo writing and theoretical sampling as overlapping and simultaneous.

3.1.2 Characteristics of a Grounded Theory Researcher

Before embarking on an overview of the process of grounded theory, it seems salient to include Glaser's (1999) view of the three most important characteristics of a grounded theory researcher. These characteristics include the ability to conceptualise data, the ability to tolerate some confusion, and the ability to tolerate confusion's attendant regression. Glaser (1999) claims that these characteristics enable the researcher to wait for the conceptual sense-making to emerge from the data. Glaser (1999) says that tolerating confusion and regression allows for openness in the research and the possibility of generating concepts that make sense of what is going on.

3.1.3 The Process of Grounded Theory Development

The logic of grounded theory as stated most clearly in Theoretical Sensitivity is to ask two formal - not preconceived - questions. They are: what is the chief concern or problem of the people in the substantive area, and what accounts for most of the variation in processing the problem? And secondly what category or what property of what category does this incident indicate? (Gibson, 2000).

The procedure of **constant comparison** is seen as the most important element of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This is why key issues are noted down and constantly compared during data collection. Initially data set is compared to

data set (individual interviews, group interviews, programmes, literature, etc.) and any theoretical ideas should be noted down immediately as they emerge.

In grounded theory, the **initial sample** is defined by the research situation, and Dick (2000a) suggests that the researcher should begin with as diverse a sample as possible. As categories emerge from the data, the sample is expanded through theoretical sampling to increase the range of information. **Theoretical sampling** refers to the process of deciding what data to collect next and from where, based on the developing theory as it emerges from the ongoing collection, concept formulation and analysis (Dick, 2000a). The size and scope of the sample is thus not determined in the planning stages of the research, but is allowed to develop as it becomes relevant to the research. According to Glaser and Strauss, “theoretical sampling is the process of data collection whereby the analyst jointly collects, formulates concepts (coding) and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next...in order to develop his theory as it emerges” (1967, p.45). Charmaz (1995) adds that in grounded theory sampling is not done for representativeness of a given population, but to check and refine the researcher’s emerging conceptual categories. Thus, the process of theoretical sampling will allow the researcher to expand the sample when information points to other data-sources that appear to be related, rather than out of a need to demonstrate a large volume of one particular incidence. Instead of validating or disproving through numbers, the categories and their properties are validated because their relation to the theoretical constructs and to each other can be shown.

Dick (2000a) advocates a technique called **convergent interviewing** for collecting data. He explains that this type of diagnostic interviewing begins with a non-directive request for the informant to for example tell the researcher about the organisation, experience or perceptions about the topic and suggests that the informant should be encouraged to keep talking for about 45 minutes without being asked specific questions. In later interviews, more specific probe questions are asked. The themes mentioned by each informant must be noted, and the notes must be compared with previous interviews. In this way, themes mentioned by more informants are identified, and it must be determined whether those themes are referred to in the same way by informants or with disagreement. When an

agreement is identified, probe questions are devised to seek exceptions to the agreement. When a disagreement is identified, probe questions are devised which seek explanations for the difference. Explanations emerge gradually from the data as the study proceeds (Dick, 2000b). When doing interviews, Glaser (2000) warns against tape-recording, as it is very time consuming to listen to and transcribe a tape recording. However, Dick (2000a) cautions that rapport with informants may develop more rapidly and effectively if notes are not taken during the interviews, and that notes of interviews should rather be recorded immediately after each interview, with concept formulation done adjacent to the interview notes on wide margins. The decision of whether to use tape-recording should be decided on during the process based on what seems logical and practical (Gibson, 2000).

After each data collection session, the key task of the researcher is to consider which categories are suggested by the data, and code (or in the case of this research, formulate the concepts) them with the emerging theory in mind (Dick, 2000b). Gibson (2000) states that the **coding** procedure is designed to develop an emergent set of hypotheses based on the main concerns of individuals involved in the field. In this way, grounded theory becomes a rigorous, structured method for the induction from specific incidents to general theoretical hypotheses.

The data is interpreted in the light of the situation in which it was collected and then compared to previous data as well as to the emerging theory, and the outcome of this comparison is coded to identify emerging categories and their **properties** (Dick, 2000b). A **category** is a theme or variable that makes sense of what an informant has said, and during the process of analysis, initial tentative categories may turn out to be properties of other categories or subcategories. Dick (2000b) remarks that sensitivity to the main concerns of those in the field helps to organise and integrate the fullest range of variation observed in the research field. The method of concept formulation thus provides flexibility in the research process by forcing the researcher to constantly modify and reorganise the emergent theory.

During concept formulation, **theoretical propositions** (hypotheses) usually emerge, regarding links between categories, or categories that appear central to the study (Dick, 2000a). After a while, one or more categories may emerge with high

frequency and appear to be connected to many of the other emerging categories, and these high frequency categories then become the core categories. When such **core categories** have been identified, further sampling is concentrated on them, their subcategories and the properties of both. Sampling and data collection is continued until saturation is achieved. **Saturation** means that new subcategories and properties no longer emerge when new data is added.

Memoing is done alongside data collection, note taking and concept formulation, in order to identify the connections between emergent categories and their properties (Dick, 2000b). When the core- and subcategories are saturated, a large number of memos will have accumulated, capturing the different aspects of the theory that have emerged from the data. While concept formulation makes the components of the theory visible, memoing adds the relationships that link the categories to each other. As the categories and properties emerge they, and their links to the core category, provide the theoretical framework.

When the core categories, subcategories and their properties are saturated, the memos are sorted into groups on the basis of the similar categories or properties they address, and the groups are arranged to reflect on their relationship (Dick, 2000a). These groups are then gathered in a sequence that will make the structure of the emerging theory apparent.

In the grounded theory approach the researcher is asked to delay reading the literature and only to integrate those concepts that are relevant to the emergent theory. In this way, only concepts that are relevant to the main concerns of those in the field 'earn their way' and are placed in the appropriate 'theoretical context' (Gibson, 2000).

According to Dick (2000b), it is often not possible in grounded theory research, to anticipate which **literature** will turn out to be relevant. Due to the emergent nature of grounded theory, literature is not given a position of privilege, but is treated as data with the same status as other data, and thereby subject to the process of constant comparison. Dick (2000b) cautions that when disagreement

between the emerging theory and the literature occurs, the researcher should not assume the emerging theory to be erroneous, but rather develop it further in order to make sense of both the data from the study and the data from the literature.

In an emergent study, data collection and literature search is usually carried out concurrently, with literature being accessed as it becomes relevant rather than in the planning phase of the research. However, Glaser (2000) suggests that background reading before and during the research may help make sense of the data, and he recommends reading widely peripherally to the chosen research domain in order not to restrict the researcher's sensitivity to emerging categories and properties. By accessing literature in different but related substantive fields, the researcher may also attain a wider sample.

3.2 GROUNDED THEORY APPLIED

Although the process of doing grounded theory has been delineated above, this section will reflect on how the process has been applied to this research. In this section, ideological, interpersonal and practical issues pertaining to the research will be outlined, and a reflection will be offered on the experience of the applicability of grounded theory methods and principles to this research topic.

3.2.1 Ideological Stance of the Researcher

In grounded theory, the researcher's demographics are seen to influence the analytic process of research (Strauss and Corbin, 1997; Glaser and Strauss, 1967), which may be illustrated by this quote by Hertz (1997, p. viii) on reflexivity:

factors intersecting with gender, such as nationality, race, ethnicity, class, and age affect the [researcher s] field interactions and textual strategies.

This research has been influenced, by not only this researcher's demographics and 'outsider' status in the prison environment, but also by the beliefs and worldview arising from this researcher's personal history. This has been brought to each interview and to the process of interpretation by the researcher as a 'situated actor' (Manning, 1967). According to Keeney (1983), a move from first-order cybernetics to second-order cybernetics will allow for self-analysis and

political awareness and thereby enable researchers to account for the impact their observations and personal stories have on the interpretation of data. Further to this point, Heron and Reason (1997, p.274) describe the process of self-reflection as follows:

Critical subjectivity involves a self-reflexive attention to the ground on which one is standing a refraining mind that continually overcomes itself, divesting itself of its own presuppositions. It is related to what Bateson described as Learning III, in which the mind can choose its premises of understanding and action, can detach itself from all frameworks to peer into and reflect on their presuppositions.

Kegan's transparadigmatic fourth-order consciousness and Gebser's integral-aperspectival mind grasp that no perspective is final, is transparent to the context of its own operation, is open to the context of that context and so forth. It also relates to those moderate post-mortem poststructuralists who do not deny truth and meaning as such, but hold that all truth and meaning are relative to a context, and that context is boundless, infinitely extendable (Heron and Reason, 1997).

The section on ideological stance has been included to ensure that the underlying assumptions and ideology are examined and made explicit throughout the research process. The commitment to this level of accountability has been informed by this researcher's belief that every instance of research contributes to the current social discourse, and may have either a constructive or a destructive effect. As the researcher's personal stance is made explicit, the readers may draw their own conclusions regarding the validity of the interpretation of the data relative to their own positions. This allows the interpretation to be subject to continued contextual modification and should prevent misapplication of the conceptual framework.

3.2.2 Interpersonal Stance of the Researcher

Connected to the issue of the researcher's ideological stance, is the relationship with the informants and their ecology (the prison staff and management). The prison environment is hierarchically structured, and rather tenuous relations exist among staff and prisoners regarding power and control (Dannerup, 2000).

Consequently, a professional, respectful and unbiased stance in the interactions with informants is of special importance for this research. On this topic, Glaser (2000) maintains that it is important for the researcher not to myth-break, whistle-blow, structure-bust, finger-point and bubble-bust. He adds that researchers should never be seen as crusading, subverting or under-mining, as they are then likely to be circumvented or shunned.

3.2.3 The Literature Review

Literature pertaining to the functions and causes of crime, the objectives of imprisonment, and perspectives on rehabilitation, as well as post-modern perspectives on human behaviour was studied prior to conducting the interviews to provide an understanding of the research field. Further literature was included as it became relevant, throughout the research (Dick, 2000a and 2000b; Gibson, 2000; Charmaz, 1995; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The initial literature review as well as subsequent literature was treated as data, and has therefore been subject to constant comparison in the same way as other data (Dick, 2000a).

3.2.4 Purposive and Theoretical Sampling

The data collection was inductively approached by drawing an initial sample. This sample consisted of interviews with current prisoners from the female section of Diepkloof Prison, the prison psychologist and a staff member. As categories began to surface, further interviews with different prisoners were conducted.

The emerging categories guided the specific literature to be included as data. The theoretical sampling was thus based on the analysis of the interviews. In this regard, Pandit (1996) warns that efforts must be focused on the theoretically useful cases that test and extend the theory. **Additional literature** on imprisonment, rehabilitation, recidivism, and ex-offenders' experiences of life after prison, as well as government- and NGO records were included as the need arose, and was treated as data in accordance with grounded theory procedure. As themes emerged and were discussed with the participants after the interviews, a remarkably proactive prisoner ('Bonnie', who was a member of an earlier therapy group, as well as an interview participant) conducted short question-and-answer interviews

with ten other prisoners, on her own initiative. The interviews as well as ‘Bonnie’s’ comments have been included in the sample and may be found in section 4.2.

3.2.5 Collection and Analysis of Data

Convergent interviewing was utilised to elicit data from individuals. Audiotaping and memoing has been the main method for recording data, except in the case of the ten interviews conducted by ‘Bonnie’. These interviews were question-and-answer sessions where the information was handwritten during the interviews, and have been treated in the same way as the other types of data. The tape recordings were transcribed and the transcripts were coded (concept formulations) and analysed along with memos made during and after the interviews. The handwritten interviews were typed exactly as they appeared, and coded in the same way as the other interviews. The gathered and analysed data formed the basis for theoretical sampling through literature. The transcriptions are presented in Tables 4.1 to 4.21 in chapter four, with the right hand column containing the concepts and memos inherent in the data.

Throughout the research, memos were used to record ideas and relationships noted between categories, and have informed much of the framework conceptualisation. Data collection was terminated when the identified core- and subcategories were saturated, i.e. when no new information was forthcoming in subsequent interviews and discussions. However, with as broad a research topic as that of this research, it is obvious that more core and subcategories would have emerged if the sample had been extended to other prisons. Therefore, it is important to design a flexible rehabilitative framework that can accommodate any data derived from future research or correctional practice.

The concept formulations from the interviews are presented in table form in Table 5.1. The table provided an easy means of logically ordering the concepts into emerging categories. This method is consistent with the method suggested by Smith, Harré and Van Langenhoven (1995).

The sorting and sequencing of the concepts was envisaged as a process of hierarchically arranging the data from most inclusive concepts to least inclusive

concepts and relating these to the memos. To this end, the transcribed interviews were printed in hard copy and the paragraphs were cut apart. Thereafter, the paragraphs were laid out and sorted according to their formulated concepts.

The concepts have been used to identify categories and properties of categories in chapter five and six; eventually yielding the rehabilitative needs framework. Superordinate concepts appearing with high frequency, and having numerous associations with other concepts, were adopted as core categories. Subordinate concepts were accepted as subcategories. Low frequency concepts with few associations were listed as properties of the core- or subcategories. The addition of paragraph numbers to transcripts provided reference to instances of identified core categories and subcategories during the sorting process.

3.2.6 Reliability and Validity

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory has its own sources of rigour, which are responsive to the situation in which the research is done. One such source concerns the continuing search for evidence disconfirming the emerging theory, which is driven by the data in such a way that the final shape of the theory is likely to provide a good fit to the situation. Another source of rigour is that the categories must be submitted to constant comparisons with other categories, as well as comparison to the emerging theory (Glaser, 2000), in order to constantly redesign and reintegrate the researcher's theoretical notions while reviewing the research material (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). These considerations have been heeded by constantly comparing the findings from the interviews with the memos made during the reading of the sampled literature.

Dick (2000a) suggests two main criteria for judging the adequacy of the emerging theory: that it fits the situation; and that it works -- that it helps the people in the situation to make sense of their experience and to manage the situation better. To achieve such adequacy, the findings have been discussed with prisoners and staff on an ongoing basis throughout the research process. The deliberations on grounded theory by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Dick (1999 and 2000a), as well as Becker (1993) have been followed closely to ensure the validity of the study and to avoid methodological pitfalls.

3.3 CONCLUSION

As may be understood from the above, a grounded theory was inductively derived from the data, in order to allow whatever was relevant to emerge through systematic data collection and the analysis thereof. As a reflection on the chosen methodology, some reservations must be noted regarding the customary grounded theory process of constant comparison. According to the available literature, open coding and analysis must be conducted on an ongoing basis after each interview and before conducting the next.

However, it was feared that this process would render the researcher likely to follow only the most obvious themes at the expense of more indistinct but possibly important themes. Therefore, the analysis was initially confined to a very loose and tentative initial concept formulation, to prevent a premature crystallisation into some limiting categories. It seemed all too easy to find evidence for the existence of arbitrary categories through interpretation of statements made in the interviews, and so attention to the emergence of core- and subcategories or properties of categories was deferred until all the interviews had been conducted. Each transcription was thus carried out immediately after the interview, and without delay open-coded using concept formulations congruent with the shared language of the interviewer and interviewee as it developed during the interview. Only during the axial coding were these concepts ordered in terms of categories. This process may be likened to completing an unfamiliar 5000 piece puzzle with the picture on the lid missing. By taking this path the rehabilitative framework emerged when all the pieces were 'on the table' by first focusing on the distinctive corners and edges of the puzzle and then filling in the spaces with specific concepts. The result that emerged from this process is a framework that is entirely grounded in the available data.

CHAPTER 4

4 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection for this study took place at Diepkloof Prison, also called Johannesburg Central Prison. The first interview (Table 4.1) is a group discussion that was conducted in 2001, whereas the remainder has been conducted during the course of 2003. The data collection chapter contains the researcher's audio-taped interviews, as well as additional information offered by two prisoners.

4.1 AUDIO-TAPED INTERVIEWS

In the transcribed interviews presented in this section, comments made by the researcher are shaded to facilitate reading. Interviewees not already acquainted with the aim of this research [through Integrative Life Planning groups, individual therapy sessions, informal conversations] were briefed before the interview. Confidentiality was ensured through the substitution of names, locations and identifying information with pseudonyms or 'XXX', and the pseudonyms were chosen to correspond with the cultural identity of the interviewee. In interviews with a single interviewee, all non-shaded communication was communicated by the interviewee and thus needs no further identification. In group-interviews, the pseudonyms were used at the beginning of each paragraph to identify the speaker. Implicit content, as well as specific behaviours and reactions relevant to understanding, was entered or explained in square brackets '[]'.

Paragraph numbering was used, in order to track the origin of a comment during the sorting process. When a paragraph referred to more than one concept, it was split into two or more paragraphs. The paragraphs thus contain only one conceptual item, so that each paragraph may be later be grouped with similar items during sorting. In terms of the numbering format, the paragraph numbers consist of four digits. The first digit refers to the interview number and the identity of the interviewee, and the last three digits refer to the paragraph number within that specific interview. The transcribed interviews are presented below.

4.1.1 Interview with 1st Group, 20-7-2001.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of an Integrative Life Planning group session between four participants, namely Sonja, Bonnie, and Singobile and this researcher. The session was used to discuss the participants' experience of prison and rehabilitation needs, as ten of the group members were detained by illness, work detail, or locked in their cells, and it seemed unreasonable to continue the ILP group work without them. The session begins in the middle of a discussion of the prison postal service, as the decision to postpone the ILP session was made after having chatted loosely while waiting for the absent group-members.

Table 4.1 Interview with 1st group

Interview 1	Concepts
JD: Should we begin by discussing contact with family and friends? Do you get letters in the prison?	
1001. Bonnie: It [delivery of letters] is very erratic, it is a terrible situation.	
1002. Sonja: I got a letter that was posted on the [date] this morning [local letter, one month underway]. Sometimes letters don't even get to us, my husband has sent many that two months down the line I still have not received. Especially when it is money orders, when there is money involved, they disappear.	Access to external resources/ support system
1003. Bonnie: The best thing is just to get your sentence over and done with, and get out of here.	
JD: Yeah, the prison is a big machine dealing with great numbers of people, and I suppose things unfortunately do go wrong? I read the annual report of the Department of Correctional Services, and if you read what the intention is with the prisons in the future, it looks great. The intention is good [looking for positive points to build on].	
1004. Sonja: The old regime was ordered, now it is absolute chaos. Nothing but disorder.	Need for order and reliability in the prison system

<p>1005. Bonnie: I mean, they [the members] don't even know what I am in here for... And when there are visitors, they walk around to find you, and if they don't find you, they just take the slip and throw it away. The visitors can sit there all day waiting; there is no communication between the cells and here [the 'besoek' – a place where prisoners and visitors can meet]. And you never know whether you are going to get bread from one day to the next, it is very erratic.</p> <p>1006. Sonja: You know, Janne, those members... they should be people that, -I wouldn't say they have to deal with [the prisoners'] nonsense, ok. But, I mean, if you are really down that day, they should try to deal with it personally, try to talk to them [the prisoners], try, and calm them down. You know, deal with them in a subtle way. Here, if somebody is down, they don't feel nothing. They just carry on.</p>	<p>Internal communication problems</p> <p>Empathy and understanding from staff</p> <p>Relationship with staff</p>
<p>JD: Why do you think they do that?</p>	
<p>1007. Bonnie: I don't know, maybe they can't cope with locking us up every night. It is tough, but I think it is just a wall they have to build up. They can't really form a relationship with us [any prisoner] without having the other prisoners get jealous.</p>	<p>Relationship with staff</p>
<p>JD: Jealousy... they can't be seen to favour anybody?</p>	
<p>1008. Sonja: For instance, if you go to sit in XXX's [a white staff member] office every day, and she talks to you, spends time with you, something like that, she gets to be called a racist. You know, you can't win.</p>	<p>Racial conflict</p>
<p>JD: It seems like a rather immature way of dealing with each other?</p>	
<p>1009. Sonja: Just remember education is a problem. A lot of people [prisoners] are going to school, but the teachers are teaching stupid things, they don't learn what they need.</p>	<p>Relevance of the offered education</p>

<p>JD: If you look across the broad group of inmates, how much education do people have?</p>	
<p>1010. Sonja: Very little</p>	
<p>1011. Singobile: Very little. 90% of them aren't educated. Most of people have only reached early primary school.</p>	
<p>1012. Sonja: Let us just take the accountancy students here. Being in Johannesburg General Prison, anybody can take accountancy. So, they have got classes for standard eight upwards. Meantime, these people, some of them are now sitting in a matric accounting class, but they have never done e.g. standard six. So, even the education that is offered here, ok, there is a gap. And to me that is wrong. You cannot take that person...I am using accounts because I have done it [she is an accountant]...you cannot take a person and put them in a matric or a standard 8 class and say 'look, here's a debit and here's a credit, now you do this...' you cannot do it.</p>	<p>Educational gaps</p>
<p>JD: So it is like you are going to school and come back after being sick for a year, and now you must try to understand what the others are doing?</p>	
<p>1013. Sonja: It is like coming here with a matric certificate and saying 'excuse me, I am going to do my honours now', skipping the BA. All of that, you skip that. Look, it is none of my business, I know...</p>	<p>Educational gaps</p>
<p>JD: No, it is your business, because that is how our world is created, if there is a low standard of work or there are missing links, and then you get hurt because it is your society, you have to live with it. Everything we do affects everybody else.</p>	
<p>1014. Bonnie: I am not part of the schooling anyway. But I have watched so many people start with it [educational courses] at the beginning of the year and then get nowhere. I mean, just falling out.</p>	<p>Motivation to complete courses</p>

JD: So how many would you say fall out?

1015. Singobile: In the community class this year, there are now eight but there were twenty-something. And we will be seven soon. The class used to be full, they even used the binneplaas.

JD: So you get this ABET schooling, and how does that work?

1016. Sonja: ABET is done through UNISA. That is what I am busy doing. And that is teaching. So, you get a certificate and basically that equips you to teach adults literacy or any subject that you feel you can cope with. Which I don't feel is right. School subjects from grade 8 to grade 12. They take adults that have not been taught for adult re-education. So you have to assess that person and assess at what sort of level you can place her. And, I don't know, they don't assess them properly. There is no proper...they did testing in the beginning of the year of some of the students, but I mean, no proper way of assessing them, I don't know. You can give that person a...say, 'please write a comprehension test', and that person can write a comprehension test. But to me that is no right way of assessing is that person ok to write grade twelve.

JD: What are they then **not** doing to find out?

1017. Sonja: You know, I would say they must take that person, let us say they had finished standard five outside [not in prison]. Take that person and give them a proper standard 6. Give them a **proper** education. Don't jump to a standard eight or matric, I mean, it is too much. People lose their motivation.

1018. Singobile: If somebody does that, they are not qualified. Yeah, you know, even some of the teachers, they don't know that thing [don't have a proper education], because you know, they don't always know.

Qualifications of course teachers and facilitators

Educational gaps

1019. Sonja: They teach what they assume is right. I have my matric, so I am doing criminology, economics and so on. But I did it because I wanted to pass the time. But I am not going to pass it by studying all by myself because I am also working with the babies [at the crèche] and I am enjoying it. But, we had an instance where we worked together, and they [the course facilitators] were strict. It is two different needs. We had this lady working with us and she was telling us it [a word] has the same meaning, and it hasn't... we pulled out dictionaries, to prove to her. But they are never wrong. They are prisoners, not qualified teachers, but they have done the ABET course, ok, and...

1020. Bonnie: Look, they are doing ok...

1021. Sonja: They are doing excellently. The group that did ABET last year, they really did fantastically.

JD: But what you say you are looking for is some flexibility on their side, that they can also learn as they go along, that they don't have to know everything?

1022. Bonnie: Yes, and not only that, their kind of teaching is only for the few that are so not...that are so ignorant that they have got no literacy whatsoever. They could teach a person from grade 1 level.

JD: What about this Readucate?

Qualifications of teachers and facilitators

Level of teaching

1023. Sonja: Readucate is teaching people to read and write. Now, I watched one evening the one lady was teaching the people in the cell to read and write. The clock just ticked away, and I mean, it was wonderful. There are actually a few ladies [prisoners] doing it. Some of them are going home soon. But if only they could get more people going on this Readucate course. They are teaching right from the start. Because I sat one evening in the bathroom, and I watched them teaching, and they teach them how to write the 'a'. Let me tell you, they were enjoying it... because they are actually learning something.

Peer-education, sharing one's knowledge

JD: And because it wasn't put on a level they felt they could not cope with?

1024. Bonnie: Yeah, and there is nothing worse than seeing someone with tears running down their face because they can't do what they are trying to do!

Education appropriate for developmental level

1025. Sonja: Yes, but they are doing something as well, because you can pick some of those people in the class, like people, ...there was that old lady named XXX, she thought it was a big laughing stock because a person couldn't write an 'A'. You know, so automatically those people stop wanting to do it.

Effects of derision and disrespect when trying to better oneself

1026. Singobile: And then they give up.

Embarrassment and giving up

JD: Maybe that is where we also need to teach the Readucate teacher how to handle derision, or put downs as something that is totally unacceptable? For adults, who already feel humiliated because society didn't provide them with education, it is important that the person who teaches Readucate steps in and say 'listen, there will be many things in life you can't do. Do you really want others to laugh loud and hard and make **you** feel humiliated? They are trying to get to know these things, and if **you** think you know better, I would like you to come and help me teach, because we need all the people and all the goodwill we can get.

<p>1027. Bonnie: I find there is no control in the cells. People don't respect other people studying. They should have to, because they obviously want to study. There should be a place for that; there should be a way for that.</p>	<p>Studying is under-valued</p>
<p>1028. Sonja: There is no place to do your assignments. It is impossible to get some peace. You can't say 'keep quiet'.</p>	<p>Conditions for studying</p>
<p>1029. Bonnie: Yes, they have no respect, even in the classroom. When I said [to a noisy prisoner] to keep quiet, she laughed at me.</p>	
<p>1030. Sonja: If they want people to study, put the things in place that people really need. That the people who really want to go [study], that they can do it. Even the school, the people who go to school, if they don't want to do it [on a specific day] they just don't. Put some rules and regulations into place.</p>	<p>Conditions for studying</p>
<p>1031. Bonnie: How can you say you are rehabilitating women if... especially grown-up women. Most of us have children; most of us have come from a fairly decent background. People might not have been educated because of the system, but that doesn't mean to say...</p>	
<p>JD: So what does decent mean?</p>	
<p>1032. Bonnie: Decent, nice people that have gone wrong. You get the few that will make mistakes over and over, and they keep on coming back [to prison]. But the majority of us have learned our lesson already. There are people who have been able to give something to the community, but now everything gets taken away from us because they don't trust us.</p>	<p>Rewards for having learned one's lesson</p>

<p>1033. Bonnie: We are basically on the breadline, and if we are lucky we get to eat. How can you take people that are educated, as a lot of us are, and you kill us by shutting down our brains? I feel so as if my brain is degenerating. I work in the library, and at least I am around books every day. But I am talking about the people who are illiterate. They have nothing. I would like to share...I would love to teach them jigsaw puzzles, we've got a few but we need more.</p>	<p>Need to keep mentally active</p>
<p>1034. Bonnie: Because I have noticed... we have a few troublemakers, people who are more violent, people with personality disorders. If they sit down with a puzzle, it calms them down. But I am scared they [the members] are going to stop that, because we are not allowed to have hobbies.</p>	<p>Hobbies calm down the trouble makers</p>
<p>1035. Sonja: I don't know. I am now doing that finger painting. It [the course] is being done by 'cosy den', I have some paints and paper, now I am hiding the paints away. It is terrible, we learn dishonesty, -because I am not allowed to paint. I make things for my kids, I paint things for them. So, now I hide my paints away.</p>	<p>Become subversive to retain access to hobbies</p>
<p>1036. Singobile: Now I am attending school, and that is allowed so I don't get into trouble. In my cell [after lock-up], we are not attending school. It is only me and XXX, and the others always make noise with the radios and they scream. And if you say to them 'don't make noise, I am still studying' they say 'you are supposed to study outside, not here.'</p>	<p>Conditions for studying</p>
<p>1037. And the teachers they pick on you. You make a small mistake, and they say 'get out of my class', you know, that is not good.</p>	<p>Fear of not getting it right the first time</p>
<p>JD: So, there is a lot of power play in here, with everybody trying to grab a little bit of power for themselves?</p>	

<p>1038. Bonnie: Yeah, and now they have brought in the monitor system. We never used to have the monitor system. When I first came to the section, I came from 'awaiting trial', we never had monitors in our cell, we just had one person who would help to sort out disputes. But they gave us 'monitors' all of a sudden; we never had problems in our cell until they brought in the monitor system. Now it is this battle for power all the time. And it is terrible.</p>	<p>Monitor system creates power games</p>
<p>1039. Sonja: I mean, Janne, if you take what happened to me... They throw us all out [of the cells] because they were doing inventory, so I was in the doorway and this lady [inmate from her cell] came and I took her around the waist to try to stop her [from going in and getting into trouble with the members], you know, she turned around and she used that 'F' word. But that wasn't the end of it. So, I backed away to get out of her way. No excuse me, please, I am sorry or what, just walk bombastically, boy... I must move out the way.</p>	<p>Limiting aggression amongst inmates</p>
<p>1040. Sonja: So, I moved out the way, and went to my bed, and when she came past I put my arms out and said 'look, if I was wrong, or ...' to try to stop it [the bad relationship]. She wanted to start hitting me! [Incredulous]. And I backed away, because I am not a fighter. I don't look for trouble. But I got angry, I got very angry. But I went to sit on my bed. My friend XXX came to me, and she said 'Sonja, have you sorted that problem out'. And I said to her 'no, I haven't done anything yet'. So, I went to that lady to sort it out and said 'look, I don't want to cause any problems, if a hand lifts against you, who wants that?' Because it is not the first time, it is now the second time she has done that to me.</p>	<p>Conflict resolution skills</p>
<p>1041. Sonja: I said to her 'I am going to lay a charge against you on the outside' because she is here for a violent crime, and she obviously knows that she can push me around without getting into trouble for it. She knows she can push me around as much as she wants to. I said to her 'look, if it does happen again, I will do something about it.'</p>	<p>Access to recourse/ Protection when threatened</p>

<p>1042. Sonja: They [other inmates] actually asked me why I didn't hit her back. I said 'I can't, because I am not a violent person'. I am not violent, why must I go and hurt somebody.</p>	<p>Temptation to start using violence</p>
<p>1043. Bonnie: That is where they [the prison authorities] are wrong. When you are in prison, there should be some kind of psychological evaluation, some test that can test your personality to discover people that are likely to be violent. You cannot ... people get hurt in here.</p>	<p>Psychological evaluation of inmates</p>
<p>1044. Bonnie: And there is nothing we can do about it. Once those doors [to the cells] are locked, you can scream for 20 minutes before the member gets there. A person can die in 5 minutes. It is happened on awaiting trial. They waited from quarter to 12 to ten past 12, and then they [the members] still swore at them [the other inmates in the cell where the person had died], and my friend listened to the tape [of the members swearing].</p>	<p>Access to recourse/ protection when threatened</p>
<p>1045. Bonnie: And then they put her [the deceased] in a body bag, and pulled her down three flights of stairs. We just heard 'duff...duff...duff' [indicating the deceased's head bumping on the stairs]. They [the staff] said she died from AIDS, but it was from violence, she was stabbed. I am scared [sobs].</p>	<p>Respect and adherence to human rights principles</p>
<p>JD: Do you feel generally threatened in this place, or is it just here and there?</p>	
<p>1046. Sonja: No, it is every day. Janne, that person who did that [hitting] to me, she told the cell rep 'I am still going to change that woman's [Sonja's] face.' And, believe me, I did nothing to her.</p>	<p>Constancy of fear</p>

<p>1047. Bonnie: It all started because I had hurt my knee and she offered that I could take her bed, because I was sleeping on the top bunk... She gave me her bed, and then when she saw me cleaning the floor after about a month [using her knee] ...I gave her toiletries and everything [for the use of the bed]. Then I said to her 'look, I am not doing this anymore; my family is not here to supply the whole prison. And then she said she wanted the bed back, which I gave her. Then she walked past me and she bombastically pushed me. Exactly the same. But she will come to me two or three days later and say 'Sonja, please have you got some writing paper for me?' And I give it to her, Janne, although I shouldn't, you know.</p>	<p>Inappropriate trading of favours/ blackmail</p>
<p>1048. Bonnie: You know what, we should never stoop to that level. They don't feel in control of themselves. But that is why I say we should be separated, because why should we be subjected to that? The softest get hurt the most. It is made me very hard, this place.</p>	<p>Retaining your values under peer pressure and pressure from diff. cultural demands</p>
<p>1049. Sonja: Me too. I used to talk to people, now I will come in and just sit on my bed. But eventually... I don't like getting involved in arguments. If there is an argument... the one morning, XXX and this other lady were into each other in the shower, they fight over the showers, and I went to the cell rep and said to her 'you better come help, there is somebody fighting in the shower'. She said 'please just climb on your bed and ignore it'. I said 'no, but they are going to get hurt there in the bath'. But I got such a fright, because I am not used to it [fighting].</p>	<p>Self-imposed social isolation</p>
<p>1050. Sonja: I wouldn't say we've been brought up better, but different. There are cultural differences. Let us take the washbasin. I must stand and wash my panties or brush my teeth in that same basin where they wash the dishes or wash their hair. And I do that, and their hair is all over the place. Personal hygiene, you know. There is none of that. I mean, you go to the toilet here, and there are women that are menstruating. There is either blood on the toilet, or the strips from their pads are lying around.</p>	<p>Dealing with diverse hygiene standards</p>

<p>1051. Bonnie: I am just saying ‘the same kind of people together’, I am not saying one cell for whites and one for blacks, but like we are all the same.</p>	<p>Seeking like-minded</p>
<p>JD: But instead of splitting people up, could you perhaps not model better ways of keeping hygiene, or studying or whatever?</p>	
<p>1052. Sonja: People will tell you that the study leaders that are in here, ok, they hold a lot of power. Am I right?</p>	<p>Negotiating power dynamics</p>
<p>1053. Singobile: Yes, definitely.</p>	
<p>1054. Sonja: So, they are tutoring, or passing on what they say is their knowledge, ok. But, they are not really encouraging those pupils to do their utmost because they fell threatened. So they might say to themselves ‘hey, but XXX is actually now doing a whole lot better than me.’ So, XXX’s mind is now starting to operate a lot better than the study leader, so then they [the study leaders] go ‘no, no, no, let me not pay too much attention to her, let me try and get her out of the way.</p>	<p>Insecurity and power play</p>
<p>JD: And if she is then given one chance, she’ll say ‘get out of my class?’</p>	
<p>1055. Singobile: Yes, one small mistake, and you are out, and then you don’t go back.</p>	<p>Negotiating power dynamics</p>
<p>1056. Bonnie: Yes, Singobile is such a soft-hearted person; she never went back to school.</p>	<p>Insecurity and. power play</p>
<p>1057. Sonja: So, you see, that is what is operating here.</p>	
<p>JD: What is that kind of thing called, if you don’t think of it only in terms of power?</p>	

<p>1058. Bonnie: Insecurity, it is insecurity. And sometimes it is pure maliciousness. And why must we suffer? Those people should be helped [not to need to be insecure and act maliciously].</p>	Feeling secure in self
<p>1059. Singobile: Do you know what they are saying to us? They say ‘it is a long time I have been staying in prison, it is a long time I am here in jail, yadda, yadda, a long time.</p>	Negotiating pecking orders and hierarchy
<p>1060. Bonnie: Yeah, there is a lot of power in having been here long.</p>	
<p>1061. Singobile: Even the members give them that power [if they have been in prison long]. We are scared of them. You can’t report them, no ways. And they are in the kitchen, that is why we don’t get food. Because they just fill their containers, and they don’t give you any.</p>	Greed versus sharing
<p>1062. Sonja: We are struggling, Janne, I mean, there is so little food. It is actually wrong. And some prisoners don’t even get visits [families bringing money for their ‘snoepie account’ and bringing in small items of food], so how do they survive without food? You get food in? [She is asking Singobile]</p>	Insufficiency and misappropriation of prison resources
<p>1063. Singobile: Yeah, I depend on my family to bring food.</p>	Negotiating dependency
<p>1064. Bonnie: We depend on those five slices of bread. There is nothing to go on with, and our plates of food in the afternoon.</p>	Misappropriation of resources
<p>1065. Sonja: There are people walking around here with skaftans [containers] full of meat that they sell at R10, - per skaftan [disgusted].</p>	
<p>JD: And that came from the communal food in the kitchen?</p>	
<p>1066. Singobile: Yes, and then we must go without.</p>	Fairness

<p>1067. Sonja: It is the same with the dagga and drugs. I walked behind somebody who was carrying [drugs] in front of a member. She [the member] just said ‘you better put that away so I don’t see it.’</p>	<p>Dealing with corrupt personnel</p>
<p>1068. Bonnie: But that member probably gave it to her in the first place anyway.</p>	
<p>1069. Sonja: And then we have to sit in the cell, ok, and they smoke [dagga] in the bathroom. But if you are studying in the bathroom because it is the only place you can find peace, and they are smoking outside the cell, you must now sit in that smoke and it is not anybody else’s problem, it is your problem.</p>	<p>Dealing with different values</p>
<p>JD: So, while on the outside the restaurants have to provide smoking areas separated from the main area, and people are fined for smoking in public....</p>	
<p>1070. Bonnie: Yeah, and there isn’t supposed to be any dagga in the prison. They [the members] will pass somebody who’s smoking dagga in the passage, and they won’t say anything. We are not supported by anybody.</p>	<p>Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour</p>
<p>JD: Can you support each other? How far are you [your cells] from each other?</p>	
<p>1071. Singobile: Too far. Ten cells away. And the people in the cells don’t really care about each other.</p>	<p>Access to like-minded people in other cells</p>
<p>1072. Bonnie: It is survival, you know. The people we can count on are far away and can’t help in the cells.</p>	
<p>1073. Sonja: That is why I say, the day XXX left here [was released], I lost someone very dear to me. Because she was here [in my cell] with me, and that was one person I could go to at anytime if I felt really down.</p>	<p>Importance of like-minded people</p>

<p>1074. Bonnie: But we need somebody to turn to. You can ask anybody, nobody will stand up for each other, they turn their back on you when you are in trouble. But it is too dangerous. I hate keeping quiet, because by keeping quiet I am allowing them to do it, you understand.</p>	<p>Doing what's right vs. doing what's safe</p>
<p>1075. Sonja: It is like the apartheid system, except it is a reversed situation.</p>	
<p>1076. Bonnie: It is like the drug problem, how can you rehabilitate these people when they are getting more drugs in prison [than outside]. I can't make an appointment to see the captain, because the captain or a member will say 'oh, Bonnie came to me and said... These people have no discretion. So, you have to carry all these horrid things inside you.</p>	<p>Availability of drugs, effect on rehabilitation</p>
<p>1077. Sonja: That is why I will get up first thing [in the morning] and get out, because otherwise I sit in depression. Because I don't like this chit-chat, I can't take it. I have got too much on my mind to let somebody else come along and add to my emotions. I just don't want it.</p>	<p>Activity disperses depression</p>
<p>JD: You paint a picture that reminds me of bored unstimulated people...</p>	
<p>1078. Bonnie: You know what we need to do; we need to bring in more cards and more games. That type of thing. But there is nothing...</p>	<p>Need for stimulation and dispersion of energy</p>
<p>1079. Sonja: Or even have a room for that. This big place here [Groot besoek]. Put a table tennis table in. Even if people can't play it, get a prisoner who can to teach them. I...I love playing chess. We have a set in the cell, and that is the first thing we do after we are locked up, in our pyjamas. Each afternoon we play two games of chess. It helps to pass the time, and is also a thing we could teach people.</p>	<p>Becoming a teacher of people</p>

<p>1080. Bonnie: It is too many people locked up together for so long, there is no space. Nothing to do. So of course people are going to sit and think ‘how can I stir them, how can I start a fight or...’ And it is shocking. I never knew that women are like this.</p> <p>1081. Sonja: You know, Janne, I was in cell X for 9 months. I begged them...I was the only white one there, there was no problem there, they looked after me, they really took care of me. But, I never had someone to talk to. And [the psychologist] said that is a big part of the problem why I haven’t settled down. I never had anybody, from 2.30 until the next morning, to really sit and relate to.</p>	<p>Boredom breeds irritation and aggression</p> <p>‘Birds of a feather’</p>
<p>JD: Is that a language problem?</p>	
<p>1082. Singobile: No, it is more culture. I used to clean and do my washing. I like to work with my hands, but then you don’t have anybody to talk to during that time [while working].</p>	
<p>1083. Sonja: And they are also talking to each other in their own language. I never understood them.</p>	<p>Language barrier</p>
<p>1084. Singobile: And me too, you hear people talk and laugh and I don’t hear [understand] them.</p>	
<p>1085. Sonja: I mean, I came here, I was thrown into prison, I wasn’t here from ‘awaiting trial’ where I still have to justify my actions. And I wasn’t eating and they always came to see if I was all right, but there was never that [communication]... I had my chess-board here, and one night I asked ‘does anybody know chess’, because I was thinking that I needed to do something. There wasn’t. And then XXX [a white woman] came in. I think she spent 4 weeks in the cell. The UNISA students were writing tests, and they brought her into the cell. I sat there and played with her, and when she was gone I was left there again, all alone. So, they didn’t trouble me in any way, but I never had anybody to really sit and talk to.</p>	<p>Shared interests and values</p>

<p>1086. Bonnie: And we never talk out of the cell, we never tell what goes on within the cell, that is the prisoner code of conduct. We don't talk about other prisoners in our cell. That is why it is very strange for us to sit here, if she [one of the other interviewees] mentions a name, I want to know who is that person, you know. But the cells can sometimes become chaotic, and that is where the cell monitors are supposed to help.</p>	<p>Limitations of the implicit codes of conduct</p>
<p>1087. Bonnie: We are all grown up, we should learn to... But the worst thing here is that they don't care about us, they don't care that during 4 months they have broken us up three-four times already. And you know how destructive that is. To get to know people takes time, and you are just ripped apart, that one has to go here, that one has to go there. I understand that his needs to happen at times, especially with the violent people, but they should actually be in cells by themselves, they shouldn't be with us.</p>	<p>Disregard for and disruption of bonds and relationships</p>
<p>1088. I do believe there are structures and guidelines, and they should keep to them, and they should never have mixed us [violent and non-violent] in the first place. But a lot of us bond and are the torn apart, and that is terrible.</p>	<p>Lack of predictability</p>
<p>JD: Because that is your substitute family?</p>	
<p>1089. Bonnie: But we never know from one week to the next whether they decide to move us, so you can never settle down. And they say 'oh, but you have a short sentence, it is only six years'. But six years is a long time to me, and six years ...I don't want to move ten times a year. I have moved two times in my lifetime [before prison].</p>	<p>Insecurity of substitute family bonds</p>
<p>1090. Bonnie: That is why when they made the non-smoking in my cell, I stopped smoking. Now I am back in a smoking cell, because we were moved again. And you must see how they scream at each other, it is scary. When they send us out again [out of prison] they expect us to be normal... after something like this...never ever.</p>	<p>Sacrifices to preserve substitute family bonds Long-term effects of exposure to aggression</p>

<p>JD: I suppose it leaves an enormous mark on you? Take Mandela, what did he do during his time in prison, how did he deal with these things?</p>	
<p>1091. Bonnie: He spent most of his time in solitary confinement; I don't think he had to deal with these things. I don't think he would have coped with this.</p>	<p>Space (solitary confinement) vs. enforced closeness</p>
<p>1092. Sonja: I just think every prison should be operated on the same basis. Now, every prison operates differently.</p>	<p>Regularity and predictability</p>

4.1.2 Interview with Sonja. 19-06-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Sonja, a forty-one year old English woman, who is in prison for fraud and had experienced severe physical abuse in her marriage. She has been aware of the focus of this research since she participated in the third ILP group, more than two years ago:

Table 4.2 Interview with Sonja

Interview 2	Concepts
<p>JD: Ok, let me just explain to you what it is that I am looking for. I have told you earlier about the research, what I am going to be looking for is: What kind of needs do you have in terms of rehabilitation.... If you look at where did you come from before, what landed you up in here, and when you go out again what will prevent you from landing up in prison again, or committing crimes or whatever would land you in trouble. What do you need? You have done many things in here [in prison] that prepares you for it [your release], and I am just sort of wondering what else you do.</p>	
<p>2001. Somehow I feel, when you come into prison, they should not just put you into a section, they should put you into a cell with maybe five or six people, and then they should give you all the rules, the regulations, and everything that is possibly going to happen in prison. And then also show you all the different courses that are available, because –that they don't do.</p>	<p>Info about prison and prison resources</p>
<p>2002. You have to sort of fish yourself, and if you are not a person that is eager and ambitious you wont do that. They call them 'die eet 'n lê ' team, people that just lie down and eat and sleep. What I have found is, that even if you tell those people that I am going to XYZ course, like the self-improvement and even the Integrative Life Planning, that they listen, but they are not really interested, because nothing really makes something exciting for them.</p>	<p>Prison creates lack of motivation</p>

2003. So... I am ambitious, so every course that is available I will try to do –to better myself, ok. They have got to set down proper standards in prison, how you explained to us about all those different little rooms, I have actually thought about that a lot, because if you have all those different stages, and now they have got this pre-release unit that they use, that they have started doing, apparently they have got the first going out on some pre-release programme.

Locus of control, GRR's

JD: Ok, what do they do there?

2004. I am not too sure. But that is more or less, I would say, starting to get preparation for when they go home. I don't know what the course entails, but the same as UNISA, they have got a set standard course that they teach you, and then in this second year diploma you can actually major in what direction you want to go, like industry, English, environmental, it concerns all of that. I feel they should have more available to a person. 'Cause not everybody wants to teach. I only went that route because I was working in [section] A2, and I found that I like working with children. I mean, the children know me around here now, charming, raucous, but I enjoy it, I found some that are really enjoyable, so when I leave here that is something I want to do. And the knowledge that I have gained here, it has helped...but it also depends on the person. I can say...let me say ...20 or 30% in this whole prison; they can only say they are doing courses. Although I put their name on they attend one day, and then they will just leave it.

Gain knowledge of self, interests. Education.

JD: So courses are very important. But now, in terms of coming out, that is something you are going to be spending your time on, and probably be earning your living on, eh...what else, what else do you need, what else is going to be easier now, or more difficult?

2005. They should have proper ...you know...genuine facilities, ehm, health wise, ok, it is bad here, I mean, some of these women are not getting to see the sun, some of them are locked up, and now there is coming a new system. I don't know, maybe [the psychologist] has explained to you what is going to happen, they call it the unit-management project, if you do not work you will be locked up. You will be taken...one member is going to be assigned to every cell, the people that are in the cell, they will be taken to sick parade, they will be given an hour's exercise, in that hours exercise they will most probably be walking in the passages. I mean, it is not right.

Unit management project

2006. There should be proper facilities for these people that don't work. Then, there should be more control, people that are saying they don't really want to work, they say they just lock them in their cell, and that is the end of it. It should not be like that. I feel they should force those people. Because some people need to be pushed a little bit. And there is a ... So with this new unit management, it going to benefit us people who are ambitious and working doing our thing and going on our normal daily routine, but what about those people that are left in the cells? They just sit there and rot away, because they want to. They should be forced to do something constructive. So, I don't know how this new system is going to work. I really don't know. It can work to a certain level, but not for everybody.

Consequences of being idle

JD: Unit management, was that what you called it?

2007. No, yeah, they call it unit management project. Look, it is going to be very nice for us people that are working and studying there, because we get out of our cells, we go to our sections, we work, and then apparently we get locked up late. And everybody is saying wow, eight o'clock at night (indicates that it would be much better than two o'clock as it is now).

Motivation/reward for being active constructive responsible

JD: Is that the word.

2008. Yes, that is the word. Between six and eight, if you want to watch TV, the TV is going to be kept in the kitchen, and they are going to supervise that, as well. So, if you don't want to be a student, you stay in your cell. Not that I am going to be one of those that go and watch TV because it is going to be chaos, ... be chaos, because there is not going to be proper supervision.

Routine, systems, knowing how things work

2009. But they have got to...you know...I can't express to anybody how important it is, you know, that they put systems in place, and they stick to those systems. Especially, from the time you come into prison, set down the routine, and let that routine follow through. From day to day in prison, you don't know what's going to happen. We had an escape here, it was about three weeks ago, then all of a sudden everybody was locked up, you know, it was one or two days, and it was back to normal. There is **no** routine. And for a prisoner to be rehabilitated here, they are going to have routine and discipline, and there is none of it in here, in jail.

Management of authority and control

JD: What kind of discipline are you looking for, what would help?

2010. You know, the cleanliness in the cells, I mean, when I thought of coming to prison, the place had to be spotless, this place...you are going to work hard, you have to keep the place clean, and everything. I was used to it on the outside, a very clean and strict orderly life. Ok, here it doesn't matter if you don't shine the floors, they tell you to shine, and you shine it a little bit and that is it. But all that discipline I am talking about, when you wake up in the morning, you know you have got to stand parade, at eight o'clock when they count you up, it is like baboons, standing parade, there is no quietness, no order. When you think of parade, talk parade, you stand two by two, really quiet, it is not like that. You are running around, like, just as you want to. Some of the prisoners **rule** the members. So there is ...there is no order and discipline.

Diverse norms and manners

2011. And the kitchen, if I had to go to the kitchen to eat, I would not eat the food. I would not bother going to get food. I am on a special diet, and I just go fetch my plate of food in the kitchen and then I go. If I had to go stand in that kitchen, I would not eat. Because the way they push, shove and grab the food is despicable. So, they are going to put systems in place in prison, and they are going to be very strict about the rules.

JD: It almost sounds like you are talking about manners?

2012. Yeah, well, there is...there is nothing here. I mean, my brother in law said to me when I first came here, said to me: Do yourself a favour Sonja, go to Kroonstadt [prison]. So I said to him, I don't want to go to Kroonstadt. He says 'you will be better off there because there is discipline there. There are people that have gone to Kroonstadt, they come to Jo'burg and say they will not go back to Kroonstadt because there is very strict protocol. With my hair, you can never wear it loose, it has to be tied back. You know, some people call it the old regime sort of policy, but it is not a case of the old regime policy, it is just that if you don't have control over what's going on here in prison, I can't see them ever rehabilitating these people. There is no proper rehabilitation, although rehabilitation as far as I am concerned, comes from within yourself. It is up to you to decide, I want nothing more to do with crime, I want to live a straight and a just life. But some of these people, you have to push them a little bit along, to realise what they have... the mistake they have made.

JD: In general, when you look at people that are in here, do you think people know the law? As in what is right and wrong, what you can and cannot do?

Discipline helps with rehabilitation

Need for orderliness and dependability

2013. I don't know, because a lot of them, you know, that new...I don't know if you have read about that...restorative justice, that when you go to the parole board that you have got the victim, a judge, your psychologist, social worker, all those people, I believe in that. Because I do believe that you have to say sorry to the victim, and let the victim see that you are sorry, and that you are going to pay back for what you did. Now, in here, there is let us say 90% of these women that say 'no, they are doing their sentence, why must they still say they are sorry?' And they are not really sorry, because a lot of them are coming back for the same crime.

Facing up to consequences of one's actions

2014. So, I am...maybe they do know the law, but they find in this place is a comfort zone, a lot of them don't have parents outside there, or they have families and the families have rejected them because of the crimes they have committed.

Rejection. Lack of support outside prison.

2015. In this place they have a roof over their heads, they have hot water, they have food, why must they worry. So, on that issue that we say that they don't know the law, I think some of them just like obstructing the law, just like doing their own thing. They are not being taught in a proper way. The same as when we are sitting in the cell and we are talking just softly to each other, they will stand on the other side of the cell and scream to each other, and you often just get...it is their culture, just they way they carry on.

Prison as comfort zone

JD: So is it specifically... races, or is it people of all colours.

2016. Yeah, all colours...look you are not allowed when...there is racism in here, but I don't try...I try to keep away from that, because if you get involved in that it can become very ugly.

Conflict resolution skills

2017. Like just a little while ago, there was a cell issue that the white ladies are showering in the afternoon, and some of them are not showering in the morning, and then they ...one lady, black lady that wasn't showering at all [laughs] and then you have got that white and black issue. You know, if this one is showering this time, and you should actually be showering for half an hour, meantime there are forty ladies in the cell, and you have got to limit yourself, so if you get in that sort of stupid mind kind of thing you will get disliked in here if you follow that rule. I will say there are many racists, but it depends on yourself, how you want to conduct yourself.

Dealing with diverse norms

JD: Now you were talking before about families rejecting or...or not having a family, and that means a lot in terms of coming out. What happens to you personally, when you come out of here, in terms of the support that you have. Do you have the support that you need?

2018. I have a lot of support, I have the four boys, and you know that they do support me; they are all doing excellent, they still carry on. Ehm, I am going to go to my mom. Ehm, I am scared, I actually wrote a letter to my mom, last weekend, and I said to her 'you know what is so strange? You come in here really scared, and you are actually leaving here very scared.' Not in the fact that I am going to have nowhere to go, but I left my boys when they were teenagers, and they have all said to me I must not worry that by the time that I am going to be...the reality is that I am doing time till 2004.

A safe place to come out to

JD: Is that when you are going? Then you have been here how long?

2019. Four years. So, when I look at that, I will be coming out here with my younger son doing matric, and my boys are very keen, they have been doing their things. They have all told me I am not to worry, they are going to be there for me, but I am not that way inclined. I like them to be there. So, I am scared in a way that I am not going to find a job, although the teaching that I have, the teaching that I have acquired here, I don't see where I can go wrong, but you **are** scared.

A job to come out to

JD: Are you going to get help from anybody here, in terms of finding any job, do you think?

2020. I don't think so, [the psychologist] said to me whenever I have a problem I can phone him any time, so- I will use him [laughs] and I will also phone you. It is just that you **are** scared. And...you know what the worst is? The kids have said to me that I have changed. So I said to them, in what way have I changed? They said, I was so outgoing and full of life, and I sort of said to them I have stepped back because they know soon I am coming. And it is not that I have changed, I have realised I was doing a lot of wrong in my life. Even though I came from an abusive marriage, I should never have gone and did what I did. That did not pay me. I have learnt here that there are other means that I could have acquired. Either way, for my kids' sport there are sponsorships, there was no need for what I did, and that is the cause and the angle bit, cause it is...

Knowledge of options and alternatives to criminal behaviour

2021. I had a lot of good friends where I worked, and...lately I have picked up the courage and I have started speaking to them again, and they have all said to me they realise that I **am** sorry. But it is still night to go out there and face everybody. And...you have been away from it for so long. It is like I said to them, we've come in here, it is not a comfort zone that you have got a roof over your head; you are getting your plate of food even though it is not the best of circumstances. When you need help desperately you can run to [the psychologist], when you need medical attention you run straight down to the hospital, although the medical attention is not... the best, but I have got a very good relationship with Sister Louisa, so if I really am sick, they know I am really sick, and I don't just play around, I get the help that I need.

Facing people who know of your crime

2022. So, now you are going out there, you start thinking...I have got to pay for petrol, I have got to pay for water and lights, I have got to buy phone, I have got to get a roof over my head... all those things are running through my mind. Well, although it is still far for me to go home, I am starting to think ahead, and I feel anxiety sometimes, because it could happen at any time. And, I actually...the person who tells me that they are leaving here, and they are not scared...I don't know, they have got a lot of courage. But I **am** scared.

Learned helplessness in prison vs. being responsible for self

<p>JD: What do you do about those fears?</p>	
<p>2023. I sort of write, I do a lot of writing now. I get scared lately, and I put it, I have done a lot of poetry. So, I put a lot of those feelings into words, and then forget them...It is like I said, I have a friend of mine who's looking after my youngest son. I wrote her a letter, but I didn't post that letter, because I know I am feeling screwed up, but I felt better afterwards, that is how I deal with a lot of the emotions I have. If I get scared or something, I start writing. And then I read it afterwards and I feel better.</p>	<p>Learning how to deal with emotions</p>
<p>2024. And then I think, but Sonja, you were wrong about XYZ, take a good look at it. With my son, I didn't see him for two weeks, and I was very angry, very angry. Because I knew it was her fault. And then I sat here, and I actually thought, but you know, her birthday was the Friday, and there must have been a function Saturday and now Father's day, they would have been with him Father's day. So I eventually sort of get to the bottom of it.</p>	<p>Reflecting on own behaviour, reality check. Looking at a situation from more sides, vs. blame attribution</p>
<p>JD: But first you allow yourself to feel what you feel. But once you have lived through the experience, and all the emotions, and you re-read it, then you can start thinking about the other aspects, seeing it from other sides.</p>	
<p>2025. Yeah, I don't just start going with my mouth. A lot of people say it is wrong, but I don't know if it is wrong.</p>	<p>Temperance and reflexivity</p>
<p>JD: Did you do that before? You spoke quickly?</p>	
<p>2026. No, I had just kept everything bottled up inside.</p>	<p>Learning awareness of self and constructive ways of expression</p>
<p>JD: But now you can write it out instead? And can you express it when it is needed?</p>	

2027. No, still not. I struggle with it, terribly. I mean, if I come across issues here in the cell, somebody offends me, I will walk away from it, I ...it is not that I can't deal with it, Janne, it just... being inside here is so difficult.

Conflict resolution skills

JD: But it is maybe sometimes also dangerous, because you have to be together that many hours a day?

2028. It is...I don't know how I am going to deal with it outside. I think I am a stronger person. Also maybe a little bit harder. Like, when I am speaking to my other son, because he was also supposed to come on Sunday, he didn't come and I phoned him, and he said to me but Mommy, but [the friend who was supposed to bring him] left straight after, and I said 'hey, hold on a bit, one thing you have got to understand, don't promise me you are coming, and then you don't.' I said, 'because I have got a voice link, so you can phone me and leave messages on it, and tell me Mommy, I have got a problem, I can't be there'. So he says: 'Are you starting to play the victim again', I said: 'don't start that psychological blabber with me, I am not the victim', so he says to me: 'oh, you are actually answering me back', I said to him: 'you are quite right'. And then afterwards, we started talking normally to each other, but I actually let them know how I feel.

Learning to express needs constructively

2029. With my ex-husband, he was here two months ago, he came in here, he had had a few drinks, we sat talking, and I said to him: 'I need to ask you something, what did I do wrong to you that you hit me the way you did?' Because I start thinking, maybe I will go do the same thing while I am in another relationship and that the same thing is going to happen all over again. And he said to me: 'but you did nothing wrong'. So, I said to him; 'but then why did you do that to me?' So, he said to me that it was his way of his aggression coming out. I said to him, but it is not acceptable. So I said to him, I said: '[ex-husband], do you see this hand', I said 'the next man that lifts his hand to me, I will hit him back'. He just looked at me, he just looked at me, he says...because he has also said I have changed a lot. But I can't see the change in myself.

Learning to stand up for oneself

JD: Yes, it is difficult to see yourself from the outside. What does he say in terms of how you have changed?

2030. He says I have become more forward with myself, I talk easier about how I feel, but sometimes I don't feel that way. But, we were with my mom and my dad.

JD: What do they say?

2031. They...they also say I have changed because I don't hold back, and I never felt like saying things that are offending anybody, it is just when it is too high, to express about me and what I want. And... I have never been able to do that, but that [incident] was after the integrative life planning.

Offending vs. accepting what one feels as true

JD: You think so? What helped in that [course]?

2032. The way we used to sit and talk. Just letting all our emotions out. You left a little booklet with [fellow prisoner who also did the ILP course], I actually still have it with me. I read it quite a bit. The one you wrote about the course and all the plans, and...

JD: Oh, the assignment I wrote on Integrative Life Planning.

2033. I read through that a heng of a lot, what really impressed me was that quilt [in Hansen, 1997]; you remember that, and when I think of life that is how I try to think. And the pebble [actions spreading like rings in the water], how everything you do counts for something in other people's lives, no matter how small it is. And then you said, about friendship, that there is always one close friend. That you have a lot of friends, but that someone you might meet along the line...how everything fits in. But what always sticks in my mind is that quilt, you know.

Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community

JD: So now, if you look at your 'quilt' today, and you try and picture that you are now going to carry this quilt, nicely packed in your little bag, and four years from now when you walk out of here, you have this with you. Now, you come home to your Mom's place, spread it out on the floor, and you have a good solid look at it, because now your life starts all over again. What...would you change, what do you need to change, what do you need to make that quilt the best it can be for Sonja.

2034. I need to be totally at peace within myself.

Self-acceptance

JD: What does that mean?

2035. I don't want to...I am just coming back to the independence part again. I want to do things for myself, I don't want to have to be obligated because you told me you like that, Sonja must do what she has to do.

Taking responsibility for own needs and actions

JD: Did you use to always do that?

<p>2036. I always made other people happy. If my mom would phone me at two o'clock in the morning and say: 'I have got XYZ problem. Sonja, come in your car and do it.' I wouldn't think of the consequences...I can get hi-jacked, ...ehm, get involved in an accident. I was the same with my kids, Janne. And you know, [social worker] always said to me, when I first came to prison, she said no matter all the heartache they have got, my kids have actually learned a very valuable lesson.</p>	<p>Deliberate choices/ knowledge of consequences</p>
<p>2037. Also, because...I gave them everything. There was never time for me for anything. I remember I said to my mom, in the letter I wrote, I wrote 'you know what, ma, I have never done so many courses in my whole entire life. I have always wanted to study, but I never had time. And...that is what I want to do. I will always be there for people, that will never go away, but I will rather think of the consequences around what I have got to do for other people. I am not going to let people just use and abuse me, the way they used to. I have got to think of Sonja a little bit. And...I think that is going to make me happy, and it is going to make me content. It is going to be difficult, because sometimes it still happens here, a person will come, and I will take of my panty if I had to [laugh]. You know, I have seen before that I do things like that.</p>	<p>Taking care of self to take care of others</p>
<p>2038. Now, I just don't go in and do it. Because I was really impulsive, I mean –even if I think of the fraud- I mean. I never really...thought I could get caught for what I was doing. I did!</p>	<p>Impulsivity vs. deliberation</p>
<p>JD: Why do you think you didn't think of that?</p>	
<p>2039. Because somehow I got out of the situations. Ehm, if I look at when I was younger... I can remember once when I stole a Cutex, I think I was in standard five, [embarrassed laugh], I mean it is all stuff that I sat and talked about while I was here, I mean, that was maybe the beginning of something that stuck in my mind, I never got caught for that.</p>	<p>Getting away with something sets a precedent</p>

<p>2040. Or, when I was younger, when I ran away from home, from my mom when she started drinking. I was sixteen years old. It was wrong what I did. Even though I was in a bad situation, there was other ways to maybe... I could have gone to my Dad, and said to him 'I can't handle it anymore'.</p>	<p>Knowledge of alternative options</p>
<p>2041. But, I thought it was better, whew, those bright lights, all the dancing, and everything that went with it. But little did I know the consequences that it would leave me with. You know, I always did things without thinking. And it wasn't good.</p>	<p>Dealing with temptation</p>
<p>JD: So we are back to knowing the law and the consequences of your actions?</p>	
<p>2042. And this re-entering, it is a horrible thing to say, but maybe I had to be brought here to actually sit and think about my life.</p>	<p>Using prison time for reflexivity</p>
<p>JD: So do you think that is a big part of what you got out of the sentence, being the time to think? Being almost forced to think?</p>	
<p>2043. Yeah, and you know, [the psychologist] ... you know that bulimia story I told you about. [The psychologist] called me in January, I was still carrying on, and he said to me, he said: 'Sonja, I am telling you now, I have had a lot of time to sit in a big way in the chair with you', he says 'we have got to do something about this now'. Ok, I have only stopped...it is been a month now, I haven't taken any laxatives, and I haven't made myself sick.</p>	<p>Interest and involvement of others</p>
<p>JD: What made the difference?</p>	

<p>2044. We sat in...I sit with all three students [RAU students doing their practicals], and then because I said to him I won't sit with all three students without [the psychologist] being there. I don't feel safe without [the psychologist]. Besides him and you, I haven't really had any confidence to talk about all my problems to anybody. There are just so many strangers coming along. And, ...</p>	<p>Trust and confidence in others</p>
<p>JD: Can I... Before you carry on... what makes a difference? So you can speak to [the psychologist], and you can speak to me, but you wouldn't want to speak to the others. What makes the difference?</p>	
<p>2045. I don't trust...just everybody.</p>	<p>Choosing who to talk to</p>
<p>JD: But why would you trust [the psychologist], and why would you trust me, and why wouldn't you trust them?</p>	
<p>2046. I felt comfortable, and...when we started doing the course, you sort of put that confidentiality [contract in the group] and... you made me feel relaxed and it is the same with [the psychologist]. That I can feel free, what I talk about is not going to go all over the place, it is... and with other people, I don't know, I haven't got that trust. I just haven't. It is very difficult.</p>	<p>Dealing with being judged</p>
<p>JD: I am just trying to work out what...what...in terms of if I must put this into a sentence that I can write down, in terms of what people need. You talk about the confidentiality and feeling safe, and it sounds like you talk about not being judged as well, that when you open your mouth the person is not going to say 'whoaaah, goodness'...</p>	
<p>2047. Yes, you know what, you used to listen to us very openly, ahem; you never said we were wrong. Ehm, ok, [the psychologist] has said we were wrong, but generally ...[laughs]...</p>	

JD: So that is not the difference?

2048. You know, he tried to make me see the reality of my sentence. Because I kept on believing in amnesties and time off, and I was living in a very big dream world, He tried to make me see the reality. I am going to sit here four years, there is nothing I can do about it. I can scream, I can cry, I can go and make myself as sick as a dog, in the end I am doing it to myself. I have to pull myself together. And he drew a diagram, because you know, I always felt that I was stupid. And everybody is always telling me that 'you are doing so well for me' and 'you encourage me so well' and I was thinking to my self, but how can people say that about me when I am feeling like this?

2049. And then he drew a diagram, and he said 'you keep on saying to yourself that you are stupid, you are stupid, you start believing that you are stupid. And it was exactly what you said, if you keep putting that input into that person, they are going to feel that way. And I have only started feeling confident about myself these last couple of months. I started feeling good about myself.

JD: You also look so different, I have to tell you, you look good. You look as if there has come some sort of peace over you, it is quite remarkable, it is nice to see.

2050. I think that is important. If you make a person feel relaxed, you don't make them feel dumb and all. You know, if they are sitting and they feel out of place, and things like that. That you can be honest with them. Because, if you are honest with a person, nothing can go wrong. I feel that is very important. Especially how you are coming across to a person.

2051. I mean, I have seen a lot of people here that come in, and they do courses they just look at you...you know. That life-skill management course, it was a nice course, but you didn't feel easy doing the course.

Dealing with being judged

Facing reality
and taking responsibility
for self

Respecting self
Neg/pos self-talk
Self-conditioning
Honesty

Respectful attitude of
others

JD: Why not?

2052. I think that there were a lot of people there in that course you couldn't trust, because they spoke out of the room.

Trust

2053. Another thing is, I don't know if you know [one of the Wits students], she also made me think, because my Dad gave me seeds, and wanted me to plant them. She said I must look at that as a metaphor, that my father is also wanting me to grow. You know. He doesn't want me to be miserable and sad all the time. So, I sort of cling to that little thing. And it is little things like that that really pick me up.

Use of metaphors

2054. Even with [the psychologist], it is little things he says, like 'you are doing well, keep up the good work'. You know, the encouragement that you hear, and...and if you don't get it...

Goodwill and encouragement

2055. But then again, Janne, you have to be a person that is wanting to pull yourself out of the bottom pit. Because if you want to stay there, you are going to stay there.

Will to growth and meaning (Frankl)

JD: What can stop you from wanting that?

2056. The rejection of outside. If you have come in here, you have gone out, and you haven't been able to cope on the outside with finding work, and your family have had an argument where they said to you 'oh, but you are nothing but a jailbird', because that is what I hear from a lot of the ladies. And...then I think they think 'ah, what, let me rather just go back to crime. So, they do try, but they don't cope. And that is one of the things that scare me. ... Is that I am going to come out there, and maybe we get in an argument or whatever, and they say 'just remember you were in jail, and bla, bla, bla... And I have told them that I am scared of that, so they said to me 'no but we won't do that', but it seems that –if you look at the reality, it is going to happen.

Dealing with rejection and put-downs

<p>it seems that –if you look at the reality, it is going to happen.</p>	
<p>JD: What are you going to do about it, what strength do you have to draw on?</p>	
<p>2057. I am going to just tell them, it was a situation I put myself in, I have gone through that again, and...I am not going to let that get me down. No way, because nobody knows until you have been here what it is like. I always say we sit and sit there [in the visiting room with their visitors], with our nails groomed and our hair curled, but nobody knows what we go through during the rest of the week.</p>	<p>Taking responsibility and a non-defensive stance</p>
<p>2058. So, once you have been through this and you can really say 'I have come through here, and I have survived this, and gone out there and proved to yourself that you can stand up, there is nothing that can pull you down. If you can survive this, Janne, you can survive anything. I have said to everybody...we were actually talking about fraud...they were actually dealing with my case because they have started investigating.</p>	<p>Pride in coping skills</p>
<p>2059. There is one thing people have told me: 'Never say never' but believe me, I am saying never. They can put ... a million Rand... in front of these feet of mine, I don't want it. Because I don't want the experiences I have had to go through here.</p>	<p>Resolutions and decision-making skills</p>
<p>JD: You don't want to do anything that could land you in here again?</p>	
<p>2060. No, I really don't. I can say never. Because I do not want to be put in that situation again. And if you come back after the courses and the help that we've been given in here, then I believe you should stay here forever. Really, they should lock the doors and throw the key away. Because you should be taught the first time around what is right and what is wrong.</p>	<p>Certainty of consequences /repercussions</p>
<p>JD: Are you taught, are people taught, do you feel that they are taught in here?</p>	

<p>2061. No, and that is where they should put proper rehabilitation.</p>	
<p>JD: What does that consist of?</p>	
<p>2062. Education, I say it starts at the beginning from day one you are into prison. They should have a form, a questionnaire, where what your needs are will go down, your background, your religion. I mean, there are certain religious workers that are not allowed in here, why? For what reason?</p>	<p>Documentation of prisoner needs and more in-depth demographics</p>
<p>JD: Which religious workers?</p>	
<p>2063. The old apostolic church, there is a lot of them. I mean, people get up to hanky-panky business. They come here and they smuggle with the religious workers. But why should one person... that person should be punished. Why take away everything from everybody else that needs it. So, I... there should be a set format from the day you enter here. What they have got to give you that can make you a better person.</p>	<p>Spiritual guidance Shared worship</p>
<p>2064. And they should actually stipulate... you know those little rooms that you said [see p.5 of this document, The Vision], you go into that room. If you don't go, if you can't come past that little room with what tools you have been given, you do not go to the next phase. The whole system should work like that, that you should go through stages. And if that person is really a role model, let them go out on early parole. Give them that benefit, to prove to society and to themselves that they can stay up. Because sometimes four years is a very long time. Four years is a very long time.</p>	<p>Clarify prison protocol – graduating to freedom</p>

2065. And you know, I keep asking the kids what has changed. They will tell me ‘ma, that highway up there by XXX road has changed, there is a new Juicy Lucy somewhere [laughs], a new Kentucky somewhere. Or the Kentucky cashier changed. And it is all things, when you walk out here that is going to be changed. I mean, out there, there is capital gains tax. OK, I like to listen to the radio, the new computer systems, all those things, and I make notes of all the changes. But, you haven’t got the facilities to feel those changes. So when you go out there, you have got to experience those changes. I mean, [the psychologist] has got a wonderful computer course going.

JD: Are you part of that?

2066. No, because you had to have a release date [in order to attend].

JD: And you probably know too much [about computers].

2067. Yes, I think so. You know, if I take last year, I did six courses in all, it is like my friend says, I am attending every course there is. Every little bit that I attended here, I have gained something. And for me it has been very valuable. The sessions that we have had, everything.

JD: So you have ended coming out with something that is of real value to you?

2068. Yeah, and I mean, the teaching, even that Readucate, Unisa, the Educare, I mean, it is all things that are needed outside. It is not a case that I am doing something that I am not going to be able to benefit from. A lot of people ask me am I going to go back into accounts. At this stage, I don’t know. Although I don’t want to, maybe I will be forced to go back into it, and... I don’t know.

Keeping up with changes in society in preparation for release

Protocol

Fear of situations connected to the crime

<p>2069. I love figure work, I still find that I am busy helping people with their accounting theory and things like that, but now my overall goal is to work with the children.</p>	<p>Goal setting</p>
<p>JD: Is there any way that you can marry the two?</p>	
<p>2070. Ehm, if I start my own crèche, I would have to do the books. I don't think I would get somebody to do that, not that I don't trust them [laughs] but I do trust myself to keep the paperwork in operation. Because I love computers, I am really firing about that. So I want to keep that with me, so I can marry the two together that way. So I can still keep my knowledge on the accounting side. But my big thing is to deal with children.</p>	<p>Combining diverse skills in the workplace</p>
<p>2071. And you know what is really scary, when my kids say to me 'mum, why children' because they are really worried that I am working with the babies here because of HIV. We don't know which babies have HIV. And... I don't think that would be a problem with me. Because I have grown to love all those children, they are very special to me, so even if they are that way, there are no barriers with me with that. They were staying down in 'opname', because they moved the crèche over to 'opname' when they were cleaning over here, and one of the babies' fingers got caught in the door.</p>	<p>Fear of AIDS</p>
<p>2072. I didn't really think, OK, but I just squeezed them and I ran to hospital, because the hospital is just around the corner, and sister Louisa grabbed little [child] and she said to me 'go wash my hands right now'. I didn't see, you know, but...children are children. I know we should wear gloves, but you can't work with gloves around children. I have learnt now that I must be a little bit more careful if something like that happens, and...but it is my goal to work with children.</p>	<p>Choice and consequences of actions</p>

JD: Well, I hope you reach it. It will be wonderful to see you established and using your good skills. I see how the kids react to you.

2073. [Laughs] I wanted to go work outside, next year, as a monitor, just to get outside a bit, and my supervisor says to me 'but you are not going nowhere, you are not working outside'. And I said to her 'but I need to just be able to walk out the prison and come back by myself, just to get that feeling before you go home'. Even if it is just the last six months. She says 'no no no no no no, you are not going anywhere' [laughs with pleasure at being wanted]. No but I enjoy it; I will see how it goes. I get my days when I am really down.

JD: What do you do with it?

2074. I try and go be a little positive. It is difficult. And...I try and occupy my mind with the children. Playing games and things like that. Sometimes I just need a little bit of space of my own, because I miss my four boys. They worry me a lot sometimes, because they are outside there, and you think 'now, are they all right'. Especially now with the rugby season being on, they train every weekend, and then you get the newspapers, and their names are in the newspapers or their photographs are in the newspapers.

2075. And I said to [the psychologist] that I don't feel part of their lives anymore. So he says 'you are not to feel bad about it, you know, you have given them something that is special, you were there [at their training sessions and matches] all the time [before coming to prison]. But still, it is not the same. It can never be the same.

JD: But it is what you make of it?

Being needed/of value

Awareness of own coping skills

Not being part of one's family's daily life
Guilt at being absent

2076. Yeah, it is... I mean, when my youngest son was...I heard on the radio that they beat [another school] 8-3, and my son was the only one who scored a try. I thought 'gee whiz', the newspapers came with all these big photos in, and they were watching him on TV. And at visit all the fathers came to me and said 'your son was on TV', you know. But you feel like... 'Is he your son' and you think 'but not really' ...you see, I was always there [before coming to prison]. But it is like they say, when they play it is like I am still there. You know, my youngest son said he had a dream one night, he dreamt I was coming home, and he was playing a rugby match and all of a sudden I was standing on the side of the field. And he says 'mommy you are home' you know. And he says he woke up and I wasn't there. But, I am doing all right, I am doing fine...

JD: It sounds like you are doing fine in a lot of ways. The cutting [self-mutilation] and that [bulimia], you are not doing that anymore?

2077. No, that has stopped.

JD: You don't have a need for it?

2078. No.

JD: I am glad to hear that. I think, for now, because I haven't tried this before, I am now going to go home and take everything we've said, sentence by sentence, writing it down with parenthesis, laugh, and whatever, so we can see exactly what was said. And then I am going to start seeing what is in there in terms of needs that you have now and that you had before [you came into prison]. Then I am going to sit and think about that and see what I get out of that. Because I am looking for whatever needs must be attended to here [in prison] for people to be able to go out and be the best they can be. I would like you to think about whom I should speak to apart from you.

Not feeling entitled to take pride in children's achievements

2079. Ok, there is... You know, you could speak to one of the baby mothers, Mary; she hasn't done many courses, that is why she might be able to give you a very different view.

Impact of new learning

JD: Yes, I am looking for very different views. I would like you to talk to [the psychologist] about that because it seems to me that he is not quite sure what I am looking for, but I think with what we have gone through in the ILP course, you probably know more about it than he does. So I am going to tell him to talk to you if you will give him some pointers, because I need quite a few interviews. I might need to come back to you again and talk some more. Once I have talked to the others, and I hear about some specific needs, I would like to have another interview with you and see how you feel about this and that. It doesn't need to be very long. And I would like to have people of different ages and colours and very different backgrounds. You know, I would like to have a good spread.

2080. I will look for one in 'juveniles'.

JD: That might be a good idea. As long as it is all women, because I am only doing women's needs.

2081. Yeah, I know one of the juveniles. She is 21.

JD: That would be interesting, especially if they can speak English or Afrikaans fairly well, because otherwise [the interview] becomes very difficult.

2082. That is what I am thinking of as well, someone who doesn't really understand you.

Influence of language differences

<p>JD: But it is a pity because I think that maybe not knowing the English [or Afrikaans] language might also be a part of it. It is difficult to know [if that has an influence].</p>	
<p>2083. But you see, that is where education comes in, Janne. But the schooling that we have in here... as far as I am concerned... apparently at Kroonstadt they have got actual teachers –and at Pollsmoor- they come in [to prison] and they teach. Here, they have got facilitators that have been through the ABET course.</p>	<p>Facilitators vs. properly trained educators</p>
<p>2084. Now, we [the facilitators] do not really know the matric curriculum, so we can only teach what we know. That is all. When it comes to the matric exams, it is a very different perspective. Ok, look, I have got a TV in there [the cell] and I watch, you know that TV teacher, you know, on SABC 3, and I watch so I can teach that [to my students... -End of the audio tape]</p>	<p>Discovering new resources Being resourceful</p>

4.1.3 Interview with Sarie. 15-08-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Sarie, a thirty-five year old Afrikaans woman, who is imprisoned for fraud. The transcription of the interview is very short as the first side of the tape was faulty and therefore lost. Thus, this interview will seem to start in the middle of a conversation:

Table 4.3 Interview with Sarie

Interview 3	Concepts
<p>3001. ...and I totally believe in that. If your mind is going to tell you every five seconds 'listen something is going to happen now' and you believe it, it is going to happen. It is going to go. And I have learnt how to live with that fear. To handle that fear. To put it one side. I learnt that.</p>	<p>Dealing with emotions</p>
<p>3002. And that is genuine, nothing...nothing is going to come my way that I can't handle. Because I know I can handle it, I know it. But if I can't handle it, I will take it to XXX [her husband].</p>	<p>Learning about own strengths</p>
<p>JD: So it is your beliefs about what you are able to handle that have changed?</p>	
<p>3003. Yes, definitely. It sometimes comes to me and I feel, today this person is ignoring me. Before, Janne, it doesn't matter why... [expression of irritation and disgust]. Now, if I don't know, I go to that person and say 'listen, did I do something wrong?' [The person answers] 'No', [and she replies] 'but why do you ignore me? I want to know, because if I do something wrong I want to fix it'. And then me and that person will talk. Then she will say 'but I wasn't cross with you, I was just cross with myself, and I didn't know how to handle it.' And by the time we are finished talking she is also rid of that.</p>	<p>Confronting situations</p>

<p>3004. I believe, if something is inside me, I want to know what is it. I want to sort it out. I can't go to bed tonight and that is not sorted out, because tomorrow I have got yesterday's stress, today's and maybe tomorrow's also. I want to sort it out now.</p>	<p>Learning about self through confrontation</p>
<p>3005. Ahem...Fear inside here [prison], you know, just the other day somebody was shouting at me, and I said 'what?' and she said 'I don't like your face'. I said 'ah, don't worry. I like it'. And I walked past her and I said 'no, come here. What did I do wrong? Why don't you like my face?' And she said 'because I think you are a snob. Everybody in this section told me you are a snob.' I said 'no I am not'. And now she is one of my best friends. Because I told her 'sometimes, you know, you pass somebody in the spiral not noticing that person passing you, because you have got your own thing that is going through your head.</p>	<p>Dealing with rejection and accusations</p>
<p>3006. XXX [fellow prisoner], the other day, she greeted me and I didn't [greet back], and she comes to me and says 'what's up today.' I said 'XXX, what's wrong?' She said 'no, I am cross with you.' I said 'why'. She said 'you don't say hello to me, you don't greet me'. I said to her 'but when?' She said to me 'in the binneplaas'. And I didn't know. I sat down and think. I said 'but why don't you come and say?' She said 'no, I know you have got stress, that there was something wrong'. I said 'but please come to me next time'. I know that inside here there is people who don't like me, but, you know, if they can't come tell me what did I do wrong, Janne, it doesn't matter to me.</p>	<p>'From whence it comes' Learning what is your 'stuff' and what's the other's.</p>
<p>JD: It might not be you doing wrong, you can't please everybody?</p>	
<p>3007. No, you know, I know I didn't do anybody any wrong, I never harm anybody. No, I can just tell you at this moment, I am happy, I have got so much self-respect, I didn't have that before in my life, ever.</p>	<p>Self-respect</p>

3008. You know, if I only dressed well, if I felt I looked good... For the first time [now] I don't even look in the mirror. I can just dress and whip out that cell door, I will just ...everybody is looking at me, I ignore it. [In the past,] I worried about how I was dressed. Somebody said to me [while in prison] 'you don't put on make-up, you don't put on nice clothes'. I said to her 'no, I feel comfortable, don't worry about me, I am happy the way I am'. And, can you believe if I tell you that you can feel sexy in this [gestures toward her drab prison garb].

Values around public persona/mask.

3009. I can, I can really. You know, even to church, I put a skirt on, or to besoeck, I can feel everybody turn around, and it makes me feel good. It makes me feel good. I don't need [fancy clothes].

Externally/internally based self-esteem

JD: Because your sexiness now comes from the inside?

3010. Yeah, I don't need a skirt of R300 to feel sexy. My husband told me the other day; he said 'wow, you are so sexy'. I said 'oh, you are joking', and he said 'you look so sexy'. Even Sgt. XXX would walk past me and say 'Sarie, those legs', and I would say 'yes, what about my legs?' and he would just pass me [laughs]. And I would pass him, and I would say 'yeah, you can look hey, but you can't touch, because those belong to somebody else'. Outside that wasn't me, it wasn't me [she had affairs]. I have just come to that point, I don't need money. Oh, yes for sure, you need money to live outside, but... [earned] the right way, the right way.

Need for opposite-sex appreciation, flirtatiousness

JD: And you can make do with less?

<p>3011. Yes, you know, Janne, I spent R30.000 a day. -A day!!! My house was my pride. When you walk in, I have got the most expensive furniture, curtains. My husband said to me the other day ‘we need curtains for the kitchen’. I said ‘ok, go to the shop and buy this and this and this’. He comes back, he said ‘you know, all those curtains didn’t cost me R300, -’ I said ‘ok, we don’t need curtains of R5000, - it is [the money] not there. I believe inside here you can buy curtains for R3, 99 a metre and you can make it nice. Yes, I don’t need curtains of R5000. I don’t.</p>	<p>Recognising wants vs. needs</p>
<p>3012. Yeah, I have learnt, I have learnt a lot. And I still say, I am not sorry I have come to prison. It was here I opened my heart, I opened my eyes. I opened my whole self inside to look at myself. I have got so much time to look at myself. And I can say to you now, the last six months, seven months, I have felt like this [smiles happily].</p>	<p>Taking time to learn about self</p>
<p>JD: Do you remember, we were talking at one stage about this cupboard [in the ILP group], the cupboard with all the skeletons in. Some people keep it locked forever, but the danger is if it bursts open it is going to overwhelm you. So you open it gently, in therapy, or just talking to people, or just reflecting by yourself.</p>	
<p>3013. And I still say, ILP [group therapy based on Hansen, 1997] helped me also a lot. [the psychologist] and ILP, because in ILP I also got my emotions out. We talk a lot about ourselves, how did we feel, and that. I have got to just...</p>	<p>Understanding one’s emotions</p>
<p>3014. I had an affair with a guy that was staying in...he still stays in Durban. A few months ago, I still phoned to tell him I love him, and then I would like...[someone entered the room, and she was waiting for the person to leave]...and one night I went to bed, and I look at his photo. I thought ‘how can my husband try his best outside, and I am... You know, I didn’t phone him anymore, and I don’t write to him anymore. Last week, he wrote me a letter. He said why I don’t write him nothing... and I don’t love him and bla bla bla.</p>	<p>Dealing with infidelity</p>

3015. I wrote him a nice letter and said my husband is the most important thing here on earth for me. And I can't let my husband out of my hands, Janne; you know my children are not his children. He loves them so much; I couldn't get a better dad for my children. But in any case, I wrote to him [the lover] and yesterday I phoned him. And in that letter I had said to him 'you know, he has got this...everything I did wrong he is throwing back at me, he just throws it. I decided 'you know, this guy is hurting you outside [the prison] also, he is going to do it, I don't know how. I don't feel like that. So I wrote him a letter and said 'go on with your life, forget about me, I am happy the way I am'. Yesterday I phoned him and I said 'hello XXX, how are you'. It was quiet and then he says to me 'I am fine and you', I said 'no, me, I am happy, I am all right', he said 'there is something wrong about you, did you find another love?' I said 'yes, I did'. He said 'who'. I said 'my husband'. He was so shocked; he said to me 'I can't fight your husband'. Because I am not going to walk on that road that is past, I am not. And when I said goodbye to him, he said 'I am going on with my life, I will... except that you will always be part of my life'.

JD: You taught him a big lesson?

3016. Yeah, I said to him 'but why?' and he said to me 'you were inside there [in prison] and you found yourself. I was thinking I was still going to play with your mind'. I said 'Yeah, XXX, so did I after your last letter, but I won't allow that. And you know why? In my life now, the most important thing is me. The old me you must go and find there in the dam at Diepkloof, she is there at the quarry, she is dead. She is gone'. And he laughed at me and said 'you know, please phone me once a month, just to tell me you are fine. I said 'no, I don't want to phone you, you will know I am fine, no problem'. Because I know that my husband won't be happy with that. - if he found out. If he is happy, I am happy. And that is my life, that is what happened.

JD: And now, you can concentrate on putting the most into this relationship [with your husband]. That is great.

Preserving primary relationships

Withstanding pressure and temptation

3017. You know, even [the psychologist] told me that [it is good]. I don't need you in this office; I don't want you to come anymore. 'I can't help you anymore, because you are fine. But, if you need to talk to someone, my door is open.' And you know, when I went to the parole board, [the psychologist] was all the way there for me.

Access to professional support

3018. And the captain from the parole board is working every weekend with me. Every weekend she tells me how I have changed. The other weekend there was a dispute [discrepancy] between two prices. And I said to [a fellow prisoner] 'how can you give the captain a price like this when you know this [other price] is right?' And I said 'captain, don't worry, I will give you a quotation for that, and then you [the fellow prisoner] make sure that price is right'. You know, when I give a quotation and I wrote it up with my own hand, you know what, I am going to put it in the file. And I just know, if the people see right, they will just see it is valid. You know, even anybody...all the sergeants, pass me and give me a hug, and say 'I can see how you have changed.' And that is why I say, Janne, that is why I will never go back [to crime]. I will come back here to visit my friends, but the spiraal [connecting the cell sections] I will never see again. If I see it, it is just maybe for a function or whatever. But, to go up to the cells, never again.

Encouragement from authorities

3019. Because I have planned my whole life, my whole life is planned, from the day I walk out of that big gate my life is planned. I know maybe it can't be 100% like the plan, there will be ups and downs, but I am going to face those ups and downs.

Planning for the future

JD: And you know where to turn now?

3020. Definitely. My husband even opened me a small bank account. He said to me my spending money is R500 a month, that is my toiletries, my snoepie money. My snoepie money is R200; my toiletries are, say, R200 and the rest must go to my bank account. I have learnt to save [said with pride]. I said that the day I walk out of here I want new clothes. **That** day I want new clothes. A denim [pants] and a top.

Financial planning

3021. He [her husband] said ‘from where?’ I said ‘Mr. Price is fine.’ My husband looks at me and says ‘and now [her name], this is too good to be true.’ And I said ‘Mr. Price is fine.’ Because I look at my daughter when she is coming here, wearing Mr. Price denims and there is nothing wrong. There is nothing wrong. Why must I go pay R400, - for a denim? No, if you can afford it, yes that is fine, but at this moment I can’t afford it.

Managing social-status pressures

3022. But when I walk out I have learned that first I must get the money, work for that money, and there are other needs before clothes. There are other needs. Definitely not clothes. You know, I always say I want to make up what I have lost and that is my children. I missed my son’s 21’st birthday, [and] the matric farewell, ok there are videos and things, so I want to go as soon as I am out and look at the videos, and sort everything out. Make sure. Ok, I know how my daughter looked, and I know how [my son] looked on his 21’st. My husband said he [the son] was drunk, drunk, drunk, but I wanted to see him [laughs]. And then from there on...

Prioritising needs and managing resources

The first six months, Janne, I don’t want to work. I want to find myself outside, I want to walk wherever I want, and think ‘look at me if you want, I have come out of the prison’ and my husband always says ‘you don’t have a [prison] number on your forehead, nobody will know.’ But I first want to go through there [the prison gates] and when I am through here, I will figure out how to do it. I am ready to go home, and just be myself outside.

Dealing with stigma of having been to prison and taking time to reintegrate after release

4.1.4 Interview with Bonnie. 22-08-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Bonnie, a forty-four year old English woman who is in prison for attempted armed robbery and illegal use of a firearm. She took part in an earlier ILP group conducted by this researcher at Diepkloof Prison, and therefore knows the topic of this study.

Table 4.4 Interview with Bonnie

Interview 4	Concepts
<p>JD: ...If you don't mind giving me some ideas on your needs, before prison and now. Why do you think you landed up in here? Not why – as in what you did- but how it came to pass.</p>	
<p>4001. [Sighs] You know why I landed up in here. It was all my insecurities, not having a proper emotional upbringing. I had all my material needs seen to, but lacking completely in emotion. So, I have had a long trip and journey [to come] here. You helped me a lot with the course we did [ILP].</p>	<p>Lack of emotional support in family of origin</p>
<p>JD: What helped in that course?</p>	
<p>4002. Ahh, to talk about it for the first time. We talked about it and got in-depth; I said the things I have never said before. It made me aware of the problem, funnily enough. And, ehm, the course I am doing at the moment, Total Power Motivation, I have called it my inner journey because it has been so painful, it has been so hard, but I have had to face the fact that it is my own fault that I am here. That at the end of the day it is my own fault.</p>	<p>Getting a chance to discover one's emotions</p>

<p>4003. But I feel that if a lot of us had been emotionally seen to, if your self-esteem had been lifted a bit, we wouldn't have done what we've done. We would have had other ways of thinking about it.</p>	<p>Learning different ways to think about things</p>
<p>4004. So, I think most prisoners, when they come in here, should be evaluated...psychologically evaluated. And we shouldn't be put with people that are violent when we are non-violent people. Irrespective of what our crime was.</p>	<p>Need for psychological evaluation in prison</p>
<p>4005. It is very important that you have a clean living environment, mentally. You need to clean your mind up, and you can't do it here. Not here, not when you have 20 constructive people and 2 destructive people in the cell, you can't. It is very hard.</p>	<p>Need for psychologically 'clean' living environment during rehabilitation</p>
<p>JD: How would you manage to split the people up?</p>	
<p>4006. There must be some kind of psychological test that people [prison staff] could do to evaluate these people. I don't mean to say that all the 'baddies' must be in one cell, and the goody-goodies must be in another cell, it doesn't work that way, but we can't live the way we are living. There must be some kind of thinking around it, some way of doing it.</p>	<p>Separating those who are motivated to change from the destructive elements</p>
<p>JD: What is the kind of way you are living now?</p>	
<p>4007. [Laughs and frowns] mixed up. There are some very, very dangerous people that are like time bombs just waiting to go off. And they could be here for fraud, but they are still dangerous to themselves and the people around them, they just don't realise it. Because there is obviously a mental imbalance somewhere. And... me too, I have been suppressing my anger for years and years, can you imagine if it all came out in one go? And a lot of us are carrying anger around; we don't have anything to do [in prison].</p>	<p>Idleness and a history of suppressed anger makes a lethal cocktail</p>

<p>4008. People sit and look at each other all day long. The few that are privileged to work, get away from it [the cells] for a while, but then you are still going to come back to it at 1 o'clock, when the work stops. There needs to be sport, some kind of, you know, constructive ways to let us get rid of those feelings of anger. There is nothing, we aren't allowed hobbies.</p>	<p>Need to have a purpose, feel constructive</p>
<p>4009. Why can't people that have worked towards, say, an A-group... They get it [A-group status] far too easy nowadays. They are 6 months in here, and they get A-group, and then they can basically sit back and do what they please. Why can't we work towards an A-group [status], and be trusted to have knitting needles to knit, and crochet hooks to crochet, why can't we earn that? Because if you have earned it, it is so much harder to let it go, you wouldn't do something wrong.</p>	<p>Group status should be dependent on level of rehabilitation achieved, not an automatic progression regardless of input. Earning one's status</p>
<p>JD: In the cells, do you stay according to grouping status, that one cell is only A-group, and one cell is only B-group?</p>	
<p>4010. No, but that would be some kind of structure. Also, you know, I feel that it doesn't matter what your crime is, you are inside [the prison]. They are rating us by crime, I mean, robbery and murder is obviously maximum and medium depending what your sentence is, so you are going on years and the crime. It shouldn't be done that way. Because some of these people are here for shoplifting, but I have watched them draw blood on other people. Assault other people. And it is just wrong. They have to be psychologically evaluated. Another thing is that there is no discipline. Not from the members' side and not from the prisoners' side.</p>	<p>Cells could be divided according to group status</p>
<p>JD: What do you understand by discipline?</p>	
<p>4011. Ahem, there should be order in our kitchens; there should be order in our queues. You get people who have been here long just pushing in, and it really can drive a person insane. Especially when your whole life here revolves around queues.</p>	<p>Need for discipline</p>

<p>4012. Not only that, they don't have a sense of self-respect or respect for the members. But then the members don't earn their respect. It is horrible. There is no discipline; we couldn't get out of the gate now, because the member was having her breakfast in her office. We waited ten minutes. Then she made a phone call, you know, there is absolutely no discipline on their side.</p>	<p>Need to respect members as role models</p>
<p>4013. They basically let you do as you please. If you do something wrong, you should be punished for it. You have to learn that what is right is right and what is wrong is wrong.</p>	<p>Learning about right/wrong through experiencing the consequences</p>
<p>4014. Because some of these personalities are so violent that if you don't punish them and you give them these verbal warnings, or take away their group [status] or whatever, it means nothing to them because they don't have visits, they don't have money to spend at the shop, so they are taking away things that they don't have anyway so they don't care. They are usually long-termers, usually but no always, so they are looking at 20 years or 15 years, they don't care if there is another 6 months on those years, to them it is long-term. And we should really be separated from them completely.</p>	<p>Consequences must be relevant to the prisoner's personality and circumstances</p>
<p>4015. It is one thing that almost sent me over the edge here. Because I am not a violent person, 90% of us aren't. That violent element has to go. The members are violent too. They don't care how they push you or shove you. I have known members to hit prisoners, it is wrong and it shouldn't be allowed, they have to be disciplined. We don't have the right kind of people working in here. They have got no feeling, no pride in people. Out of 100 members, I would say 90 of them don't care. So you don't get anywhere.</p>	<p>Use care and encouragement rather than violence and coercion</p>
<p>4016. So, as I say, there is no recreation, there is no school, there is no ways of making things or being productive. We really need hobbies, we need medicine.</p>	<p>Need to be productive</p>

4017. Or exercise, which they have started, but then again nothing is every day in this prison. Nothing has a pattern, there is no routine. What is good today will not be good tomorrow. You never know where you stand. So you need different people, people that stick to their word and with a little bit of integrity.

Need for routine, predictability and reliability

4018. So basically, they are just on the same level with us. You can't...you have got nobody to look up to. No role models. It is very important. I can understand, I have been educated, but what about the person that is illiterate? That only knows violence? What do you do to a person like that?

Need for role models when trying to improve oneself, modelling new ways of behaving and thinking

JD: Does illiteracy and violence go together?

4019. Definitely. Hand in hand. They don't know how to sit and think and deal with a problem, they just climb into it straight away, fists flying. And you see this, it is not nice, it is not nice. Also, although they have taken people out our cell, there is still overcrowding, because you can't keep so many people with one toilet and two shower heads in the cell, it is just not right.

Memo: Use the group-status to empower people who act with social conscience to be 'one-step-up' role models

JD: How many are you now in the cell?

4020. At the moment it is 28. And the cell should basically have 15 people in it. So it is very overcrowded, you fall over people all the time. So, can you imagine if nobody has got nothing to do? And everybody is looking at everybody else. Watching, and just waiting... they are like time bombs. If you give them something to do you make them proud of themselves. Yeah, They [the members] just lock the door, and forget about the whole thing till tomorrow morning.

Anti- social interactional patterns require more space and resources, in prison and in society. Idleness and crowdedness don't work

JD: Now, if you think of your cell, what do you think needs to happen for you to come out [of prison] strong?

<p>4021. I am already well on my way. I think coming to prison did more harm to me than if I had stayed at home. That is my opinion. There are people here that have never seen the psychologist. There aren't enough social workers and psychologists to go around, there just aren't. I mean, [the psychologist] is here on his own. And they [the prisoners] need to be made to see these people.</p>	<p>Access to psychologist/ social worker</p>
<p>4022. It shouldn't be their choice, they need the help, and if they don't want to adhere to it [seeing the social worker or the psychologist] they should be kept in another section of the prison or something like that. Because it influences the other people around them.</p>	<p>Link prisoner status to willingness to do psychological work</p>
<p>4023. Also, there is no orientation for a new person coming in here; it is a very frightening experience. They hear stories from prisoners, horrific stories; you don't know what you are getting into. You are scared as it is, ok. There should be some kind of orientation section, before they come here to the prison section.</p>	<p>Need for exhaustive orientation of new prisoners Regarding rules, procedures, and a 'graduation-scheme'</p>
<p>JD: What would you like to hear in this orientation?</p>	
<p>4024. That the prison is running like it should be running, with the unit-management. That we are all like family structures. You work through from here to there, to get to that place. Your grade or your group [status] or whatever.</p>	<p>Graduating from prison</p>
<p>4025. That you get put into the right workplace for yourself. There are so many more options here. We could do so much more. We could be making cane baskets... and that is just one example. We could do lots of things that could be raising money for the prison. That there could be more entertainment, and sport, and we need to buy the equipment for these things.</p>	<p>Diversification of in-prison employment, delivering a service to society</p>
<p>4026. At the moment, everybody is alone here in this place. So, I don't know, everybody is just here staring at the cement. Who cares!!! [low voice, mumbled]. That is the whole thing; nobody cares [louder and more emphatically].</p>	<p>Becoming part of something bigger, knowing that it matters what you do, that people care about your role in society</p>

<p>4027. Also, our parole system is terrible, in this prison specifically. Ehm... you never know where you stand. You get treated like an animal when you go in there [the parole board meetings], you get screamed and shouted at, and they don't make anything clear. I am an intelligent person and I walk in there knowing nothing, -so can you imagine how frightening it must be for an illiterate person.</p> <p>4028. So, you know, it is wrong. It is just a sense of not knowing, nothing. Not knowing from one day to another if the door is going to be opened at 6 o'clock, 7 o'clock, or whatever, there is no routine. And, you know, without routine, there is disruption.</p>	<p>Need for respectful attitudes and information</p> <p>Routine, knowing what is going to happen next</p>
<p>JD: When you say you have got that very strong feeling that the members don't care, what does that do to you?</p>	
<p>4029. It makes me angry. It makes me feel helpless. It is like banging my head against a brick wall [tearful voice]. You just don't get any joy, you don't see any light. Because there is no way to do it. No matter how you try.</p> <p>4030. You get threatened all the time –charges, extra time sitting in prison, [they say:] ‘when you go to the parole board next time, just remember we are sitting next to you at the parole board.’ You can't become constructive; you can't be a person or try to become a feeling human being if you keep on having that rammed down your throat. You can't live in fear, that is wrong. And they don't know how to process, even if it is a simple report. It is so frustrating for me.</p>	<p>Need to feel empowered to change</p> <p>Threats and coercion from members prevent constructive change</p>
<p>JD: How do you see that they don't know?</p>	

4031. They don't know, they don't care to know. It is a case of 'if they feel like doing it, they'll do it'. If they don't, they just 'lose' it, and then you write a report six times. And another two months down the line, you might have an answer. And, I mean, by then you could have an urgent emergency in the family, and you need to see the children separately, or you need to see a social worker urgently, and you just don't get to deal with it. You have to deal with the problem on your own, and it never gets solved at home.

Need for respect for prisoner's pro-active efforts to manage her life inside/ outside prison

4032. So, you sit here worrying more and more and more. And you know what worry does, it makes a person angry, makes a person give up, and there is a lot of ladies that just sleep all day. And that is depression, but they don't understand it. No member will come in and say 'come on sweetie, get up, and come help me', or 'come do this or do that'.

Disempowerment breeds helplessness and depression

4033. They just leave them to sleep. Can you imagine sleeping for two years? Some of these people have been in bed almost every day for two years. All day and all night. They get up to parade, they get up to eat, and that is it. It is not life. So how can you put a person like that back on the street?

Need for encouragement

JD: What happens to them, do you see a lot of them come back?

4034. Yes, a lot of the short-timers. Because I have only been here nearly four years now. So, you know, I wouldn't see long-termers coming back. They are sitting long term, so I don't know what the long-term effects would be. But...short-termers come back over and over and over again.

JD: And what do they say when they come back?

4035. They think it is funny, they are proud to be back [incredulous]. I have yet to see one of them that is ashamed of themselves. Because we don't have a right or wrong here. Whatever you do is ok. If you stab someone, it is ok; it is ok to now beat you up. Ok. Or the member might beat you up. So [with that] she is saying it is ok, because I am getting down on [you] and giving [it] back to you. You know. Because 'I am going to get into trouble because you stabbed somebody', you know, it doesn't work that way. So there is no feeling, there is actually no feeling. They are working here because they can't work anywhere else, or they don't want to work anywhere else. It is...it is wrong.

JD: So you say that what you have experienced in the prison with the ILP group and with the empowerment and motivational groups that you are in now, is opening up of emotion and understanding yourself. But then it sounds like, at the same time, there is this hardening because there is no space for it.

4036. Yes, definitely. Yes, that is why I am saying it hasn't been good for me to come to prison. I would have done better on house arrest or correctional [supervision]. And I will say this until the day I die. They killed me. That is... I am strong enough now to get through this. Because now I can see the problem.

JD: How are you going to revive yourself when you come out, seeing that they have killed you?

4037. Hmm...I don't know. Through love.

JD: How are you going to get that love and give that love?

Attitude and behaviour of members encourage anti-social tendencies

Anti-social attitudes and patterns of interaction rub off on the prisoners

Need for love

4038. I have got so much to give; it is just a matter of getting there [outside] to give it. I don't know, it just disrupts family structure. Picture yourself; you have got children, coming here. She [a prisoner] doesn't know, she has got young children at home. She has been arrested, put on trial for 8 months, 9 months, maybe a year - two years. She doesn't even know where some of her children are; they are small, school-going. Imagine that worry... that fear. She doesn't even have access to a social worker in here. She doesn't. Then she is sentenced, comes to prison, a year or two years down the line. And, she sees a social worker, but he is not here very often. Maybe he misses 3 or 4 appointments with her, before she can finally see him. Now, 2-3 years have gone past, and you still don't know where your children are, because your family sometimes don't even know where they are. How can you make that a better person? You must see these women. You must see the look in their eyes. Some of them just sit [sobs]. And if you ask them 'what's wrong?' the tears are running. And you ask them what's wrong, and they say 'Ek ...' -they usually speak Afrikaans- '...I don't know where my children are'. And I try not to think about them [tears in her eyes], but today I am thinking about them. It is wrong; it is...all of us [cries]. How can you make that person a better person? ... 90% of women shouldn't come to prison, irrespective of what they have done. A year in prison is more than enough for any normal person to learn their lesson. It is just...you don't have anyone you can rely on, to talk to and get help, because the system never changes.

JD: Have you been able to make use of the other inmates here?

4039. Yeah, in a lot of ways, yeah. In what way do you specifically want to know?

JD: In whatever way makes sense to you. How have they been helpful to you?

4040. You can't talk to other inmates. So you keep all your personal worries to yourself. There seems to be a code of living here, gossip...and, and it is terrible. But really, you can't say anything because it gets taken out of context and comes back to you, you don't even recognise it. So, you learn to keep quiet.

Lack of access to a support system that can help family on the outside and assist in the communication with family members

Need for confidentiality and discretion

<p>4041. That is why I am lucky, I see [the psychologist], I see you, I get out to groups, I am doing courses. But what about the people that don't? Because now they choose you for a course. It is not your choice anymore. So, what about those people. Say, out of a hundred, maybe ten are going to courses. The ratio is terrible. We need more people to come in and help. Qualified people. People that know what they are doing. And it is not nice, I see people that I could talk to, like XXX and XXX, they are getting worse, in their minds.</p>	<p>Availability of courses, being allowed to choose</p>
<p>JD: In which way?</p>	
<p>4042. They seem so positive, but you can see they are dying a little bit every day. XXX worries me; I don't want to worry her with that so it is my problem. But she is dying.</p>	
<p>JD: How do you see that it is not going well?</p>	
<p>4043. She has become fanatical about amnesty. All that is keeping her together is the fact that tomorrow there might be amnesty. What is she going to do when she finds out there is no amnesty? Another year down the line, how's she going to cope? And you know, she does...she...she is her own worst enemy. She is the type that will stop eating, and...you know her. So that adds to the worries, because you do form families in here. Because you don't have [access to your] family. I mean, you see their family when they can come.</p>	<p>Relying on own input vs. relying on external, global decisions</p>
<p>4044. That is another thing, the families get punished as well, they get treated horribly when they come to visit. The members are very rude to them, they shout at them, they scream at them. If they haven't brought their ID, they get sent away. If they have temporary ID's it might be ok this week and next week not, nothing is the same [from day to day].</p>	<p>Poor public relations skills of members scare the prisoners' families away</p>
<p>4045. There is no routine. It all depends on the mood of the member at the gate. So you really don't know...the families get tired.</p>	<p>Inconsistent attitude of members wear out the visiting family members</p>

<p>JD: So whereas they could be a support to the inmates...</p>	
<p>4046. They don't have the chance, they are treated as criminals.</p>	<p>Disrespectful attitude of members toward visiting family members</p>
<p>JD: And I presume that a lot of people actually stop coming?</p>	
<p>4047. Yes, my family hardly ever come now. And they tell me straight, they are sorry but they just can't handle it.</p>	
<p>JD: What does not seeing them do to you?</p>	<p>Limited access to family/support system</p>
<p>4048. I try to be brave [smiles warily], but inside it is killing me, because I really need to see them. And we are not letter writers so we don't really keep in... and I can phone them once a week. You know we are not allowed to make outgoing calls; there are three phones in the whole section for, say, 200-250 people. So, you know, we need more phones as well. You know, even if they could make our families part of that rehabilitation. There must be so many things that families can offer to do with us.</p>	
<p>JD: Have you got any ideas?</p>	
<p>4049. We could have a 'walk day' or a 'sport day'. Things like that, that aren't a threat to security. It really isn't a threat to security, but the members are too lazy, they are very scared of any extra work. I don't blame them for that, their salaries are terrible, but I feel that if you are doing a job, you should be dedicated. There are some good ones [members], but so very few and far between.</p>	<p>Perception that members aren't dedicated to doing their best</p>
<p>JD: How do you think you could create that dedication in the members?</p>	

<p>4050. They need to be made aware that they could actually be saving people from themselves. And if they did just a little bit of good, can you imagine... You know, people respond to love, a little bit of care. They'd do anything for you.</p>	<p>Need for retraining of members</p>
<p>JD: I am sure that there are a few of the members that do that. What kind of feedback do they get both from the prisoners, and from the other staff members?</p>	
<p>4051. There is a terrible power play amongst the staff. They are always fighting with each other. I read their tarot-cards for them, so I know them a bit better than most people. And there is always a personal struggle. A lot of vindictiveness amongst them. So I suppose that is why they all, at the end of the day, become hard. They are all like a set group. Same ways. But, I mean, even if they are motivating. But they don't.</p>	<p>Perception of power play between members</p>
<p>4052. I mean, can you imagine eating breakfast at this time of the day [10.00 AM]. In your work hours, so you are wasting government money. You are not seeing to the prisoners, because if there is someone screaming down the passage, you are not going to get up [from your meal], you don't care. Until you hear there is blood, ok, then maybe you will get up, and you will go try and sort it out. The problems, the fact is, if she was aware of this thing and she knew them, she would have known that there was a problem coming and she could have stopped the blood from running long before it started. But they don't do that. So, there again, there would have to be more members, to work with smaller groups of prisoners. That is where this unit management should work. But we don't have enough space for it.</p>	<p>Need to see members as being committed to doing their job well and with integrity</p>
<p>JD: How does the unit management work now, what is the idea?</p>	

<p>4053. It is supposed to be more like family units, ok, so what they are going to do is they have got minimum, medium and maximum. Maximums are not allowed to be with mediums or minimums. But now they are still mixing them, and it is wrong. Because, there again, you have really broken one of the major rules. So, I feel, if the unit management comes in properly, maximums will be kept separately from us, ok. Mediums will be on one side and minimums will be on one side. They have taken them back to their sections two weeks ago. So, now you will have more smaller groups and each cell could be a unit.</p>	<p>Need for unambiguous rules regarding separation of prisoner groups</p>
<p>4054. And we are twenty-eight in a cell to maybe one member [busy calculating]. Six cells for three members, so each member's got to deal with two cells. She has got to deal with, say, fifty-sixty people. You can't get to know them properly, not one person. So you'd have to keep it at that number. It is overcrowded. Twenty-eight is fine [as in her cell], but we are supposed to take forty, that is what we've got to be. According to them, we've got to be forty in our cell. Take it from there, we need more members to work with one cell.</p>	<p>Effects of crowding on the relationship between members and prisoners</p>
<p>4055. Then make people work for their 'A'-group [status], don't automatically give it to them after six months. Go back to the old system where you start on a 'C'-group, and you work to a 'B'-group, and you work to an 'A'-group. To make a person feel like they are achieving something. To see that they can become something, even if is an 'A'-group. That is a start.</p>	<p>Graduating to higher group-status based on behaviour and achievement</p>
<p>JD: So the move from group to group should be based on general behaviour, a willingness to work, ...and what else?</p>	
<p>4056. Cleanliness, your personality. I mean, if you are a violent person obviously you can't have the benefits of a non-violent person, because you are doing wrong. We are not dealing with normal people; there is a handful that are totally abnormal. There are also people here that are mentally not fit to be in prison. They should be in an institution for people with mental problems. I don't know how they slipped through the system. But it is cruel. It is wrong.</p>	<p>Management of violent prisoners</p>

4057. So, there again, if you had a psychological evaluation of every person that came in [to prison], you could orientate them, fit them into a unit, and there shouldn't be that amount of problems. And you'd find out when there is someone that needs help, mentally. Really needs help. Those people could be taken out of the system and could go back to the courts or whatever. And those are the people [prisoners] who create all the situations. Ahem, we need to be empowered; it is how a person must be.

Need for psychological evaluation of prisoners

JD: So, that empowerment, that would be first evaluation, then information, then skills training? What else?

4058. Education, for the ones who need education, because you can't learn a skill that needs writing if you are illiterate. You can also group the people better. Again, it sounds so much like apartheid, but it isn't. Because there are a lot of illiterate people, being black, white, purple, or yellow. And that is the biggest problem here, that everything gets pushed down to apartheid [blamed on apartheid]. It is not nice.

Logical ordering and prioritising of rehabilitation segments

JD: How does that work?

4059. Anything that goes wrong, it is not their culture, or it is their culture, it is very one-sided. Nobody has rights here if they are not black. You don't have joy here if you are not black, you don't get a gate opened if you are not black. You don't get enough food; you are underfed if you are not black. I know the shoe is now on the other foot, that is why I keep quiet. But it does make me angry.

Inappropriate behaviour tolerated due to reverse apartheid

4060. Another thing is that people steal our food. People are not getting enough food, they are underfed. Some of us get a visit occasionally, some of us have a bit of money in the shop [snoepie account], but what about those people that don't? That depend on the prison food. It is not only members stealing [food]; it is prisoners as well. So that shows you how callous these people are, how cold and unfeeling they are. That they can actually take food out of a sister prisoner's mouth. They'll take three or four bowls down, and get them dished up for people that aren't here, and they are taking food out of three or four people's mouths. Because it runs out before all the people have been served.

JD: So what happens if somebody is still standing in the queue and there is no more food?

4061. They go on like animals. Have you seen a hungry person? Makes for a lot of violence. I have seen pots thrown around, members sliding in oil that is been thrown all over the place. Oh, it creates a lot of violence [wearily]. People don't know what goes on in prison. We are not supposed to talk about it. There are people who'll teach other people. But you can't keep people hungry. You know, even if you are a criminal, you are still a human being. And you can't take away the necessities of medicine and food. I have been waiting eight weeks for my hormone tablets. You know that creates a chemical imbalance, and I get very scatty. I go overboard, I get emotional. I have got them now, but it was eight weeks.

JD: How did you get through that time?

4062. I don't know. Without killing somebody, I don't know. And that is how you feel, eventually. Because every human being can only take so much. All our minds are different, and you know...some people... But I am glad that I was on these courses, because it is opened my eyes, it is helped me talk for myself now.

Corruption and misappropriation of resources

Misappropriation of resources engenders conflict and establishes a pattern of poor interpersonal behaviour

Psychoeducational courses help to manage conflict and tension

4063. And I don't keep quiet anymore, but I know when I must keep quiet. But I still hate myself for turning my back and keeping quiet when somebody is suffering sometimes, and you know there is nothing you can do by talking, it'll make it worse. But, I am going to get out of here, and I am going to do something for these women, that is something I will do. But I will never come back [to stay] here. God's forgotten people, that is how I think of us now.

Self-preservation vs. responsibility to help others

JD: You work at the XXX, how long have you done that?

4064. Two years and six months. It is going ok, as I said; I have learned to stand up for myself. That other one, the dragon [laughs], I have got a name for her now. She is still there. I don't know how much longer she is going to live, but she is still there. She is not sick, but I am not going to take nonsense from her anymore. No, no, I am not going to kill her [laughs] but I am going to kill her mentally. We had such a wing ding this morning. I just took all my things, because I was doing my assignment for TPM [Total Power Motivation course] tomorrow. It is our graduation tomorrow. I have done all my assignments so I can put [the certificate] up on the wall. I just feel proud of it. I said to her 'I am not sitting with this crap, I am going down to my cell, where I don't have to listen to you, you throw me off balance, and you make me feel angry, and I don't have to put up with it, bye-bye'.

Learning to deal with interpersonal conflict

JD: And she was the one who was always running around and letting you do all the work, and now she is left with it [the work]?

4065. Yeah. But I don't want to do it to the extent where I get lazy. It is a privileged position to be working in the XXX. Thank goodness. It is on the section, but if I don't feel like opening the door [to other prisoners] I don't have to. It is peaceful.

JD: And the last lot of books I brought, were they useful?

4066. Yeah, they were lovely, some of them were really new, they don't look like they have been read. Listen, you can't even take old books and give to these people, they destroy everything. They don't appreciate them. Because they have never learned. That is what I am saying; it is all those things that can be taught to them. How to use your library, how to take care of a book, what a book can do for you.

Need to learn how to preserve, access, and use resources

JD: It almost sounds like life skills?

4067. Yes. Starting at grass roots, 90% of the people here can't write anything but their name.

JD: I have just compiled a life-skills document for the placement I am at now, it is at a school. Obviously it is for kids, but the principles are the same. I am just thinking, maybe I should just make another copy of those and give it to [the psychologist]. Maybe we could get somebody to run life-skills groups with people here?

4068. I mean, look at this hairdressing course. First time in four years [since she came to prison] they have got something like that, that is good. Because, for that, you don't really need to read or write. Ok, they write exams, but for the ones who can't, give them an oral examination. That is things you can teach people. They have got the 'black hair' course, and now the 'white hair' course.

Need for non-academic learning

4069. So, they have had one or two courses, but then take it further. Don't just leave a person at that stage. Try to do a more advanced course for the ones who have got through that. But they don't, there is no follow-up on anything. It is been one course. Why don't they have one every six months or four months? There are new people here every day. People need to keep on doing it. And then you see yourself on the way to something, you see you have produced something. You feel good about yourself, you feel proud of yourself. It makes you smile, it makes you happy. So other people smile and are happy with you. It is a whole chain-reaction. But [in reality] you have a whole lot of dissatisfied violent people thrown together, it is a time bomb, and then you starve on top of it... just imagine! It is wrong.

Need for sustained progressive learning, not just fragmented one-of-a-kind courses

4070. It seems like lots of people are hoping we'll all kill each other inside [the prison], because that is the impression the members give us. You know 'who cares, you are just prisoners, your families don't want you'; they talk to you like that.

JD: How does that make you feel?

4071. It makes me doubt myself sometimes, it makes me angry sometimes, especially when I don't have my medication, and I am feeling down and depressed, and they say to me it is like that. Otherwise I laugh. I just tell them 'your family didn't want you, that is why you are not educated, that is why your job is turning a key'. And I do it in a nice way, and I laugh so they don't know if I am serious. But I am dead serious. It makes me feel better, because I am in control of myself.

JD: So, you have to in some way buy into this whole negative culture just to survive?

4072. You have to fit in. That is what I am saying, you destroy a good person. Because no matter how many times your life goes wrong and... It doesn't matter if you have committed a crime or whatever, fix it up, don't make it worse. Give a person a chance, a choice. But you don't have no choices, once you are here, you are lost. And you know, people like [the psychologist], they seem to be filled with glee. 'You have committed the crime, so you sit and do the time, they said that you are going to sit three quarters of your time, so that is it'. That is what puts a lot of people off coming back to him. We need people that are more people-people. People that care, people that understand. You know how many people who could volunteer, because they have got spare time to do it in? It doesn't necessarily have to be these highly qualified people. We need people with life-experience. Because these people, they need mothers. I need a mother. But I have landed up taking the role of mother in here, myself.

JD: What is that giving you?

Need to know that society cares if prisoners improve themselves

Disrespectful attitude of members cause prisoners to respond disrespectfully

Need for understanding and a supportive attitude

4073. Ahem. It is a way of getting rid of some of all this love I have got built up inside, that I can't wait to give to my family. It makes me feel proud. That they trust me enough to come to me and hug me and cry and put their heads on my shoulders. It makes me forget my own problems. It makes me feel like I am doing something and making a difference. So that is why I definitely want to come back. Not to prison!!! But to help the people here from the outside. But you see, people are faking it, they are pretending that they are rehabilitated. If you had proper psychological evaluators here, people wouldn't get away with that. A lot of those people do come back [recidivism]. I know XXX is going to come back. She is proud of committing fraud and she can't wait to go do it again. You see one XXX; we see another side of her.

Need to feel needed and useful

JD: How do you see that?

4074. She is lacking in something. It is low self-esteem. The only way she can be something is by bragging about what she has done. And she doesn't see it [the crime] as wrong. That is where it is so scary. XXX [another prisoner] has learned her lesson; I have learned my lesson. There is a few of us who have learned our lesson, but 90% haven't learned their lesson.

The social value of the crime within the prison culture

JD: So, coming to prison is like having to learn a lesson? But a lot of things get in the way? What would have gotten in the way of XXX learning her lesson?

4075. XXX got in her own way. She hasn't accepted herself. You know, Janne, this is between you and me, despite the fact that I love her like a sister, she is conning people right, left, and centre, with a smile on her face. And I can't be proud of her anymore, I can't. I can't be her friend anymore. And it is hurting me, but I can't talk to her anymore because she won't listen. She makes friends with people, she is so outgoing. People seem to... you know they always rotate around the butterfly. That person that is so happy, flits around, has so much to say, always laughs, always has something good to say. But you know, if that person is lying to you all the time, can you imagine the devastation when you find out the truth? And she attracts people, but only people that have got money. If you don't have money, XXX has no use for you. And I have watched her from trial, right up to now, and she is just doesn't change. She has got this big thing that she gets friendly with these women that is got money, and their self-esteems are very low, and she'll get so close to them and build them up which is good for them. But she gets close to their families as well. And they will bring her deodorants, money in her account, and they look after her because her husband can't look after her. XXX has more than any other prisoner here. Financially, materially, but is she happy? You can't get it through to her. Now, I am the kind of person, I can have one piece of bread, but if you are hungry I will give it to you or share it with you. It doesn't worry me.

JD: What does it do for you when you do that?

4076. It makes me feel like a better... I don't know, it makes me feel more human. I have always been like that. I won't say I am perfect; I don't do it for glory. I never talk about it. I just try to make a... But she worries me. I wish you could get through to her. That is one of my biggest stress-points here; she was the person I was closest to. And I don't know her anymore. You know XXX, the friend she was speaking about. She is in [another] prison with major fraud charges against her. They were conning members, prisoners, her employer. She is lucky her name is killed –although she is on the further-charges section. She says there are no charges against her, but we don't know. We know they are not keeping her there for her own safety. So she is still lying to us all. How can you not learn after being in a place like this? If you are intelligent, how can you not learn?

Accepting differential values regarding depth and integrity

Negotiating differential values regarding sharing and social responsibility in close relationships

JD: And her strong religion?

4077. She is not religious [scornful]. She talks about it, yes. Because it makes people impressed. XXX is nuts, she needs to have a good look at herself [angry]. I worry about her, but it is no use sitting here, I have grown so far away from her, I can't get involved. Because I had the audacity to tell her 'I am not sure who you are, stop pretending.' But she won't. She gets angry. So she is pushed me aside. But it is ok; actually, we always seem to rotate together again. I just wish I could help her. Me, I am so messed up, can you imagine how confused she must be about me too. But... I just know I am doing the right courses. I am doing what's right for me. I am not going to do just any course, I am going to do what I know is right for me. Leave the other things open for people who need to be given the opportunity.

Using phoney religiousness to gain social acceptance

JD: If you could choose any course you liked, If you said 'this is what I would like to have happening' and then somebody would actually bring it in here, what would you like to do after this course?

4078. Ahem, I would like some kind of course to train us –a few prisoners- on how to motivate people, like this course I am attending now, but also to work on people's self-esteem. Also to maybe help us form some kind of group, that we could actually get together a sports day or get together training us to train others. In anything, I am willing to try anything because I like learning.

Need for 'train-the-trainer' courses to improve accessibility

JD: You'd like to become a teacher of people?

4079. Of people, yes. But I would like to teach people to motivate themselves. So they in turn can teach other people to motivate themselves. I would like to start a chain reaction. We need to empower people in all ways. Can you imagine being here and you... you don't know where your family are, and you don't have enough clothes to wear?

Need for self-motivation skills

4080. It is rainy weather, yet you can't be dirty because they [the members] are going to scream and shout at you. So you put wet clothes on, ok. Then you go down to eat and there is not enough food, so you go hungry. So you know tonight you are going to bed without food, and you try not to be resentful, ok. It makes you even angry with the people you live with, because you know that that one over there took two plates of food. But you can't tell the member, because if the member mentions your name then that one is going to hit you and tell all the others to do it, next day or just now or whatever. So you go to bed hungry, you don't know where your children are, you haven't got anything to do the whole day but sit and brood on this whole lot and not knowing where your children are.

Learning how to handle practical issues

4081. You can't keep yourself busy, and your mind goes. 'Are my children alive, are they being fed. I don't really care that I didn't get food today but did my children get food today? I can't talk to nobody in the cell; nobody is going to listen to me. Or they'll listen and tomorrow go and tell everybody else what I said and laugh about it.' And you go to sleep after a long time of tossing and turning. You get up in the morning and your clothes are still wet. And it just goes on and on and on. That is a little example of how the bottom is reached and enough is enough with all the things that are happening. You can't talk to the member, you can't talk to your friend or prisoner, you can't talk to the social worker, he is not available.

Idleness increases worrying

4082. You can't talk to [the psychologist]; he is booked for the next six months. Who do you talk to? So, we need people that can come in, that are professional to a certain level, that can have groups, discussions, therapies, and group therapies, just to let people talk. And take it from there. Then you start to understand where people need to be fitted in. But we need people's needs to be seen to.

Access to emotional/ psychological support

4083. When a woman comes to prison, there should be some kind of welfare service that is doing its job properly. That makes sure that her children are looked after. There is no assurance of that here. It is very hard on the black women, more on them than it is on us, because the families usually try to take over. Sometimes the children are staying with strangers. That is where it all boils down to for us. Our children. You can't stop worrying. Worry breeds so many other things.

Access to social workers/ support for the family

JD: You have got two girls and a boy, isn't it? How old are they?

4084. The girls are twenty-six and twenty-four, and they are fine. Very busy, they have got hectic lives.

JD: At least they are not so small that they need you badly?

4085. Yeah, even my son, he is seventeen, he is also ok. My oldest daughter takes care of him.

JD: You have been here four years? How long have you got to go still?

4086. Nearly four years. Three years of my sentence left, and I have got to do four and a half years. I have been one year on trial, and I have then got to do one and a half years more. So my son was thirteen when I came in here.

JD: So what's happened to him during these four years?

4087. He is a very, very rampant teenager at the moment, driving his sister mad. He says that his older sister is the same as I, and he says he misses me, but my older daughter more than makes up for it. I don't know how to explain it, but he seems to understand it the way he feels. But he cries... when he leaves. He has got big tears.

JD: So when he says that his older sister more than makes up for you, does it mean that he is angry because he misses you?

4088. Yeah [whispers sadly]. He is actually being sarcastic, and trying to show me that [wistful laugh] 'you haven't done your job, girl. You are my mother and you are not there [crying].'

Effect of imprisonment on the prisoner's children

Dealing with guilt for being away from family

4089. But my older daughter says that he is very well balanced. But, she says he gets into a lot of fights at school. Something he never did. He was always a very soft child. So, it could be one of his ways of trying to vent his anger on the wrong things. So it [going to prison] does break up a family. Especially when the mom goes to prison. Because them mom is the foundation. She is your anchor; she is what you go home to every day.

JD: But your daughter is old enough to give him some of that? Has she got her own children?

4090. Yeah, she does give him. She has got two children of her own, two boys.

JD: I suppose, if he was a very soft child, he has now learned to find strength in himself.

4091. He has. He is a lovely boy. I don't say it because he is mine, but I am quite proud of him. He is well spoken; he has got good manners. But inside, he is a sad little boy. I am just sad about the years lost, because you can never regain them, that is impossible. He was very angry in the beginning. He felt I had let him down, I think. Sometimes he still feels that way. Now that he is older, he is wise enough not to say it. [He has got] a lot of anger at the members, especially if they have treated his sisters badly. A lot of anger.

JD: So he has learned to be very protective?

4092. He has learned anger, a lot of anger. For a boy that is not so good. It is not so good in anybody. I have learned a lot of anger. I always used to suppress my anger, and now I find that I am letting go more and more and more. But it is better. It is better to get angry when there are problems than to leave it.

Effect of imprisonment on the prisoner's children

Learning to deal with anger and frustration

JD: You had a lot of anger before [prison] that wasn't expressed, which eventually caused your explosion, which landed you here. So maybe you have learned to deal with it?

4093. Yeah, I can teach him some of those tools, and I know how to. That is what TPM [total power motivation] has taught me. It is taught me how to deal with my anger, how to stand up for myself, to look at myself, stop blaming other people. All of us, we had the choice, and we made the decision. It is scary, when he [the TPM teacher] first said that I laughed at him. But... I agree with him now.

4094. Cause and effect. The law of cause and effect. I believe in it, I believe that it is our choice. We just didn't stop and think. You don't think about what the effect is going to be. And I believe that we are successful all the time [lighter voice] because I mean, I have got through so far, I am sitting here today, I have survived it. So, I will just take every day now as it comes.

JD: Have you learned a lot about how strong you actually are?

4095. Oh, I can't... I can't believe it; I thought I was a weakling. And I don't like people feeling sorry for themselves now, I try to distract them and get them to do something. But I have run out of... how can you help someone to do something when you have got nothing to do it with? And we are not allowed to bring hobbies in.

JD: Yeah, the hobbies seem to be a big issue?

Blaming vs. taking responsibility for one's choices

Insight into wider effect of one's actions

Learning to relinquish victim role

4096. I am relying heavily on the churches; they must hate me at the moment. I have got churches from here to Nelspruit sending bible studies. Even if I have to write it for them, I am giving them these oral [tests]. I will read out the bible and say 'ok, now, I am asking questions. You answer them.' Then I ask the questions, and I write it for them. It is the only way I seem to be able to get through to black people, because they are very, very religious at the end of the day. But you don't believe what it is doing to them; they are driving me mad. They finish one course, and then they want another course, and they just don't know that church doesn't have another course. So then I have got to look for other churches that have bible courses to carry on, it is driving me nuts. But it is keeping me busy and my time is going. Because... I am not a religious person; I believe in God, I believe he is out there. But I am not super religious. I don't live my life according to this, this, and this. I try to do right. If I do wrong, I am sorry. But it is getting through to them, that is the main thing.

JD: some of my family are very involved in bible studies. If you want to, you can write a motivation, what it is that you need, how you use it, who you do it with, how it works, and what benefits it has. Just write a letter. You don't have to make it long.

4097. I have got this one black pastor; he has done so much for me. I have never met him, I just... through [various churches] I was given his name. And he sends me piles and piles of bible studies. So between him and Emmanuel Press that do the marking, they send them a bible and a certificate. So it gives them pride, it gives them a bible to read, and they want to do the next course. So, we've been clogging up the postal service. And we are going to keep on doing it, so I need more lessons. Basically, I need bible studies for beginners, it would be Sunday-school level. We need Afrikaans as well. I can't help if it is other languages.

JD: But you could perhaps train somebody to do other languages?

Finding a way to contribute

Connecting with external resources and people

4098. Yeah, in fact, I have got two people in mind already. One lady in the bed next to me, and another lady in one of the other cells. So we are getting there slowly, we are doing something. But, you know, people get bored, so we need to start thinking of other things to give them to do. I have been selfish. I have concentrated on my family and myself before. But I can't tell you how quickly it [the bible studies] spread. People that normally don't even talk to you, they speak to you when you walk past. So it is getting through somehow. So you see, if people could give us ideas and give us the tools to work with, how much a few of us prisoners could do. In a way it is like social work. Because we can't help people with problems, but we can listen to them. So if you brought people that are semi-qualified in, people that are trained to help people by listening. Maybe suggesting here and there, that people can start thinking of their own answers to their own problems. It would help people.

JD: Thinking skills, problem-solving skills, conflict resolution skills?

4099. Conflict especially. There is a lot of that. You know, if people start learning to solve their own problems, you will find that there is less conflict. Because they'll do it in a better way. It is very important. But violence is the worst problem. But I can say, if you want to stop violence, it'll be by feeding and clothing them properly. I mean, it sounds like such a stupid thing. But it isn't, it is very, very real. It makes you feel like nothing when you have got nothing to wear. Everything is wet. How would you feel if you went to your wardrobe and everything was sopping wet? If there was a leak, and you got nothing to wear but the pyjamas you have got on? And they are full of holes because they are prison issue, and you really can't go out [of the cell] in them?

4100. You'd put wet clothes on! And get sick. And there'd be no medicine. See the Doctor now, and you'd get your medicine two months down the line when you have cured yourself already. But it is left a bit of damage in the lungs, and... no, it doesn't work. It is just your everyday, simple things.

Learning to involve others in self-help projects

Intersection of practical problems and self-image

Long-term effects of untreated physical illness

4101. We don't ask for TVs, we don't ask for dessert. We don't ask for rice. We don't ask for anything, we just ask for enough food every day. Please, a bit of butter for the bread, -and jam on top of it. Ok, they have been quite good lately, with that white fat. I found out it makes nice toast. I have got to teach you skills now: You butter our bread [with the white fat], make sure you have smuggled a piece of [tin]foil in somewhere along the line, and you take two slices buttered on the outside. You put them together like that [shows how]. You put your foil on top, you take your iron and you iron it, and it is so lekker [laughs]. I think we are all toast addicts.

Problem-solving,
Conflict resolution

4102. [Sombre again] also drugs are a major problem here, the drugs. And the members are bringing it in. Social workers and members, yeah. I don't know how they are going to stop it. Because...can you imagine giving them cocaine, and dagga, and whatever, uppers and downers, to these people that are already violent. Ok, it calms some people down, but it is wrong if you have got to put up with that. In here, when a person freaks like that or when they get sick, if it is after hours and after lock-up you are on your own with them. It is your responsibility to look after them and I came here to serve a sentence. I don't want other people's problems. It is scary.

Access to illegal drugs in
prison

JD: Are you still cell monitor? And is it still quite a pressure on you?

4103. Yeah. But it is a pressure on everybody. I always think 'but what if this person dies?' [Long pause] They have got to do something. They have got to have night staff that are on the sections. They sit at the main gate. You have got to scream your lungs out for them to hear you from the section. But there again, it is the type of people you have got to live with. You know, they have got offices, actually, for the night staff there. If you are shifted from that time to that time on -section, you must be on that section. So, you see, it is all got to start somewhere. They all sit there [at the main gate] together. But it is ok, that is the way they have always done it. I think it should be high level.

After-hours monitoring and
access to staff

4104. We had that strip [search]; they stripped the prison, the SAP[police]. I suppose you have been following the news, haven't you? My goodness, on Saturday night, quarter past twelve, they hit our cell. But I was awake and ready for them. Because I don't sleep early. And I knew... they hadn't put the lights out, there must be something wrong. And I heard funny bumps upstairs, I thought about what that was for, I just didn't realise it was SAP and the army. They printed [had printouts of] us all. They belittled us about what our sentences are. [Saying] 'Oh, you just think you are clever, isn't she clever, committing robbery? What do you do with guns, do you know how to use them?' But you know how these people talk to you. It is not nice, that is what I am saying. Another one [said] 'who did you kill? Hmmm, you are a murderess, who did you kill?' We've been sentenced already; we are paying for our sins. Some people in the cell don't know what other people have done. That is so horrible. Anyway, I told him not to talk about that, about the other people. I mean, I just laughed, because to me... it doesn't mean anything to me anymore. I am paying for my sins, I see where I went wrong, and I won't do it again. I am not going to let them do it to me. [Very long pause] they talked to the abused woman who killed her husband. It is not right; you don't talk to people like that.

Protection against ridicule, humiliation, and put-downs by authorities

4105. Oh, we had Carte Blanche here yesterday. They came to speak to the five ladies that are asking for clemency. It was quite interesting. They were filming them in their cells. I was so surprised they had access. My colleague is one of them, and one of my cellmates. One's in the workshop and one is in the washhouse. They must go home now. They started this when I came here, and they are still waiting for the clemency. That is another thing, red tape.

Red tape causes long reaction time on appeals

4106. There is too much red tape. We don't have access to any knowledge about our files; we don't have answers to queries. We should be aware of when we go home [a release date], a worst-case scenario. I think we are entitled to that. In the old days, they used to put your going-home date on your card when you came in. If you got anything before that, you'd know you worked for it and it was a bonus. Because it gives you something to work towards. Not [like now] when you go and see the parole board, and they sit there and say 'well, we'll see you next year'. Look how frustrated I was when I came out of parole board last time. It was like hitting my head on a brick wall. [Long pause]

Access to information and an unambiguous release date gives you something to work towards

4107. Also the way you deal with people. When you are in a position of power like that, you mustn't look down on people and talk down to them. You must try and deal with them as they are, as people. And they don't. They enjoy the fact that you are here. 'You know, you committed armed robbery, a very serious offence. We can keep you up to your full sentence here.' But, you know... don't do it that way, just say 'this is the worst scenario. Your best scenario is that you can work towards bettering yourself, showing remorse, and maybe going home 'X' time-period sooner'. Give people something. We are people. These people treat their animals at home better. I would rather be our member's dog in her kennel than being here in prison with that member. [Small voice] it is scary.

Punitive vs. encouraging attitude of members and parole officers

JD: OK; let's stop for now. [Finished the session with some containment work and debriefing].

4.1.5 Interview with Makgadi. 28-08-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Makgadi, a twenty-seven year old Pedi woman who is in prison for murder. She took part in the second ILP group I ran in 2000, and was briefed on the topic of this research a couple of months ago.

Table 4.5 Interview with Makgadi

Interview 5	Concepts
<p>JD: If you think about when you first came in here, what do you think would have made a difference?</p> <p>5001. Before I came here, while I was still outside? In fact, my life was bad outside. So, since I came here I start to realise that, ok, if I ... but, it is too different. The knowledge I gained from here. It is not the same as the one I had when I was still outside. While I was still outside, I was just... I couldn't know what to do to change my life. Which means I was just walking in darkness. But the moment I acquired her, the one that came close to me [my colleague from Wits with whom Makgadi had a year of therapy] and give me the light about my life. Now I have got some plans, I have got some more things I am going to achieve. But I never had those things while I was still outside.</p>	<p>Gaining clarity regarding choices</p>
<p>JD: How did you acquire this knowledge in here, and what is that knowledge?</p> <p>5002. Like, we are many in here, besides from someone teaching you something; we are too many cultures, many different backgrounds. And the more we talk, the more I learn from other people, the things that I need in my life. The more I realise those things. And then I gain, through my studies, all the stuffs with the notes.</p> <p>5003. I even attended... I did counselling which boosted me a lot [the therapy with my colleague]. That helped me a lot. And then I did the courses that mitigate me; I am still busy with other courses. Like, last I was doing another course called Total Power Motivation (TPM). TPM is just about myself, just to find out who I am. I find it very important to know. I have learned a lot from it.</p>	<p>Learning from other cultures</p> <p>Learning about self through therapy and psycho-educational courses</p>

JD: Can you tell me what you have learned from it?

5004. Firstly, what I have learned is the thing that, you know I am one kind of person. You know, I grew up in a rural area. And then I was used to limit myself from a lot of things, just telling myself 'ok, I can't reach there, I can't do this, I can't do that', because I used to think maybe this thing is for special other people, for educated people, intelligent people. I won't reach there. And then I end up there, and I just tell myself 'ok, there is nothing I can do; I just have to live the life my mother lived. That is all'.

JD: What kind of a life would that be?

5005. Make yourself to get just whatever you can be, ah, like... Getting marriage and children, cook and serve... things like that. That was the only thing I was looking for. Oh, if I could just get a man and stay with a man who does all for my mother and there that is all. But now I have realised there is nothing like that. I can still have a chance. From that course, I have learned that, ok; I don't have to undermine myself. I can do a lot. I have realised my purpose for living, which is to progress, to unfold, to change, to develop. So, I have to do all those things. I don't have to stick only with one thing. I have to keep on changing, growing, unfolding. [Long pause] and then I realised that I can do everything as long as I want it.

JD: If you want to you can? So it is a belief in yourself [that you have learned], that is a good thing to have learned here.

5006. So I have learned I can do... I can fly up to the sky as long as I believe in myself and in what I am doing.

JD: How was your life before you came in here?

5007. I never worked... I never worked.

Cultivating a belief in self

Expanding the vision of one's future

Believing in oneself

Job availability

JD: How did you get money to eat, to stay?

5008. In fact, ahh... I was just staying with my mom up until the age of 19, under the support of my mom, although my mom was not working. But, ahem... I and my brothers and sisters, we were under the support of my ...I don't know how that is in English, but it is my father's younger brother. We call it dramani in our language. It is Pedi; it is my father's younger brother. So, he was the one who was supporting us all the time until I came to prison. And I did go to school up until matric. I managed to do matric, although those days I had no aim or goals for my studies. I was just studying for the sake of studying. I didn't know for what a good reason. I was just going to school to acquire that knowledge. But then, now I know. Now I can use it.

JD: How old are you now?

5009. Twenty-seven.

JD: How long was your sentence, and how many years have you got to go now?

5010. Ten years, In November I will have done four years. And then, I think I have to do seven years, which means there is three years ahead.

JD: Another three years to go before you are out. How are you going to spend those three years, what do you still need to do here before you are ready to go?

5011. Well... I have done some courses, like, I did a sewing course, and I can sew now. I did Total Power Motivation. TPM is about myself; it was a boost to me.

Developing goals and a vision

Need for both skills courses and self-development courses

JD: What did you get out of that?

5012. TPM is like finding out who you are. And I just realised who I am, and then I concluded that I am a winner. That is what I am. I am a winner, I am born to succeed, and I will succeed in whatever I want to do.

JD: And are you starting to have some ideas about what you want to do?

5013. Yes. In that course, they talk about some goals. How to set up your goals and how to make your goals... how to fulfil your goals. How to make your goals come true. And then [long pause] if you want to have your goals come true, you have to... whatever you think you want to achieve, you have to write it down and try to work it out. Act on it. And then I realised, I have to act upon what I want. Like, I have said, I am doing Unisa's ABET. This year I am doing Diploma one, the first diploma. It is for teaching. And I didn't know that one day I can stand in front of people [teaching].

5014. The first thing that... the first goal that I wanted to achieve there, the first goal... the main goal, I wrote it down, was to achieve to get confident. Because I believe [that] if I can have confidence, I can do whatever I want to. And I am busy dealing with it. I never thought that I can stand in front of the learners and give the lessons. I used to be so shy. Well, I started doing teaching around July-August, and I just told myself that I am going for it and I will make it.

JD: And how does it feel to teach others?

Learning about –and taking pride in- self

Goal setting skills

Improving self-confidence

5015. With me, I am teaching level ones, non-literate and semi-literate. And then, it is so difficult, but through perseverance and patience I make it. It is so interesting. Although, they take time to learn, but then I push them. Go slow with them. Give them time. And now I think I am gaining the skills of dealing with adults. I feel very great, and I am happy because they even told me that ‘you are doing perfect, you are teaching us very well, and you have got perseverance, even that we do hard you have got that perseverance that you don’t say aisch, aisch, ye, ye, ye, ye.’ I always give them that courage, you know. If you don’t know, don’t give up. They need to be encouraged. Don’t give up, just take it easy.

JD: And when you treat them like that, do you remember how it felt when you felt you were able to do anything?

5016. Yeah. It does help me. I am in touch with the world. I am doing it. And I am doing another assignment from Unisa. OK, at Unisa, ne, they ask us [to do] a project; they call it the SANLI project. South African National Literacy Institute. So we’ll do that project for six weeks. And the subjects we will offer are English, numeracy, mother tongue, business, and AIDS.

JD: So you are becoming an AIDS counsellor as well?

5017. Yeah [smiles], so I have to teach all these people.

JD: You are learning a lot of skills here, and it is all something that you can use when you go out again. You were living with your mother’s uncle and your mother before? When you go out again, do you have any idea what is going to happen?

5018. Yeah. Like now, I was deciding that it is not good to live there. Because, since I am here, I am now five years in prison, and I never saw my mom.

Learning how to mentor

Feeling connected, being valued

JD: You haven't seen your mom for five years? How does that feel, what does that do to you?

5019. Aisch, it is very painful. I just told myself that although my mother doesn't come to see me, that mustn't let me down, I just have to push and pull, and just believe that one day I will be with her again.

JD: And have you got any other visitors coming to see you?

5020. My brother, he is here in Jo'burg. He is the only person seeing me. [He comes] sometimes after two months or a month, depending if he has money.

JD: And is your mom coping without you?

5021. I know it is difficult, I can't say she is coping, but I know it is difficult. I sometimes phone her and talk to her, and I can feel that pain. I can feel that she misses me, but there is nothing I can do. I will go away [from the phone] and cry.

JD: What does she say to all that you have learned in here?

5022. So far, she doesn't have that idea what I have... I just talk to her about what I am studying, that I am studying. I didn't send my certificates that she can see what I am doing, but I am waiting for my brother to take those certificates and show her. But I keep on telling her that she mustn't worry, that I am safe, not doing anything in prison, just studying. Because I believe, they can just lock me in, my body and my everything can be locked, but they can never lock my heart. That is what I believe in. And I want to keep it like that.

Access to external support system

Effect of imprisonment on the family

Protecting the family by hiding own pain

JD: If you think of before you came to prison, what do you think would have happened if you had not come to prison, how would your life have developed?

5023. I am not sure. I don't think I would have developed as such. I don't think so. Maybe I would be dead. Because life outside is too fast. Maybe I would have flowed with it and found myself somewhere. There are lots of sicknesses outside. Maybe I would be one of the victims.

JD: And when you come out now, do you think you have learned enough to keep yourself safe in this fast-flowing world?

5024. I have, I have learned a lot. I have learned a lot. Although I still need to know. You know, you learn until you die, so I still have to learn and go through other things. Learn other things, develop, and...

JD: Have you got any specific ideas about what you'd like to learn now? If you could learn anything you wanted to in here, if you could just take a magic wand and swing it, what would you still like to learn?

5025. Well, there are things I have to learn, but then I can't think of any now.

JD: Maybe you'd like to take some time to think, and next time we talk you can give me some ideas on that?

5026. In fact, I just want to learn everything about life. Just get to have an idea about everything.

JD: How is life in here for you? What works well –I mean, learning obviously works well for you, that is clear. What else works well, and what works badly?

Imprisonment forces you to develop

Learning to utilise learning opportunities

Broadening one's scope of interests

5027. Aisch, life in prison is not nice. There are lots of things that sometimes... You know, we are too many, so that we've got various characters, personalities, and those things. So, it is so difficult to cope with everyone. It is so difficult, and even this situation is too difficult.

Learning to cope with individual differences

5028. Like, things in prison are never stable. It is just off and on, today it is this, tomorrow it is that, and at the end of the day we get confused.

Learning to cope with an unstable system

JD: What things change?

5029. Everything. It is just like, a right time. We usually sit and teach, ne, we sometimes... I like giving morning classes. They open for us, maybe about 7.30. Sometimes they lock us in, maybe... depending on who's working. Other members allow us to go and give classes, and others just refuse. And then you always have to talk and talk [to persuade them to open] for the classes, and at the end of the day they say they'll charge you because you are rude to them doing all those things [asking for permission to give class], and you have to be careful all the time.

Learning to cope with differences in the members' application of rules

JD: What do they charge you with?

5030. Maybe those days they say you have to go in [to the cell], and then we take them [the learners] and go to the class, and then you start arguing with them [the members] about the class and they end up saying 'I will charge you'. We are always threatened. But what I have realised is, I mustn't allow this situation to get me down.

Being punished for wanting to learn/teach

JD: What else in the prison is difficult? You say things change all the time; you never know exactly what's going to happen next.

5031. Yeah. Sometimes even the stress is killing me. You know, like, with me myself, I sometimes have this problem of ... when it starts to be week-end, Saturdays Sundays, I start to think too much. About the various things, things like that. I don't have visits; I have to wait for my brother. But during the week, that is when I can do anything. Weekends distress me, because there is nothing you can do, you just stay in, you don't go to class. You don't go to work; you stay in the cell [long pause] listening to people shouting at each other, fighting, all those things. But during the week I don't see anything, because I am always busy. Weekends are too long, a time of worry. But still, there is nothing I can do, I just have to push myself.

JD: What do you think should happen over weekends?

5032. With me, I don't know. Because there are videos, people do watch videos. I just can't concentrate on them or doing other things. Some people get visits, others watch videos, and some go to church.

JD: Are you still singing in the choir?

5033. Yeah, but now we don't go during the weekends, only Tuesday and Thursday. Because, with the choirs, they have separated the choirs, there are [now] maximum and medium choirs, because maximum are not supposed to go out with the mediums. I am a medium.

JD: Is there anything else you would like to do over weekends, any ideas you have had about what would be nice to do?

5034. There is nothing I can do. Maybe playing netball or volleyball. Sport. Maybe. But still, there are few possibilities, because others do have visitors. And you can't go to the sport and then straight from there to the visitors. When they come with the paper [saying that there is a visitor for you] when are you going to shower?

Idleness increases worrying

Negotiating practical issues to optimise access to activities

JD: How many people are you in your cell now?

5035. Thirty-three. But now it is ok, it is not like before. We used to be thirty-eight. Now we are better. Some other cells have got twenty-something.

JD: Is there anything else you'd like to add to this?

5036. No... OK, I can just contribute by saying that you have to make your life easier, not anyone else. Everything you do is just from yourself. You don't have to allow anyone to discourage you or [make you] do anything. It is your duty to see that everything in your life is ok. No one can interrupt you with that. Your goals... decide on them. And that is another thing I have learned here, whatever the situation or circumstances you find yourself in, you yourself have created. No one else. I believe there is always some ways of avoiding things. But if you didn't manage to avoid some things, just tell yourself 'I am going to do this', then it is [up to] yourself, and you don't have pain anymore. You just have to be yourself, and deal with the situation, and put your life the way you want it. You are the only one who's in control.

JD: And how about getting help from others? You are helping others at the moment, aren't you?

5037. You can get help from others. We have to help each other.

Finding strength in oneself
Negotiating
discouragement
Accepting responsibility

4.1.6 Interview with Malaka. 28-08-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Malaka, a thirty-nine year old Sotho woman who is in prison for armed robbery. As this was the first time of meeting Malaka, she was briefed in detail about the purpose for the interview and the study before starting the tape recording.

Table 4.6 Interview with Malaka

Interview 6	Concepts
<p>JD: How long is your sentence?</p> <p>6001. It is fifteen years. And I have been here one year and eight months now. I must sit nine years and nine months all together. I came from Pretoria prison where I was on trial for one year and two months.</p> <p>JD: How was that to be waiting so long for your sentence during trial?</p> <p>6002. I want to tell you what I did. It was robbery, armed robbery. We robbed the house of a white lady in [a rural area]. Two boys [accomplices] they had come to me. I know one boy, but not the other one. I know accused number one, I don't know accused number two. Then they came to me and asked me that house... that white lady's house, they don't open the gate, so they asked me to make the people open the gate, and they wanted to take only money. They said to me 'please, we ask you if you can make the people to open the gate, and we will give you some shares'. That time I wasn't paying school fees for my two children, I saw I must go and try to see... maybe we can get that money. They came Sunday in the morning to fetch me and then we go to the house. There was the owner, an old man. He was taking water from the tap, ne; I don't know what he was doing with that water. And then I asked him that we want [to buy] the [live] stock - he was selling stock. And then I started to ask for chicken and turkeys - how much do you charge, and I am asking questions.</p>	<p>Financial difficulties</p>

6003. The woman was in the house, she was closing the safe door, I see her there. Then I started asking for water: 'I ask for water, please, I am thirsty', and then he [the old man] takes me there with these two guys. He is going to give me the water, and then he tells the woman that 'they are asking water'. [Snaps her fingers] Hawu... that woman opened the safety door to give us the water. When she opened that safety door, those boys got inside and said 'yes, let us go through the door, let us go to your bedroom. We want to see your bedroom.' And then they started to put [the owners]down [on the floor] and say they want money. And there was not a lot of money; it just was silver money in a 750 g coffee tin. I don't know how much that was, just a little silver. They take that money, and then we go to the fridge and take the food. There was three guns in the safe, two big guns –I don't know guns, but they were big like this [shows me with her hands], and one small gun. We take that, and we take the car, and then we take these people to the bedroom, there was another bedroom there for chosen visitors, we take them to there and close for them [lock them up]. After that, we take the car and go. On the way, the car makes an accident, jumps through the yard and garden. And then we leave the car there and run away.

JD: Why did you have the accident, were you rushing too much?

6004. You see, you rush too much, you want to get out there quick, and then you make accident. I was scared. It was first time I do that, and then I am running. Those boys, they leave me there, ne, they run away to the bush. Me, I was too afraid to go to the bush alone, so I go to the bus stop and the police get me there at the bus stop. After that, I told these policemen the truth, that we have gone there by that house and what we have done, ne. After talking truth, they were going with me, to look for these guys [her accomplices]. Then we see those guys on the road and I say 'here's these guys'. They haul those boys to the police car, and then we go to the police station.

Learning to realise consequences of actions

Learning sound judgment of others

6005. So, now I was looking to talk truth, ne, but these guys they were telling me ‘if you talk truth, they are going to sentence you to twenty-five years. They are going to do this and this to you and... and we, we don’t know you, we leave you here.’ I started to be afraid, hauu, twenty-five years. I am going to leave my mother and my children. My mother, she was seventy-three years [at the time]. And I have five children. And I am separated from their father. I say, hauu, it is going to be bad, twenty-five years... So, they started to provoke me: ‘don’t tell these people truth, say you don’t know us and we don’t know you and they can’t sentence us. Aisch, but earlier I was telling the police that I know everything, ne. After they took us to that police station, they took us to parade [suspect line-up]. That people [the victims], they point to accused number one. They say, this one, we know her, she comes to buy livestock and milk sometimes. Accused number two and number three, we don’t know them, we can’t point to them. And then we went to court many times, until on the fourth of December they sentenced us. And we, we started to say ‘we don’t know each other, we didn’t make that case [crime]’. So, after they sentenced us and we came to prison, I was so cross.

Misinformation and lack of knowledge causes faulty decision making

6006. When I got the word of God, I start to worship with these people, the Kairos people. They were coming here to the prison, and I started to worship with them, and then I started to tell them ‘hauu, aisch, I am sorry. If maybe I was telling the court the truth, maybe they would have given me ten years, fifteen years is too much, maximum’. Those boys, they have told me that you must never do that [tell]; you must say you don’t know us. Look where I am, and it was the first time [first offence]. And I have left my children, five children with my mother who is seventy-six years now. My children are twenty, sixteen, fourteen, thirteen, and eleven. And they are suffering. When they come here to prison, I must take the money that I earn for washing [clothes] here for the white ladies [other inmates] and cleaning the bathrooms after them and give them [the children] the money.

Taking responsibility for own decisions

JD: Do you remember how the whole thing came about? You told me that you were battling to pay your school fees.

6007. Yeah, I didn't have the money for the school fees, and I was trying to run a spaza shop. People had taken credit from the spaza shop and failed to pay. I didn't have anything, you see, and my brother is dead and I am separated from my man and he is not supporting us. Until today, my mother supports me. Those children, she supports them with the money from her pension. It is very hard. And they are all at school. But the first-born has repeated standard ten twice, I don't know whether she has passed or failed. She says to me 'I am not going anymore to school', because she had failed to pass three subjects, so she is failing standard ten already. She was looking to go to hairdressing school, but I don't have money. She tried to get this marketing job but she didn't get the job. They are all eating the pension money and staying by my mother. Too much.

JD: Could you not find a job out there [before the crime]?

6008. No. I want to make a crèche when I get outside now. I want to open a crèche; I don't want to waste time by looking for a job. Immediately when I get out of here, I will start to draw and make the boards, and put the boards outside and make a crèche. While in here, I am trying to learn, especially English. I am making [studying] English, history, criminal law, and criminology. I have passed criminal law, criminology, and English, now I am making history. Next year I am going to take statute law and mercantile law. I want to know about law for what I want to do with the crèche. I want to teach these children everything. To be wise, not to be like us who were not knowing nothing and doing things in the dark. You see, to do things, you are in darkness, and you maybe thought you are clever and look now where you are. Now we are suffering and our children are suffering more.

JD: So you think perhaps if you had known more about the law, you wouldn't have done your crime?

Effect of imprisonment on the prisoner's family

Life-planning and goal-setting

6009. I would never have done a crime. When I get that side here [came to prison], I will never do it again. Even if I open a crèche, I will go with the people that go to the prisons over weekends and preach and tell people why it is bad, and it is wasting your time. You waste your time, you have cried, you have stayed in prison and you have seen all those things. One day I want to go even to the people who are on trial to tell them 'when you enter you can talk truth once [from the start], they sentence you that time, they sentence you no problem. Don't deny your case and say I don't know nothing, I don't know these people. Tell them. Talk truth once. It is wrong to lie when you have done it, you see'. It is very wrong, and it is wasting a lot of time.

JD: You have got about seven years left in here, how are you going to use that time, what do you need to learn to make you the best you can be when you go out?

6010. I want to learn teaching. I want the certificate of crèche. I have asked my people to bring me my references, and on Sunday they were bringing my ID book, and I want to joint this course [for running a] crèche. You see that [course] they call day-care, I want to learn that. I don't know how long it takes, but I want to learn that in here. I am in grade ten now, ne, and then next year I want to make these last two subjects, mercantile law and statutory law, then after that I will go to grade twelve. And then in grade twelve, I am going to take all of these courses, like history, criminal law, criminology, statute law, English. Maybe next year I will take seven subjects. Because I want to preach and teach people what is happening.

JD: Which church do you belong to?

Becoming a mentor

Goal-setting

<p>6011. St. John's apostolic church. I grew up in St. Paul church, and when I was older I went to St. John. But they are both apostolic churches.</p>	<p>Belonging to a community</p>
<p>JD: Before you came in here, did you have many friends?</p>	
<p>6012. I am not a person for friends. Even here in prison, I don't have friends. Having friends is not my thing. A lot of time, I am lonely, I sell something, like second-hand clothes because I was trying to make money for my children.</p>	
<p>JD: Whom do you go to when you are in trouble or need help? Whom do you talk to?</p>	
<p>6013. Aisch, I was telling my mother if I had a problem. I have got my [older] sister here in Thembisa. If maybe I was too much stressed, I visited her. And she helps me.</p>	<p>Negotiating relationships</p>
<p>JD: Is there anything else you'd like to tell me?</p>	
<p>6014. What I want to tell you is that when I am getting out of prison, I will never do crime anymore. And maybe people are even fighting, I will never stand between these people and say [intervene]. I don't want nothing to do with that, I want to be far away from crime. And I will never have time to make a crime now. On weekends I want to go with these people to prison and preach for the people in prison and tell them what's happening, because I have been here. I know, you are wasting time. You waste your family's time.</p>	<p>Accessing external support</p>

6015. You are suffering and your family is suffering. Your children are suffering. What if maybe my mother can die? What are the children going to do? They are going to suffer more, because they live with only that money of pension, they don't sell nothing. At break time [school] they are eating at home, the schools are too far away [from home]. The little ones eat soft porridge in the morning before they go to school, they just play at break time, not eating nothing [cries]. You see, so I will never do it again. The children are suffering because of this [crime]. You think that you are clever, and look now where you are.

JD: When you decided to go with these guys to commit the crime, you never discussed it with anybody first?

6016. No. And I only knew the one guy. I wanted to help my children, parents are supposed to help their children. But now I am here and they are suffering more. If I could have got a job, I would have worked.

JD: Before you came here, how many years of schooling did you have?

6017. I made standard seven. My mother was working at the hospital, and she was old and was getting a pension. She was suffering. My father was having a lot of women; he was not staying with us and was separated from my mother. So I had to go out and help because my mom couldn't afford to keep me in school.

JD: Did you have all five children with one man?

Effect of imprisonment on the prisoner's family

Effect of limited education

6018. The first one I had at school, but these four were with the same man. It didn't last with him. He was making a divorce first with three women, and he had one child with each. I am the fourth woman to have children with him. I believed that it would last, but I was stupid. We were married in community of property, and I don't know what happened after we separated in 1995, I didn't attend court. I don't know if we are now divorced. He was drinking too much liquor, and he didn't maintain the children. From the start when I was staying with him, he was not supporting the children. Until today, he is not supporting children. He is still alive but his children are suffering.

JD: Why did you choose him as your man?

6019. Unfortunately, so stupid at that time, I was nineteen years old. Since I have been in prison, I start to realise what happened when I met that man. I was so stupid to live with that man. He had lived with three women before me. I was a little girl from school, he was eleven years older than me, but I allowed him to marry me. And he had lost three women and three children, how could I allow him to marry me? I didn't see that, but I see now. But I was young. Sometimes I say that prison has helped me. But this sentence, it is long. I see many things now, I cry a lot, and I have shame and I can see that the thing that I have done is wrong. I see things that I didn't see before. And I am different now. I judge myself. Aisch, I was doing this, not doing that [reflecting], such a thing... it will never be like that again [learning from mistakes]. I have taken myself to troubles, and my children and family are now suffering. If I were like this [then], I would never have allowed him to be my man. But now it is [too] late, I am in prison... sitting here.

JD: Imagine, if you had to choose another man when you leave here, what would you look for in him?

Choosing a life-partner

Prison time is time for reflexivity

6020. You can ask people in my cell. I tell them every day that I can't take a man anymore. But if I had to, I would like a man who likes to worship, not drinking, not smoking, and doesn't have other women. Maybe someone whose woman is dead [widower]. I don't like divorcees anymore. A man who will accept that I have got five children. And he will hold my family nicely [money]. And maybe if he has children, we would sit down and make a plan to make it together and take care of them. But I am not so enticed to have a man; I want to help my children to live happily. I want to be a happy family with my children. Because I hear inside prison that many women's men abuse their children while they are here. Now they are doing a long sentence, and their men are starting to hit the children, and maybe kill one of the children. Or the men were abusing the children, and they were sentenced with the man. And I think, I can't go to prison for [what] a man [did]. [Long pause]

JD: Is there anything else you'd like to talk about?

6021. Last time the [prison] nurses took my bloods, they told me that I am HIV positive. Look now where I am. Maybe I will die here and not go out to my children. I don't feel sick, but my problem is over here [shows me a twelve by twelve area on the back of her skull that is tender and grey in colour], You see here, it hurts badly. And it doesn't go away; it is just staying like that. I am taking medication for it. Before, I was taking antibiotics but they gave me more pain, so they gave me these small yellow tablets, and they stopped some of the pain. It worries me, because it pains every day, I don't sleep on this side because it is paining. And I cut my hair off because it made it worse. The doctor says I can't get better because I am HIV positive. I don't know how I got the HIV, because I only found out in here when they took the blood. Before [coming to prison] I wasn't sick, I was just a fresh person [cries].

The session ended with some AIDS counselling and containment work, which is not included here as it is not relevant to the research.

Discovering what you value in - and want from others

Need for medical attention and HIV/AIDS counselling

4.1.7 Interview with Petronila. 16-09-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Petronila, a thirty-two year old woman from South America, who is in prison for drug smuggling. As this was the first time of meeting Petronila, she was briefed in detail about the purpose for the interview before starting the tape recording.

Table 4.7 Interview with Petronila

Interview 7	Concepts
<p>7019. Long time ago, when I was nineteen I got my diploma. We [in South America] don't have certificate, we have diploma for matric. So, we have to learn many things, and your mind is open, not like here, you see. So, I wanted to study law, but my mother said that I am not going to the capital because I am too naughty [laughs], very naughty. And then she talked to my father, and my father just said 'no, you are not going to the capital'. So, they took me to where my sister was, and they chose for me what I was going to study. They chose public relations, and in a way it was not me, in a way it was them. Because I was naughty and they were thinking that I was going to come with a big story, that this was going to be the big diploma for them. So, they tried to avoid all those things and put me there with my sister, and in the end of the day, look where I am, - in here [prison].</p> <p>7020. We were becoming nouveau riche, coming from upper middle class. Six cars, and my father was a womaniser, yeah, he liked women and liked to touch here and there. And then when I started to go to the university, I stopped, and I found a friend of my sisters and then we would go to the disco. From Monday to Monday to the disco. So after that, I found this type of people, they were sniffing cocaine. And when I took the friend of my sister to my parents, it was OK that my friends used to tell me that I was addicted, because they sort of heard that I was addicted. By that time, I was naï ve, I was nineteen.</p>	<p>Negotiating parental expectations and demands</p> <p>Effect of parental values</p>

7021. So, I was naïve, because everything my father gave us, education in private school, private high school, and private university. It was not boarding school, not like here. It is just a private school, you go there, and you see all these people they are living in companies [family groups], the children are there. So, you don't see much ...prostitution or gays or whatsoever. When I got into the mini-metropolis [town], it was totally different. Everything started to change. I started to be with the wrong people, and then I found this person that I was really in love with. And then they told me about the trips [drug smuggling] that I could do. And I did it, cocaine. I did it, and I was smoking too much heavy, heavy, heavy cocaine.

JD: Why did you do it, was it exciting?

7022. You know, this whole different life was exciting, totally different. From being in the womb of your mother and father's house, from being dependent, from being so fat I didn't have a normal life... Because I was fat, fat, so fat. I love beauty, you see. So I was in love with a very handsome man, but the man was gay. He was fucking the arses of other people, but he didn't fuck me. I was with him for three years. He did not fuck me, he never fucked me. He never kissed me, but I was loving him so much. So I did trips. The first trip that I did, I did it with him. The second trip I did alone. And the next, and the next. Ask me if I had money, I didn't have fuck-all because I spent it all on him. Clothing, parties, I had no money at all.

Overprotection doesn't prepare you for adult life

Need for acceptance causes vulnerability to peer pressure

7023. That time it was like it was going to last forever. When the money was finished, he would tell me to do another trip. Don't hesitate, just go. For me, to be on another continent, like Europe, it was like wow, you know. And then you were crazy, you put everything on like silver [outfit and jewellery], and then you are at the airport, and you are asking for help. So it was nice, you have jumped; you do it, even though my father did give me the education. And I was asking him to stop because I was going to the disco. I had told him. And he pointed a finger at me and said 'you never ever tell nobody that I didn't want to give you an education'. I said 'but it is better that I tell you that you mustn't waste this money, because I am not going to the university'. So he said 'all right, that is your own choice, it is your own destiny, you must know what you are doing'. So, I left the studies, and I go do whatever I had to do, until I came here.

JD: So, you had the choice of going for the bright lights, the silver outfits, and the great fun, or studying at university. If you think about it now, how do you feel about it?

7024. You know what, I always think that whatever I do in life, I will not regret it. Ok, maybe he [father] wanted me to study. But I decided not to study. So now I come here. I was not speaking English at all, nothing. So for seven month I tried, learning the past, present, and future tenses. So, I came here in 1997, they sentenced me in 1998, and I go to school. But, it doesn't matter if you go to school, it is the knowledge that you have. This is why I tell these people it is better if you know how to write and read, and to have a calculator and know the numbers. But they don't know nothing, most of them. So, whatever I have and whatever I achieve, here, it was only because of me. It is not because of this place or another place. No.

Ability to recognise long-term consequences of behaviour

Accepting responsibility for one's decisions

7025. And you want to know if they give you any, like, esteem, like 'you can do it'. No, they don't do it. If you are studying [they say] ach, what do you think is more important for these people, the security or for you to go to a stupid psychologist'. I tell them 'I would like to go to the 'stupid' psychologist, and enough about the security reasons, because I am here, I am not gone. I am here and I don't care about your security, because that is not my business and my problem. My problem here, and for you to know, is that people need rehabilitation, they don't need to be counted as a cow. No.

Lack of encouragement from members

7026. For so many years I fight this thing about 'what colour are you'. I used to say 'I am a human being'. When I was incarcerated I was shocked that every day they asked me what colour I am. And I used to say to them 'I am not a colour. If you want to put me by the Blacks, I am black. If you want to put me by the Whites, I am white. I don't care. I am a human being, so wherever you want to put me, put me there. And don't ask me the same question!' For eleven months. They used to ask me what I am. So I used to tell them 'I am from XXX, I am a Spanish woman. They used to get a fright, because now they have put me by the Whites, and it is a shock for them because I am not a white person. So it is something very stupid and ridiculous for me.

Members using offensive racial divisions

7027. I have seen the position of the people here, and I really do understand it, because it is not easy to live in a country like here and see all these injusticed people. For instance, I cannot blame you for what your mother or your father did, you understand. I cannot. And I told them [other inmates] that these things change, because in my country it was also like that, because the European people got there, and we were Indians. And we changed, and there was nothing we could do about it. It happened, and it is in the past, it is history for us. Now, like here, it will come, in ten years time, fifty years time, a hundred years time, these people cannot be bitter, because now they are bitter inside. The people inside [the prison] are bitter like that. I have a friend, and she says it was so bad to run because the people were coming with the teargas and they wanted to kill them... they are Blacks. So, at the end of the day you feel for them. But as I say to them 'it is finished, Mandela has put a stop [to it], he did it, so we must congratulate him because it was the best thing that he could do.' But now, we have no knowledge.

Need to educate on racial tolerance and understanding to avoid bitterness and resentment

7028. This is what lots of the Black members here... they think they have power, and they treat you as bad because they think they are better than us, because we are criminals. No, that is not the thing; the thing is for them to know that we are here to be rehabilitated. How we can be rehabilitated here, how? If the person [member] is standing there saying in your face that 'education, what is that?' because they don't have [education]. Ninety percent of these members are Black, and what you can see is that they don't care about education.

Members use reverse apartheid

<p>7029. Mrs. XXX, the captain, she tells me ‘kwere-kwere, where do I find that word in the dictionary?’ No one should call another person kwere-kwere, not a role model. A kwere-kwere is a person that does not speak their language [an derogatory term denoting someone from another country, an invader not to be trusted]. So, for my knowledge, you are a kwere-kwere. Each an every person is a kwere-kwere, because there are Zulu, Sotho, Venda, Xhosa, whatsoever. All of them are kwere-kwere. In my knowledge... whatever knowledge I have in my brains, everybody is kwere-kwere. So why insult another person? Why call them that, when in the meantime you have a name, you have a [prison] number? I have a number, so if I don’t like a member I will tell the member ‘I am not kwere-kwere, I am not ‘hey’, I am not poppie, I am number XXX so if you can name me that it is ok I will understand you. But do not call me something that I am not. The racism is too much, it is heavy here.</p>	<p>Usage of derogatory term for non-citizens, disrespectful name-calling</p>
<p>7030. But I am in my own world, because I am fucking smoking dagga to cool down and not to break something. In 1998 I tried Mandrax, but it is so ‘kak’ because people cheat, they mix it with some white powder and they are untidy and ugly, not organised. The drug is very dirty.</p>	<p>Using dagga to cool down</p>
<p>7031. I have been smoking cocaine for so long, but the last time I smoked cocaine was on the third of November 1997. It was the time that I was in the airport [smuggling drugs]. I smoked it right there, and I come her to this fucking prison [laughs], ten months at Kroonstadt [prison] and then I come here, nearly five years I have been here. I wanted to go to another prison, but they didn’t allow me because I am a foreigner and I am not allowed to go and ‘explore’ another prison, because I was sentenced here and I have to be here. So there is nothing that I can do. I am going crazy here. I have a friend here that is also giving me... she needs help but there is nobody here to help her.</p>	<p>Rules for non-citizens</p>

7032. I mean, if you can see... whatever we do here is nothing for them. I feel that for all the people that work in the prison [members] we are nothing. So, I feel proud of myself because in five years I have learned to speak English. Ok, I am not a good speaker, but I can have a good conversation with somebody, and that somebody can understand me. And if they don't understand me, I make sure they will understand me because I will explain to them in detail. So, I have started computer [course], I thank [the psychologist] for that. I fight with the educationists, I fight with everybody, I fight, I strive for education. What my family gave me [for free], I now fight here for.

Need for respect and encouragement from members

7033. I say to them 'I can never go to my country without knowledge, I don't want to work at a local factory, I don't want to work in the laundry'. Because I did not come here to work. I don't want a cleaning course, because I haven't come to this world to clean. I don't want any of these sort of courses that we are doing here, because they are not helping you or nothing. The other day I was shocked, because the prison wrote 'cleaner' [on her document]. No, that is not a course for them.

Realistic goal setting and appropriateness of courses

JD: So what kind of courses are you looking for?

7034. I am looking for a course that I can implement when I go to the outside. Like e.g. accountancy, criminology, something that is going to be helpful for me. Like for instance I don't put myself that I can go outside and work in the house of another person. Because I have my own goals and dreams and everything. I want a mansion, I want a Rolls Royce, I want a Ferrari, and I will get it. Because I go here and there and I know how to shop around and talk. So English is very good for me.

Need to learn realistic goal setting

<p>7035. My goal is to go to Miami, to find a good job, a start. I don't like to be a secretary, those types of things. But I will find something, like here... If I am a translator I will earn R500, - in one day. Or whoever is the victim that day is going to be like that. Because here I know very well that a translator in court, they pay him maybe per day R5000, -. Just to translate for me, for you, for murderer, for a lot of people. For each person it is R500, - so it is ok. So my knowledge is fine, because it is a living, you understand. So, something like that is going to be ok. Like, I am studying computers; I have books, and everything that I need. I don't need any other courses.</p>	<p>Need for career knowledge</p>
<p>7036. But in any case... last year they were giving a lot of courses, like cooking, computers, and they told me straight away that I am not a South African person. They need the development of South African people, so this is why they cannot help me to do any course. No course, no nothing. So I say that they caught me here, and I am here in this prison, so what am I supposed to do for ten years, study matric? That is the only thing I can do. I can never study matric for ten years. I have to have knowledge for these people for these people [the parole board], so that when I go outside they won't kick me in [to prison] again. Because if I don't have anything here that I can put into practice on the outside, what can I do?</p>	<p>Non-citizens' lack of access to courses</p>
<p>7037. What did they teach me here – how to smuggle! How to smuggle, the nice way to smuggle, I am meeting people here who tell me the techniques and whatsoever, how to [commit] fraud and so on.</p>	<p>Learning corrupt practices in prison</p>
<p>7038. So, why do they not keep the minds of the prisoners to work [busy], letting the brains burn, because they told me your brains burn every day? But you have to burn it, how to you learn, how do you get the knowledge? Here, they don't want to give us the knowledge. So there are so many [bad] things that are here, and nothing will change it, nothing.</p>	<p>Effect of idleness</p>

7039. For me to have respect for somebody, that person has to respect me back. So I believe that the head of the prison is not a very good example for me. Whatever she is doing... if a person comes here, she puts you down. So I don't think she will come back to the prison. Because you don't want another person to put you down. This is why sometimes you have to be by yourself because lots of these people they don't understand you; they don't know what you are talking about because they don't have no knowledge.

JD: What kind of knowledge?

7040. Like, for instance, I like old people because you can learn much from them. Old white people. Because they have knowledge, they can just tell you... advise you. Things that you can never hear from a black person because they don't have it [the knowledge]. They are here for their own mistakes, that is why... what made them to be here. Because of the husband, the culture. Here we talk so much about culture [pause] and tradition. What tradition do these people have? Yes, they are having this education, like 'can you please pass me the cello tape', they pass it and they do this as respect, as education.

7041. But then they don't have the brains, maybe you make a mistake, and you say something hurtful. You can go and say please forgive me, it was not my intention. They will never understand that. Because they take the first thing [you say], and you try to understand that it is not like that, it is like this. They won't, their brains are very soft. So, at the end of the day, you are living with criminals, and you never know when these people want revenge, they like revenge. And you never know where or when this person is going to jump and stab you or whatever, ...for one mistake. You understand. In the meantime, you think you are protected here, you are not! Otherwise you are here, but the woman that burned the face of the other woman, she was terrible.

Members need to model respectful attitude

Misperceptions about other cultures

Perception that Blacks cannot forgive and want revenge

JD: Did it happen recently?

7042. Yeah, it was last year. The woman.... With a kettle of boiling water. So, we are eating here, and living. And we are staying with these people. Lots of people they do that [take revenge], I know them, but other people don't know what they are like on the inside. Because they have so much revenge inside them. They have that thing that... because most of the people here think they are beautiful, you understand. They see themselves as beautiful because they are [black], so we can't say anything against them. They can say 'I am so beautiful, and I am going to 'work' this prison'. So, I would like to be out all the time, out of the cells, out of the section. But you can't, because each and every section, they have their own rules. And they tell you straight away that you are wrong for wanting to separate, it will never happen. Because you try, you live there, and nobody can help you. Because they are there to tell you what to do. [They say] 'you don't come here [to another section], where's your member, kwere-kwere, and so on. So this is something like mental abuse, verbal abuse. Like, for instance, when I came here, I was innocent.

7043. Yes, I was doing what I was doing [drug smuggling] and nobody can tell me that a very strong drug can kill, because I was sometimes... The last time that I was having it, for sixteen days I was smoking it, I was cooking it, I was smoking and cooking it for sixteen days, and I did not die. I lived. So, the punishment for us [drug traffickers] is too big. I don't know the reasons of these people [the judge]. I don't consider myself a criminal, I did bring the fucking drugs, I did. I can guarantee you that if the mind of the person is very poor, and is not strong, he is going to die. He is coming down. And yes, there are some people that can lose everything to the drugs, so each and everything you do in life, you have to limit it yourself. If you don't know how to limit yourself, you are coming down, even if it is dagga, even if it is cigarettes, even if it is whatever. You are coming down.

Fear of violence, retribution and revenge amongst prisoners

Need for understanding of social repercussions of the crime

7044. So, I have tried to explain to these people that it is not the drug that kills; it is the brains that is killing these people. It is not the drug. Because I did it, I smoked it until I couldn't smoke anymore. Because they were giving it to me, just like that [snaps her fingers]. Six, seven fingers. Each finger sometimes is thirteen grams. So, thirteen times seven...

JD: How does that work...seven fingers?

7045. They take a surgical glove, cut the fingers, stamp it down [the cocaine]. It must be well done. Then you wrap it in cling-foil, very well. Because the acid in the stomach is strong and it can break the glove. You have to put it in a glove five times, five layers, so that it can be ok. So, they were giving it to us, and I used to just smoke and smoke and smoke and smoke. And I was not eating. You know I was fat, I was very fat, and I was smoking so I lost all my kilos in three months, incredible. I think I have picked up more kilos here. Now, I had problems with my hormones, so they give me tablets and I am picking up [weight] no matter what I eat, I just pick up. But all my life I was a fat woman, and I didn't care. I just dressed as I wanted to dress. There were some people that asked me 'how can you have so much confidence in yourself to put these things on [clothes] and not hide yourself'. I said to them 'when you have been like this forever, you can't hide it anymore. So if the people have to talk, let them talk! If people want to see, let them see! I just want to be a normal person, and if I am fat, I am fat, what can I do?' But, you know, one thing for sure, that it is not my mother and it is not my father that gave me the brains.

Learning to stop rationalising criminal behaviour

Effect of poor self-image

7046. I hear so many stories here about how the people do a blowjob for R1 or fuck for R5. I say all the time, 'don't take drugs to an extreme, that you must just take the dick of a person suck it. Agh, I can't... that I can't. It is like, it is the same at my boyfriends when I was nineteen. My boyfriend was sixteen. He was a very good-looking guy. My younger sister got jealous and said 'this fat, ugly, woman, how could she take a man like that'. So, my boyfriend had a baby from this person [her sister], but he never saw the baby again. After that, it was two years, and I met this man and then when I was twenty-three I started these trips. When I was twenty-five I got arrested. This year, in December, I am going to be thirty-three. My God, I am out of the calendar [laughs].

Compromising oneself to support drug habit

7047. So, to tell you the truth, yes I can handle the situation, and sometimes I would like to... I would like to have a house that I can just say 'oh, fuck you', 'fuck this, it is ok, whatever is ok'. You are in an environment [prison] where you don't know what's going down. You see, members, they are just after you, but you don't have the woman, that specific woman that you want to see. So, it is so many things, that I say 'but why do you put me here?' Why do you put me into this world? To come here to do what? Because it was not ok on the outside. Where is it ok, where? I know that my mistakes are wrong or whatever. But what can we do here? Ok, I have got to be here five years, I never had a lover, it is like I am a stranger. I am a strange person.

Need to have control over one's environment

JD: Because you haven't had a lover?

7048. Yes. Most people have. Do you know what I have realised here? There are some women that have babies, they usually get AIDS, but they don't care, they just want a fuck. They just want to relieve whatever is inside them. It is not about love, it is not about 'I really love this person', no. It is about 'what do you have in your pocket, or what ring [jewellery] I can take from you, or what food you can give me, so that I can fuck you very nicely [in return]'. I can't do that! [Laughs, embarrassed], I really... I can't... I will eat this fucking food that they [prison] give us every day, I will eat it until I go out of here. But I can't do things like that [sexual favours] for nothing [any price].

Sexuality as drive and source of power

7049. I can't just lick a pussy of a woman for money. And then when the money gets finished, I must go suck again! No, I can't. So, a lot of these people... this is what I was telling you about... the culture. Most of these black people are the people that are in love. But they have husbands outside. They have babies outside.

Sexual deprivation forces women to change sexual orientation

7050. I told them that I don't care what I do, and they mustn't care what I do in this life, because I don't have a person [child] that is going to say 'hey, you are not giving me the right example, you are my mother, and you are not giving me the example [role-model to follow]', so I can just be free, you understand. Whatever I say to people, I think they make it, and I say it will pass and you will talk your tongue gets finished. And I will go to my country, and you will never ever see me again. So don't compare me with you, because we are so much different, we are different. I am far away from my family; I am thousands and thousands of kilometres away from my family.

Need to be role models to one's children on the outside

JD: Is that hard?

7051. It is, but in the meantime I think it is ok. Because I can see how people here, with the family just five minutes away from jail, they have five years here where they [the family] don't come [visit]. So tell me something, how hard is it on the outside that you cannot come here to see your own daughter, or your own baby that is here, crying for attention? I always say to the people 'don't think that I am in love with you'. I have been in love with a person for four years, but that person doesn't want me. I would just like to figure out why not. I am so ugly, or I don't have brains, what is the problem? So, sometimes I say it is because of this, they [the family] don't come they don't see how is their child. So, I put myself in that position, and I just say 'thank you Lord' because it will be very heartbreaking if I was there [in prison] in my own country and my family didn't come and visit me. It is like I am nothing, you understand. So, here I have realised that my family cares about me; they ask where I am... of course... in five years. My parents don't know where I am. They know that I am in South Africa. They don't know that I am in prison. They think that I am working, and they know that I am studying, but they don't know where I am.

JD: So, do you phone them?

7052. No. Now I am waiting for the embassy to call. [the psychologist] hasn't been here; he has been away for a long time. But the embassy was supposed to come last week. My embassy gave my toiletries to the embassy of Brazil [in South Africa] almost two months ago; I still haven't received the parcel. And I get annoyed by [the psychologist], because he goes. He has just had an operation on the teeth, and he was just like that because of his teeth. He calls the person [from the embassy] and says he mustn't come, so how do you think we must meet? I am a smoker. I was doing so many things [drugs] in life that I say 'ok, let me just handle it with the cigarettes', but I don't think I can handle it anymore.

Fear of family's rejection

Limited communication between embassy and prison creates practical problems

7053. If I don't smoke... I have to smoke, I have to smoke something. I was a drug addict, you understand, so if I don't smoke I get mad and I don't want to talk to anybody. It is not moody; I don't like the talk of these people. They talk about moody. I say to them 'you can't just laugh with me the whole day, it won't work for me'. Because you just wake up like that? No, maybe a drink, maybe a smoke makes you change, but my mood can't just change like that, radically [snaps her fingers] because I want to be moody. These people they take everything like, I don't know, they are eating chocolate every day. Moody, they don't understand the meaning of 'moody'. I don't understand it, because how can you call a person a moody. My mood can change because of one person. And my mood can change because of one word. Or my mood can change because of a dream. They talk about dreams. I have been dreaming funny things. The other day, I dreamed that I have a penis. A long penis, what is this? I am going mad here. Do you think I am going mad?

JD: It sounds like you are equipping yourself with the tools you need in your dream.

7054. Yeah. I think that is another thing. Aisch, you know, in a way I don't think prison can rehabilitate nobody. I think the only person who can rehabilitate you is yourself.

JD: And what does that take?

Using drugs to manage emotions

Prisoner must be responsible for her own rehabilitation

7055. That takes [pause]... ok; it takes a lot of things. Because you have to concentrate on your studies, but if there are members, you want to just kill them because of the way they are. Because they don't want to accept, like for instance if you have something, like a course or something, it is like you are bothering them. Because they cannot get it, understand it. So, you have to be very strong. You are the person who must say 'you must let me do something'. You can even try to talk to the person who was on this course with me, like XXX, or like XXX, and you can speak with them. And you can see the level of knowledge that they have. The way that they speak, of course you can see that they are not literate. I can talk literacy, and a bit about art, and I try my best to pronounce. It is the way that you are. But, if you don't care, you will talk: 'me...go...kitchen'.

Daring to dream and have high aspirations

7056. It is only you and your goals; no other person can make a difference. What you want in life. You want a house with a husband, any husband. And you want a small car. Believe you me; you are going to be like that. Your aspirations are too low. So, I think it is only you, what do you have in your head. What kind of education, background, did they give you for you to learn and for you to change your own life? It is only you [who can do that] there is no other person. There is not a psychologist, there is not. Because there is nothing here like that. It is only you, and by reading, and by doing things that you think is going to make you better, to better yourself.

Learning about self-reliance

JD: You were talking about that you want to go to Miami, and the kind of house and nice cars you want. You have got high aspirations. How does that work when you have got a prison sentence on your record?

7057. You see, that is so easy. Very easy. Because I am thirty-one years old, and I don't have money, and maybe if I can find a man, I will move, maybe. It must be an old man; it **must** be an old man. If it doesn't happen that way, I have to scale up. This person... I am going to stand on top of her, because there is no other way. I am too old to start from zero. I don't want a lover, because I can see that it doesn't function for me. It doesn't. Whatever I have... maybe you give me this thing, immediately I give it to the person I love so much.

Authenticity and social conscience

7058. So I don't want [to be] a mother, I don't want to have a person who is going to – you know- bother me. That means a baby. I don't think I want a baby, to bring a baby into this world, I don't think I want to. Because of whatever is happening here. It is too much. Like, for instance, here in South Africa, to have a baby you have to protect that baby. It is like you have to stay inside, and lock the baby up, because you don't know who's going to rape it, who's going to do something to that baby, and who's going to feel for that baby, it is only you. And to just leave this thing, to have to... I don't want it. I love the babies.

JD: It sounds like you are talking about a different world as well. When you talk about how it would be to bring a baby up in South Africa, it also sounds like you are saying that you are saying that if you were in South America you would have an extended family situation. You would have people that cared about that baby apart from yourself. Is that what you say?

7059. Yes. But because I like things, I go away from my family. And I was even with the family of these men [boyfriends]. I was inside a family where there was no discipline. Whatever was coming out from their mouth was like you hear a real Coloured [vernacular language]. So, I was learning very dirty vocabulary, and I was learning very bad ways. From the family of the boyfriend. So I was living with this man and he did not fuck me, he did not kiss me, I was loving this man so much. If I did just see him, it was ok. So, that means that I can go without it [sex]. I really can go without it. I don't care, I just want my goals to come true and **then** I will think about it. Not now when I don't have nothing.

Managing the fear of living in a society with crime and violence

Managing and discerning bad influences

7060. And to give more headaches to my family, I don't want that. This is one of the reasons I told my sister 'If you are going to tell my parents where I am, just forget about me, because you won't see me again. Because that is me. They will know, of course they will know where I was for five years, but not while I am here. Because they are suffering. But they are not suffering the way that I am suffering. So, I don't want them to suffer. I don't want them to worry. It is ok, like it is a saviour, waiting for the embassy to come, so maybe if they bring telephone cards I can phone my family, and I can just talk with them. They will ask 'when are you coming home?' And I will say I don't know at this stage, but I don't want to lie to them. So, it is better to keep quiet. And I will explain everything when I go there. Because whatever I did, I did it, you understand. I put my two feet in the cake, and I must now take my feet from that cake and clean them. Otherwise my mother like, for instance, will have to be something again for me and call out 'ohhh, my daughter, she is suffering'. No, I don't want that. That is why I said to these people 'I don't want a 'shame' from you, I don't want anybody to say 'shame'. I hate that word, you know. I don't like pity. And the way they say it, like 'shaaame'. It is like it extends. So, if I want to cry, I close myself in the bathroom [behind the curtain] and I cry. I cry at night, and where the big bullies cannot see me. And [the psychologist] has seen me crying. Because I couldn't handle the situation. But I hate to do that. I hate it, and I hate a person to say 'shaaame'. Because I don't feel pity for myself.

JD: I obviously don't know you apart from the bit that I have seen you in [the psychologist] office, but it is almost like there are two people when I listen to you. There is this very calculating person who says 'I want a big house, cars, I am going to get it all, I have got it all planned. This old man is going to provide me with money for this and... this is the life I want. And then there is this other person that is so passionate that she will be with a guy for three years, even if they have no sex, and she will follow him even if she learns bad manners and stupid habits by being with him. So there are these two people?

Protecting one's family from the stigma and pain of a loved one in prison

7061. Yes!!! And I am fighting with this person who is so stupid, the emotional one. You know, all my things, like I cannot contain... hold my tongue. If I have to say something, I will say it. And then I will say I am very sorry, but I have to say it because I was going to leave this thing and then I don't. I have learned too much here. The people here, they are very rude. And my boyfriend, he was also very rude, too rude. And I don't want to live like that anymore. There is a person, and I really like that person, but I can't get her, so... I would rather just live like that [alone], you know. Because I really don't want to miss whatever I have in my head.

Discovering what one wants from others

7062. My project is to go and have a work [job] that I feel is fine that way. But I have to get a lot of money, so I don't want just somebody for the sake of sex. And I don't want any love, because I give everything [away to that person], so I don't want that. So, it is better for me to just go with the flow.

Becoming financially independent

7063. I don't know if I am so stupid or what, if I love you very much, and I can see that you need a telephone card, I can sell my tablets [hormone medication] and I can go and ask for a telephone card, and I can give the telephone card for you to feel happy. That is the person that I am. But here [in prison], I don't get back, no return.

Learning to give only what is not detrimental to oneself

JD: Either people give too much, or give nothing, there is no in between?

7064. There is nothing. It is like you are stupid or something is wrong in your head. I hate myself to be like that. I want to be stronger. I really would like to change that. Because if I am going to be like that, I will lose everything. So if I am there, I am on top, how can I lose?

JD: So, rehabilitation for you would be around emotional maturity, emotional wisdom, about learning to handle your feelings? It seems you need to learn to deal with your emotions, to not let them run off with you. Either you cut them off, or they overwhelm you.

7065. Yes. But, how can I do it, because there is not a person that can teach me. If I am happy, I am happy, so happy. And if I am sad, I am so sad; I am down there. I don't understand why I am never normal. It is impossible to be like that, because my emotions are too much over me. And I have to settle it, settle it, just to cut it like this. And I mustn't give too much, and I mustn't love too much. That is the whole thing.

The interview ended with an agreement to discuss further at a later stage if the need arose in terms of the research.

Dealing with emotional lability

4.1.8 Interview with Lerato. 16-09-2002.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the first interview with Lerato, a twenty-six year old Tswana/Xhosa woman, who is in prison for drug smuggling. As Lerato was only briefly counselled once on a Diepkloof staircase by this researcher and therefore has no knowledge of the research focus, she was given a detailed account of the purpose of the interview before starting the tape recording.

Table 4.8 Interview with Lerato

Interview 8	Concepts
<p>JD: What area are you from?</p>	<p>Needing to feel a sense of belonging</p>
<p>8001. I was actually born here in Soweto. My Father is Tswana, but we were brought up in a Xhosa environment on my mother's side.</p>	
<p>JD: If you think of your background in terms of how you landed up in here, can you see any threads? What kind of background did you have?</p>	
<p>8002. You know, I was talking to my sister on Sunday; she was here to visit me. We started talking about the way we were brought up. We are very different, the two of us, and I am more the rebellious one. And we were trying to analyse why [she had ended up in prison]. I never actually liked staying at home, because I felt that I didn't belong. I am actually from a second marriage of my mother. I wasn't told that, and I look different from my family. I look exactly like my dad, and my sisters and my brothers don't look anything like me.</p>	
<p>JD: How old were you when you found out, and how did you find out?</p>	

8003. Ahem... I found out when I was twenty-two... the whole truth. Then I was happy, because I really needed to find out. Because it was starting to burden me. And I thought I was old enough to ask them [laughs]. I was bold enough to ask my family what was happening. So, it was because of that, yeah, I think that was why I became rebellious. I didn't feel like I fitted in with my family, even when they did chores when we were kids, I would always be the odd one. I always had to be the odd one, I don't know why. And since then, I always felt that I wasn't part of the family. So, I was seventeen when I moved out of home, seventeen.

JD: Where did you go?

8004. Ah, I rented a house, in Soweto. I had just finished Matric, and I started working. And I was only going home [to the family] once in a while. I was working as a waitress and a part-time secretary at one of the surgeries in Soweto, where my sister works now. So, I was working as a part-time secretary. And during the week, after school hours, because I was studying at the same time, I was working in XXX in Sandton as a waitress. So, that is how I got in my money. And I did a bit of modelling, that was fun. My life was a bit picking up; I thought I knew where I was going. Picture this: I lived on my own, a happy home, comfortable, no stress, no people that I don't understand, until I was twenty. Then I started working for South African Airways.

JD: So that was three years that you led that life, and you were comfortable, you could manage everything? And your family, how did they take your move?

8005. Yeah, I was very comfortable. Ahem, to be quite honest, they weren't happy about it. But I couldn't be bothered at that present moment, I needed to get away.

Dealing with feeling different, the odd one out

Coping with rapid success

JD: So now you are twenty, and you go to South African Airways. Then what happens, what were you doing for them, secretarial work?

8006. No, I was flying, I was a flight attendant. That was a big step, and I was a little bit proud of myself. When I compare myself to my age group in prison, I feel proud. And then I broke up with my fiancé because of flying. I was doing too many international flights. It was like, my first true relationship; we were together for seven years. In fact since I was a baby, we were together for so many years. I have known him since high school, so we moved in together three months down the line, decided to get engaged.

Learning about prioritising

8007. And then I found that he was complaining about my flights. Then I found out he was cheating on me, so it became a whole mess. And then we ended up not tying the knot [marriage]. And then, I think... [long pause]... It destroyed me a bit, when I think about it now.

Dealing with infidelity

8008. Then, I could pick up the pieces, I quickly organised myself a [new] boyfriend, I tried to not dwell on it too much. I think if I had realised it [how she felt] and dealt with it then, I would have been ok now. But I never dealt with it then, I really started blocking things out. Just accepting it, ok, there is nothing I can do, I have to carry on.

Rebound relationships vs. dealing with the emotions

8009. That is when my life started going ... I don't know what happened, I started having a lot of friends, all of a sudden I was popular. I enjoyed it, it was nice, it was fun, and it was you know, everything was happening. I was getting promotions at work, I became on-board manager. Everything was just so quick. And then I met a friend, X, and she was living across from me at a block of flats.

Learning to deal with rapid success

8010. And then a couple of months down the line we became friends, and we were very close. She got suspended from work, for doing some illegal things. And then we went out socialising, she was all depressed that weekend. So I decided 'let's go down to Mpumalanga for the weekend', I will take her down there, and maybe she'll ...you know. Organise a few guys, have a good time. We went, and it was very nice, we had a lekker time.

Managing and discerning bad influences

8011. On the Monday when we came back, I was unpacking things. She came up to the flat first. When she came to her flat, it had been broken into. And actually, they cleaned her off. Everything, I mean, absolutely everything. Her clothes, underwear, even her couches. She had nothing. And then she was crying and crying. And then I told her that it was fine, she could come live with me because I was living alone. We lived together for about six months in the flat, and then I bought a townhouse, and she moved in with me in the townhouse. We were staying there, and everything was fine. And then she had a couple of friends; actually my friends were her friends. I wasn't a person for friends that much. I like to keep to myself. I have one person that I am always with, and then I have colleagues... you know, people that I socialise with once in a while. But I have never had a pack of friends that I am always with. But with her, she always had that. And for some reason, I felt that I belonged, I was appreciated. And I liked that, belonging and... you know, my saying that, I was given that space, when they wanted to do something, they consulted me first. It would be fun to do this and this and this. You know, it was like a bit of a family to me. And that is how we grew as friends, all of us.

Learning to give only what is not detrimental to oneself

8012. Now, one of our friends who was working and driving a RAV4, she was a couple of years older than us, she was staying in a nice townhouse here in XXX, she is also working for South African Airways, everything was fine, she was doing money. So, we all wanted to know why she was doing money like that. So, she told me why she was doing money [drug smuggling]. She asked me to go on a trip, and at first I didn't want to. I really didn't want to; because I thought it is going to mess up everything. But, she went on and on and on. It was nice, and in the meantime I was getting along very well. Meantime, it was what she [her flatmate] actually desired, making money. She is not working, she is living with me. She hadn't been working for a year now, and she has got a daughter.

Managing and discerning bad influences

8013. So we decided, ok then, because she also thought she didn't want to be a burden to me anymore, because I had been doing so much for her, looking after her child as well. And on top of that, I was kind of the breadwinner at home [parental home]. My sister is a nurse, and she is got two kids. And she is divorced. So, he doesn't have that much, and she is working for a private clinic. And my mom is quite old, my brother is in prison, so I was like... the only breadwinner at home. Anything they would need, I was there. So I thought 'you know what, I also need some help, I do need help actually'. Because now I also wanted a new car, and I wanted to do things for my nephews, I love my nephews, my sister's children, I love them so much. And I thought to myself 'ok, fine, I will do it for them [drug smuggling], and then we'll see what we are going to do'.

Learning to give only what is not detrimental to oneself

8014. And I was drinking too much. I became an alcoholic, I never realised it, I only saw it when I got here [to prison]. You get here, and everything just hits you. I was an alcoholic, I was living, working, having these parties, using alcohol, dagga, everything, I was into it. So, we were supposed to leave on the Sunday.

Managing drugs and alcohol

8015. On Saturday afternoon, that was when we made the decision that we were going to go. And I had a flight already arranged to Brazil, so we went and bought the ticket, went in front of this lady. Then I got drunk, threw up. I didn't have the guts to go through with it. So, just to fit in, to make sure that I was not able to think, I drank myself to hell and back. We were planning that evening, and the next morning I went to work, so I didn't sleep at all. I couldn't sleep. We were going to Brazil. We had a nice time. I was drunk throughout the six days [laughs embarrassedly]. And then we came back. She [her friend] got arrested first at the airport because she was a passenger. And then she told them that she wasn't travelling alone. And that she was travelling with me. So I had already checked in, I had done everything, said my goodbyes and I was out the door. I just heard a lot of footsteps behind me, and this man was screaming my name out. And I turned around and they were there. Then they re-checked my things, and they found cocaine... [pause]... I got arrested. Oh, it was a shock.

Learning not to silence one's gut-instinct

JD: How long is your sentence?

8016. Ten years.

JD: And you are going to have to sit about seven?

8017. Seven years and six months. When I got caught I was twenty-three. I have been here two years and one on trial. And, anyway [sighs], I hear she is [the friend] out, she became a state witness against me.

JD: After having lived on your mercy for how long?

8018. You know, the way it happened, I don't know [sighs], because they separated our cases first time, and then the second time I went to court and I got sentenced. And then three months down the line, I went to court again because I thought she was going to be sentenced. I got there and they had changed my lawyer. That same lawyer that I had paid for and that she was using. I was still paying for her. They turned them both against me. I don't know how it happened, but they changed her whole statement, they said she doesn't know anything. She has been living with me, yes, but she never knew. She knew I was trafficking with drugs, it was not the first time I was doing it, I had been doing it for a very long time. But it was the first time I did it. And she... [sighs, long pause]... I don't know, I don't know, the way it happened. The whole thing. And some of the things, I don't actually want to know them, eh.

JD: It is easier not to? But that is also the cause of the alcoholism, isn't it?

Choosing friends,
discerning values in friends

Facing up to the truth,
dealing with
disappointment in
relationships

8019. Yeah...I guess so [giggles self-deprecatingly]. I have to forget, so I don't have to deal with it. So, when I came back from court that day, 'till today... I don't know. I am not ok. I am not ok about friends, I am not ok about family, and I am not ok about people. Period. I don't know if I can trust again, or I can depend on somebody again. It is like now. You come in here, you become a child again, you have to depend on other people. And which is something that I have been dreading for such a long time. And now again, I have to live with it, you know. There are some people that I don't know, that I don't understand, I can't trust. But really, I am ok with people.

JD: I am just wondering, you were saying that life was going very well, that you had gotten a promotion, and everything was amazing. But you needed more.

8020. I needed more, yeah. I wanted more, I didn't need more.

JD: Why do you think you wanted more? What was it in you that said 'I also want that, and I am not prepared to wait until I can afford it otherwise'?

8021. I don't know whether it was the pressure I got from my friends.

JD: What kind of pressure was that?

8022. Material things. Like 'a lady must have this and this and this'. We had, like a kind of attitude 'you don't need anybody to survive, you need to make it on your own'. And, for some reason, even if South African Airways were a bit good to me, it wasn't my kind of job. I enjoyed it, it was a fun job. But I am not... I don't think I am like that.

Learning to manage relationships, finding a realistic basis for trust

Understanding what is need and what is want

Dealing with peer –and status- pressure

Balancing dependence-interdependence-independence

JD: Like what? What does it ask of you that you are not willing to give?

8023. Ahem, my time, my space, my... everything. I want everything to be mine. I want to be able to have, I am more of... I want to know what's happening in my life. I have to plan and know what's happening. You can't just call me at five o'clock in the morning and tell me I have got a flight. They did that. That is how it is. It comes with the job description.

8024. And I... I love my family dearly; I would love to expect more time with them. But I couldn't. Because I had to take care of my friends as well, why I don't know.

JD: Yeah, that is the interesting part, isn't it? Why did you need to take care of all these people?

8025. I still don't know why.

JD: What I hear in what you are saying, there is a lot about acceptance. Perhaps because you felt you didn't belong in your family. You felt you were barely accepted, because you were always the odd one out? And that theme seems to play along in your friendships too. You need to do whatever it is that gets you accepted.

8026. Yeah, you see, I needed that, I needed to fit in. Yeah, I think so; I think I am... [long pause]. That is the thing. I became... when I talked to my sister on Saturday, I realised that I changed so much; I became somebody that I don't know [very small voice].

Being in control vs. being controlled by others/superiors

Choices and Consequences

Understanding oneself

Need for belonging and acceptance

8027. I had... after I broke up with my fiancé; I had no...respect for any male figure that came across me. Because I believed in him so much, I trusted everything he told me. And I never thought that he would actually cheat on me. Because it was one thing that he was against and he was always saying 'you know that person, you know it is not right to cheat on a relationship, a relationship is supposed to be like this. I grew up with that mentality. And then, when I think everything is fine, I find out he is seeing someone else.

Hypocrisy and infidelity

8028. And throughout the years, I have been thinking 'my man will never do that'. He discussed this with me. He doesn't want... even his friends... They'll be sitting in the flat and he'll be going mad, maybe one of them has broken up with his girlfriend, and brings somebody else [a new girlfriend] to the flat. He [the ex-fiancé] is the one that acts up and springs up, and throws this woman out of the flat. Throws such a big performance. And then he is the one who at the end of the road...who was expecting it to be official [their marriage], we'll live together eternally. I believed in that. And then, just, I don't know... it crashed, just like that. And I couldn't believe that a person could make me believe in him so much, and then go and do exactly what he told me that he would never do.

Learning from experience vs. blocking off possibilities

8029. From there, I just didn't have respect for them [men]. So, from wanting a stable relationship, I was [now] just busy everywhere. Wherever I felt comfortable, I was there. But once things started getting tense, or a bit serious, or a bit emotional, I ran away. I don't want commitment.

Trust

JD: You were twenty-two when you broke up with him, so you had about a year without a man? Then it is also interesting to think about the thing you told me about the other day, about that woman [in prison] who is hugely jealous and possessive of you. It is almost the same pattern as between you and your fiancé now replaying itself, except you are now playing the role of your fiancé?

8030. [Giggles loudly, incredulous] Yeah, it is true. Yeah, very interesting. And that is the other thing that I don't understand in here. Everything... I am confused, I am very confused. I don't know where I am going. I don't understand what is happening with my life. The moment I came into prison... It started so nicely with my life. It started so nicely, everything started ok. I had a relationship I was ok with, I had no problems. No tension, we were living together then. Because that was before they started separating the maximums and the minimums. We were living in one cell. Everything was ok. And I was teaching. I was studying. Everything I has said [I would do], you know, I had direction. Ok, fine. Now in prison, there isn't much I can do, the best thing I can do is to study and empower myself.

Unfinished business from earlier experiences hamper present relationships

8031. When I get out of prison, I will see what I can do with whatever I have got on my hands. Because I will never forget what the judge said to me. He looked at me and said 'you have got so much, you are so young. You have got diplomas, you have got ... if you weren't happy at South African Airways, why didn't you just drop it and find somewhere else to work? Why couldn't you do that, you are young?' I don't know, maybe I needed to come here to calm down? I was going a bit too fast? I was driving in the fast lane?

Living up to people's positive expectations

JD: What could have calmed you down without having to go to prison? What do you think could have happened that would have said 'stop' before you go too far?

8032. My family.

JD: Your family. How were they not empowered to do that for you?

8033. Because I never allowed them to say anything. I never gave them a chance to say anything. Because...you know... a couple of times, while I grew up, I was the wrong one. Especially in my grandmother's eyes. And my dad was also an alcoholic. He passed away in the year of 1993. And so, it was like, every time I did something wrong my grandmother would put that in my face. You are exactly your father's child. So I have always felt I am not going to be strong at home, I can never be straight. Even if I am not the one that is wrong, my say will never be heard. They'll listen to my sister and brother, and they'll sort it out from there, and I will have to get a hiding. And I hate that... having to get a hiding for something that I didn't even start. It was things like that.

Living up to people's negative expectations
- Life-scripts

8034. So, from then, I think I felt from a very young age when people tried to talk to me and advise me, I would be there, but I would just block out. I am listening but I am not listening. So, I got used to that, until ...until now, I still do it. When people try to show me the right way, I just close up. Because I don't know if it is me or it is what they want me to do to make them comfortable. So, I think if I were to communicate better, with my family, with my mom [small voice], especially my mother...

Willingness to learn from others requires that the 'teacher' accepts and respects the learner

JD: That would have helped?

8035. I think it could have helped. And if I could have listened to her, if I had any problems, -been able to go to her and tell her 'listen, sit down here, I need help' and she was somebody to go talk to, then yeah. Not to discuss [argue] with me.

Knowing where to turn for help, building up a support system

JD: Sorry, I am looking at the time. I didn't realise that it had become so late. Can I ask you to think about what we've discussed, and then write down any thoughts or ideas you have? Maybe then we can talk again later if it is ok with you?

8036. Yeah, let's do that.

4.1.9 Interview with 2nd Group. 10-03-2003.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of the second group interview with three previous prisoner interviewees (interviews 2, 3, 4) who attended an ILP course presented by this researcher during 2001, as well as two other inmates (interviews 5, 7). Their crimes include drug-smuggling, fraud, assault with a deadly weapon, and murder. The research has been discussed with each of them over the past two years, and they have all had ample opportunity to consider their own and other people’s rehabilitative needs. The participants have retained the aliases from the previous interviews. The interview starts somewhat in the middle of a conversation, as the group was talking while waiting for the last two participants to arrive.

Table 4.9 Interview with 2nd group

Interview 9	Concepts
<p>JD: I have turned the tape recorder on now, OK?</p> <p>9001. Sarie: Yeah, that is fine. As I said, I really know myself and I know where I am going from here, and I am not going to let anybody take me of that path. I am not going to. Even if it is spiritual or whatever. You know, if I hear somebody say something about me, I just go on my knees and I pray. I say ‘God, please, You work with them because I can’t; I don’t want to give me down to their level.’</p> <p>9002. Sarie: Go back to what she said about those people [earlier discussion about how Sonja was feeling sad because some other prisoners were accusing her of being ‘stuck up’], that is people that are coming in now. She is already three years into her sentence, why bring her down to their level now? They must still find themselves, they must know who they are. I know already, she knows already [Sonja] where she wants to go from here. Give them a chance.</p>	<p>Need for spiritual support and guidance</p> <p>Being influenced negatively by newcomers to the prison</p>

9003. Sarie: No, I won't let them [the other prisoners] bring me down. I won't be brought down by other people. You know, even the captain, if the captain comes and she shouts and wadda wadda wadda, I just look at her and I say 'you know, captain, you go and you find out what is the truth. I know what is the truth, but you must still start looking where is the truth.' I am not going to do her work. She is here, she is the captain, she must know how to run this place. And I really feel sorry for her, because this – I won't do it. This is not my job.

Feeling secure about own righteousness. Knowing what is your 'stuff' and what is other people's 'stuff'.

9004. Sarie: I am telling you, up there in the [place in the prison] everybody's eyes are on this jealousy. 'Why are they staying in a single cell, what's this, what's this' [meaning herself]. I know [why I am in a single cell], the captain knows, XXX knows, and the rest – no, I am sorry. And I am just saying, the time I am in the prison – thank God, because I work on myself. You know if I hear somebody that says 'this and this' then I will go and sit down in my time that I have got for myself and ask myself 'Now Sarie, is it true [what they are saying], is it not true.

Dealing with emotions like jealousy

9005. Sarie: If it is true, start working, let other people see that it is not true, better yourself.' And then I **will** start working with myself. But if I think 'no, that is wrong [what they are saying], then I won't bend down. I refuse. Because for three years I went through all this, and what I see today, I am very happy with. I was never like this outside [before prison]. Even the people that come and visit, they can't believe that is me. Even if I talk [to somebody] over the phone, they can't believe it.

Accepting responsibility for your actions and needed changes

9006. Sarie: The other day I wrote a letter to my friend, he said to me 'I didn't hear from you for two years, what was happening?' I said to him 'I work on myself; there was no time for nothing else. I was working on myself, and now I can talk to you again. I am ready now, I sorted myself out, and I am happy – I am really happy.' For the first time in my thirty-nine years, I am happy. And I don't regret for one day that I came to prison. Because I found so much inside here. Friends, seeing how other people are living. [watching] people that are going [home].

Prioritising positive change in self, not being diverted from doing the work to change.

9007. Sarie: There is only one question I still ask myself. You know, you see people that have come in, and you see them go out. And they are not ready to go home. And you ask yourself 'ok, why are you staying behind, you are ready to go home'. These people are still using drugs, they are still doing fraud, they are still doing this and that. How can they go home? And then I see...God has got another purpose for you, that is why you must still stay here. And the day when God is ready, he'll send me home. And until that time I am still working on myself. Because I know, maybe there is still something hiding that I must work on in myself. And that is why I said to Sonja 'don't look down, stand up...you go, you go forward. Don't let anybody get you down, you know what's in yourself, you know where you want to go, don't let anybody stand in your way'. That is me, I won't, I won't.

JD: These other people you were talking about, they still go out when they are released and commit further crimes, they are not ready, you say. What should happen to them?

9008. Sarie: I don't know, maybe 99% of them come back.

9009. Bonnie: I don't know. They haven't been put in proper programmes. They also haven't worked on themselves, which is very important. You can stay above yourself all the time, you know, and say I am fine, I am OK, I am this or that, but in your heart you know you are not. So, you have got to start working on that. But these people don't. I was lucky enough to attend these programmes, Sarie was lucky enough, we are getting there, ok. We are all going one road.

Being ready to go home

Negative influence of other prevent positive maturation

9010. Bonnie: But, these people need to be matured, they need to be put into situations in prison. Sometimes you are put with a lot of bad elements, and you don't mature because of these persons. Then I come back to testing again, people are not the same. You can't put people [in cells or sectors] according to crime, what crime they have done. You have got to put them by person.

JD: But society doesn't work like that. Would that not be a poor preparation [for coming out] if you separate people like that. Think about outside, we are all together in one big melting pot.

9011. Bonnie: You don't have to separate people completely, just the accommodation. Your cell group should be more [conducive to growth].

9012. Sarie: Let's just take an example. Everybody was standing there and somebody's going home. For three days I was in bed crying, and then I woke up and thought, 'now show them who you are'. I walked out of the section and I said to Bonnie 'watch me now, they want credits on my file, they want me to change, so I have to improve myself'. You know what, I come down here and I say to [the psychologist] [psychologist] 'now, any course you can put me on, I will do them all'. I want to prove to them that I am ready to go home. So [the psychologist] looks at me and he starts laughing, and I think 'ah-ahh, I will put you right through this window', and I still turned around and I walked away [didn't act on her anger] [everybody laughing].

Testing people to see what rehabilitation they need.

Grouping prisoners in cells according to rehabilitative needs

Managing emotions.
Learning to persevere in the presence of obstacles.

9013. Sarie: I go back up here and think that I still want to do courses, I can still better myself. I am on the right path, I still want it. People that are still doing [crime] and everything here, they attend no courses. They have got nothing [no credits] on their files. When XXX [psychologist's assistant] gave me this slip [the request from me for them to attend this interview session] I was so happy. I said to Bonnie 'Monday we are going to have a course, Janne [this researcher] is coming'.

9014. Sarie: If you come and sit her every day of the week and I don't want to, it doesn't help, you have to work with yourself. I can be in the psychologist's office every day, if I don't want to work with myself, it doesn't help. I don't want to leave that stuff out. You know, I have got a friend; she is here for murder. I say to her 'please come with me to courses, please'. She says 'I don't want to let anybody know what happened, I don't want to'. I said 'but you must bring it out, you must, because that hurt will be always there, always'.

9015. Sarie: Today I know exactly why I did fraud, why I went that long way. If I had just gotten help earlier in my life, I would never ever have ended up here [in prison]. You must bring that hurt out from inside, you must get help. And we can't help ourselves. We need people like you [this researcher/psychologist] who is prepared to come and sit here in this place and work with us.

9016. Sonja: But then you must be prepared to let go. You have got to let go of your hurt. Because you can sit here and you can pretend that you are letting everything go, and you are keeping things back.

Wanting to change is requirement for growth

Understanding the reasons for one's criminal acts through psychological intervention.

Letting go of hurt.

JD: Well, some of the clients I worked with in my early days here [at the prison], because I wasn't very experienced, some of them would be sitting half a year – seeing me every week- before they gave that little bit that was too secret for anybody to know. Once they released that, the rest of the therapy was a piece of cake. And it is sore and scary to let it out, that is why. Look at the tiny things people hurt each other with here. They have got a grain of sand to hold against you, and they can hurt you with it. Obviously, those hard things are really scary to let out. What could they do with [the knowledge of] that? And if you are hurt, what do you do back to them?

9017. Bonnie: When you are hurt, you usually retaliate in kind. The maliciousness here, that is what scares me, it really does.

9018. Petronila: But tell me something. I was addicted, I was taking a lot of cocaine, and there are times when I really want to take it. Because, you know what... it was a period of my life... it didn't destroy me because I controlled it. But I wanted it. And there are times when I say that I also want it here. And, to be honest with you, if I can tell them that I feel excited to be in the aeroplane [smuggling drugs] and do something like I was doing it before, I get excited [here] on the inside [in prison]. I am not rehabilitated. I am not.

JD: You have told me before that you might still be susceptible to that [returning to smuggling]. I am just asking, what feelings – what ability to smell, see, and experience have you lost along the way that you need so much excitement to feel alive? Does that make sense? A lot of the drug users that I have spoken to – it is like they are behind this thick glass – life is not available to be experienced, it sifts through little cracks in the glass, the vision is blurred because the glass is not clean, they can't hear the sounds of the world or the wind on their skin. They need something more to make them feel like they are alive, and the drugs help them with that.

Understanding the reasons for one's criminal acts through psychological intervention

9019. Petronila: But what is that, that I am not rehabilitated? Because, let me explain something to you that I have realised here in prison. Lots of the women, they have babies, but they didn't grow up. The things that they do and talk about, it is like you are talking with a 15 year old. And here I am with no children and no marriage, and I must do something to make them realise that it is stupid what they are saying. So, I have a brain, I am intelligent, how can they tell me that I am not rehabilitated. Maybe I fight with the members, then I am not rehabilitated. I must keep quiet like a robot and do what they tell me to do, that is [called] rehabilitation.

JD: I don't think rehabilitation is about changing who you are. You are this kind of person, you will always give someone an earful when you think you have got something that needs to be said, and I think that is a good thing. You can use it well or you can use it in a poor way. If you use it in a good way, as a public speaker, you can make a difference in society. But the kind of rehabilitation that I am interested in... would you, knowing that the drugs you were carrying would probably be used to destroy people's lives, as often happens... It may not have happened in your case, except to land you up in prison... but I have seen a lot of people who have withered away and eventually died or become a burden on society rather than an asset to society as a result of drug use. So the rehabilitation that you would have to show to be ready to go out of prison would be that you realise that you don't want to do that [drug smuggling] again, whether you choose to take drugs again yourself or not. That may be against the law, but that is not why you have been sent to prison.

Differential definitions of rehabilitation. Keeping a low profile is often enough to seem rehabilitated.

9020. Petronila: I was at the parole board. This week has been so nice for me [sarcastic], Monday a staff member found me almost naked with [only] my pyjama [on]. I said sorry, and she said 'sorry se gat', I had to roll my tongue up inside my mouth, because I like to reply [backchat]. Now I know that the whole day is going to be like that. Somebody is going to cut your head [be after you] all the time. Tuesday I wanted to ask another staff member to talk to the parole board for me, to get me a higher status in prison after three years, and she says she is going to give me a 'warmklap' [hiding]. I said 'warmklap, - who are you, and what, what, what', fine then don't help me. Wednesday I come with a top that is too short because I am hot, but in my opinion it is OK, but in her eyes it was not. So she says 'did you shower', and I said 'oh, do I look dirty'. The cellmates said to her that I did shower, but then she said that my t-shirt is not OK and I must go and change. You know, it is like that over and over, and then they say that you have to respect the bitch.

Disrespectful and condescending attitude of members causes negative behaviour in inmates.

9021. Petronila: Two, three weeks ago, there was a member pushing me. There are two ladies there in awaiting trial, they don't talk English. That same staff member comes there by the telephone and starts screaming at them and pushing them around. I say [soothing voice] 'don't push them, because you don't know what they are doing here'. She was now there in the disciplinary court, and she is telling them that I said 'fuck off'. I asked her if I really said 'fuck off', and told her she is a liar, in front of the disciplinary hearing. The member of the disciplinary court said to me 'what did I say to you last, to keep cool, calm, and collected! Why did you do this?' I said [to him]: 'because I feel for these people, they [prison staff] treated me like this in the beginning, and I didn't know how to express myself. But now I can'.

Need to react to unfair treatment subverted by need to appear rehabilitated.

9022. Petronila: How is the staff member supposed to tell these ladies not to use the phones, -by pushing and shoving them? How can I respect them if they don't respect us [the prisoners]? Do you think that I was going to intervene in this situation if she was acting cool calm and collected? No. But she was pushing them. I told her she has a bad and dirty heart. And I told them that I didn't swear at this woman [the staff member]. They found me guilty of disobeying orders or whatever. And then the man said 'I am so disappointed in you'. I said 'things happen, and there is nothing I can do now'.

Need for respect and being treated like a human being.

9023. Petronila: That same day, the people from my embassy came here; they gave me 5 packets of cigarettes, chocolates, and mielies [from her country]. The bitch [staff member] in my section took my bag, and said in front of everybody, 'I have to search this'. They brought me up to the office, stripped me to see if I had smuggled anything, they took everything. I went to the captain and asked why I didn't have a visit from this woman [from the embassy] who had helped me so much. She was the one who told me that my father had died, nobody in the prison had told me this. She called my parents [overseas] and found out for me. My father was screaming my name before he died because he wanted me to be there. So how can these fucking people tell me that I am not right? After that, that staff member came, she looked me up and down like I was dirty, like I am carrying dagga or cocaine.

Need for compassion

9024. Petronila: Now, who cares if I am taking dagga or cocaine again? It is simple, it was cigarettes they brought me, but it felt like it was dagga or cocaine. So I told [the psychologist] after all was finished 'call that woman (from the embassy), and tell her that she mustn't come here anymore because I don't want her to be in a situation like this because of me. That she must not come here and be treated like shit because of me'. I will cut my hair off, so I can use just a drop of shampoo [diminishing her dependence on outside help], because... whatever these people are teaching me, it is not rehabilitation.

Making do with less to protect others.

9025. Petronila: After that, to finish the whole party [sarcastic], I go to the fucking parole board. [The psychologist] talked so nicely about me. And there was that bitch [the staff member who took her things], she raised her hand, and she says ‘you know, this woman is rude. Not only the members from her section, but from the whole prison, are complaining about her’. She talks and talks and talks, and [the psychologist] is pushing my feet [to prevent her from replying inappropriately], and then after that I say ‘can I please talk now’. The parole officer says ‘yes, you have all the right to talk’. I said ‘you see that woman that says things like this about me? She treats me like I am a prostitute. So how do I respect a person like that, when she doesn’t have respect for me? You can see on my file that I am not speaking to men or being bobo [for sale], so why is she treating me this way? If you treat me badly, I treat you badly! But I have to be inside the rules, and I did not break any rule here. All foreigners, they are treated like that.

Need for respect

9026. Petronila: They [parole board officers] said to me ‘why do you not complain to the head of the prison?’ I said ‘do you know how the management of this prison works? I don’t have money, but if I did have money, all the members would be around me. They opened their eyes wide [in surprise], but I said ‘you know what, tough luck, I am going down.’ This is the way people work here in this prison. Do you want to know more? [The psychologist] is there. I said ‘do you want to know more about this prison? If you want to know more, I will tell you.’ She [the staff member] is pointing a finger at me, while she is busy doing something wrong.

Corruption among staff not good role model.

9027. Petronila: He [the parole board officer] says ‘ Because [the psychologist] spoke so very well about you, and we can see that you are OK, we want to give you the date for September next year [release date]. But if you, or a person like this one [staff member], comes and tells me more of this kind, you can go in the year 2008. The bitch [the staff member] is cutting my wings. So what do you do in a situation like that? Your father died, you couldn’t communicate with your father, you don’t want a staff member to say that she did give you the information [about father’s death] and a phone card. She was so guilty, she knew, they told her in front of me that my father passed away and she had not given me the phone card. She couldn’t look at my face. So, now tell me, what is rehabilitation? Do I not want drugs to cool me down?’

Being at the mercy of the prison staff re. release date.

9028. Bonnie: I think that what we are really looking at here is that the members need extensive courses as well. Because they don’t know how to...

Need for extensive training of staff.

9029. Sonja: But you see, Janne, exactly what is happening to Petronila. When they moved me to XXX, she [the staff member] came to me in the dining hall and said to me ‘are you eating?’ I said ‘I am not eating in the dining hall, but I **am** eating, I have not stopped eating, but I am not eating the quantities that I should be eating [she has a history of both anorexia and bulimia in prison]’.

Need for privacy and respect for the self-determination of inmates.

9030. Sonja: She went and listened to other people’s stories about me, instead of calling me into the office and talking to me. Spoke to the same clique of prisoners. Instead of when the stories came to the office, to fetch me, and let me defend myself. I understand that she cares about me, because I know her. But she just came to me and said ‘pack your stuff; you are going to XXX for observation. And then I had to hear from a prisoner about the other stories [about her]. So straight away you sit there and think ‘this one is lying with this tale or that tale, all of that comes out where? When you go and sit in front of the parole board. In the meantime, you are throwing all this off, you have forgotten about it [the gossip], the day when you sit with the parole board is when everything comes down. So you don’t even get a chance to defend yourself.

Learning to deal with gossip and accusations.

9031. Petronila: But what we should do in a situation like this... I have bad behaviour, but it is because I don't want to... There is the [staff] member, she comes to me. I was eating my porridge like this, because you can't eat properly because everybody is like this [indicates cramped space and pushing/shoving]. And the staff member is [swatting] at me, and saying 'hey'. So my name is 'hey' now, I didn't know that my name was 'hey'. [Staff member says] 'go to the other table'. I didn't look, I didn't move, I didn't say anything, I was like a statue. She comes to me again 'hey', I didn't want to say anything bad, so I acted like a robot. I asked the captain and [the psychologist]: 'I need 3 weeks in a single cell so I can find myself, I need it [after father's death].

Learning to keep temper in check.

9032. Sonja: You know, before all this trouble erupted, I wrote 3 reports [requesting] to move. Also to get into a single cell, for a bit of peace of mind. But these people, they don't want to help. When you cry out for help, before a situation gets bad, they don't want to help. The people that have been put in charge here, they are supposed to help us to cope, not to wait for a disaster.

Need for privacy when dealing with pain and loss.

9033. Bonnie: What I see here, I see Petronila, she is a person that can really, really grow. And she has been put in a situation where people don't want to understand her. [Short interruption when another interviewee arrives for the session, having finally been let out of her section]. Petronila has a wonderful personality; she has the ability to make people smile and laugh. She has got the ability to do so much good for people, she need to be brought out of herself. Now, if we had members that were trained to pick up people like this, and mature them... but they don't, they suppress people like that.

Need for professionals to help develop the potential of inmates.

JD: Can I ask you, what do you think...? If you try to extract the positive from the experience you are having here in prison, all these things that you all get so angry about, what do you think you have learned from this? What does it give you, what kind of tool is that for when you come out again?

9034. Sonja: You know what it is made me feel like... I can't go away from here, and not come back to try and do something about this [prison], something's got to be done. A lot of people say you are going to walk away from here, and that is going to be the end of it. I don't think so for me. I can honestly say, from the bottom of my heart, I don't think I can walk away here, and not come back and try and change something for the other people that is going to be here after me. And there is a lot to be done here. Even if my part is to play with the babies here, there is a lot to do. I have started now... I have got a friend on the outside who's created a trust fund for one of the little babies here. They are getting friends for a whole lot of the people that are not getting visits here, such as the overseas people. I have found in my heart that those are the people that I want to care for. That is why I felt I had to get involved here. There is not much I can do while I am here, but I will get people that can help on the outside, that I can trust now to try and help them.

JD: So what you are saying is that being in here has helped to bring out the wanting-to-help side of you? You have discovered compassion?

9035. Sonja: Yes. You cannot walk away here, and not give something back, after the suffering that we've had to go through. Because if you walk out of here, and you just carry on with your life, and made no difference to the people you have left behind here...even if it is people that you have had no connection with... you have to put something back in here. You are just not human if you walk away from here and say 'I have done my sentence, I have paid my time, that is it, it is a closed book, end of story'.

Using one's capacity for compassion.

Learning to give.

9036. Petronila: Do you know that I am not allowed to do any course here because I am a foreigner? But thank God and [the psychologist], that they have brought this computer course [the one I initiated 1½ year ago]. It is the only thing I can do here, because it is a private course. I told them I don't have a Matric certificate; I have a diploma, because you study very hard in my country. Before you go to university, you have to do a project, you have to go to rural areas and teach children their ABC and that type of thing. So now they are doing it here [in prison], I do have patience to teach children. But I can't teach grown-ups. People are like plants; you have to put them straight when they are small. When they are old, how can you put them straight when everything is crooked, so how can you change the people here? But it has happened here, [points to everyone in the room] they all studied [in prison].

JD: So what is it that gentle rope, that stake in the ground, that will help put these people straight? What is it that needs to be inserted into that life to pull it straight?

9037. Petronila: I think psychologists is the most important thing. If [the psychologist] had another four colleagues working with him every day. You take each and every person that is sentenced, send them to hospital for medical check-up, check them properly. Don't wait until the person is down on the floor and say 'ah, this person needs help'. But that person is already dying, you can't do anything with that person. Then let the psychologist test the mind of the person, and if they take the tests, you [the psychologist] will know what they should do [work] and the person that they are. Why don't they give a test to each person?

9038. Sonja: So, back to the course that we were on with you.

JD: Personality, interests, and aptitude?

Sharing knowledge.

Need for psychological interventions based on testing of prisoners.

9039. Bonnie: You know, when you pick up a stray dog on the road, and drop it off at the SPCA, not even they take this dog and throw it in a cage with 20 other dogs. They first give it a medical examination, they evaluate it, and then it is slotted in where it fits, even if it is going to be euthanised. They still take care of that animal... there is no emotional care in this place. So if you take these people and say 'oh, this group of prisoners could go into social work', then you can start pushing them into that direction. There is nobody pushing you here. They are pushing you down, not lifting you up. And we don't help each other; there is too much cattiness and pettiness. In this place I have notices, and I am guilty too, we say 'me, me, me, poor old me'. Now let's stop the poor old me, and let's get together and do something about us. But people can't be bothered.

9040. Petronila: If I was the head of this prison, that would be the first thing that I must do. Check the people, see the IQ of a person, you can never equal two people, we are all very different. So check them, see the ability that they have, after that you will know how to lead people here. Instead of just leaving them and the members just saying 'I am the boss, I have got the key' [with a swagger]. Like they don't have anything [power] outside, so all they have is this big key. Do you think they recognise them on the outside? No, they are nothing!

9041. Sarie: I just think the members should also go for those tests, before they come in here. Because I just take one member in this prison, only one member. You know, if I wasn't strong enough – and Bonnie knows exactly who I am talking about – that woman will put me right back into the wall if she could. If she sees me, she'll say 'I hate your face, you are a bitch'. She swears at me. If she is at the lock in the day, she stands at that gate, and she stares right through me as if I am not there. She slams that gate, and I just laugh at her. I say 'you know what, maybe you can slam that gate right through one day, and you can maybe make a nice sliding door, then I can sit nicely outside'.

Need for directed development of inmates.

Need for competent leadership that inmates can respect.

Personality testing of staff.

9042. Sarie: But I think... if I wasn't so strong... Yesterday she told me 'declare what you have got in your bag'. I looked at her and I said: 'If you find anything you can take it'. And she looked at me and said 'I hate your guts'. I said 'that is nice', and I turned around and walked away. I said to her 'you know what, tonight I will make a point of it to pray for you, because you don't belong here. You belong on the outside where you can run people down, and I want you to know that you must stop it because you are going to be in trouble'. And that is a member. I am sorry, Janne, but I have got no respect for her, but to keep my part safe - if she talks to me, I will answer her nicely back. If I do say something [harsh] to her I will make sure that there is nobody around, because if she says something then –who cares. Even if I ask her to open the gate, she will look at me and say 'you can die inside here'. I say to her 'ok that is nice, don't worry. Another member will come and open the gate for me'. And then I will stand at the gate and wait for another member to come and open the gate for me. But now, that is totally about jealousy.

9043. Sarie: Last week in the besoek, my husband was coming. You know, when you are getting people [visitors] you are taking extra care and making yourself up nicely. She was looking at me, and after about two hours in the besoek –because I am working down there – she said 'you are naked'. Just like that. I said 'is that so, and what do you want me to do about it?' She said 'go and put other clothes on' and I said 'no, I won't, because I will show you what is naked'. I had a normal skirt on, with a nice long top, nothing was wrong with it. But in any case, I think - just to calm down- because my husband is coming.

Learning to let rudeness and rejection wash over you without losing your composure.

Dealing with staff's interference in private matters.

9044. Sarie: You know, I don't want to show them [the family] what is going on inside here, because then they must worry about me. And I don't want them to worry. So I go and say to my friend, please bring me my pants and I will dress in the spiraal [area joining the cells and the office area where the besoek is], and there was no member in the section so I changed right there. Then my daughter brought me a pair of sandals and my boots, and this member said to me 'how many shoes have you got inside here?' I looked at her and said 'two pairs'. She said 'take them off and send them back, otherwise you won't get these in'. I give her a nice smile, and say to my husband [deliberately casual tone] 'please take these home, and next time I will send these back with you and I can take the other pair in again'.

Protecting family from worrying about her.

9045. Sarie: You know, here's Bonnie coming in with two pairs of boots and a pair of shoes, and she has got shoes on her feet too. She can take them in, but I must send mine home !?! You know what I did yesterday? I went to her [the abovementioned staff member], she is working in XXX-section, I said 'I just want to talk to you', she said 'why', and I said 'don't be nasty; I have come to you as a person. If I did something wrong, please tell me now about it because I want to fix it. I don't want you to have a grudge. Every time I meet you I must look down not to look you in the eyes. She said I never did it. I said 'don't let me go and call that person, I will show you what you did. And she just looked at me, turned around, and walked away. Didn't say sorry or whatever. I will show her that I am not there [points to the floor] with her; I am here [points upward]. And I am sorry, I won't...for no member. If she can't respect me...

Learning to deal with unfair treatment.

9046. Petronila: Respect is a big thing, and you don't have it here, you don't have it.

Need for respect.

9047. Makgadi: You come here with respect, and waste all these years, and you loose it [respect]. And you die inside.

9048. Petronila: And you know what, I go back to [the captain], I go to Sarie, and I go to [the psychologist] and say 'please take me out, I need to, and you will hear nothing about me'. Because I get along with people. I like the family on the inside, I don't have respect for none of the members, I don't have any respect to give to them because they don't give it to me. So I don't want to laugh at them, but... each person is OK on the outside, but when they come her, they have to put this face [facade]on. So, if she [a member] is very straight, I can say sorry and go. But I don't want to hear from her 'sorry se gat' in front of the other [prisoners], because they know me and they know that I can't keep quiet, that I have to reply [to a rude comment from a staff member]. We are not born in here, we are from the outside. How can you come and teach us how to behave, if you can't even behave like that yourself.

JD: So do you think you loose your good manners in here? Can you retain them in some way?

9049. Petronila: Yeah, I have.

9050. Sonja: No, I haven't lost my manners, but I have developed a fear. I [say] 'ja' and 'amen' because I have to. I cannot be like Petronila who speaks up. I start to withdraw, and then I get scared. I go please, 'ja' and amen, and I walk away scared.

9051. Bonnie: I am opposite. I even go out of myself to be better mannered.

JD: So there seems to be three ways of coping with this: There is shouting back when you are shouted at, there is the way where you try to be even better to show that you won't stoop to that, and there is withdrawing where you just go into yourself?

Need for positive role modelling from staff.

Attempting to retain your good manners in prison.

9052. Sonja: But that is not right, Janne, that is not right. Inside here, the slighted little thing that goes wrong, Ok, you keep it in here [inside you] and you know it is wrong. That morning, what happened to Petronila, I was so angry, because I felt hurt for her part. And I wanted to... but there was nothing I could do. And inside yourself, you want to stand up and say that she is right in what she is saying. But you feel scared. Because straight away you know that you are going to have the whole lot against you.

JD: What happens to you physically when you feel all this, when you 'swallow' all this that you feel?

9053. Sonja: You break, you break inside. A very numb feeling. And the only one I could run to when I was told that I couldn't trust anybody when I had a problem – I phoned my father. I couldn't get hold of my boys, and that was good because if I had it would have caused chaos. I got hold of my father and he phoned [a senior staff member]. But still, nothing was done about it.

JD: Makgadi, when you feel this way you say you die inside... how do you experience that?

9054. Makgadi: You don't know what to do, you can't fight it, and you don't know how to change words with that person. You have got the words to say it, but you don't know how to say it, and at the end you feel very terrible. But then you will recover after a long time and accept it.

9055. Sonja: You know what, Janne, it is very true what she is saying, because if I look at myself I have achieved a heng of a lot here. Study wise, everything... There is no two ways about it, I have grown in so many ways. But if I can let go of that fear, and I know that I have to, I will be over everything. And I realised these last two weeks, that I have got to do something about that fear. Because if I don't, that fear is going to kill me.

Learning to speak up against injustice.

Effects of not speaking up against injustice.

Learning to express your feelings safely.

Acknowledging feelings.

JD: It seems to me that there is three ways of voicing your thoughts. You two are doing it by voicing it nicely, and you – Petronila - are doing it by becoming aggressive or assertive, and you two are doing it by turning it inwards. But if you perhaps can acknowledge how you feel and that you cannot do something about it now and let it go, then you are perhaps not having to harbour it in your stomach?

9056. Sonja: But you see, it is hard to let it go. Not even putting the past in the past. Every time something little –no matter how small it is – comes along, you start thinking about the past. Then you start thinking ‘were you wrong, what did you do wrong, are they talking about you as a person? And in the meantime, in the old end, it really hurts you.

9057. Bonnie: The core of the problem is not by you.

9058. Petronila: Can I ask you a question, Sonja? Let’s for instance say that what happened to me had happened to you... Why I don’t keep quiet is that it can happen to each and every one of us. I am doing it for you guys, to stand up. What about if they pick you up and say ‘Sonja, what is your problem?’ And you get stuck and you don’t say anything?

9059. Sonja: I will get up and say ‘sorry [member], I am sorry; it won’t happen again, I promise you. Meantime I know that I did nothing wrong and what she [the member] is doing is totally wrong.

9060. Petronila: When you were on the outside, when you were doing something wrong [your crime], what was your big fear? To come here, neh? You were scared of getting caught and you were, you are here now, you are fucked, why do you have to be scared?

Dealing with self-doubt.

Taking a stand for self and others.

Dealing with unfair treatment.

Prison is the worst thing that can happen to you.

<p>9061. Sonja: Because at this stage of my life I just want to go out, all I want is my life back. But not the life that I had, I have now improved myself as a person and I need to go home. I do not want to sit and let those people humiliate me any further [very angry, voice breaking].</p>	<p>Dealing with humiliation.</p>
<p>9062. Sarie: Can I then ask you if you think you are ready to go home while you have got that fear inside you? You must first get that fear out, and prove to yourself that there is nothing that can harm you. When there is nothing that you hold back or are scared of, then you are ready to go out.</p>	<p>Having nothing to hide.</p>
<p>9063. Sonja: You should hear me praying last night. I was so grateful, I was thinking ‘Janne is here, it is a Godsend’, because number one I can get to [the psychologist], and I would see her [this researcher] again, because she would understand where I was coming from [we started this session discussing her problem, before the tape recorder was turned on]. So it was like I said to myself ‘you know what, you have to let this go’. Even my son said to me yesterday ‘if people want to do what they want to do to you, just let it go! You cannot walk around with this, and please – stop this not-eating!’</p>	<p>Somewhere to turn for emotional support.</p>
<p>9064. Petronila: Sonja, this is what you achieve here [takes a brown paper bag and fills it with air]. It is knowledge and this and that, and it is full. But you have the fear. How are you going to develop, how are you going to teach your children what you have learned here. I say to myself that God has brought me here, and the only person that I am scared of is God, to take away my life. You know what, now I am asking God to take away my life because I feel strange in this world. This is why –whoever comes to me and tells me something, I don’t feel scared of the head of the prison or of any person.</p>	<p>Fear of divine justice.</p>

9065. Sonja: Yes, I am also not scared of the head of the prison, but I **do** not like what other people can do to try and harm me. But I have started to look at things a lot differently, especially with what you said, Bonnie, about the ‘poor me’, here I go again, here comes all the rubbish again, here I have to start all over again. This has been very good for me, this morning, to sit and talk.

Feeling sorry for oneself.

9066. Petronila: Sonja, do you know what I am doing now? I am trying to get hold of all the people who can help me. I have already spoken to Mr. XXX. He says I am an instigator, that I have a group formed. But I said to him ‘I don’t agree with what you are saying to me now. I don’t want to instigate no one, but I do want to help each and every person. They are doing it at Modderbee [prison] but they are taking only the foreigners.

Rallying support groups in prison.

9067. Petronila: Why take only the foreigners if I am living with you guys? I feel for each and every person that we have here [in Diepkloof prison]. If I was selfish, I would help myself only. It’d be easier and quicker, but here is the challenge. This is the role and the test, you have to do it, and you have to pass it, proving to them that I am not dumb and I can’t pretend to be dumb. Whoever comes to me and says something, they will get [a piece of my mind], whatever I can do to teach them [the prison staff] how to behave in front of people, I am here for that. But, I need knowledge myself for that. Because people [put so much store in] knowledge, sometimes I feel so weak.

Redefinition of group affiliation, expanding one’s sense of ‘us’.

9068. Petronila: The positive energy that I have, the people are taking it out [draining it], and most of those are the members. No prisoner can do nothing to me if I don’t do nothing to the prisoner. They are my mates, and I want to be with them. If you want to be on my case, fuck you, fuck you. Don’t come into my space and say something, it is mine! Why do the members take away the tia-tia [sheets around the bed]? They say that masturbation is bad, don’t come and tell me that your finger will be eaten by your cookie [vagina]; they are taking the privacy of each and every one of us.

Learning a balance between give and take.

9069. Sonja: Yes, I am disagreeing with what they are doing to us. Taking away our privacy.

9070. Bonnie: Yeah, but it is more about the lesbians. Although lesbianism is legal now, the members are not allowed to promote it.

9071. Petronila: Yeah, but the members are mostly black, and here comes a beautiful blonde butch [lesbian]. The members must realise that there are too many hot women here, and this thing [the vagina] is itching, it is itching. And the people next to that person's bed cannot sleep because of all the noises [imitates the sounds of a woman having an orgasm]. I have realised that your feelings are cut off here. While people are making love, they have to shut up, they can't make noises, they have to make as if they are sleeping. So how can you do it while you cannot even let her know that you are being fucked very nicely?

JD: So what you are saying is... your example is about sexuality...that in reality you don't even know what you feel anymore, because you have had to hide it for so long?

9072. Sarie: I was standing one Saturday in the small besoek, and a lady passed me, and she was crying because it was the first time she had a visit. The captain talked to her: 'Why are you crying'. She said she missed her children, and the captain said to her 'you are not allowed to have emotions inside here, leave them outside'. So, what are you here?

JD: Did she mean it?

9073. Sarie: Yeah, she was, like 'come, don't cry here' [impatient tone].

Sexual needs in prison.

Being cut off from feelings – need for safe place to express feelings in prison.

9074. Bonnie: Yes, and you know that sister prisoners do that too. Sometimes you need to cry, and my first thing to say is ‘don’t cry, just don’t cry’. But we sometimes can’t help ourselves, and just sit down and cry and cry.

9075. Petronila: The worst thing that I had was when they told me that my father passed away. I didn’t know what to do, but automatically the tears come down, and you are shaking. And it is the first time this kind of thing happened [to me], but you have to switch off, really, because I don’t want the pity of no one. I don’t pity myself, I don’t feel sorry for myself, and I don’t regret what I did. But people here, they put you so down. That day, it was like I had AIDS, because the people were whispering around me ‘the father of Petronila...ohhh’, they come and say sorry, and then they run away. I needed comfort and support.

JD: So they don’t know how to deal with emotions anymore? Maybe if you put your own away, you can’t deal with anybody else’s?

9076. Sonja: But if that is your way of dealing with your emotions. Everybody deals with things in different ways. A person might get angry and start smashing their hand against the wall. It is your way of expressing your emotions. Some people don’t, and I don’t believe they are whole, because you have to; you have to let that feeling go.

9077. Petronila: If what I am saying to you is critical and constructive, it is OK. But what they do here is destructive, critical, and negative. They taunt you, and after that, they crush you like a cockroach. That is why you have to keep emotions to yourself here. In other countries, they have contact [visits], so each family has a separate room if they want to fuck. They are trying to stop the lesbianism.

Learning how to deal with other people’s pain and emotions.

Need to react on your emotions.

Protecting self against maliciousness of others.

9078. Sonja: Yeah, that way they'd stop the AIDS [spreading] in prison. In the beginning of my sentence, I asked the psychologist about that...I think they call it conjugal rights. He said 'you are not using **my** office'[laughing]. But...it is the only way that I can see that they can stop the spread of AIDS in prison. Us women, we can still manage. There is no raping and carrying on here. But what about the men? The men are sleeping over a hundred in a cell. And us women, we are well on our way to full cells now.

Sexual needs, conjugal rights.

JD: How many are you in a cell now?

9079. Sonja: We are 33 or 34. In section XXX, they are apparently sleeping on the floor already. Why don't they just concentrate on the others? Send home the ones they can see are ready to go to society. A year should be enough for you to learn your lesson.

Being rewarded for personal growth.

9080. Sarie: If you don't get right in one year in a prison, you will never get right. I have now been in for 4 years, and I was saying to Bonnie that it feels like I am loosing grip. When my husband comes to visit, and he touches me, it feels like I don't know him anymore. My child comes and says 'just hold me', and it is like I don't know these people. I see them for an hour per month, because they are staying far away. What is an hour? If you put in [request] a double visit, they say 'no, you are not allowed to have it'. It feels like I am loosing grip, and I don't have anything to hold on to anymore. It is like it is now me alone. That why I fight so hard for these people to see that I am ready to go home. I went to the parole board, I am now nearly on my half [sentence duration], I thought that I could go home after a half, but because my amount [of fraud] is over R500.000 I must stay two thirds of my sentence. But, in the meantime I have proved myself, I can't rehabilitate anymore. I can get worse now; I can go back where I was, because I think 'why did I try when they don't see it?'

Keeping the relationship with family alive.

9081. Bonnie: They must start seeing you as an asset, and bring you back into society.

Being seen as a potential societal asset.

9082. Sarie: When I walk into the parole hearing, they say ‘I know you, all these people say nice things about you, but...it is over R500.000, - and it is fraud, so you must do two thirds. I went back to the parole officer because I wasn’t happy, and I asked him ‘what is the difference between theft and fraud? If you steal, you steal. If you steal over R500.000, - is that worse, which way do you look at it?’ He couldn’t answer me, and he is sitting on the parole board!

9083. But this prison isn’t applying the rules correctly. If they wanted to, they could write a recommendation to get people out of here, but they are not doing it. You know, last year I saw [a parole board member], and she said ‘Sarie, I will see you next year early, and you can go home. You will have a date in January. If I feel you are ready to go home, I will do anything in my power to get you out of here. When you are a medium [prisoner status based on remaining time of sentence], - I know my job and I won’t let anybody teach me my job - if I know you are ready to go home, I will let you go’. Now this guy is coming from nowhere [a new parole board member] and says ‘no we won’t let you go, we are working according to the book’.

9084. Petronila: But these people [parole board] are saying ‘you have to see the psychologist, you have to see the social worker, you have to see... you have to behave OK. And there is [the psychologist during the parole hearing] and he knows what I did and what I have achieved in prison. But they told me ‘if my behaviour is not OK, they can leave me here till 2008.

JD: OK, we’ll have to stop it here, as I must get back to the office. Did you all get the transcripts of the individual interviews we did? Did you make some thoughts about further thoughts that you had?

9085. Bonnie: Yeah, but I actually need to make many more notes before I give it back to you [a future date was set].

Understanding the law and the rationale behind the sentence structure.

Differential application of law by different parole board officials causes uncertainty and unhappiness.

The threat of revocation of release date.

4.1.10 Interview with Psychologist. 15-04-2003.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of an interview with a psychologist at Diepkloof prison. He is the only psychologist at the female prison, which houses approximately 800 women. There used to be three psychologists at the female prison, but when the two others resigned, their post were left vacant. Three years ago, when arriving as member of a group of RAU honours students to present an Integrative Life Planning course, this researcher made the acquaintance of the psychologist. The psychologist has worked at Diepkloof Prison for more than five years, and has experienced the female prisoners’ needs at close range.

Table 4.10 Interview with psychologist

Interview 10	Concepts
<p>10001. ...Just in terms of what they need, I think... well, firstly, I would say that more intensive and focused rehabilitation is needed, because at the moment it is very general, very broad. It is very unfocused. Although, at the moment there is a lot happening, it is not coordinated either. I think that it would be good to have something that is more, what is the right word, focused. But I also think that to use different people, and not necessarily only psychologists and social workers, to have a multi-disciplinary team.</p>	<p>Intensive and focused rehabilitation</p>
<p>JD: Who would you include in such a team?</p>	
<p>10002. I think we would need psychologists and social workers, which we have, but you know the problems associated with that... we don't have enough staff, so that is why I say that the focus is just not enough. I think that we would need, for example something like a criminologist, because criminologists look at things like reoffending.</p>	<p>Criminologists on staff.</p>

10003. I think that one could involve them in terms of trying to work out a rehabilitation plan for a particular offender. Criminologists give input on court, so why shouldn't they be able to give input here, in terms of a rehabilitation plan?

Specific rehabilitation plans for individual offenders.

10004. Apart from that, someone like an occupational therapist, and perhaps the kind of team that one has at a psychiatric institution. If you think of places like Weskoppies and Sterkfontein, or even Tara, because that is quite effective. It works well when you have a multi-disciplinary team working on one person. I think that we struggle here, because - You know that XXX [a student psychologist] registered two weeks ago, so she is here now [in the male prison] and it is only the two of us, and there is about 14 000 offenders. Then number varies, but it can go up to that many. Plus we've got staff, and ...

Occupational therapists

JD: Do you see the staff [for therapy] as well?

10005. Yes. I don't know how many staff members we have, but I think between 1 500-2 000 of them. So it is a ridiculous caseload for two psychologists. So, what kind of rehabilitation can one really do? If you look at just me here, I can't cope, and I have only got the female prison. I also try to attend to the other [male] prisoners, but I just can't get there. I make appointments [with male prisoners], but then I get completely swamped here and I just don't get there. And they get very frustrated when I don't come; they think I am stalling. But it is really not that, it is just that I can't do everything all at once. There is about 800 [prisoners] here, and remember that these numbers are not necessarily correct. There is usually between 700 and 800 women, about half are usually awaiting trial, that leaves about 400 women that are in my direct care in terms of psychological well-being. I think that it is just impossible to get to all of those, so - in terms of rehabilitation - it is nice to talk about rehabilitation.

More professional staff.

10006. But how much rehabilitation is really happening when I can see an offender perhaps once a month. How much rehabilitation is really happening when my diary is booked until the end of May already, and we are in the beginning of April? It is hectic when one cannot get to all the stuff that one really needs to do. It is not that [the psychologist] don't make a difference, you do. And you [this researcher] know that from your own work here. But it is just so minute. It is so small, it is just like a little chink in the big rehabilitative process that could have been.

JD: But that is also when you might loose your spirit, working alone here. Maybe you do need a whole team of people, that you can feel that you make more of an impact as a group.

10007. Yeah, you do. Because you feel overwhelmed. The overwhelming case load, and the overwhelming administrative load. The overwhelming need for people to see me. The overwhelming demand for me to be in three places all at once. When I arrive at work in the morning, to see it bulging with stuff that I have not been able to attend to. So all of that is quite overwhelming, and if you don't look after yourself, you burn yourself out. And there are times when you just feel like bailing out, and you think 'I just cannot do this anymore. I am not going to survive, and if I am not surviving I cannot help anyone'. So, there are times when you just do things for survival. Your own survival, in terms of just being able to cope. I suppose it is important, as a therapist, to know when you have reached your limit. There are times that I sit here, and feel that I just cannot do this anymore. I just need to step back and recharge a bit.

JD: I think burnout is a very real problem for any therapist. But especially here, where you are really the only person on the psychological side of things working towards rehabilitation, when most of the staff are working on the 'punishing' side.

More access to psychologists.

Support for the psychological staff to prevent burnout.

<p>10008. I think that most off the staff also help a little bit with that, but there is also tension between psychology and social work. Just in terms of ‘turf’, not a sense of working together as a team but rather pulling in two directions. That is the kind of experience I have had, even at Weskoppies when I was there doing my internship. It was the same thing, that psychologists and social workers don’t ‘gel’, because of this kind of professional ‘turf’. But it is also the individuals, there are certain people that I work with extremely well, and there are certain people that I just cannot work with.</p>	<p>Psychological staff and social workers must work together better.</p>
<p>10009. But what I am saying is that one must go in there as a team and work together in a multi-disciplinary effort. And then, of course, another thing that comes into play here is the politics. One has that in a lot of organisations, who is supposed to do what and where.</p>	<p>Multi-disciplinary rehabilitation teams.</p>
<p>10010. Issues of power, like ‘I am the head, so you have to do it my way’. Issues around undermining the work that you do, just because people want to get you back because you are outspoken or verbose, or that kind of thing. Those things can be extremely demotivating, and we have lots of that. There is issues like they want us to wear uniforms, wanting us to go to parade and things like that. All of that really impacts on you as a person, and what you can deliver. When they force you to do stuff, and they really do at times. A whole lot of pressure for you to do stuff that you don’t want to do.</p>	<p>Power struggles between different staff.</p>
<p>10011. The uniform is a big issue. Because I don’t feel that I can do rehabilitation when I wear that uniform. Because I represent ‘punishment’ rather than ‘rehabilitation’.</p>	<p>Staff divided into ‘punishment’ and ‘rehabilitative’ factions.</p>

10012. [A staff member entered the office, interrupted the interview] you see, it is this kind of stuff, that I cannot have a full, undisturbed therapy session. It doesn't matter how many people you tell, the only way you can have an undisturbed therapy session is if you lock the door, both the doors [the passage door as well]. And this is also politics, because this staff member is now going to feel 'what the hell, why can't I come and chat'. And that is another thing. The door is supposed to be open, and you are supposed to be ready to help at any time. And there are times when you can do it, and there are other times when you cannot. And I think that people don't realise that. They think that just because you are a therapist, you are supposed to be welcoming and open and be ready to do it at any time. You are supposed to be warm and open and accepting and empathising all the time.

JD: What depletes your ability to be empathetic or compassionate?

10013. I think, just becoming tired really does it. Undermines your ability to just be there for a client. Being overwhelmed by the work, and just tired in general. Sometimes I sit here and a client comes in, and I just feel 'I wish I didn't have to do this'. I just don't have anything to give anymore. And that is also bad, if you look at it from a dynamic perspective. I am not a dynamically oriented therapist, but dynamically that is bad for the client. And there are times when one feels like that.

JD: But is that not also linked to not being in a multi-disciplinary team? That there is no cross-pollination between you and others?

10014. Yeah. And what also affects me here, is the fact that we do specific kinds of work here. You know the work that we do, like crisis intervention. I think that we just don't get a chance to communicate with other professionals, colleagues, to just share information, be updated with new developments, what is happening in our profession. As an example, if I had to do psychometry now, I think I would have to go for supervision, because I have not done psychometry here.

Lack of confidentiality and undisturbed therapy.

Therapist burnout due to caseload and prison dynamics.

Psychological staff needs support and peer group supervision from colleagues.

10015. There is hardly time to do therapy, let alone psychometry. So, if I had to do psychometric work, first of all it would take a couple of hours to read through the manual and reacquaint myself with a particular test. And then, obviously, it would have to be a type of test that I had already done, so that I know it from before. But then I would have to read up on how to score it, because I have not done it for so long.

JD: So are you saying that this would be a good placement for a psychometrist, would that be a useful placement?

10016. Yes, but I think the need is so much greater for psychotherapy. But if we could get both [more therapists as well as a psychometrist], then absolutely. Particularly if you look at more intensive rehabilitation, in terms of allowing for diagnosis and a treatment plan. Obviously psychometric tools would be very useful in helping to do an intensive psychotherapeutic intervention. We need something like that. We don't have it here, there is no time. We are here to put out fires. I think that the experience you get here does not allow for that [use of psychometric tools]. Which is sad, because our exposure to other things is so vast. But I suppose that happens in every institution, that you will not have exposure to everything.

10017. But I think that one of the things that do deplete us or myself, is the fact that... [another person walks into the office] ... gee, I have lost my train of thought. [long pause while he is trying to retrace]. I think that one of the things that do deplete us here, is the fact that I feel as though I have been left behind in terms of professional growth and development and keeping up to date.

No time to do psychometric work with the prisoners.

Psychometrists on staff.

Continuous professional retraining and development of psychological staff.

10018. If I listen to some of the things the students [coming once a week to do their practical placements at the prison] talk about, some of the newer stuff that you guys talk about, I don't know anything about those things. As a therapist, I think that I am comfortable with where I am at, and with myself as a therapist. It would just be nice to have a bit more professional development. I think we really loose out on that, because there is no time to do anything.

JD: It sounds like involvement with others in your field is the major issue, that you can be excited about other people's ideas?

10019. Yeah, absolutely. I think the only involvement that we get – that I get – is with the students. And with the lecturers, when we do our group supervision. And that is once every two months only. That is nice, and I would certainly like to do more of that. But I think these issues will change now with the new CPD points [mandatory continued professional development], hopefully. I also think that it is hard, in the sense that after a full day's work you don't want to go and join a group, you just want to go home and relax. Because this is very draining, you can see here, you cannot sit and do anything without being disturbed. And that phone rings off the hook. It is just unplugged now; otherwise we would be interrupted constantly. So, it is like that. It is extremely draining. The only time that you can have peace and quiet is when you lock the doors. Pull out the phone, and then you can have peace to e.g. write a report to the parole board.

JD: How often do you have to write reports?

10020. Not very often, thank God, because there is not time to do it. But there are times when I have to do it, at least once a month. But I try to get out of doing that by rather giving verbal feedback during the parole board sittings. That saves me a lot of time.

Lack of time to learn and update therapeutic skills.

Constant interruption of therapy sessions.

JD: You were talking about the kinds of therapy, like crisis-intervention, that you deal with here. What kinds of needs actually walk in through your door, can you try to categorise the needs?

10021. You know, Janne, it is just so much of everything. There is so much stuff that is not even in the psychology books. Stuff like: 'I haven't seen my family, I don't know if they are OK', financial problems, drugs and drug related issues, relationships, relationships with the people they have left behind, jobs and job related issues, a whole host of social issues, of course issues related to the crime, guilt, coming to terms with imprisonment, rejection. Rejection from society, because people have been thrown in here, so they have been rejected. Not only by society, but also by family members, the people that are supposed to be close to them.

10022. Issues of just trying to cope. Adaptation issues. Issues of sex and sexuality are usually also quite. Like 'I was straight outside, and I have come in here and been here a while, and I am starting to like XYZ, I don't know where I am in terms of sexuality'. Seeing the doctor to try to get as much medication as possible, taking drugs to try to cope. Inability to sleep, wanting to sleep the entire sentence away by taking drugs.

10023. Also issues around socialising, interpersonal relations in the prison.

10024. And some of the more heavy clinical stuff, like sociopathic tendencies, psychosis, some of the personality disorders are also quite prevalent here.

JD: The ones with antisocial tendencies. Do they come here by themselves because they have discovered that they have a problem?

Support for prisoners' social and familial problems. (Rejection, guilt, economic, employment).

Support regarding adaptation to prison life, sexuality, drugs, sleeplessness.

Learning to socialise at too close quarters in prison.

Help with clinical psychological problems.

10025. Usually, they are referred. By staff, when that particular person is out of control. And then one tries to deal with that. And under the circumstances, there is no time to deal with that.

JD: There is a psychiatrist assigned to the prison, who prescribes the drugs? Are you able to form some kind of relationship with him?

10026. I have a good report with the psychiatrist, I have his contact details and I can speak to him at any time. So, if I think something is needed for a client, I can talk to him. I think that more of the problems are because drugs are prescribed, and then the offenders don't get them. They struggle with that.

10027. And that is then also another issue one has to deal with. Like 'I am not well, I am hearing voices'. And it is usually only when things are coming to a hilt, and the person is starting to lose it, that something is being done about it. Which is, I suppose, not very good, as it adds to the level of stress within the prison.

JD: If you take a 10% section... you have mentioned the various problems [you deal with], if you look at your client base and place them in categories. Could you then suggest for each category what should happen to them rehabilitatively, for them to exit the prison the best and most productive they can be? Given the time and money available, how could that be done most constructively?

10028. I think that they need to work through some of the issues that they have. I think that goes for anybody, not necessarily just for an offender. But especially why they landed up here, what caused it, 'where am I [offender] with respect to all of this, and how am I going to change that I don't get myself into another situation like this'. And I think that the only way one can really do that, is by having an intensive multi-disciplinary psychotherapeutic intervention. And I think that is something that we aspire to, but we are still very far from.

Interdisciplinary teamwork and referrals.

Need to deal with offenders' problems at an early stage.

Offenders' need to gain insight and understanding of the choices and factors leading to their incarceration.

10029. It reminds me of the fact that in some of the Nordic countries they have one psychologist per 40 or 50 offenders. So, we are very far from actually being able to do that. That is really the only way that you can make a change. And even when you do work like that, the success rate is still very low. The focus on rehabilitating offenders in the Nordic countries is very strong, they put a lot of effort into that. But another thing we must look at, is that we cannot just apply what they have done overseas, because of cross-cultural issues. I think that our situation is different.

Ratio of prisoner:
rehabilitative staff is
insufficient.

10030. Issues of language, for instance. Most of our therapists can only speak one language, usually English. And how do you really do a proper intervention if you cannot speak the client's language? And I am not saying that it is not possible to rehabilitate somebody. But it does make it more difficult if you are not aware of issues of culture and so forth. You cannot broadly apply rehabilitation strategies that they have overseas. We can look at them, but we should not just apply them indiscriminately.

Need for therapists who
speak the offenders'
language.

JD: I don't have any further questions now; do you want to add anything?

10031. No, but you are welcome to come back with more questions, and I will jot down any further points that I might come across.

JD: Thanks for your help.

4.1.11 Interview with Senior Staff Member, 15-04-2003.

What follows is a verbatim transcription of an interview with a female senior staff member at Diepkloof prison. The identity of the staff member is concealed to allow the staff member to speak freely without fear of recriminations from prisoners and prison authorities. As an opportunity to discuss the research with her had not presented itself before, she was briefed on the research objective before starting the tape recording. The prison has recently installed a radio system, and the noise was very disruptive, but it is not possible to turn the radio off, as it is piped through from the main offices in another building. There is no on/off button on the speaker.

Table 4.11 Interview with senior staff member

Interview 11	Concepts
<p>JD: If you think about... when you see people coming in here, what are the kinds of things in their lives, their personalities, or their relationships that cause them to land up in prison?</p> <p>10032. I have experienced that most women will do it –commit fraud- to keep their husbands, and to keep their families happy and together. And afterwards, they will come in here and their husbands don't want anything to do with them. They will just go out, spend the money, not want them anymore. And especially their husbands will just leave them and forget about them here. Other family, if they have other family, will have to take over. And other people, especially their churches, will come and support them [somebody walked in, and a phone call had to be attended to].</p> <p>JD: So, does that say something about their relationships as well, do you think that is an indicator of the kind of relationships they had before they came in here?</p> <p>10033. Yes, I am sure it does. Because I am sure, at least some of them will do anything to keep their love, to be loved.</p>	<p>Dealing with rejection by family members upon incarceration. Need for support from family.</p> <p>Need for acceptance and love from family.</p>

JD: When you say it like that, it almost sounds like it has something to do with their self-esteem? Liking yourself enough to think that you are worthy of love?

10034. Most of them, their self-esteem is very low when they come in. Because, as you know, it is actually not a nice place to be [prison]. And they must be able to adjust, to stay within a ...cell. And they must make peace with the type of sentence that they got. So, they need their self-esteem to be built up, they need to know that they are still women although they are prisoners.

10035. And they need to know that they are still moms; that they are still needed outside although they are prisoners; they must still be there for their kids and their families. Some of them don't realise it, they think they are worth nothing; because they are here they [feel they] are worth nothing.

JD: And is there something one can do to build up their self-esteem?

10036. Yes, by courses, and by encouraging them. There are plenty of them that need so much encouragement. And I don't think we have got enough trained personnel, trained people who are able to keep up with that encouragement, because every day it is different problems that have to be solved. And they constantly need all that attention for them [a person walked in, a discussion ensued].

JD: What effect do you think the lack of connection to the kids has on the prisoners?

Need for self-esteem.

Need to separate stigmatised role as prisoner from other life-roles.

Need for encouragement and attention while in prison.

10037. Ahem... what does it do to them? You know, they get so demoralised. And if you see the heart sore and the hate in her [the female prisoner], and she is running everywhere for help, and there is nobody that can help her if the husband won't let the child come [to visit] her. It is the court's decision, and after the court placed the child in his care, and after a while the child comes [to visit] and doesn't even call her 'mommy' anymore. So you can imagine what that woman goes through, when the child calls her by her name [only].

Need for access to their children.

10038. And the child says 'XXX, when are you coming home, can I stay with you please, I don't want to stay with daddy'. Or the child grew up with this, and the husband has now got a girlfriend, and being two years old and growing up with this other lady, and you never come and see you mother who is in prison, and they keep on telling the child that your mother is in prison, and she is so bad. And he talks about this other woman as his mommy. So it is actually very, very sad if you go through this with them.

Need for familial support and acceptance.

JD: The families are destroyed?

10039. Most of them are destroyed. If they don't get the right counselling. And they must be honest. Some of them are not honest with their families. Some families only find out the day that they are sentenced. 'Listen here, I have been on trial for fraud of whatever, and I am going to prison now', so it is one hell of a shock for them. They should have been honest with their families and [said] 'listen, I have done this ting, and I am going on trial for this, so let's go for help so we can stand together in this'. But that doesn't happen, and that is where the families break up, because they don't know what is going on. A month ago, I had an incident on the section like that. The children never knew where the money comes from. Where all the nice holidays come from. And then, the day she was sentenced and came here, then... the weekend afterwards they only found out where their mother is, for how long, and for what.

Need for honesty within family relations. Learning about open communication.

JD: That is both about honesty and about communication. Talking about what is going on?

10040. Yeah, but they are too scared. Too scared that they are going to be judged. But now they have lost their whole family. And now it is up to the social workers to pick it all up for them.

JD: And does it ever happen, that when the links have been broken like that, that they are put back together again?

10041. Yes, much of the time, actually. But it is a whole process that they have to go through, and it takes time. To rebuild that trust again.

JD: Now, if you look into all these different people that are in here, what kind of crimes do you see, which crimes are the biggest?

10042. Fraud and theft are the biggest, and then murder. Theft is when you e.g. took the money. You didn't plan it, you just took it. Fraud is when you plan to take it out of credit cards or cheques or something. You used a computer, and placed it onto your account and so forth. More complicated. You have to be smart enough to do it, but not smart enough to realise the damage it can do to your life. And it starts out with small amounts, and then you get greedier, and greedier, and then one day it just bursts. They come in here, and then they have been sentenced to so many counts of fraud –thirty years of accumulated counts of fraud.

JD: So many people have done it so many times, and it doesn't stop before they are stopped?

Dealing with fear of judgment. Taking responsibility for consequences of one's actions.

Rebuilding familial trust.

Dealing with greed.

10043. They always think 'ok I will take this money, and next month I will replace it', but the next month there is no money to replace it. And so it just goes bigger and bigger and bigger. And they cannot do anything anyway. So, they come in here. Some of them gave themselves over because they could not live with themselves.

JD: So, what is that, conscience?

10044. I suppose so. It could be conscience, it could be fear. So, fraud is the highest [occurrence of crime in the female prison], then theft and then murder. About 40% of the prisoners have committed murder. People murder out of anger, or [as a reaction to] abuse.

10045. Most of them have been abused. Or [because they were] under the influence of alcohol and drugs, but that is not so many. And then being abused by their husbands, that is most of them. Sexual abuse, emotional abuse, any way you can get it. And you would think 'ah, murder, so this is this vicious lady'. Most people ask me 'aren't you scared of the murderers?' But I am not, because I feel that it was just something that snapped, something that happened. Especially when being abused.

JD: Apart from abusing husbands, what other kinds of bad influences do you see influencing the women in their choice to commit crime?

10046. Not being supported, not being looked after, being poor, struggling and being tired of struggling, drugs, alcohol and friends. Friends like gangsters, being involved in gangsterism. There is no gangsterism here on the inside in the female [prison], but outside there are gangs.

JD: I would like to return to the kinds of criminality you see in here? At the top is fraud, theft, and then murder...?

Understanding consequences of one's actions.

Anger management.

Finding a better way than self-medication (substance abuse) to manage psychological and physical pain.

Learning to discern what is a beneficial relationship.

10047. Yes, and then child abuse. I don't know what causes that. About 5-6% of the prisoners are in here for child abuse. Maybe also again the influence of the husband – forcing them to do it. So, they are party to the abuse rather than being 'the abuser'. Because if you listen to them, their husbands or boyfriends were always part of it, in all the cases. There is a man involved in every story.

JD: What other types of crimes do you see?

10048. Among the short-timers, theft and shoplifting. Lots of that. Shoplifting of clothes and food. Here and there, car theft. These people will keep on coming back and coming back. Assault and shoplifting as well. They will return and say 'we can't survive out there'. They should be able to survive, and make a life or a living outside so that they don't need to steal. There is one, say for instance that she is released today, tomorrow she will be back. Because she went and stole a pair of shoes at Woolworth, because she didn't have shoes.

10049. And if they have been here for quite a while, and I am talking about from three years up, they are scared to go out. They are very scared. And they tell you 'I am scared to go out, because I don't know what is waiting for me.'

JD: Say now that we had people to put on to those who are being released. What would you think they should do for them?

Learning to use good judgment and decision-making skills.

Having the skills and opportunities to survive without criminal behaviour.

Managing fear of returning to society upon release.

10050. I would take them... Say now, for instance, someone is due to go home. I would take them into town, and just gradually get them back into the system. Show them the prices. Say now they came in three years ago, you know of the price increases, but they haven't got an idea of what's going on outside. Maybe, if they can drive, let them drive a car. Let them sit in a restaurant. Because they get this feeling that everybody knows they have been a prisoner. Like a mark on their forehead. So, that is why they must get into the community. So there must be some sort of introduction, weeks or months before their release date. So just take them, and a [staff] member can go along. They don't have to be in uniform or anything. I know a lady here who has a life sentence, and she is still in prison. Do you know how scared of men she is; she will not come near a man. About seven years ago, I asked if I could take her out of the prison for a little while. She had been in here for eight years. Just to get her normal, because she had become 'tronkdronk' [jail-mad]. And I took her out. I took her to Westgate [shopping centre]. I wish you could have seen her face. She drew some money [from her prison account, before departing], and we let her buy her own toiletries and things. We took her to have lunch, she could choose from a menu, and she was sitting there and having to eat with a knife and fork. And she couldn't ... can you believe it [knives and forks are not allowed in the prison, only spoons].

10051. And it is all those little things. I left her in an aisle [in the supermarket], and I was in the next aisle, and she was screaming: 'Adjutant XXX, where are you?' And I was saying 'shhh, everybody is looking at you now'. It is a simple example, but that is what they need. Getting used to life again.

JD: I think perhaps that bringing people in from the outside who bring the world with them, people who don't work here, will help? And I think you, the staff, need it as well, don't you?

Gradual, monitored adaptation to life outside prison, for the long-term prisoners.

Learning to be alone again, after years of being constantly surrounded by people.

10052. Definitely. We are here the whole day; we don't see the outside world. We go home [most live in the compound inside the prison walls], and we are with our families.

[A pause in the recording, as the interviewee had to go out to attend to a problem].

JD: Ok, What else do we need to do [in terms of rehabilitative needs]? If you look at the prisoners you spend the most time with, what do you think they need, in order for them to go out and be successful in society? If you think about how much money it costs to keep them in here, and that they should be able to be of benefit to society. What would they need?

10053. To be trained in different skills.

JD: What kind of skills training do you think would be appropriate to offer here?

10054. I think anything would be appreciated. We have so many talented people here, but they don't get an opportunity to use it. Only in the doll making and the basket making workshops. Other people have other interests. But, to be trained in a skill and to be able to make something to survive outside.

10055. I know that they want to be with their families outside, but they don't want their families to support them or be a burden. They also want to give something back. Just to be able to say, this is my part, my contribution or something.

Contact with society, for both prisoners and staff.

Practical skills training.

Opportunity to practice and improve on skills.

Being useful and contributing to family and society.

JD: Almost like when you move from being a child to being a young adult. You might still live at home, but you still want to be able to pay something towards the household?

10056. Exactly. Being a prisoner, and then going out looking for work, they will not get it. It is not easy. Only if you have family or friends that have a business that will take you in. But if you don't know anybody... So they must be taught the skills to survive, that is a very important point for me. That support. Because, if their support system is not good, they keep on coming back [to prison].

JD: What do they need to have in their support system?

10057. Parents... it is good if they are still around. Family, husband, children, anybody. Just to be there to support them, to help them to adjust outside, to lift them up a bit.

JD: If you think about the various things that have been and are being offered here... I have heard the singing this morning, the choir. I have seen the various religious members of the community coming in here. I think that they are running the 'who am I' course today...and the Alpha course, what is that?

10058. The Alpha course is a religious course. And then there is the 'striving for excellence' course that [the psychologist] sometimes does. Ok, those courses help them to uplift themselves and their self-esteem, that is very good because they need it. But what about different skills. There are so many things that they can do with their hands, out of nothing, I am sure.

Work opportunities upon release.

Support from extended family when adjusting to life outside prison.

Need for more than self-development courses.

JD: So would more workshops also help? So not only a course, but actual workshops where they can do the work they have learned?

10059. Yes! And follow-ups. Because people come and do a course, and then they leave them. I feel there must be follow-ups. Just to see how they are, and if they are using the course knowledge.

JD: And their hobbies? I think the situation was that all their hobbies were taken away, because someone stabbed another person with a knitting needle [approx. 2 years ago]. Is it still like that?

10060. Yes, it is still like that. For security reasons and also because of corruption. Because the prisoners will paint or do other things and sell the things and keep the money, and then buy dagga or smokes [cigarettes] or something with that money. So the corruption was very high.

10061. If we can have places where they go from 8.00 to 15.00 every day to sit and paint or whatever, then they can be locked up and tomorrow morning go back to it. But it has to be very organised.

JD: So, we need to cater to their need to be industrious, so that by the end of the day you can see that you have done something useful?

10062. Yes, like last year when we had a three-week hairdressing course. But not everybody could go on it, and we need more of that.

JD: Yes, and the prisoners were telling me that it was a really good course, but that they felt left in the lurch, because it stopped there, and there was no follow up or chance to apply the learning. So, I suppose continuity is important, that the training should carry on and you should be able to depend on it?

Need for continuity and follow-ups in training and development.

Management of private money within the prison. (Discourse around corruption)

Need for having another place to go to in the day, where prisoners can apply themselves to a skill.

Need for more courses, so every prisoner can attend something.

10063. Yes, that is very important.

JD: Some of the other prisons have factories manufacturing furniture and that kind of thing.

10064. Yes, but that is on the men's side. Here we only have the textile factory. We make the prison clothes for other prisons. And there is only a certain amount of inmates allowed to be there, to work there. But that is also the same thing over and over. They work in lines, and it is a bit mind numbing because there is no creativity. But at least it keeps them busy.

JD: Right. I am not sure what else I need to know now. Is there anything you would like to add?

10065. Yes. You know what else is needed here? You know, the social workers and psychologists are so overloaded here, if we could get some help for them from the outside, just to take some of the pressure off them. Because they are overloaded. Like more psychologists and social workers, just working together. And bringing in... just coming to present programmes for them. Our [internal] social workers and psychologists don't get the time for it, because they have to see their clients all the time. So they don't get the time to present all these courses sufficiently, and to do all the follow ups. So if we can get more people to do that from the outside, why not.

JD: Quite a few of the prisoners I have spoken to here, have mentioned that they feel there is a need to test people with various psychological tests when they come in here. To determine what kind of people they are, what their needs are, what their abilities and aptitudes are, so that one could channel them into various directions of growing and maturing and skills training and so forth. What do you think of that?

Need for more job-related activities. Keeping busy.

Need for more external people to work with the prisoners.

<p>10066. That would be brilliant. Because not all of us are trained to be able to pick up things like that. Gradually, as you start getting to know an inmate and her behaviour, you can start picking up this and that.</p> <p>10067. Some of them will come with brilliant suggestions; others will be more quiet persons. That would actually be very helpful for us as well.</p> <p>JD: Maybe some of the 'live wires that are in your face now could be made useful if there was a system for collecting and implementing some of the better ideas they come up with. OK, do you have anything else you would like to add [shakes her head]? Thank you for your time and input. If any other points or ideas come to you later, maybe you could write them down and give them to [the psychologist], and I can get them when I return later. Thanks again.</p>	<p>Need for psychometric testing.</p> <p>Need for a forum for collecting and assessing suggestions from the prisoners.</p>
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4.1.12 Reflection on the Interviews

The above interview concludes the scheduled interview sessions. The interviews provided much food for thought as well as a mass of concepts on which the rehabilitative framework will be based. However, as additional information was graciously offered by two prisoners, this has been included in the following section. The data from the additional information section will be treated in the same way as any other data, and included in the analysis and framework development.

4.2 ADDITIONAL INPUT FROM TWO PRISONERS

Two prisoners decided out of their own volition to provide additional information after the interviews. 'Sonja' offered some comments regarding foreign prisoners. Although she is a South African citizen, she feels very concerned about the way in which foreign inmates are treated in the South African prisons. 'Bonnie' took it upon herself to conduct interviews with ten prisoners who had not previously been interviewed, and she also provided comments and suggestions based on the interview experience. The information in section 4.2 has been typed as it was received, and Bonnie's ten interviews have merely been converted to table format. The information in these interviews is concise, and these interviews have thus not been provided with a right-hand column for concept formulations. The data from these interviews and from Sonja's comments has been included in the initial categories list and axially coded along with the other data.

4.2.1 Sonja's Comments on Foreign Prisoners

Prisoners coming from overseas should not be kept in the same prison as South Africans for the following reasons:

1. Language problems
2. They are abused:
 - a. They sell their belongings to survive
 - b. Staff members do not respect them as they regard them as impostors.

Foreigners, who have committed a crime must not be allowed to keep their children in the prison. The children should be sent back to their families. That also goes for the children that are born in prison. Foreign prisoners should be allowed to contact their families at least once a month telephonically. This can be done through the social worker. An exchange programme should be put in place so that these prisoners can go and serve their sentences in their own countries. If they are kept in SA prisons, proper programmes must be set up to accommodate these people. For example:

1. Keep them together in a cell
2. Teach them the English language
3. Help them to keep in touch with their families

4. Look at releasing them sooner to go home (looking at the severity of the crime)

4.2.2 Interviews Conducted by Bonnie

(The prisoners names are withheld)

Table 4.12 Bonnie's 1st interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 39 Crime: Fraud Sentence: 3 years How long in prison: 6 months
How can we improve the prison system?	-Keep the prisoners busy -We should have more contact with the outside world -Prisoners should be given an incentive to work towards, making their sentence shorter.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-We need a half-way house, some people need somewhere to go when they leave here -Jobs and skills to enable people to set themselves up -Rehab should carry on even after we leave here
What has the prison system done for you?	Nothing
What would you change within the system?	I would like to implement skills or to be taught skills to enable me to work when I leave here, and I would also like to have a place to stay – like a half-way house
How do you feel right now?	No hope !!!

Table 4.13 Bonnie's 2nd interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 25 Crime: Drug dealing Sentence: 10 years How long in prison: 3 years
How can we improve the prison system?	-Completely separate maximum and minimum prisoners -Open days with our families -More space, less overcrowding
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-Education -Working and courses -Hobbies so people can express themselves
What has the prison system done for you?	-I will never come back to prison -I realise I abused my freedom -I am a better person now
What would you change within the system?	-They should evaluate us as individuals and not just categorise us based on the crime -We need privacy, at times we need to be alone -I cannot practice my religion (Wicca)
How do you feel right now?	Irritated and angry that we cannot make our own decisions on our beliefs

Table 4.14 Bonnie's 3rd interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 36 Crime: Dealing in Cocaine Sentence: 5 years How long in prison: 2 years
How can we improve the prison system?	The staff should be more organised and work according to one set of rules. If an instruction is given, all the staff members should be aware of what is expected of the inmates
Give ideas on rehabilitation	More emphasis should be placed on schooling or courses, but in an encouraging way. Perhaps incentives could be provided to facilitate enthusiasm from the inmates. The staff should assist inmates in attending courses and not treat the whole exercise as an inconvenience. This rubs off onto the inmates' willingness.
What has the prison system done for you?	I have learned a lot of patience, and have come to grips with the fact that we don't all come from the same place (culturally, emotionally, or intellectually)
What would you change within the system?	I would decrease the amount of people housed in the communal cells. The more people there are, the greater the friction. The staff should also be more involved with what happens in the cells after lock-up.
How do you feel right now?	I am really irritated with the noise level and lack of privacy, because we are all living in each others' faces

Table 4.15 Bonnie's 4th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 64 Crime: Drug dealing Sentence: 10 years How long in prison: Not available
How can we improve the prison system?	-Make it people friendly, it is such a scary place -Psychologists and social workers should be available at all times -Keep us busy with hobbies
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-Put me with people more like myself -Bring back hobbies and give us more job opportunities -Let me use my skills to teach others
What has the prison system done for you?	Nothing. I feel more angry than I was before.
What would you change within the system?	Don't put women in prison. Consider work farms etc. Staff must be taught to treat people better
How do you feel right now?	Scared, I know I'm going to die here

Table 4.16 Bonnie's 5th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 22 Crime: Arson Sentence: 10y How long in prison: 1 year and 9 months
How can we improve the prison system?	-Education of staff and prisoners. -A set routine. At the moment, it is chaotic and no one knows what to do and when to do it, so order is important. -We need less people in one cell, we are too crowded and under each other's feet, with nothing to do. -Older people should be kept together in cells.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-Family days and sports days, dancing competitions. -Exercise – relieves stress and tension. -Education and workshops to utilise people's skills. -Self-esteem courses to help us deal with our fears.
What has the prison system done for you?	Nothing. I have done everything for myself, sometimes at great odds, but I always succeed.
What would you change within the system?	-Discipline for staff and some of the inmates. -Proper medical care. -Education about HIV and TB. -First-time female offenders should be sentenced to community service, not imprisonment.
How do you feel right now?	Angry, but very determined. The inconsideration and noise is killing me.

Table 4.17 Bonnie's 6th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 40 Crime: Murder Sentence: 15 years How long in prison: 6 years and 4 months
How can we improve the prison system?	-People should have to earn their 'A' group status, and groups should be separated. -Psychological evaluations to group people in groups with similar people. -Discipline and routine for staff and prisoners.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-You must work on yourself -Hobbies and sport to keep people busy -We need society to take part in this process
What has the prison system done for you?	Nothing, I have to fight to see my children who are in social care. I have seen my children about six times [since the incarceration] and for 3 years and 7 months I never saw them at all.
What would you change within the system?	Women should not be sent to prison, they should be sentenced to outside punishment. A mother is an anchor in her family, without a mother the family crumbles.
How do you feel right now?	I feel sick and tired of this place.

Table 4.18 Bonnie's 7th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 30 Crime: Murder Sentence: 6 years How long in prison: 6 months
How can we improve the prison system?	-Routine and discipline of ourselves and staff. -Health should be seen to. E.g. we are exposed to TB and HIV. -We should know our rights and we should be given going-home dates so we can work towards that.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	There is none, so we would have to be treated like people and taught morals; also the staff members have no manners. We should have recreation, like sports days, family days, etc.
What has the prison system done for you?	Nothing, I don't know when I am going home. I don't know what is right or what is wrong.
What would you change within the system?	-First of all – rules and regulations for staff and prisoners. -Medical set-up must be looked into, people are dying. -We must not be allowed to keep children in prison.
How do you feel right now?	I have spoken my mind, so I feel a bit better, and I hope this helps improve the plight of female prisoners.

Table 4.19 Bonnie's 8th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 43 Crime: Robbery Sentence: 7 years How long in prison: 4 years and 6 months
How can we improve the prison system?	-Women should not be in prison, they should be sentenced to community service outside. -Hobbies and skills to be used outside. - Staff must be taught respect.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-Outside involvement with society and family. -More psychologists and social workers. -More work to keep us busy.
What has the prison system done for you?	Not happy, they have done nothing for me.
What would you change within the system?	-Better medical treatment. -Food should be prepared properly. -More skills and hobbies.
How do you feel right now?	Just like that, I don't really know. I just want to go home.

Table 4.20 Bonnie's 9th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 43 Crime: Armed robbery Sentence: 6 years How long in prison: 4 years and 4 months
How can we improve the prison system?	By implementing an organised system to enable staff and inmates alike to grow. There is so much misunderstanding and all because there is no routine, no discipline. We need to be placed with the right people, as we need to live as functional family units.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	Stress could be relieved through sport, exercise, and counselling. This would help in the many explosive situations we find ourselves in. Families and volunteers from society should be able to help in our rehabilitation, family days, workshops, group therapies, etc.
What has the prison system done for you?	I have grown within myself and have learned to get on with the many different cultures we are made up of. I have also learned to look around properly and to really see and understand a lot of things that I did not before. I now stop and think "how can I change this situation" instead of turning my back or just giving up.
What would you change within the system?	I would teach 'consideration' from both the inmates' and the members' point of view. I would set a good routine and I would discipline where it is needed. I would also separate maximums from mediums completely. I would introduce hobbies and group therapies, and I would teach skills.
How do you feel right now?	Angry, as I can't take the noise level around me anymore.

Table 4.21 Bonnie's 10th interview

QUESTIONS	Age: 53 Crime: Theft Sentence: 7 years How long in prison: 2 years
How can we improve the prison system?	-Abolish prison for females -Psychological help outside, all first time offenders should be evaluated and alternative means of sentencing given other than prison. -We need to learn respect.
Give ideas on rehabilitation	-Hobbies and work skills -Courses and psychological talks -Family and society should participate.
What has the prison system done for you?	Not one thing. It has made me angry and taught me all the criminal things I did not know before. It has made me dishonest.
What would you change within the system?	The staff members are inhumane; teach them how to treat people. Bring discipline and order to the chaos we live in.
How do you feel right now?	Angry and depressed.

4.2.3 Bonnie's Comments on the Interviews

This section contains a verbatim transcription of a letter from Bonnie in which she comments on her experience of conducting the interviews.

Hello there!

Most of the inmates felt that there was no routine or discipline here [in prison], most of us felt that we are thrown in the deep end without having been taught to swim. Nothing is as it should be, things change from member to member and we are getting nowhere. Even the staff members seem confused at times.

What I found amazing was that all inmates I spoke to found and believe that females should not be in prison if they are first time offenders. They all felt they should have been given a chance, with punishment outside. Something like community service. A lot of them did not like the fact that there are children in prison. I feel that again it is a case of 'cause and effect', as we had the choice. I suggested we as a group get together and start changing our own lives and the lives of the people around us (making the best of a bad situation). I pointed out that no matter how bad our situations seem, there is always someone in a worse situation. We tend to get so full of self-pity here sometimes and this holds us back. If we could have group therapies with people qualified to deal with this, it would make us stop and think. Boredom and drugs were another issue, and everyone I spoke to would like to do something constructive. A little bit of motivation and self-empowerment would go a long way.

Overcrowding was a main issue as was the cultural differences [between inmates]. The others do not want to tolerate and consider the white culture, as 'their culture' was the only culture that mattered, this made me sad and angry. I suggested they burn their radios, clothes and medicines, as this was our culture and not theirs. I also suggested we let them live out in the 'binneplaas' so they could really go back to the 'roots' or so-called 'culture'. The look of shock on their faces was too much. I said we will do this for a week, and then I guaranteed that we would get together and hunt down this so-called 'culture' and we would kill it as it was a troublemaker and an instigator. I also suggested that we forget our differences and start a whole

new culture of our own, one called 'success'. So, now I have a million and one ladies coming to me with suggestions for 'our culture'.

Janne, I think I have really started something here. I have stirred, and have got people thinking. I hope we have some progress. Our motto is 'we will succeed' in everything we do. We will care and we will be considerate to others at all times. Who knows? Maybe we will have one big miracle and all learn to love each other, because that is what it is all about. I hope this helps and thanks for all you have done, I feel wonderful. God bless, love from 'Bonnie'.

4.2.4 Bonnie s Postscript on the Interviewing Experience

This section has not been edited, and was thus typed exactly as received in hand-written form.

What I found so heartbreaking was the fact that all the women I spoke to have such a low opinion of themselves. There is no hope here. If we could just show these ladies a little bit of compassion and care, I think it would go a long way. I feel that it is seldom that a woman in the community commits a crime, our statistics prove this but nevertheless there are a few that do. I have seldom found women to be anything but compassionate, so it is hard for me to understand how some of them did what they did. Listening to their stories has opened my eyes. I see that there is a need for a stronger commitment and bonding in the various communities outside. Most of these women have been abused or abandoned, some of them since childhood. Is society outside so dysfunctional that we cannot recognise trouble in our own neighbourhoods? What has happened to family values? Men have to be re-educated in terms of the treatment of women. Have we as women made men react to us this way because of 'women's' lib'. Does this give a man the excuse to abuse us as they would another man, with fists!!!? So many questions I have now. What is wrong with us, that we have become so uncaring? Are we too busy, is life too fast?

There is nevertheless hope if people like yourself can get the right people to see to us and our needs. I promise you: Give a little of your time and you will empower us and enable us to hold our heads up once again. I feel that we need to educate the outside world as to the plight of female prisoners. We need to form groups

outside, have workshops and just generally educate people to make them aware. We all have to be re-integrated into society, so let society take part in that rehabilitation process. This will allow them to know that we are not as bad as they imagine. You cannot correct one wrong with another wrong, so we need to educate the prison staff, and teach them to treat us as human beings. We are women, not numbers, and yes – we do have emotions, we do get sad and hurt at times too. Do you know that the female prisoners have fewer privileges than the male prisoners do? Why is a man considered a first-rate citizen, but a female a second-rate one? It is the same here in prison. Then we have the cultural aspect to deal with as well. The females here have lost the urge to succeed. They have lost their childhood dreams, and they have no motivation. The environment here is so violent and unfriendly and this leads to more violence. How can you rehabilitate people in such an environment? Help us, please to look within ourselves, to learn to understand ourselves, and to find our dreams once again!!!

4.2.5 Bonnie s Suggestions, Based on Her Interviews

This section has not been edited, and was thus typed exactly as received in hand-written form.

1. Demolish and abolish prisons for women.
2. Make the cells smaller; divide them into units.
3. Make staff 'people friendly' through courses and seminars.
4. Develop discipline and respect in staff and prisoners.
5. Create more jobs in the prisons.
6. Let the prisoners teach other prisoners their skills.
7. Workshops and talks.
8. More psychologists and social workers.
9. Categorise the prisoners according to personality.
10. Teach tolerance within the prison.
11. Develop outside work (farms, hospitals, police stations).
12. Go to old-age homes, adopt HIV babies outside, give prisoners purpose.
13. We need more basic skills, and illiteracy must be seen to.
14. Gardening for prisoners, flowers and perhaps a 'peace garden'.
15. We need hobbies where we can do handwork in the cells in the afternoon after lock-up. Idle hands breed idle minds and thoughts.
16. People should be given incentives for what they are doing.
17. Society should have a stronger awareness of female prisons and form part of our rehabilitation process.
18. Our families should participate in our rehabilitation.
19. New inmates should be oriented and prepared for their incarceration.
20. We need a 'quiet place', a chapel or other place to relax and think.
21. Drugs must be stopped in the prison.

22. There is so much space that could be utilised to help the overcrowding.
23. We need skilled teachers to cut down on the unfairness, pettiness and dislike.
24. We need a firm set of rules that must apply to each and every inmate, and the staff must also adhere to them.
25. The violent people must be identified and segregated.
26. Lesbianism must be handled in a better way. The lesbians should have their own sections and/or cells.
27. Food (all the inmates I spoke to agree on this) should be prepared properly. We need skilled people in the kitchen. Fed people are happy people.
28. Medication should be given at set times.
29. Counsellors from outside. People that we can talk to individually or in group therapy sessions. All the inmates agreed that we need outsiders to talk to.
30. Staff should be psychologically tested to see if they are fit to work with people and live with others.
31. The social and anti-social personalities should be identified and dealt with accordingly.
32. Prisoners with traumatic post-stress syndrome [PTSD] should be hospitalised until they are able to cope.
33. Fist-time offenders need to be given a chance.

4.2.6 Reflection on the Additional Input

The comments and interviews offered by ‘Sonja’ and ‘Bonnie’ have been found to support the concepts that emerged from the interviews in section 4.1. As the information extracted by different investigators, (and by dissimilar methods) has elicited findings that are congruent with the findings of this researcher, this correlation is seen to validate the concepts emerging from the audio-taped interviews.

4.3 CONCLUSION

The interviews contained in this chapter indicate the penal practices that are experienced as useful to rehabilitative endeavours and present constructive suggestions for improving penal practices. They do, however, also bear testimony to the way in which current incarceration practices often diminish the female prisoners’ ability to cope successfully in society. After sorting and analysing the data in chapter five, the concerns and suggestions voiced by the interview participants will be dealt with through the development of a rehabilitative needs framework in chapter six.

CHAPTER 5

5 INITIAL SORTING AND ANALYSIS

The approach to sorting and analysing the data in this study is guided by the concern that the researcher's assumptions and ideology should be examined and made explicit. As noted in section 3.2.1, it is assumed that every instance of research contributes to the current social discourse. Table 5.1 below gives an unedited listing of the concept formulations (open coding) found in the right-hand column of the audio-taped interviews in chapter four. As a rough draft, the table of concept formulations contains many items that are analogous and overlapping. However, it is felt that access to a full record of the data will enable the reader to draw his/her own conclusions regarding the validity of the concepts, and allow the reader to discern the finer nuances of meaning. Therefore, the reader is requested to bear with this process, as the initial ambiguity will deepen the final research, and allow the interpretation to be subject to continued contextual modification.

5.1 **CONCEPTS AND EMERGING CATEGORIES**

The concept formulations in Table 5.1 have been loosely arranged in terms of preliminary categories. The table is offered as an overview of what was considered important in terms of the research question (see section 1.2.2). Obviously, a different researcher might read the interviews and find differential meanings to those derived by this researcher. Indeed, re-reading the interviews years later might change the understanding of the interviews due to further discussions with informed parties or reading on the subject. In a study of this nature, it is patent that interpretation and the resultant open concept formulation will always be somewhat subjective. Therefore, the reader may find it most useful to read the interviews in their entirety while comparing his or her own impressions to those listed in the concept formulation column on the right. As may be understood from this, the rehabilitative framework aims to remain a work in progress with no final claims to objectiveness and truth, and should remain open to future interpretation and modification. These categories are sorted through the process of axial coding

in chapter six, and data from the literature is merged with the interview data during this process.

5.2 INITIAL CATEGORIES TABLE

Table 5.1 The initial categories

Order/Protocol/Info	Need for order and reliability in the prison system
	Explicitness, regularity and predictability of rules
	Orderliness and dependability
	Routine, systems, knowing how things work
	Internal communication problems
	Certainty of consequences/repercussions
	Discipline helps with rehabilitation
	Management of authority and control
	Unit management project
	Organised info on prison, prison protocol and prison resources on arrival
	Access to recourse/protection when threatened
	Routine, knowing what is going to happen next
	Psychological evaluation of inmates
	Documentation of prisoner needs and more in-depth demographics
	Limitations of the implicit codes of conduct
	Disregard for/disruption of inmate bonds and relationships
	Insufficiency and misappropriation of prison resources (food, bedding, etc)
	Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour
	New prison protocol – graduating to freedom
	Rewards for having learned one’s lesson
	Motivation/reward for being active/constructive/responsible
	Corruption and misappropriation of resources
	Misappropriation of resources engenders conflict and establishes a pattern of poor interpersonal behaviour
	Psychoeducational courses help to manage conflict and tension
	Logical ordering and prioritising of rehabilitation segments
	Availability of courses, being allowed to choose
	Access to illegal drugs in prison
	After-hours monitoring and access to staff
	Red tape causes long reaction time on appeals
	Access to information and an unambiguous release date gives you something to work towards
	Learning to cope with an unstable system
	Need for ‘train-the-trainer’ courses to improve accessibility
	Need for respectful attitudes and information
	Becoming part of something bigger, knowing that it matters what you do, that people care about your role in society
	Diversification of employment for prisoners, delivering a service to society
	Link prisoner status to willingness to do psychological work
	Need for routine, predictability, and reliability
	Need for discipline
	Cells could be divided according to group status
	Graduating from prison
Graduating to higher group-status based on behaviour and achievement. Earning one’s status	
Group status should be dependent on level of rehabilitation achieved, not an automatic progression regardless of input.	
Separating those who are motivated to change from the destructive elements	

Order/Protocol/Info (continued)	Need for psychologically 'clean' living environment during rehabilitation
	Need for psychological evaluation of prisoners
	Need for exhaustive orientation of new prisoners regarding rules, procedures, and the 'graduation-scheme'
	Rules for non-citizens
	Limited communication between embassies and prison creates practical problems
	Non-citizens' lack of access to courses
	Need for unambiguous rules regarding separation of prisoner groups
	Testing people to see what rehabilitation they need
	Grouping prisoners in cells according to rehabilitative needs
	Need for psychological interventions based on testing of prisoners
	Need for a forum for collecting and assessing suggestions from the prisoners
	Need for psychometric testing
	Need for professionals to help develop the potential of inmates
	Need for directed development of inmates
	Management of private money within the prison (discourse around corruption)
Relationship/Staff	Effect of corrupt staff behaviour
	Discrepancy between law and generally accepted prison behaviour
	Disrespectful attitude to prisoners
	Dealing with being judged
	Interest and involvement of staff
	Impact of prisoner behaviour/ actions on staff
	Effects of rejection
	Members' orderliness and dependability
	Discipline helps with rehabilitation
	Members' goodwill and encouragement
	Respect and adherence to human rights principles
	Empathy and understanding from staff
	Favouritism
	Access to recourse/protection when threatened
	Fairness
	Capriciousness of staff
	Access to professional support
	Encouragement from authorities
	Need to respect staff as role models
	Consequences must be relevant to the prisoner's personality and circumstances
	Use care and encouragement rather than aggression and coercion
	Need for role models when trying to improve oneself, modelling new ways of behaving and thinking
	Need for respect for prisoner's pro-active efforts to manage her life inside/ outside prison
	Inappropriate behaviour tolerated due to reverse apartheid
	Need for confidentiality and discretion
	Inconsistent attitude of staff wear out the visiting family members
	Poor public relations skills of staff scare the prisoners' families away
	Disrespectful attitude of staff toward visiting family members
	Perception that staff members aren't dedicated to doing their best
	Need for retraining of staff
	Perception of power play between staff members
	Need to see members as being committed to doing their job well and with integrity
	Effects of crowding on the relationship between staff members and prisoners
	Management of violent prisoners
Disrespectful attitude of staff cause prisoners to respond disrespectfully	
Need for understanding and a supportive attitude	
Protection against ridicule, humiliation, and put-downs by authorities	
Punitive vs. encouraging attitude of staff members and parole officers	

Relationship/ Staff (continued)	Learning to cope with differences in the staff members' application of rules
	Being punished for wanting to learn/teach
	Lack of encouragement from staff members
	Staff using offensive racial divisions
	Staff use reverse apartheid
	Need for respect and encouragement from staff members
	Staff need to model respectful attitude
	Willingness to learn from others requires that the 'teacher' accepts and respects the learner
	Learning corrupt practices in prison
	Threats and coercion from staff members prevent constructive change
	Corruption among staff not good role model.
	Need for extensive training of staff.
	Need for privacy and respect for the self-determination of inmates
	Differential definitions of rehabilitation. Keeping a low profile is often enough to seem rehabilitated
	Disrespectful and condescending attitude of staff causes negative behaviour in inmates
	Need for respect and being treated like a human being
	Being at the mercy of the prison staff re. release date
	Personality testing of staff.
	Dealing with staff's interference in private matters
	Need for positive role modelling from staff
	Differential application of law by different parole board officials causes uncertainty/unhappiness
	The threat of revocation of release date
	Power struggles between different staff groups
	Ratio of prisoner : rehabilitative staff / general staff is insufficient
	Contact with society, both for prisoners and staff
	Need for competent leadership that inmates can respect
	Relationship/Self
Effects of derision and disrespect when trying to better oneself	
Social isolation – response to crowdedness	
Negotiating dependency on others	
Feeling secure in self	
Availability of drugs, effect on rehabilitation	
Learning about own strengths	
Self-respect	
Values around public persona/mask	
Recognising wants vs. needs	
Externally/internally based self-esteem	
Taking time to learn about self	
Dealing with emotions	
Understanding one's emotions	
Prioritising needs and managing resources	
Long-term effects of exposure to aggression	
Locus of control, GRR's	
Gain knowledge of self, interests	
Prison creates lack of motivation	
Being needed/of value	
Pride in coping skills	
Facing reality	
Dealing with being judged	
Respecting self	
Taking responsibility for self	
Using prison time for reflexivity	
Getting away with something sets a precedent	
Taking care of self in order to take care of others	

Relationship/Self (continued)	Taking responsibility for own needs and actions
	Self-acceptance
	Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community
	Offending others vs. accepting what one feels as true
	Learning to express needs constructively
	Learning to stand up for oneself
	Learning awareness of self and constructive ways of expression
	Learned helplessness in prison vs. being responsible for self
	Prison as comfort zone
	Rejection.
	Facing up to consequences of one's action
	Self-discipline
	Lack of emotional support in family of origin
	Need to have a purpose, feel constructive
	Getting a chance to discover one's emotions
	Learning different ways to think about things
	Idleness and a history of suppressed anger makes a lethal cocktail
	Learning about right/wrong through experiencing the consequences
	Need to be productive
	Idleness and crowdedness don't work
	Access to psychologist/ social worker
	Need to feel empowered to change
	Relying on own input vs. relying on external, global decisions
	Self-preservation vs. responsibility to help others
	Learning to deal with interpersonal conflict
	Need to learn how to preserve, access, and use resources
	Need for non-academic learning
	Need for sustained progressive learning, not just fragmented one-of-a-kind courses
	Need to know that society cares if prisoners improve themselves
	Need to feel needed and useful
	Effects of not speaking up against injustice
	Acknowledging feelings
	Dealing with self-doubt
	Dealing with humiliation
	Need for compassion
	Need for respect
	Need for self-motivation skills
	Learning how to handle practical issues
	Idleness increases worrying
	Access to emotional/ psychological support
	Learning to deal with anger and frustration
	Blaming vs. taking responsibility for one's choices
	Learning to relinquish victim role
	Insight into wider effect of one's actions
	Finding a way to contribute
	Intersection of practical problems and self-image
	Learning to utilise learning opportunities
Broadening one's scope of interests	
Imprisonment forces you to develop	
Prison time is time for reflexivity	
Effect of idleness	
Sexual deprivation forces women to change sexual orientation	
Needing to feel a sense of belonging	
Dealing with feeling different, the odd one out	
Dealing with emotional lability	

Relationship/Self (continued)	Balancing dependence-interdependence-independence
	Understanding oneself
	Trust
	Life-scripts
	Living up to people's negative expectations
	Living up to people's positive expectations
	Using drugs to cool down
	Need to have control over one's environment
	Using drugs to manage emotions
	Prisoner must be responsible for her own rehabilitation
	Unfinished business from earlier experiences hamper present relationships
	Need for privacy when dealing with pain and loss
	Need for respect
	Attempting to retain your good manners in prison
	Need for self-esteem
	Need to separate stigmatised role as prisoner from other life-roles
	Being cut off from feelings – need for a safe place to express feelings in prison
Need to react on your emotions	
Psychoeducation	Choice and consequences of actions
	Deliberate choices/ knowledge of consequences
	Taking responsibility for own needs and actions
	Conflict resolution skills
	Certainty of consequences/repercussions
	Resolutions and decision-making skills
	Discovering new resources / Being resourceful
	Awareness of coping skills
	Use of metaphors
	Goodwill and encouragement
	Taking responsibility and a non-defensive stance
	Neg/pos self talk. Self-conditioning
	Dealing with rejection and put-downs
	Will to growth and meaning (Frankl)
	Knowledge of alternative options
	Impulsivity vs. deliberation
	Taking responsibility for own needs and actions
	Learning to express needs constructively
	Learning to stand up for oneself
	Learning awareness of self and constructive ways of expression
	Reflecting on own behaviour, reality check. Looking at a situation from more sides, vs. blame attribution
	Temperance and reflexivity
	Learning how to deal with emotions
	Learned helplessness in prison vs. being responsible for self
	Facing up to consequences of one's actions
	Planning for the future
	Financial planning
	Gaining clarity regarding choices
	Learning from other cultures
	Learning about self through therapy and psycho-educational courses
	Cultivating a belief in self
	Expanding the vision of one's future
	Believing in oneself
	Developing goals and a vision
Need for both skills courses and self-development courses	
Goal setting skills	

Psychoeducation (continued)	Learning about –and taking pride in- self
	Improving self-confidence
	Learning how to mentor
	Misinformation and lack of knowledge causes faulty decision making
	Negotiating practical issues to optimise access to activities
	Finding strength in oneself
	Negotiating discouragement
	Taking responsibility for own decisions and actions
	Learning to realise consequences of actions
	Learning sound judgment of others
	Life-planning and goal-setting
	Becoming a mentor
	Negotiating relationships
	Effect of limited education
	Choosing a life-partner
	Discovering what you value in - and want from others
	Ability to recognise long-term consequences of behaviour
	Accepting responsibility for one's decisions
	Need to learn realistic goal setting
	Learning to stop rationalising criminal behaviour
	Daring to dream and have high aspirations
	Learning about self-reliance
	Authenticity and social conscience
	Managing the fear of living in a society with crime and violence
	Managing and discerning bad influences
	Discovering what one wants from others
	Learning to give only what is not detrimental to oneself
	Learning about prioritising
	Rebound relationships vs. dealing with the emotions
	Learning to deal with rapid success
	Managing drugs and alcohol
	Facing up to the truth, dealing with disappointment in relationships
	Learning to manage relationships, finding a realistic basis for trust
	Understanding what is need and what is want
	Dealing with peer –and status- pressure
	Balancing dependence-interdependence-independence
	Being in control vs. being controlled by others/ superiors
	Learning from experience vs. blocking off possibilities
	Choices and Consequences
	Willingness to learn from others requires that the 'teacher' accepts and respects the learner
	Dealing with emotions like jealousy
	Being ready to go home
	Learning to persevere in the presence of obstacles
	Letting go of hurt
	Understanding the reasons for one's criminal acts through psychological intervention
	Learning to deal with gossip and accusations
	Learning to keep temper in check
	Using one's capacity for compassion
	Learning to let rudeness and rejection wash over you without losing your composure
	Learning to deal with unfair treatment
Learning to give	
Sharing knowledge	
Learning to speak up against injustice	
Dealing with unfair treatment	
Learning to express your feelings safely	

Psychoeducation (continued)	Having nothing to hide
	Feeling sorry for oneself
	Learning a balance between give and take
	Learning how to deal with other people's pain and emotions
	Protecting self against maliciousness of others
	Understanding the law and the rationale behind the sentence structure
	Dealing with fear of judgment. Taking responsibility for consequences of one's actions
	Understanding consequences of one's actions
	Need for honesty within family relations. Learning about open communication
	Anger management
	Dealing with greed
	Learning to discern what is a beneficial relationship
	Learning to use good judgment and decision-making skills
	Support regarding adaptation to prison life, sexuality, drugs, sleeplessness
	Accepting responsibility for your actions and needed changes
	Need to gain insight and understanding of the choices and factors leading to their incarceration
	Managing fear of returning to society upon release
	Learning to be alone again, after years of being constantly surrounded by people
	Finding a better way than self-medication (substance abuse) to manage psychological and physical pain
	Relationship/Peers
Managing emotions	
Wanting to change is requirement for growth	
'Birds of a feather'	
Choosing who to talk to	
Space (solitary confinement) vs. enforced closeness	
Fragility of substitute-family bonds	
Sacrifices to preserve substitute-family bonds	
Negotiating power dynamics	
Insecurity and power play	
Negotiating pecking order and hierarchy	
Misappropriation of resources	
Greed versus sharing	
Honesty	
Dealing with being judged	
Respectful attitude of others	
Sharing information and learning	
Interest and involvement of others	
Trust and confidence in others	
Realising impact of one's actions on society/community	
Offending others vs. accepting what one feels as true	
Rejection.	
Facing up to consequences of one's actions	
Need for orderliness and dependability	
Fairness	
Confronting situations	
Learning about self through confrontation	
Dealing with rejection and accusations	
'From whence it comes'	
Learning what's your 'stuff' and what's the other's	
Need for opposite-sex appreciation, flirtatiousness	
Withstanding pressure and temptation	
Managing social-status pressures	
Memo: Use the group-status to empower people who act with social conscience to be 'one-step-up' role models	

Relationship/Peers (continued)	Anti- social interactional patterns require more space and resources, in prison and in society
	Disempowerment breeds helplessness and depression
	Attitude and behaviour of staff encourage anti-social tendencies between prisoners
	Need for encouragement, need for love
	The social value of the crime within the prison culture
	Accepting differential values regarding depth and integrity
	Negotiating differential values regarding sharing and social responsibility in close relationships
	Using phoney religiousness to gain social acceptance
	Learning to involve others in self-help projects
	Belonging to a community
	Feeling connected, being valued
	Anti-social attitudes and patterns of interaction rub off on the prisoners
	Learning to cope with individual differences
	Need for acceptance causes vulnerability to peer pressure
	Learning corrupt practices in prison
	Compromising oneself to support drug habit
	Managing and discerning bad influences
	Need for belonging and acceptance
	Being influenced negatively by newcomers to the prison
	Feeling secure about own righteousness. Knowing what is your 'stuff' and what is other people's
	Negative influence of other prevent positive maturation
	Using one's capacity for compassion
	Sharing knowledge
	Taking a stand for self and others
	Rallying support groups in prison
	Redefinition of group affiliation, expanding one's sense of 'us'
	Learning to socialise at too close quarters in prison
Learning to discern what is a beneficial relationship	
Dealing with Diversity	'Birds of a feather flock together'
	Shared standards, interests, values
	Different standards, interests, values
	Hygiene standards
	Influence of language differences
	Diverse norms and manners
	Need to educate on racial tolerance and understanding to avoid bitterness and resentment
	Usage of derogatory term for non-citizens, disrespectful name-calling
	Misperceptions about other cultures
	Perception that Blacks cannot forgive and want revenge
Values	Retaining values under differential cultural pressure
	Doing what's right vs. doing what's safe
	Fairness
	Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour
	Sacrifices to preserve substitute-family bonds
	Dealing with temptation
	Hypocrisy and infidelity
	Choosing friends, discerning values in friends
	Dealing with infidelity
	Need for understanding of social repercussions of the crime
	Need to react to unfair treatment subverted by need to appear rehabilitated
Prison is the worst thing that can happen to you	
Physical/Medical	Need for medical attention and HIV/AIDS counselling
	Long-term effects of untreated physical illness
	Fear of aids
	Sexual needs in prison, conjugal rights

Education	Relevance of the offered education
	Educational gaps
	Motivation to complete courses
	Qualifications of teachers and facilitators
	Level of teaching
	Peer-education, sharing one's knowledge
	Education appropriate for developmental level
	Embarrassment and giving up
	Studying is under-valued
	Conditions for studying
	Becoming a teacher of people
	Facilitators vs. properly trained educators
	Impact of new learning
	Need for career knowledge
	Realistic goal setting and appropriateness of courses
	Having the skills and opportunities to survive without criminal behaviour
	Practical skills training
	Opportunity to practice and improve on skills
	Need for more courses, so every prisoner can attend something
	Need for continuity and follow-ups in training and development
Need for more than self-development courses	
Spirituality	Spiritual guidance
	Shared worship
	Need for spiritual support and guidance
	Fear of divine justice.
Hobbies	Hobbies calm down the trouble makers
	Becoming subversive to retain access to hobbies
	Hobby activities disperse depression
	Need for stimulation and dispersion of energy
	Boredom breeds irritation and aggression
	Consequences of being idle
	Need for more job-related activities. Keeping busy.
Need for having another place to go to in the day, where prisoners can apply themselves to a skill	
Power/Aggression	Negotiating power dynamics
	Insecurity and power play
	Temptation to start using violence
	Limiting aggression amongst inmates
	Constancy of fear
	Monitor system creates power games
	Inappropriate trading of favours/blackmail
	Fear of not getting it right the first time (banishment from courses)
	Boredom breeds irritation and aggression
	Dealing with diverse hygiene standards
	Seeking like-minded
	Negotiating power dynamics
	Insecurity and power play
	Greed versus sharing
	Feeling secure in self
	Insufficiency and misappropriation of prison resources
	Negotiating pecking orders and hierarchy
	Negotiating dependency
	Misappropriation of resources
	Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour
Availability of drugs, effect on rehabilitation	

Power/Aggression (continued)	Long-term effects of exposure to aggression
	Limitations of the implicit codes of conduct
	Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour
	Space (solitary confinement) vs. enforced closeness
	Temperance and reflexivity
	Using dagga to cool down
	Sexuality as drive and source of power
	Fear of violence, retribution and revenge amongst prisoners
	Being in control vs. being controlled by others/ superiors
Support/Staff Complement	Access to external resources/ support system
	Interest and involvement of others
	Lack of support outside prison.
	Lack of access to a support system that can help family on the outside and assist in the communication with family members
	Limited access to family/ support system (telephones, visiting, mail delivery)
	Access to social workers/ support for the family
	Connecting with external resources and people
	Knowing where to turn for help, building up a support system
	Somewhere to turn for emotional support
	Support for the psychological staff to prevent burn-out
	Help with clinical psychological problems
	Dealing with rejection by family members upon incarceration. Need for support from family
	Being rewarded for personal growth
	Being seen as a potential asset
	Intensive and focused rehabilitation
	Specific rehabilitation plans for individual offenders
	More access to psychologists
	More professional staff
	Criminologists on staff
	Occupational therapists
	Psychological staff and social workers must work together better
	Multi-disciplinary rehabilitation teams
	Therapist burn-out due to case load and prison dynamics
	Staff divided into 'punishment' and 'rehabilitative' factions
	Psychological staff needs support and peer group supervision from colleagues
	Psychometrists on staff. No time to do psychometric work with the prisoners
	Continuous professional retraining and development of psychological staff
	Interdisciplinary teamwork and referrals
	Lack of time to learn and update therapeutic skills
	Support for prisoners' social and familial problems (rejection, guilt, economic, employment)
	Constant interruption of therapy sessions
	Need for therapists who speak the offenders' language
	Support regarding adaptation to prison life, sexuality, drugs, sleeplessness
Gradual, monitored adaptation to life outside prison for long-term prisoners	
Need to deal with offenders' problems at an early stage	
Lack of confidentiality and undisturbed therapy	
Need for encouragement and attention while in prison	
Fear of Reoffending	Fear of situations connected to the crime
	Knowledge of options and alternatives to criminal behaviour
Relationship/Family	Not being part of one's family's daily life
	Not feeling entitled to take pride in children's achievements
	Guilt at being absent
	A safe place to come out to
	Lack of support outside prison.

Relationship/Family (continued)	Taking time to reintegrate after release
	Dealing with infidelity
	Feeling connected, being valued
	Preserving primary relationships
	Effect of imprisonment on the family
	Effect of imprisonment on the prisoner's children
	Protecting the family by hiding own pain
	Dealing with guilt for being away from family
	Negotiating parental expectations and demands
	Effect of parental values
	Overprotection doesn't prepare you for adult life
	Fear of family's rejection
	Protecting one's family from the stigma and pain of a loved one in prison
	Need to be role models to one's children on the outside
	Need for belonging and acceptance
	Support from extended family when adjusting to life outside prison
	Need for familial support and acceptance
	Rebuilding familial trust
	Need for acceptance and love from family
	Making do with less to protect others
	Protecting family from worrying about you
	Somewhere to turn for emotional support
	Keeping the relationship with family alive
Need for access to their children	
Relationship/Others	Interest and involvement of others
	Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community
	Learned helplessness in prison vs. being responsible for self
	Dealing with stigma of having been to prison
	Withstanding pressure and temptation
	Managing social-status pressures
	Belonging to a community
	Unfinished business from earlier experiences hamper present relationships
	Need for more external people to work with the prisoners
	Contact with society, both for prisoners and staff
Employment	Combining diverse skills in the workplace
	Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community
	A job to come out to
	Job availability
	Becoming financially independent
	Learning to deal with rapid success
	Being in control versus being controlled by others/ superiors
	Work opportunities upon release
Being useful and contributing to family and society.	

5.3 THE INITIAL ANALYSIS

The initial categories table above (Table 5.1) yielded an overview of the wealth of data derived from the interviews. However, although this overview provided a broad conceptualisation of the assorted needs, the concepts did not readily lend themselves to sorting and operationalisation. What had transpired was thus merely a basic list of the rehabilitative needs that did not provide for the emergence of a theoretical framework. As new understandings refused to emerge, despite many hours of pondering the list and repeated attempts to arrange and re-arrange the myriad of cut-out interview paragraphs on a large table, a mounting sense of panic arose.

As is customary in qualitative research of this nature (see section 3.1.2), the researcher must be prepared to tolerate confusion and regression while the conceptual sense-making is allowed to emerge from the data (Glaser, 1999). It was therefore decided to trust that an implicit understanding of the field had been attained at this point in the process, and that detachment from the writing process would allow for a reflection on what had been learned. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, detachment from the writing process was achieved through discussions around the research with any willing colleague, friend, family member, or prisoner. Gradually, the questions posed by these kindly interested individuals facilitated an understanding of how the different concepts logically separate into categories of needs that can be operationalised in terms of potential programmes in a rehabilitative framework. Secondly, the interviews were considered through the appraisal of additional literature related to the field of crime and rehabilitation, and links to the existing concepts were recorded in the form of memos. As it was not regarded as necessary to reference the additional literature in this text, an electronic version of the texts on compact disc is available from the researcher upon request¹). After a metaperspective on the research field and the gathered data had been reached, the analysis of the data could proceed to the task of axial coding.

5.4 AXIAL CODING

The first understanding that emerged from the initial analysis was that a clear time sequence could be established in the mass of rehabilitative needs concepts, and the data first separated into three areas of time, namely 'Before prison', 'During prison, and 'After prison.' While many concepts fitted into more than one of these time categories, it was clear that the scope of the framework had to be limited to the 'During Prison' category.

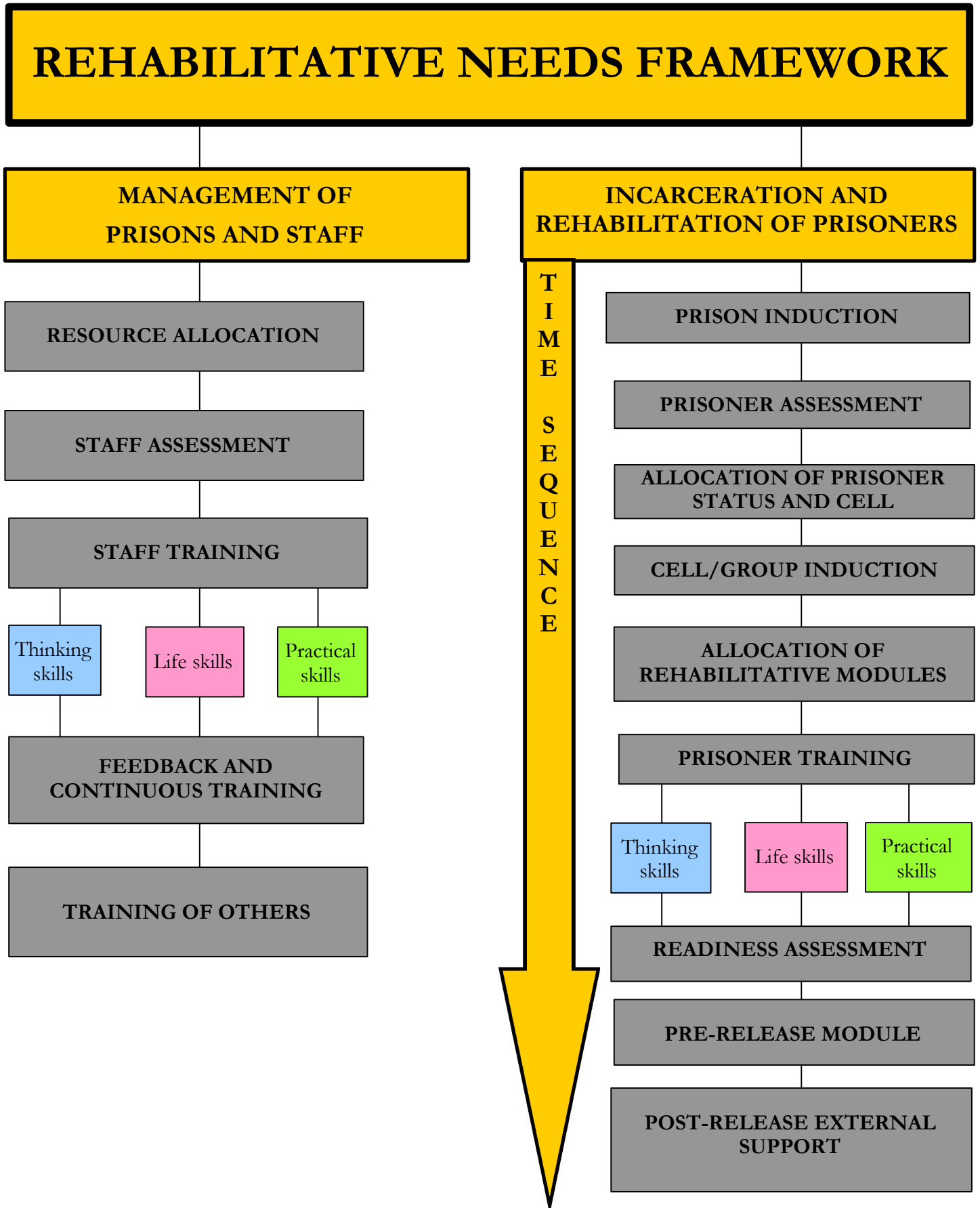
After the analysis had been limited to categorisation based on addressing rehabilitative needs in prison, the field separated into two axes that were adopted as core categories. The first core category revolves around the Department of Correctional Services' management of prisons and staff, and deals with the reorganisation of material and human resources. The second core category concerns the incarceration and rehabilitation of the prisoners.

A number of categories, subcategories and associated properties emerged from each core category, and were arranged in logical time-based sequences. The sequence of the properties within each subcategory is arbitrary.

5.5 CONCLUSION

In the initial analysis and sorting of the data, the framework emerged through the process of detaching from the detail of the data and taking a metaperspective on the understandings derived from the interviews, literature, and discussions around the subject. The process of axial coding then allowed for the emergence of a clearly defined framework based on the metaperspective. An illustration of the framework may be found in figure 5.1 on the following page. In chapter six, the process will return to the data to show how the emerging categories and subcategories are grounded in the concepts, and the categories will be discussed in chapter seven.

Figure 5.1. Graphic representation of framework



CHAPTER 6

6 FRAMEWORK DEVELOPMENT

On the preceding page, figure 5.1 provides an illustration of the entire rehabilitative needs framework. The ‘Management of Prisons and Staff’ core category has been labelled axis I, and the ‘Incarceration and Rehabilitation of Prisoners’ core category has been labelled axis II, and these are illustrated in figure 5.1 by means of bright yellow boxes. The grey boxes in figure 5.1 illustrate the categories in the sorting tables below, which are offered as a visual overview of the framework, that contain the sorted concepts derived from the audio-taped interviews. Except for the training subcategories (highlighted in blue, pink and green), the subcategories are not illustrated in figure 5.1, but have been tinted in the sorting tables below for easy viewing (pale yellow, blue, pink, green). The concepts may be found in the column with orange headings.

6.1 FINAL SORTING AND ANALYSIS

As indicated in the introduction above, the final analysis and sorting of the concepts derived from the audio-taped interviews will be illustrated in the form of tables in sections 6.1.1 (Axis I) and 6.1.2 (Axis II). A separate table has been allocated to each category in order to facilitate understanding.

6.1.1 Axis I Categories: Management of Prisons and Staff

Tables 6.1 to 6.6 below present a listing of the concepts which gave rise to the categories and subcategories in the core category of ‘Management of Prisons and Staff’. The content of the categories will be discussed in chapter seven.

Table 6.1 Axis I Category: Management

AXIS I CATEGORY: MANAGEMENT	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
RULES	Explicitness, regularity and predictability of rules Management of authority and control Limitations of the implicit codes of conduct Access to illegal drugs in prison

RULES	<p>Red tape causes long reaction time on appeals</p> <p>An unambiguous release date gives one something to work towards</p> <p>Rules for non-citizens and non-citizens' lack of access to courses</p> <p>Exhaustive orientation of new prisoners regarding rules, procedures</p> <p>Unambiguous rules regarding separation of prisoner groups</p> <p>Management of private money within the prison (discourse around corruption)</p>
DISCIPLINE	<p>Discipline helps with rehabilitation</p> <p>Order and reliability dependability in the prison system</p> <p>Certainty of consequences/repercussions</p>
ROUTINE AND RELIABILITY	<p>Routine, predictability, and reliability</p> <p>Disregard for/disruption of inmate bonds and relationships</p> <p>Learning to cope with an unstable system</p>
INFORMATION	<p>Organised info on prison, prison protocol and prison resources on arrival</p> <p>Access to information</p>
COMMUNICATION	<p>Internal communication problems</p> <p>Limited communication between embassies and prison creates problems for the prisoners</p> <p>Forum for collecting and assessing suggestions from the prisoners.</p>
RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	<p>Insufficiency and misappropriation of prison resources (food, bedding, etc)</p> <p>Corruption and misappropriation of resources</p> <p>Misappropriation of resources engenders conflict and establishes a pattern of poor interpersonal behaviour</p>
STAFF ISSUES	<p>Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour</p> <p>Psychoeducational courses help to manage conflict and tension</p> <p>After-hours monitoring and access to staff</p> <p>Respectful attitudes</p> <p>Need for professionals to help develop the potential of inmates</p>
LINKING ACHIEVEMENT AND IN-PRISON STATUS	<p>Link prisoner status to willingness to do psychological work</p> <p>Cells could be divided according to group status</p> <p>Graduating from prison</p> <p>Graduating to higher group-status based on behaviour and achievement. Earning one's status</p> <p>Group status dependent on level of rehabilitation achieved, not automatic progression regardless of input.</p> <p>'Graduation-scheme'</p>
STRUCTURAL	<p>Unit management project</p> <p>Logical ordering and prioritising of rehabilitation segments</p> <p>Availability of courses, being allowed to choose</p> <p>Access to recourse/protection when threatened</p> <p>Documentation of prisoner needs and more in-depth demographics</p> <p>New prison protocol – graduating to freedom</p> <p>Rewards for having learned one's lesson</p> <p>Motivation/reward for being active/constructive/responsible</p> <p>Need for 'train-the-trainer' courses to improve accessibility</p> <p>Becoming part of something bigger, knowing that it matters what you do, that people care about your role in society</p> <p>Need for psychologically 'clean' living environment during rehabilitation</p> <p>Idleness and crowdedness don't work</p>
PRISONER ASSESSMENT AND TESTING	<p>Need for psychological testing and evaluation of prisoners</p> <p>Need for directed development of inmates</p> <p>Rehabilitation modules and psychological interventions based on testing</p> <p>Grouping prisoners in cells according to rehabilitative needs</p> <p>Separating those who are motivated to change from the destructive elements</p>
ACTIVITIES	<p>Diversification of employment for prisoners</p> <p>Delivering a service to society</p> <p>Being of value</p>

Table 6.2 Axis I Category: Resource Allocation

AXIS I CATEGORY: RESOURCE ALLOCATION	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
TRAINING ROOMS	Thinking-skills modules: venue, books, stationery, computers Life-skills modules: Venue, chairs, flip charts, video machine, TV Practical skills modules: Venues, tools, equipment, materials
ACCESS TO TELEPHONES	Cause of conflict Clear rules regarding access and phone-cards is needed
REORGANISATION OF DISPENSING OF FOOD	Not enough food for last prisoners in the queue Misappropriation of food, 'skaftans' sold for R10 Inmates push in front of each other in the queues, causing aggression and fighting Insufficiency and misappropriation of food resources Clear and unchanging rules Regulate supplies as well as dispensing of food to diminish corruption Same portion size for every inmate
STAFF SKILLED IN VARIOUS TRAINING MODULES	Train staff members with high-level interpersonal skills or academic training to present rehabilitative modules Teaching provides staff with positive attitude towards prisoners Teaching may alleviate boredom and tediousness of mere monitoring of prisoners
USE OF STUDENTS AND VOLUNTEERS	Train university students and other volunteers to run set rehabilitative modules on a continuous basis. Train long-term prisoners to assist in presenting modules to provide continuity

Table 6.3 Axis I: Staff Assessment Category

AXIS I CATEGORY: STAFF ASSESSMENT	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
PSYCHOMETRIC TESTING PRACTICAL SKILLS	Members' orderliness and dependability Need for extensive training of staff Personality testing of staff Contact with society, for both prisoners and staff.

Table 6.4 Axis 1: Staff Training Category

AXIS I CATEGORY: STAFF TRAINING		
SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	CONCEPTS
THINKING SKILLS	PRIORITISING, RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INTELLECTUAL, SCHOLASTIC, ACADEMIC RESPONSIBILITY TROUBLESHOOTING PROBLEM SOLVING MOTIVATION PLANNING, GOAL-SETTING	No data available

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	CONCEPTS
LIFE SKILLS	ATTITUDE TO PRISONERS AND INTERPERSONAL SKILLS	Interest, encouragement, respect, fairness Favouritism, judgment and rejection Capriciousness of staff Disrespectful and condescending attitude to prisoners Respect for pro-active efforts to manage life Attitude of staff members cause prisoners to respond disrespectfully Protection against ridicule, humiliation, and put-downs by authorities Disrespectfulness of members causes negative behaviour in inmates Being treated like a human being Adherence to human rights principles Confidentiality, discretion, empathy, understanding, support Use care and encouragement rather than aggression and coercion Perception that staff members aren't dedicated to doing their best Punitive vs. encouraging attitude of staff and parole officers Threats and coercion from staff prevent constructive change Privacy and respect for the self-determination of inmates Lack of encouragement, goodwill, interest, and involvement Being punished for wanting to learn/teach Using offensive racial divisions Inappropriate behaviour tolerated due to reverse apartheid Staff members use reverse apartheid Diversity
LIFE SKILLS	DEALING WITH PRISONERS	Impact of prisoner behaviour/actions on staff Access to professional support Retraining of staff Effects of crowding on the relationship between staff and prisoners Differential definitions of rehabilitation. Keeping a low profile is often enough to seem rehabilitated Dealing with staff's interference in private matters Need for orderliness and dependability Limitations of the implicit codes of conduct Certainty of consequences/repercussions Need for encouragement and attention while in prison
LIFE SKILLS	ROLE MODELLING AND MENTORSHIP	Effect of corrupt staff behaviour Discrepancy between law and generally accepted prison behaviour Need to respect staff members as role models Need for positive role models when trying to improve oneself Modelling new ways of behaving and thinking Staff members need to model respectful attitude Need to see staff as committed to doing their job well and with integrity Willingness to learn requires that teacher respects learner Learning corrupt practices in prison Corruption among staff not good role model. Need for competent leadership that inmates can respect.
LIFE SKILLS	AUTHORITY AND MANAGEMENT	Consequences must be relevant to the prisoner's personality and circumstances Discipline helps with rehabilitation Management of violent prisoners Ratio of prisoner: rehabilitative staff / general staff is insufficient Differences in the staff members' application of rules Being at the mercy of the prison staff re. release date Different application of law by individual parole board officials causes uncertainty/unhappiness The threat of revocation of release date

LIFE SKILLS	ATTITUDE TO VISITORS	Inconsistent attitude of staff wear out the visiting family members Poor public relations skills of staff scare the prisoners' families away Disrespectful attitude of staff toward visiting family members
	ATTITUDE TO OTHER STAFF MEMBERS	Perception of power play between staff members Power struggles between different staff groups Psychological staff and social workers must work together better Staff not divided into 'punishment' and 'rehabilitative' factions
PRACTICAL SKILLS	No data available	

Table 6.5 Axis I Category: Training and Management of Others

AXIS I CATEGORY: TRAINING AND MANAGEMENT OF OTHERS		
SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	CONCEPTS
MULTI-DISCIPLINARY TEAM	REQUESTED MEMBERS OF TEAM	Psychologists, psychometrists, psychiatrists, medical doctors, more professional staff, pharmacists, criminologists, occupational therapists
	SPECIFIC NEEDS	<p>Intensive and focused rehabilitation More access to psychologists and social workers No time to do psychometric work with the prisoners Knowing where to turn for help, building up a support system Somewhere to turn for emotional support Support for the psychological staff to prevent burn-out Help with clinical psychological problems Dealing with rejection by family members upon incarceration Need for support from family Being rewarded for personal growth Support regarding adaptation to prison life, sexuality, drugs, sleeplessness Need for therapists who speak the offenders' language</p> <p>Specific rehabilitation plans for individual offenders Psychological staff and social workers must work together better Staff should not be divided into 'punishment' and 'rehabilitative' factions Psychological staff needs peer group supervision and support Therapist burn-out due to case load and prison dynamics Continuous professional retraining / development of psychological staff Interdisciplinary teamwork and referrals Lack of time to learn and update therapeutic skills Support for prisoners' social and familial problems (rejection, guilt, economic, employment) Constant interruption of therapy sessions Lack of confidentiality and undisturbed therapy Need to deal with offenders' problems at an early stage</p>
EXTERNAL SUPPORT OFFICIAL	THERAPISTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS	Lack of support outside prison Lack of access to a support system that can help family on the outside and assist in the communication with family members
	UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTAL HEADS AND STUDENTS DOING THEIR PRACTICALS	Access to external resources/ support system
	MEMBERS OF LEGAL PROFESSION	
	EMBASSY STAFF	
EXTERNAL SUPPORT	TRAINING TO PRESENT SPECIFIC INTEGRATED REHABILITATIVE	Connecting with external resources and people Interest and involvement of others

VOLUNTEER	MODULES
EXTERNAL SUPPORT - PRIVATE	Limited access to family/ support system (telephones, visiting, mail) Dealing with rejection by family members upon incarceration Need for support from family Lack of emotional support in family of origin Need for honesty within family relations Learning about open communication Interest and involvement of others Dealing with stigma of having been to prison Withstanding pressure and temptation Managing social-status pressures Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community Belonging to a community Unfinished business (earlier experiences) hamper present relationships Need for more external people to work with the prisoners Contact with society, both for prisoners and staff

Table 6.6 Axis I Category: Staff Feedback and Continued Training

AXIS I CATEGORY: STAFF FEEDBACK AND CONTINUED TRAINING	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
VARIOUS	Recognition of efforts for staff - feedback Reward for good work – retraining and level of responsibility Determine need for further training of individual staff member Group sessions with management, prison staff, multi-disciplinary team

6.1.2 Axis II Categories: Incarceration and Rehabilitation of Prisoners

Tables 6.7 to 6.15 below present a listing of the concepts that gave rise to the categories and subcategories in the core category of 'Incarceration and Rehabilitation of Prisoners'. The content of the categories will be discussed in chapter seven.

Table 6.7 Axis II Category: Prison Induction

AXIS II CATEGORY: PRISON INDUCTION	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
INFORMATION	Prison-overview for arriving group. Allocation of responsible staff member Information: Prison structure, rules, protocol, programmes, available resources Information pamphlet in prisoner's language

Table 6.8 Axis II Category: Prisoner Assessment

AXIS II CATEGORY: PRISONER ASSESSMENT	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE AND PSYCHOMETRIC ASSESSMENT – on arrival	Keep prisoner information on integrated database Use for allocation of status, cell, rehabilitative modules Allocate cell-buddy resident in prisoner’s allocated cell Allocate group of staff members to cell-buddies

Table 6.9 Axis II Category: Prisoner and Cell Allocation

AXIS II CATEGORY: PRISONER STATUS AND CELL ALLOCATION	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
BASIS FOR ALLOCATION	Allocation according to information from questionnaire and psychometric tests Use group-status as ‘one-step-up’ role models Learning corrupt practices in prison Being influenced negatively by newcomers to the prison Negative influence of other prevent positive maturation

Table 6.10 Axis II Category: Cell and Group Induction

AXIS II CATEGORY: CELL AND GROUP INDUCTION	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
RULES EXPECTATIONS BEHAVIOUR ATTITUDE	Cell-buddy familiarises new prisoner with rules, expectations, physical environment of cell and section Model appropriate attitude and behaviour to new prisoner

Table 6.11 Axis II Category: Rehabilitative Module Allocation

AXIS II CATEGORY: REHABILITATIVE MODULE ALLOCATION	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
THINKING SKILLS MODULES LIFE SKILLS MODULES PRACTICAL SKILLS MODULES	According to information from interview, questionnaire, and psychometric tests

Table 6.12 Axis II Category: Prisoner Training

AXIS II CATEGORY: PRISONER TRAINING		
SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	CONCEPTS
THINKING SKILLS	PRIORITISING AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	Keeping mentally active Prioritising positive change in self Not being diverted from doing the work to change Recognising and understanding needs versus wants Prioritising needs and managing resources Discovering existing and new resources Negotiating practical issues to optimise access to activities Learning how to preserve, access, and use resources
THINKING SKILLS	INTELLECTUAL SCHOLASTIC ACADEMIC	Discovering effects of limited education Learning different ways to think, reason, and using memory Reading, writing, maths, language skills Metaphorical, creative, and lateral thinking Identifying and utilising learning opportunities
THINKING SKILLS	RESPONSIBILITY	Responsibility for own rehabilitation Development requires a desire to change Accepting responsibility for need to change Taking responsibility for own needs and actions Realising and accepting responsibility for consequences of one's actions Recognising short-term and long-term consequences of behaviour Accepting responsibility for one's decisions Learning to stop rationalising criminal behaviour
THINKING SKILLS	TROUBLESHOOTING	Feeling empowered to change Faulty decision making due to misinformation and lack of knowledge Learning from experience versus blocking off possibilities Dealing with rapid success Learning about right and wrong through mapping of consequences Recognising intersection of practical problems and self-image Idleness and suppressed anger makes a lethal cocktail
THINKING SKILLS	PROBLEMSOLVING	Resolutions and decision-making skills Gaining clarity regarding choices Knowledge of alternative options Deliberate choices based on insight and knowledge Knowledge of options and alternatives to criminal behaviour Impulsivity versus deliberation Learning to use good judgment and decision-making skills Relying on own input vs. relying on external, global decisions
THINKING SKILLS	MOTIVATION	Will to growth and meaning (Frankl) Being needed/of value. Useful, purposefulness, feeling constructive Need for self-motivation skills Need to be productive Learning to persevere in the presence of obstacles. Self-discipline Knowing that society cares if prisoners improve themselves Broadening one's scope of interests Imprisonment forces you to develop Imprisonment creates lack of motivation Imprisonment is time for reflexivity
THINKING SKILLS	PLANNING AND GOAL-SETTING	Planning for the future Life-planning and goal-setting skills, learn realistic goal setting Developing goals and a vision Expanding the vision of one's future Daring to dream and have high aspirations Prison as comfort zone

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	PROPERTY 2	CONCEPTS		
LIFE SKILLS	INTRA- PERSONAL	SELF ESTEEM	Self-respect Self-acceptance Feeling secure in self Externally and internally based self-esteem Negative and positive self-talk, self-conditioning Learned helplessness in prison versus being responsible for self		
LIFE SKILLS			Locus of control Pride in coping skills Taking care of self in order to take care of others		
LIFE SKILLS			Cultivating a belief in self Taking pride in self Having nothing to hide.		
LIFE SKILLS			SELF EFFICACY	Improving self-confidence Learning about self-reliance Discovering own strengths Dealing with temptation Learning awareness of self Awareness of coping skills	
LIFE SKILLS				SELF-INSIGHT	Using prison time for reflexivity Learning about and understanding oneself Understanding the psychological reasons for one's criminal acts Life-scripts Unfinished business (earlier experiences) hamper present relationships Learning about self through confrontation with others Knowledge of interests and values Preference in terms of personal space (level of privacy desired)
LIFE SKILLS		EMOTIONS			Recognising and understanding one's emotions Ways to react on one's emotions Dealing with emotional lability Safe place to express feelings in prison Somewhere to turn for emotional support Privacy when dealing with pain and loss Being cut off from feelings in prison Dealing with feelings around being rejected and judged Dealing with derision and disrespect when trying to better oneself Anger management and temperance Dealing with greed, jealousy, anger, hurt, self-pity Ignoring unfair treatment in order to appear rehabilitated Using drugs to manage emotions
LIFE SKILLS			PHYSICAL MEDICAL		Staying physically active Need for medical attention Long-term effects of untreated physical illness HIV/AIDS counselling Fear of aids Sexual needs in prison, conjugal rights Sexual needs Self-medicating (substance abuse) to manage psych/phys. pain Adaptation to prison life: sexuality, drugs, sleeplessness Availability of drugs in prison, effect on rehabilitation Using dagga to cool down Managing drugs and alcohol use/abuse Availability of drugs in prison, effect on rehabilitation
LIFE SKILLS					
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SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	PROPERTY 2	CONCEPTS
LIFE SKILLS	INTER PERSONAL	RELATIONSHIPS	Managing relationships Finding a realistic basis for trust and confidence in others Dealing with disappointment in relationships Managing and discerning bad influences - sound judgment
LIFE SKILLS			Discovering what you value in - and want from others Choosing friends, discerning values in friends Choosing who to confide in
LIFE SKILLS			Discerning beneficial relationships Choosing a life-partner Rebound relationships vs. dealing with the emotions
LIFE SKILLS			Dealing with infidelity Preserving fragile substitute-family bonds in prison Using one's capacity for compassion
LIFE SKILLS			Greed versus sharing Sharing knowledge Taking a stand for self and others
LIFE SKILLS			Rallying support groups in prison Redefining group affiliation, expanding one's sense of 'us' Learning to socialise at too close quarters in prison
LIFE SKILLS			Feeling different, the odd one out Fairness, encouragement, respect, and love Involving others in self-help projects
LIFE SKILLS			Belonging and acceptance Need for acceptance causes vulnerability to peer pressure Living up to people's negative expectations
LIFE SKILLS			Living up to people's positive expectations Dealing with individual differences Knowing what is your 'stuff' and what is other people's 'stuff'
LIFE SKILLS			Learning to deal with gossip and accusations Letting rudeness and rejection pass without losing one's composure
LIFE SKILLS			Negotiating discouragement, maliciousness, unfairness Social isolation as a response to crowdedness in prison Dealing with other people's pain and emotions
LIFE SKILLS			Dealing with (fear of) judgment and rejection Learning to deal with interpersonal conflict Self-preservation vs. responsibility to help others
LIFE SKILLS			Sharing information and learning Misappropriation of prison resources Interest and involvement of others

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	PROPERTY 2	CONCEPTS
LIFE SKILLS	INTER PERSONAL	FAMILY	<p>Preserving and rebuilding relationship with family</p> <p>Contact with children</p> <p>Protecting family from stigma and pain of a loved one in prison</p> <p>Protecting family from worrying by hiding own problems</p> <p>Need for acceptance, love, support from family</p> <p>Feeling connected, being valued</p> <p>Rebuilding familial trust</p> <p>Making do with less to protect family</p> <p>Dealing with guilt at being away from family</p> <p>Not being part of one's family's daily life</p> <p>Not feeling entitled to take pride in children's achievements</p> <p>Negotiating parental expectations and demands</p> <p>Effect of parental values, upbringing</p> <p>Overprotection doesn't prepare you for adult life</p> <p>Fear of family's rejection</p> <p>Need to be role model to one's children</p> <p>Effect of imprisonment on one's family and children</p> <p>A safe place to come out to</p> <p>Dealing with partner's and own infidelity</p> <p>Dealing with abuse</p>
		CONTROL AND DEPENDENCY	<p>Balancing dependence-interdependence-independence</p> <p>Control over one's environment</p> <p>Negotiating financial and emotional dependency</p> <p>Learned helplessness in prison vs. being responsible for self</p>
		SHARING	<p>Goodwill and encouragement</p> <p>Learning how to mentor</p> <p>Becoming a mentor</p> <p>Learning to give only what is not detrimental to oneself</p> <p>Willingness to learn requires that 'teacher' accepts and respects learner</p>
		NEGOTIATING	<p>Conflict resolution skills</p> <p>Learning to stand up for oneself</p> <p>Looking at a situation from more sides, vs. blame attribution</p> <p>Compromising. Learning a balance between give and take</p> <p>Confronting situations</p>
		DIVERSITY	<p>Misperceptions about other cultures</p> <p>'Birds of a feather flock together' - seeking like-minded people</p> <p>Shared manners, norms, standards, interests, values</p> <p>Different manners, norms, standards, interests, values</p> <p>Dealing with diverse hygiene standards</p> <p>Influence of language differences</p> <p>Racial tolerance and understanding (avoiding resentment)</p> <p>Usage of derogatory term for non-citizens, disrespectful name-calling</p> <p>Perception that Blacks cannot forgive and want revenge</p>
		SEXUALITY	<p>Sexuality as drive, as source of power</p> <p>Compromising oneself to support drug habit (sex)</p> <p>Sexual deprivation impels women to change sexual orientation</p> <p>Opposite-sex appreciation, flirtatiousness</p> <p>Dealing with prison-partner's infidelity</p>

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	PROPERTY 2	CONCEPTS
LIFE SKILLS	INTER PERSONAL	VALUES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feeling secure about own righteousness Offending others vs. accepting what one feels as true Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour Greed versus sharing Honesty Attempting to retain your good manners in prison Accepting differential values regarding depth and integrity Negotiating differential values re. sharing and social responsibility Using phoney religiousness to gain social acceptance Dealing with hypocrisy
		POWER & AGGRESSION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Long-term effects of exposure to aggression Negotiating power dynamics Insecurity and power play Temptation to start using violence Limiting aggression amongst inmates Constancy of fear Monitor system creates power games Inappropriate trading of favours/blackmail Anti- social interactional patterns require more space and resources, in prison and in society Disempowerment breeds helplessness and depression Attitude and behaviour of members encourage anti-social tendencies between prisoners Insecurity and power play Negotiating pecking order and hierarchy Fear of violence, retribution and revenge amongst prisoners Being in control vs. being controlled by others/ superiors Feeling secure in self Dealing with rejection and put-downs Long-term effects of exposure to aggression
		COMMUNICATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taking a non-defensive stance Constructive ways of expression Learning to express your feelings safely Learning to express needs constructively
		SPiritUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spiritual guidance Shared worship Spiritual support and guidance Fear of divine justice
		SPiritUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spiritual guidance Shared worship Spiritual support and guidance Fear of divine justice
		SPiritUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spiritual guidance Shared worship Spiritual support and guidance Fear of divine justice
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		SPiritUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spiritual guidance Shared worship Spiritual support and guidance Fear of divine justice
		SPiritUAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spiritual guidance Shared worship Spiritual support and guidance Fear of divine justice

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	CONCEPTS
LIFE SKILLS	SOCIAL	Need to separate stigmatised role as prisoner from other life-roles Realising impact of one's actions on society/community The social value of the crime within the prison subculture Fear of situations connected to the crime (recidivism) Interest and involvement of others Dealing with stigma of having been to prison
LIFE SKILLS		Dealing with peer pressure, social-status pressure, and temptation Realising impact of one's actions on society / community Belonging to a community
LIFE SKILLS		Learning to speak up against injustice. Effects of not speaking up Learning to give Sharing knowledge
LIFE SKILLS		Using capacity for compassion. Values around public persona/mask Facing reality, taking responsibility
LIFE SKILLS		Being in control vs. being controlled by others/ superiors Getting away with something sets a precedent Retaining values under differential cultural pressure
LIFE SKILLS		Doing what's right vs. doing what's safe Fairness Compassion
LIFE SKILLS		Respect Discrepancy between the law and generally accepted behaviour Need to gain insight and understanding of choices and factors leading to incarceration.
LIFE SKILLS		Becoming a teacher of people Facing up to consequences of one's actions Reflecting on own behaviour, reality check
LIFE SKILLS		Learning from other cultures Authenticity and social conscience Managing the fear of living in a society with crime and violence
LIFE SKILLS		Need for understanding of social repercussions of the crime Need for belonging and acceptance Acknowledging feelings
LIFE SKILLS		Dealing with self-doubt Dealing with humiliation Belonging to a community
LIFE SKILLS		Feeling connected, being valued Anti-social attitudes and patterns of interaction rub off on the prisoners Learning how to handle practical issues
LIFE SKILLS		Idleness increases worrying Access to emotional/ psychological support Learning to deal with anger and frustration
LIFE SKILLS		Blaming vs. taking responsibility for one's choices Learning to relinquish victim role Insight into wider effect of one's actions
LIFE SKILLS		Finding a way to contribute Managing fear of returning to society upon release. Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community
LIFE SKILLS		Lack of support outside prison

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTY	CONCEPTS
<p>PRACTICAL SKILLS</p> <p>PRACTICAL SKILLS</p> <p>PRACTICAL SKILLS</p>	EDUCATION	<p>Appropriateness of courses, relevance of the offered education</p> <p>Sustained progressive learning, not fragmented one-of-a-kind courses</p> <p>Educational gaps</p> <p>Motivation to complete courses</p> <p>Qualifications of teachers and facilitators, level of teaching</p> <p>Facilitators vs. properly trained educators</p> <p>Peer-education, sharing one's knowledge, train-the-trainer</p> <p>Education appropriate for developmental level</p> <p>Embarrassment and giving up</p> <p>Studying is under-valued</p> <p>Conditions for studying</p> <p>Career knowledge</p> <p>Skills and opportunities to survive without criminal behaviour.</p> <p>Need for more courses so every prisoner can attend something.</p>
PRACTICAL SKILLS	PRACTICAL	Need for non-academic learning
PRACTICAL SKILLS	LEGAL	<p>Understanding the law and the rationale behind the sentence structure.</p> <p>Understanding consequences of one's actions.</p>
PRACTICAL SKILLS	FINANCIAL	Financial planning
PRACTICAL SKILLS	TECHNICAL	No data available
<p>PRACTICAL SKILLS</p> <p>PRACTICAL SKILLS</p>	DIY	<p>Practical activities calm down the trouble makers</p> <p>Becoming subversive to retain access to hobbies</p> <p>Practical activities, activities disperse depression</p> <p>Need for stimulation and dispersion of energy</p> <p>Boredom breeds irritation and aggression</p> <p>Consequences of being idle</p> <p>Need for more job-related activities. Keeping busy</p> <p>Need for having another place to go to in the day, where prisoners can apply themselves to a skill</p> <p>Fear of not getting it right the first time (banishment from courses)</p>
<p>PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF LEARNING AND CHANGE</p>	CELL-BUDDY TRAINING	<p>Identification of prisoners showing above average role model potential</p> <p>Specialised training to become a cell representative</p> <p>Leading by example, not power and force</p> <p>Benefits: Respect and opportunity to interact and learn further skills</p> <p>Constant revision and demotion if misusing position</p> <p>Position seen as a privilege, like leader or manager in society</p> <p>Emphasis on benevolence, trust, development, mutual support</p>
PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF LEARNING AND CHANGE	WORKSHOPS	Practical skills training.
PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF LEARNING AND CHANGE	INTERACTION WITH STAFF AND OTHER PRISONERS	<p>Opportunity to practice and improve on life skills, through monitored interactions with others, including feedback sessions and revision of status</p> <p>Being seen as a potential asset</p>
PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF LEARNING AND CHANGE	FOLLOW-UP	Need for continuity and follow-ups in training and development

Table 6.13 Axis II Category: Readiness Assessment

AXIS II CATEGORY: READINESS ASSESSMENT + RE-EVALUATION OF SENTENCE	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE	Changes in living circumstances during imprisonment Practical issues regarding support network, finances, domicile, dependants, employment, etc.
FEEDBACK FROM OTHERS	Responsible staff-member group Cell-buddy
ASSESSMENT OF LEARNING	THINKING SKILLS Courses attended, skills achieved, potential developed
	LIFE SKILLS Courses attended, skills achieved, potential developed
	PRACTICAL SKILLS Courses attended, skills achieved, potential developed
PSYCHOMETRIC ASSESSMENT - on departure AND MAPPING OF CHANGE	Personality, Interests, Values Exploration of achieved change Attitude change Behaviour change Need for further rehabilitation Pinpointing specific areas needing attention before a successful reintegration can be achieved

Table 6.14 Axis II Category: Pre-release Module

AXIS II CATEGORY: PRE-RELEASE MODULE	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
PSYCHOSOCIAL	Being ready to go home Learning to be alone again, after years of being constantly surrounded by people Impact and integration of new learning Taking time to reintegrate after release Gradual, monitored adaptation to life outside prison for long-term prisoners.
EMPLOYMENT	Combining diverse skills in the workplace Realising impact of one's actions on society/ community A job to come out to Job availability Becoming financially independent Learning to deal with rapid success Being in control vs. being controlled by others/ superiors Work opportunities upon release. Being useful and contributing to family and society
FAMILY AND SUPPORT NETWORK	Prepare family and friends for inmate's release.

Table 6.15 Axis II Category: Post-release External Support

AXIS II CATEGORY: POST-RELEASE EXTERNAL SUPPORT	
SUBCATEGORY	CONCEPTS
FAMILY SUPPORT	Support from extended family when adjusting to life outside prison The family should work closely together with the official support and the support groups.
OFFICIAL SUPPORT	Support for the management of practical issues, such as housing, finance, employment, etc. Initiation of prisoner support groups Help with new prisoner support group if relocating
PRISONER SUPPORT GROUPS	Forming of local ex-prisoner support group Help with practical, emotional, and social issues during reintegration Specially trained volunteers (church organisations, psychologists, socially successful ex-prisoners) to help to initiate and run groups Allocated contact person to attend group meetings Groups to work together with the official and family support

6.2 CONCLUSION

The sorting tables in this chapter were presented for two purposes. Firstly, to allow the reader to ascertain whether a valid basis exists for the categories, subcategories, and properties that have emerged. Secondly, to provide access to the specific concepts on which the discussion of the categories in chapter seven is based.

CHAPTER 7

7 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The sections below will discuss the research findings, and they have been laid out according to the structure indicated in figure 5.1. Thus the categories in axis I are discussed first, and the axis II categories last. In the discussion of each axis, the subsections explicate the concepts contained therein, and quotes are occasionally offered after the discussion of a category to illustrate a key issue. The quotes are prefaced with the original paragraph number in brackets at the end of the quote, so that the reader may locate its place in the interviews to see the context in which the statement was made. In this regard, it may be mentioned that the first digit in the paragraph number refers to the specific interview number, and the three last digits refer to the number of the paragraph within that interview (e.g. '2001' refers to interview 2, paragraph 001).

7.1 **AXIS I: MANAGEMENT OF PRISONS AND STAFF**

It must be must cautioned that the discussion regarding the core category dealing with the management and organisation of the material- and human resources of prisons was not based on a comprehensive understanding of the department's current practices as this researcher has not worked for - or been trained by - the Department of Correctional Services. Therefore, this section is purely offered as a contemplation of the concepts that emerged through the data. Readers are thus requested to consider the data in the light of their own knowledge and understanding.

7.1.1 **Protocol and Practice**

In terms of the participants' experience of current prison practice, concepts emerged around rules and structure; discipline; routine and reliability;

communication and distribution of information; resource management and in-prison activities; staff issues; as well as prisoner status, assessment and testing.

The inmates generally wished for more explicitness, regularity and predictability in the application of the implicit and explicit **rules** in prison. They felt that acceptable codes of conduct were generally vague and implicit and that they should become far more explicit and unambiguous in order to avoid confusion amongst prisoners and staff. As an example, the prisoners repeatedly brought up the need for unambiguous release dates, the ever-changing rules regarding the separation of prisoner groups, and the rules around the prisoners' possession and management of own money within the prison. There were numerous requests for better management of authority and control, especially regarding access to illegal drugs, and unfair differences regarding access to courses for citizens and non-citizens. Lastly, the prisoners requested that their appeals be processed more speedily. In terms of **structural** issues, the interviewees welcomed the idea of the unit management project, but said that they had not seen much evidence yet of its existence.

To this researcher's initial surprise, the issue of **discipline** came up in every interview. The inmates suggested that a stronger sense of **order, routine, reliability, and dependability** in the prison system would help their rehabilitation, as the current lack of certainty regarding the consequences and repercussions of their actions leads to a sense of chaos and anarchy amongst the prisoners. They added that it is difficult to learn to cope with what they term 'an unstable and constantly changing system'. Further to this point, the inmates complained about the staff members' disregard for the bonds and relationships that had developed between the inmates, and that the disruption of these substitute family systems made it difficult to achieve a sense of coherence and continuity in their lives in prison.

But they have got to you know I can't express to anybody how important it is, you know, that they put systems in place, and they stick to those systems. Especially, from the time you come into prison, set down the routine, and let that

*routine follow through. From day to day in prison, you don't know what is going to happen. We had an escape here, it was about three weeks ago, then all of a sudden everybody was locked up, you know, it was one or two days, and it was back to normal. There is **no** routine. And for a prisoner to be rehabilitated here, they are going to have routine and discipline, and there is none of it in here, in jail (2009).*

Another frequently emerging concept was the need for organised and exhaustive **information** regarding the prison rules, protocol, available courses, and sources of support on arrival at the prison. The participants stated that there was minimal access to information throughout their incarceration, and that this led to an overwhelming sense of insecurity and helplessness. The inmates requested that the avenues of **communication** be clarified, as they experience it as exceedingly difficult to communicate with prison management. As an example may be mentioned the request for access to recourse and protection when threatened by other inmates. It was suggested that a forum for collecting and assessing suggestions from the prisoners be created. For the foreign prisoners, the limited communication between embassies and prisons was seen to create practical problems, as vital information for the prisoners is often lost.

Somehow I feel, when you come into prison, they should not just put you into a section, they should put you into a cell with maybe five or six people, and then they should give you all the rules, the regulations, and everything that is possibly going to happen in prison. And then also show you all the different courses that are available, because that they don't do (2001). Also, there is no orientation for a new person coming in here; it is a very frightening experience. They hear stories from prisoners, horrific stories; you don't know what you are getting into. You are scared as it is, ok. There should be some kind of orientation section, before they come here to the prison section (4023).

Regarding the **management** of the prison's material **resources**, the availability of resources such as food and bedding are insufficient and often unfairly appropriated

by prisoners and staff alike. According to the interviewees, such corruption engenders conflict and establishes a pattern of poor interpersonal behaviour within the prison. The prison overcrowding and the idleness caused by the prohibition of many hobby-related activities were regarded as a major cause of conflict. Many interviewees thus called for an increase in, and diversification of, employment and other constructive activities for prisoners so that they may gain self-respect by delivering a service to society.

The inmates found that **staff** members were often very disrespectful towards them, and that there seemed to be a discrepancy between accepted behaviour in the prison and acceptable behaviour in society. They spoke of the need for a psychologically 'clean' living environment during rehabilitation, to help them rehabilitate. Many related with dismay how they had been compelled to learn subversive attitudes and behaviours in order to survive their incarceration, and told that the prison is colloquially referred to as 'Corruptional Services'. They suggested that the staff should receive psychoeducational training to help them manage conflict and tension. Many prisoners stated that they often felt at risk after lock-up as the after-hours monitoring and access to staff was very limited.

Regarding the development of the inmates' potential, the interviewees requested that the achievement and in-prison **status of prisoners** should be linked to their willingness to work on themselves psychologically. In this way, an inmate's group status would be dependent on the level of rehabilitation achieved, and not merely an automatic progression based on the amount of time served. They suggested that the cells could be divided according to group status based on such willingness and achievement, and that inmates should graduate to an increasingly higher group-status earned through their behaviour and achievement. Thus rewarded for being proactive, constructive and responsible, those motivated to change would live in cells that are more comfortable, effectively serving as role models for the more destructive elements. This would model to the prisoners that it matters what each citizen does regarding her role in society, and might motivate other prisoners to change. The **graduation process** would be completed when the inmate finally graduates from prison to freedom.

There must be some kind of psychological test that people [prison staff] could do to evaluate these people. I don't mean to say that all the baddies must be in one cell, and the goody-goodies must be in another cell, it doesn't work that way, but we can't live the way we are living (4006). make people work for their A-group [status], don't automatically give it to them after six months. Go back to the old system where you start on a C-group, and you work to a B-group, and you work to an A-group. To make a person feel like they are achieving something. To see that they can become something, even if it is an A-group. That is a start (4055). if you have earned it, it is so much harder to let it go, you wouldn't do something wrong (4009).

To facilitate the graduation process, the interviewees suggested that all prisoners should undergo **psychological testing, assessment, and evaluation**, and that a comprehensive centralised database documenting the needs and demographics of each prisoner should be created. Further to this topic, the interviewees called for a more logical ordering of rehabilitation segments, so that the psychological assessment information could be used to plan a structured coherent rehabilitation plan for the individual prisoner. The interviewees also requested a larger professional staff complement to help develop the potential of inmates in preparation for their release, and suggested that long-term prisoners could be utilised through 'train-the-trainer' courses in order to increase accessibility to courses without unnecessarily increasing the cost of rehabilitation.

7.1.2 Resource Allocation

The participants brought up a number of issues surrounding resource allocation in the prison. The issues concerned the material resources required for skills training; access to telephones; the availability and management of food rations; and using the prison staff, university students, volunteers and long-term prisoners to present rehabilitative modules.

In terms of the **material resources needed for skills training**, venues and furniture needs to be found and allocated to the different rehabilitative modules. The thinking-skills modules only require a venue, books, and writing materials. To

limit the need for presenters, a variety of games-based and computer-based learning programmes could be made available, and it is possible that donation of such programmes may be obtained from companies or individuals. Most of the life-skills modules only require a room and chairs, although flip charts, video machines and a TV for presenting audio-visual material would be helpful. The various practical skills training courses require dedicated venues, tools, equipment and materials depending on the type of skill being taught.

The prisoners expressed a need to maintain relationships with their families and other support networks outside prison, and in this regard **access to the pay phones** seemed to be a major cause of conflict, both with other prisoners and the prison staff. It seemed that access to telephonic communication with family and other external support was largely dependent on the whim of the staff on duty, and that a clarification of the rules regarding access and phone-cards was needed.

Prisoners complained that **food supplies** are often insufficient, and that the unfortunate prisoners who are last in the queue have to survive without a meal. This is a repeated source of conflict, as inmates will push in front of each other in the food queue, causing aggression and fighting. It appears that the issue is one of misappropriation and corruption rather than insufficiency, as one may regularly observe prisoners selling 'skaftans' (a one litre container) to inmates in exchange for R10. It was also reported that the portions served vary in size depending on the prisoner's relationship with the persons serving the food. It seemed that there is a need to regulate the supplies as well as the dispensing of the food to diminish such unfairness and corruption.

Another thing is that people steal our food. People are not getting enough food, they are underfed. Some of us get a visit occasionally, some of us have a bit of money in the shop [snoepie account], but what about those people that don't? That depend on the prison food. It is not only members stealing [food]; it is prisoners as well. So that shows you how callous these people are, how cold and unfeeling they are. That they can actually take food out of a sister prisoner's mouth. They will take three or four bowls down, and get them dished up for people that aren't here,

and they are taking food out of three or four people's mouths. Because it runs out before all the people have been served (4060).

Some participants proposed that **staff members** with high-level interpersonal-, academic- or practical skills could be trained **to present** some of the **rehabilitative modules** in between doing their duty as guards. They suggested that such additional activities could serve to alleviate the boredom and tediousness of mere inmate monitoring and elevate the morale and vocational motivation of staff. Seeing the prisoners from a teaching perspective could also provide the staff with a more positive and enthusiastic attitude towards prisoners and their development. It was further suggested that the ratio of prison staff to prisoners is currently insufficient.

To decrease the financial cost of rehabilitation to the Department of Correctional Services, **university students and other volunteers** could be trained to run preset rehabilitative modules. To provide consistency and continuity, well-adapted **long-term prisoners** could be trained to assist the students and volunteers in presenting the modules. This would have the added benefit of providing meaningful activities for these prisoners, and could provide other prisoners with the incentive to utilise their potential in a similar way.

7.1.3 Staff Assessment

A recurring concept was the need for psychometric testing of the prison staff. It was suggested that this testing should focus on the personality, attitude, interests, values and skills of the staff members. The orderliness and dependability of staff was especially questioned, and the participants maintained that there was a need for extensive staff retraining.

Contact with society outside of the prison walls is limited, as most staff members live on the prison property. The insular nature of the prison environment was mentioned repeatedly, and the participants regarded increased contact with non-prison citizens as crucial to the staff members' outlook on their work.

7.1.4 Staff Training

Concepts around the training of staff focused on the life-skills of the staff members, and consequently very little can be offered regarding training staff in thinking skills and practical skills.

7.1.4.1 *Thinking skills*

As stated above, no concepts emerged from the data regarding thinking-skills training of the staff. However, one could surmise that in order for staff members to be effective in the management of the prisoners, the same concepts would apply to this segment as have emerged in the thinking-skills section on the management of prisoners (axis II). These concepts include:

- Prioritising and resource management
- Intellectual, scholastic and academic skills
- Responsibility
- Troubleshooting
- Problem solving
- Motivation
- Planning and goal-setting

It was assumed that these concepts are covered in the training of prison staff, and thus need no further elaboration. This could be explored in subsequent research, if needed.

7.1.4.2 *Life skills*

The data yielded many concepts around the life skills of prison staff. The concepts revolved around staff members' attitude to prisoners; interpersonal skills; handling of prisoners; being role models and mentors; authority and management; attitude to visitors; and attitude to other staff members.

In terms of the staff **members attitude to prisoners and interpersonal skills**, it seemed that there is a general perception that staff members display very little interest in the welfare and constructive development of prisoners. It was repeatedly stated that the staff demonstrate a capricious attitude of disrespect, rejection, judgment, favouritism, condescension and unfairness, and the inmates called for some form of protection against ridicule, humiliation and put-downs by the staff. It was suggested that the current attitude of staff causes negative and

disrespectful inmates behaviour towards other inmates and staff. It was suggested that a better environment could be created through adherence to basic human rights principles such as respect, confidentiality, discretion, empathy, understanding, support, compassion and encouragement. It was felt that the punitive attitude of staff and parole officers, based on aggression, threats and coercion, prevents constructive change. This attitude should be replaced by a rehabilitative stance emphasising privacy regarding personal matters, goodwill, interest, involvement and respect for the self-determination of inmates. In this way, the inmates would be rewarded for their desire to learn and teach. Further to the attitude of staff, another frequent concept concerned the creation of offensive racial divides, and the consequent formation of interpersonal relations based on reverse apartheid.

We had that strip [search]; they stripped the prison, the SAP[police]. I suppose you have been following the news, haven't you? My goodness, on Saturday night, quarter past twelve, they hit our cell. But I was awake and ready for them. Because I don't sleep early. And I knew they hadn't put the lights out, there must be something wrong. And I heard funny bumps upstairs, I thought about what that was for, I just didn't realise it was SAP and the army. They printed [had printouts of] us all. They belittled us about what our sentences are. [Saying] Oh, you just think you are clever, isn't she clever, committing robbery? What do you do with guns, do you know how to use them? But you know how these people talk to you. It is not nice, that is what I am saying. Another one [said] who did you kill? Hmmm, you are a murderess, who did you kill? We've been sentenced already; we are paying for our sins. Some people in the cell don't know what other people have done. That is so horrible. Anyway, I told him not to talk about that, about the other people. I mean, I just laughed, because to me it doesn't mean anything to me anymore. I am paying for my sins, I see where I went wrong, and I won't do it again. I am not going to let them do it to me. [Very long pause] they talked to the abused woman who killed her husband. It is not right; you don't talk to people like that (4104).

In terms of the daily **handling of prisoners**, it was felt that the current emotional climate in prison is impacted by the prisoners' lack of access to professional

support, and the crowded conditions in the prison. It was felt that staff subscribe to widely differing definitions of rehabilitation, and that the largely implicit codes of conduct were insufficient for the creation and maintenance of a harmonious environment. It was suggested that it is often enough to keep a low profile in order to seem rehabilitated. The prisoners asserted that they would welcome a higher degree of certainty regarding the consequences and repercussions of behaviour and attitudes as this would satisfy their need for orderliness and dependability.

The respondents suggested that they need competent leadership, as their motivation to learn and change is affected by the quality of **role modelling and mentoring** by staff members. A high-frequency concept concerned the effect of corrupt conduct of staff members, and the inmates suggested that the current discrepancy between the law and generally accepted prison behaviour was detrimental to their need to perceive staff members as respected and positive role models when trying to improve themselves. The perceived corruption among staff thus provides poor role modelling, as the prisoners currently experience the daily benefits of learning corrupt practices. The prisoners would like staff members to model respectful ways of behaving and thinking, and maintained that they need to see staff members as committed to doing their job with integrity.

How is the staff member supposed to tell these ladies not to use the phones, -by pushing and shoving them? How can I respect them if they don't respect us [the prisoners]? Do you think that I was going to intervene in this situation if she was acting cool calm and collected? No. But she was pushing them. I told her she has a bad and dirty heart. And I told them that I didn't swear at this woman [the staff member]. They found me guilty of disobeying orders or whatever. And then the man said I am so disappointed in you. I said things happen, and there is nothing I can do now (9022). That same day, the people from my embassy came here; they gave me 5 packets of cigarettes, chocolates, and mielies [from her country]. The bitch [staff member] in my section took my bag, and said in front of everybody, I have to search this. They brought me up to the office, stripped me to see if I had

smuggled anything, they took everything. I went to the captain and asked why I didn't have a visit from this woman [from the embassy] who had helped me so much. She was the one who told me that my father had died, nobody in the prison had told me this. She called my parents [overseas] and found out for me. My father was screaming my name before he died because he wanted me to be there. So how can these fucking people tell me that I am not right? After that, that member came, she looked me up and down like I was dirty, like I am carrying dagga or cocaine (9023).

Regarding **authority and management**, the prisoners requested that the consequences of actions should be relevant to a prisoner's personality and circumstances. Thus, it is not helpful to rescind privileges that the prisoners are in any case unable to utilise (e.g. allowed amount in tuck-shop savings account if the prisoner lacks access to funds). It was requested that identified violent prisoners should be separated from non-violent prisoners to eliminate incidences of in-prison violence. A high-frequency concept revolved around the marked differences in staff members' application of rules. An example of this is the differential application of the law by individual parole board officials, which causes uncertainty among prisoners as this places them at the mercy of the prison staff regarding their release dates and subsequent threats of release date revocation. The prisoners often experienced such threats as completely unrelated to their general level of conduct, and as the result of unwarranted persecution by vindictive or jealous staff members. It was not within the scope of this research to determine whether such perceptions are warranted.

A regularly occurring concept concerned the **staff members attitude to visitors**. The participants complained that the inconsistent attitude of staff wear out the visiting family members, as the visitors never know whether they will be treated with respect or shouted at. Many inmates reported that their families refuse to visit them in prison because they feel tainted and worthless as a result of the poor public relations skills of staff.

the families get punished as well, they get treated horribly when they come to visit. The members are very rude to them, they shout at them, they scream at them. If they haven't brought their ID, they get sent away. If they have temporary ID s it might be ok this week and next week not, nothing is the same [from day to day] (4044). There is no routine. It all depends on the mood of the member at the gate. So you really don't know the families get tired (4045).

Further to the creation of a psychologically sound environment in the prisons, the staff members' attitude to each other must also be mentioned. Emerging from the data was a wide spread perception that there is a high degree of power play between staff members. The participants stated that a power struggle between different staff groups was evident, especially regarding the division of staff into 'punitive' and 'rehabilitative' factions. It was suggested that all staff members be involved in both areas of prisoner management to remove this division. It was further suggested that the various rehabilitative professional staff, such as psychologists and social workers, should be reorganised and trained to facilitate improved cooperation.

7.1.4.3 Practical skills

No data emerged from the prisoner interviews regarding the practical skills that the staff members need to have. It was assumed that this information is adequately covered in the current prison staff training, and need not be dealt with in this research. This space was left in the table so that prison management may insert their own information if they so wish.

7.1.5 Training of Others

Concepts around the composition of the members of a multi-disciplinary team for the management of prisoners revolved around the need for increased numbers of professional staff, including psychologists, psychometrists, psychiatrists, medical doctors, pharmacists, criminologists and occupational therapists.

in some of the Nordic countries they have one psychologist per 40 or 50 offenders. So, we are very far from actually being able to do that. That is really the only way that you can make a change. And even when you do work like that, the success rate is still very low. The focus on rehabilitating offenders in the Nordic countries is very strong, they put a lot of effort into that. But another thing we must look at, is that we cannot just apply what they have done overseas, because of cross-cultural issues. I think that our situation is different (10029). Most of our therapists can only speak one language, usually English. And how do you really do a proper intervention if you cannot speak the client's language? And I am not saying that it is not possible to rehabilitate somebody. But it does make it more difficult if you are not aware of issues of culture and so forth. You cannot broadly apply rehabilitation strategies that they have overseas. We can look at them, but we should not just apply them indiscriminately (1030).

7.1.5.1 Multi-disciplinary Team

According to the data, a multi-disciplinary team should deal with the intensive and focused rehabilitation of female prisoners through increased access to psychologists, criminologists and social workers, as well as a dedicated team of in-house psychometrists to administer psychometric tests to prisoners. Social workers should also be able to provide support for the prisoner's families through cooperation with external social workers.

When a woman comes to prison, there should be some kind of welfare service that is doing its job properly. That makes sure that her children are looked after. There is no assurance of that here. It is very hard on the black women, more on them than it is on us, because the families usually try to take over. Sometimes the children are staying with strangers. That is where it all boils down to for us. Our children. You can't stop worrying. Worry breeds so many other things (4083).

The data suggested that the need for professional staff to help inmates deal with clinical, emotional and practical issues is inadequately met, and that it is vital for

such professionals to be skilled in a diversity of languages. Clinical issues revolved around medically treatable pathologies that should be identified and referred to a psychiatrist or medical doctor, and dealt with at an early stage. The emotional and practical needs could be dealt with by psychologists and social workers, and comprise a variety of issues.

The respondents reported the need for skilled help to deal with rejection by family members upon incarceration, as well as eliciting support from family and other members of society. Support for economic and employment related problems was also essential. Professional guidance was required regarding the management of sexuality, drugs, and sleeplessness during incarceration. Adaptation to prison life was another need requiring skilled assistance, as supportive affirmation of achieved personal growth would facilitate the prisoner's adjustment and consolidate constructive change. Such affirmation could enhance the prisoners' aspiration to regard themselves as potential societal assets and thus provide the basis for sustainable rehabilitation. In this regard, specific rehabilitation plans should be developed for individual offenders. This issue will be dealt with in detail in section 7.2.

The participants mentioned the danger of burnout and stagnation of professional staff due to extreme caseloads and lack of support mechanisms, and it was stated that professional staff currently lack the time to learn and update their skills. It was suggested that peer group supervision for psychological staff be made obligatory and time be set aside for this purpose on a weekly or monthly basis. Likewise, it is crucial to provide staff with access to continuous professional retraining and development. As mentioned above, sound interdisciplinary cooperation and teamwork should be cultivated between the various staff-sectors, possibly achieved through rotational assignment of staff members to both management and rehabilitative functions in the prison. In terms of working conditions for professional prison staff, it was mentioned that the constant interruption of therapy sessions and lack of confidentiality affected the quality of interventions.

Because [the psychologists] feel overwhelmed. The overwhelming case load, and the overwhelming administrative load. The overwhelming need for people to see me. The overwhelming demand for me to be in three places all at once. When I arrive at work in the morning, to see it bulging with stuff that I have not been able to attend to. So all of that is quite overwhelming, and if you don't look after yourself, you burn yourself out. And there are times when you just feel like bailing out, and you think I just cannot do this anymore. I am not going to survive, and if I am not surviving I cannot help anyone. So, there are times when you just do things for survival. Your own survival, in terms of just being able to cope. I suppose it is important, as a therapist, to know when you have reached your limit. There are times that I sit here, and feel that I just cannot do this anymore. I just need to step back and recharge a bit (10007).

7.1.5.2 External Support - Official

Although many official external groups, institutions and individuals are involved in the support and rehabilitation of offenders, the data indicated that their efforts are largely uncoordinated. Currently, external therapists and social workers are involved with the needs of prisoners, but are regarded as meddlesome and annoying by prison staff because of poor communication and cooperation.

Some universities are involved in prison counselling and rehabilitation, and routinely provide psychology students for practical rotational placements. Although the work done by students appears to be of a high standard, it seems to lack continuity, and structured pre-set courses presented by students might provide a better service to a larger number of prisoners as well as improved training for the students. With pre-set courses, continuity could be provided by training long-term prisoners as assistants to the students.

The data yielded concepts around the need for better communication between prisons and members of the legal profession as well as embassy staff. According to the respondents, gaining access to such external support is difficult while in prison, and it seemed that faulty communication often produces detrimental consequences for prisoners and their families.

Picture yourself; you have got children, coming here. She [a prisoner] doesn't know, she has got young children at home. She has been arrested, put on trial for 8 months, 9 months, maybe a year - two years. She doesn't even know where some of her children are; they are small, school-going. Imagine that worry that fear. She doesn't even have access to a social worker in here. She doesn't. Then she is sentenced, comes to prison, a year or two years down the line. And, she sees a social worker, but he is not here very often. Maybe he misses three or four appointments with her, before she can finally see him. Now, 2-3 years have gone past, and you still don't know where your children are, because your family sometimes don't even know where they are. How can you make that a better person? You must see these women. You must see the look in their eyes. Some of them just sit [sobs]. And if you ask them what's wrong? the tears are running. And you ask them what's wrong, and they say Ek -they usually speak Afrikaans- I don't know where my children are. And I try not to think about them [tears in her eyes], but today I am thinking about them. It is wrong; it is all of us [cries]. How can you make that person a better person? (4038).

7.1.5.3 External Support - Volunteer

As with the official external support from universities, it would be expedient and beneficial if volunteers could be trained to present specific integrated rehabilitative modules. It seems that would-be volunteers are unable to see where they could be of service and therefore refrain from getting involved. The rehabilitative framework could facilitate the proper integration of a new training or therapy module offered by a volunteer. The framework may further serve to illuminate inadequately covered sections of rehabilitation, presenting an opportunity for new volunteers to apply themselves creatively in such areas. In terms of volunteer external support, their undisputed importance lies in their ability to connect prisoners and staff with the external world, and help assure people living within the prison walls of the interest and involvement of others in the external world. As a volunteer's network is usually dissimilar to that of a prison, they also represent access to different resources and (hopefully) a continuous supply of additional volunteers.

According to the data, religious volunteers currently working in prisons seem to be providing a well-developed support function, and many prisoners rely on such support in their efforts to cope with their incarceration.

7.1.5.4 External Support - Private

In terms of private external support, a frequently occurring concept revolved around the prisoners' inadequate access to their families and other support systems. As mentioned in section 7.1.2, the lack of access to pay phones, infrequent mail deliveries and limited permitted visits prevent prisoners from having adequate access to private external support. This obviously increases the necessity for official and volunteer support which is not constructive. It is evident that a concerted effort should be made to increase the offenders' access to their own support systems (and vice versa) to reduce the load on other support resources and improve the prisoner's sense of empowerment.

The external support needs concepts were similar to the needs found in other sections as they revolved around rejection by family members; the need for family support; the need for open family communication and relations; the need for interest and involvement of others; dealing with the stigma of imprisonment; learning to withstand peer pressure, social-status pressure and temptations; being aware of the impact of one's actions on community and society; creating a sense of belonging to a community; resolving unfinished business from earlier experiences; and increasing contact with people on the outside to prevent a discrepancy between in-prison norms and those of society in general.

I have a lot of support, I have the four boys, and you know that they do support me; they are all doing excellent, they still carry on. Ehm, I am going to go to my mom. Ehm, I am scared, I actually wrote a letter to my mom, last weekend, and I said to her you know what is so strange? You come in here really scared, and you are actually leaving here very scared. Not in the fact that I am going to have nowhere to go, but I left my boys when they were teen-agers, and they have all said to me I must not worry that by the time that I am going to be the reality is that I am doing time till 2004 (2018).

7.1.6 Staff Feedback and Continuous Training

The data indicated that staff feedback and ongoing training should be based on recognition of the efforts of individual staff members, and staff members should have access to predetermined rewards for excellent work. Such rewards could include promotion to a higher level of responsibility with better remuneration and more stimulating work. Thus, the further training of individual staff members should be determined by their own efforts rather than automatic seniority. Staff feedback could take the form of group sessions in which management, prison staff and the multi-disciplinary team would be given the opportunity to voice their opinions and suggestions. The allocation of rewards for excellent work would thus be subject to a transparent process, and the individual member would have clarity as to what constitutes the various levels of rewardable vocational effort.

7.2 AXIS II: INCARCERATION AND REHABILITATION OF PRISONERS

The second core category comprises all concepts regarding the management, incarceration, training, and rehabilitation of prisoners. The logical ordering of this axis is a sequence of stages that begins with the arrival of the sentenced offender, and ends with her (successful) reintegration upon release.

7.2.1 Prison Induction

The first category – or stage - in the management of prisoners concerns the introduction of the day's arriving prisoner or group of prisoners to the prison system. During this stage, information about prison structure, rules, protocol, programmes and resources should be given (Skosana, 1998). As may be evidenced by the frequency of concepts around the need for information, this requirement is not presently adhered to. The information should be presented in written form, in the prisoner's language, and as required by section 6.4(b) of the 1998 Correctional Services Bill (Skosana, 1998), illiterate prisoners should be informed verbally of the content of the information pamphlet. As stated in section 6.4(c) of the same bill, the prisoner must confirm the contents of the pamphlet have been understood.

Adhering to the Correctional Services Bill (Skosana, 1998) regarding the immediate provision of information would prevent the loss of empowerment currently experienced by prisoners as a result of a lack of understanding of, and insight into, the prison system. It would be beneficial if a copy of current legislation regarding prisons were made available in the prison library. If access to current legislation were noted in the information pamphlet, the prisoners would have a means of recourse against corrupt staff members when lodging official complaints and a stricter adherence to the rules might result. Such access might also have the added benefit of ensuring that unjustifiable cases would not be lodged and time-consuming processing avoided.

It would also be advantageous if each arriving prisoner-group were allocated a staff member, who was responsible for their induction until a cell and cell-buddy was allocated. This would diminish the confusion reportedly felt by new prisoners on their arrival. Protocol regarding expected attitude and behaviour of the allocated staff member should be made clear to all staff. A courteous and respectful introduction to the prison would elicit a productive attitude in the new prisoner, which would be conducive to later rehabilitative efforts.

7.2.2 Prisoner Assessment

According to the Correctional Services Bill (Skosana, 1998) every prisoner must undergo a health status examination as soon as possible after admission. This examination must include testing for contagious and communicable diseases, but according to the research participants such an examination is generally not conducted. Consequently the prisoners are placed at a considerable health risk, which is amplified catastrophically by the crowded prison accommodation and poor ablution facilities.

The Correctional Services Bill (Skosana, 1998) further states that a preliminary security classification of each prisoner must be made upon her admission to the prison. If one considers the multitude of concepts regarding the incidence and prevalence of in-prison aggression and hostility discussed by the research participants, it seems that such classification should be a part of the basis on which placement and privileges are assigned to each prisoner.

A holistic classification could be achieved through adding personality, interest, values and aptitude tests in the form of a standardised psychometric assessment (for examples of tests, see: Elliot, 1990; McDermott, Green, Francis & Stott, 1999; The Psychological Corporation, 1983; Sparrow, Balla & Cicchetti, 1984; Millon, 1981; Graham, 1993; Finn, 1996).

Education, I say it [should] start at the beginning from day one you are into prison. They should have a form, a questionnaire, where what your needs are will go down, your background, your religion . (2062).

Additional assessment tools could be included in the test battery as indicated by a comprehensive demographic questionnaire and initial interview conducted with each offender upon arrival. The information thus accumulated should be kept on a central integrated database and form the basis for an individualised rehabilitative programme for each prisoner. This topic will be explored in more detail in section 7.2.5.

7.2.3 Allocation of Prisoner Status and Cell

The issue of assessing a prisoner in order to allocate some form of status is bound to be a contentious one, especially since this study proposes that such allocation should no longer be based simply on how long the prisoner has been incarcerated as is the procedure today.

In terms of current penal practice, the inmates presently carry B-group status for six months. If their sentence is shorter than two years, their B-group status lasts for three months. B-group prisoners may spend R 150 per month at the prison-shop, and are allowed thirty six 45-minute non-contact visits and one phone call per month. When the prisoners attain their A-group status, they may spend R200 at the prison-shop per month. They are entitled to forty eight 60-minute contact visits and 24 phone calls per year. Monitor status may be conferred shortly before release. This status carries privileges such as moving about unaccompanied by staff, working in the prison grounds and running errands for staff. When a

prisoner has received a release date, she is entitled to see the parole board and come into consideration for relevant amnesties.

It is proposed that the database discussed in the previous section could be utilised for the allocation of the prisoner's initial status as well as subsequent status upgrades or downgrades. The database should be updated at regular intervals, following periodical assessments to reflect the prisoner's rehabilitative achievements and thereby provide a basis for status changes. Once a status has been assigned to the prisoner, a cell corresponding with this status may be allocated. The composition of the cell environment should reflect the cell status level and motivate prisoners to qualify for the next level. This can be achieved through a hierarchical increase in the comfort of each cell level as regards available space per prisoner, bathroom facilities, quality of furniture and bedding, access to in-prison work, access to television and teakettles and so forth. The number of cells available on each status level should be determined by the number of prisoners qualifying for that level, rather than this being a question of available resources.

They [prisoners] haven't been put in proper programmes. They also haven't worked on themselves, which is very important. You can stay above yourself all the time, you know, and say I am fine, but in your heart you know you are not. So, you have got to start working on that. But these people don't. I was lucky enough to attend these programmes (9009). But, these people need to be matured, they need to be put into situations in prison. Sometimes you are put with a lot of bad elements, and you don't mature because of these persons. Then I come back to testing again, people are not the same. You can't put people [in cells] according to crime, what crime they have done. You have got to put them by person (9010).

In order to prevent abuse, the initial status allocation and subsequent status reassessments should be based on psychometric scales and tests that are appropriate to the South African context. Suitable existing scales could be modified to generate a satisfactory in-prison assessment tool. The selection of such

assessment scales should be subjected to conscientious deliberation by a diverse panel of stakeholders to produce measures that are respectful of offenders.

A record of all allocations and re-allocations of status should be kept in an individual file for each prisoner on the prison's electronic database. Status allocations should be audited regularly by an external review board, possibly manned by retrained parole board officers. An example of a possible status-allocation assessment form is illustrated in Figure 7.1 below. The instruments listed in the middle column are merely examples of the required type of instruments. It must be emphasised that the instruments have not been considered sufficiently to warrant inclusion in an assessment battery.

STATUS ALLOCATION ASSESSMENT FORM		
ITEM ASSESSED	SPECIFIC TASKS MEASURED / ASSESSMENT TOOLS	POINTS
BEHAVIOUR (Observable, measurable performances)	Behaviour Anchored Scale	
ATTITUDE (Self-reporting)	Interpersonal Trust Scale (Rotter, 1967) Social Axioms Scale (Bond, 2001) Home and Community Social Behavior Scales (Merrell & Caldarella, 2000)	
GLOBAL FUNCTIONING (Self-reporting)	Social Skills Rating System (Gresham & Elliott, 1990) Cognitive Flexibility Scale (Martin & Rubin, 1995) Behavior rating inventory of executive function (BRIEF) (Gioia, Isquith, Guy & Kenworthy, 2000) Differential Abilities Scale (Elliot, 1990) Learning Behaviors Scale (McDermott, Green, Francis & Stott, 1999) Basic Achievement Skills Individual Screener (The Psychological Corporation, 1983) Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales (Sparrow, Balla & Cicchetti, 1984).	
COOPERATION (Self-reporting, staff-reports, peer-reports)	Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).	
ACHIEVEMENTS	- Thinking skills course outcomes - Life skills course outcomes - Practical skills course outcomes	

Figure 7.1 Status Allocation Assessment Form

7.2.4 Cell and Group Induction

After the status and cell allocation, a 'cell-buddy' who resides in the prisoner's allocated cell may be chosen to induct the new prisoner into her cell. The allocated cell-buddy should familiarise the new prisoner with the rules, expectations and physical environment of the cell and section, and model appropriate attitude and conduct to the new prisoner as set out by the specialised cell-buddy training. The cell-buddy should also be responsible for the proper induction of the prisoner into

the cell-community, and must provide insight regarding the status of the cell in relation to the general status hierarchy. In this manner, the cell status of higher levels to the one allocated may be perceived as 'one-step-up' role models and may forestall the present situation in which established prisoners are often negatively influenced by newcomers.

The cell-buddy concept is envisaged as similar to the current cell-monitor system, but prisoners in this role should not be made to monitor other prisoners since leading by example is more conducive to prisoners' motivation to change. The cell-buddy system will more closely resemble the way in which society works, by allowing prisoners to observe how socially approved conduct, attitude and achievements are rewarded by the prison system in terms of the comfort and privileges of daily prison life. In view of this, prisoners must be selected for the cell-buddy position on the basis of exceptional attitude and conduct, and undergo specialised training to ensure the perpetuation of behaviours and attitudes conducive to learning and development. Cell-buddies should thus be regarded as role-models for other prisoners. Cell-buddies should thus be regarded as role models for other prisoners, and the concomitant rewards perceived as something to strive towards.

The continuously updated status system also implies that any prisoner can aspire to a higher status and may even surpass that of her current cell-buddy by a sustained display of socially acceptable conduct, attitude and successful skills training. When a cell-buddy realises that a fellow prisoner may some day be allocated a higher status level than her, she will be less likely to dishonourably obstruct another prisoner's ascending status (because of envy or jealousy), as such conduct might harm her own future position. Presumably, she will also strive to improve the conduct and achievements of her charges as far as possible. Through the status-based opportunity to share accommodation and interact with increasingly better-adapted individuals, the negative influence of other prisoners is less likely to prevent an inmate's positive development. Each cell should be provided with a locked complaints box for submission of complaints regarding incidents of status-abuse by the individual cell-buddies. The key to this box should be kept by the

head of prison, and the contents should be examined at scheduled intervals in the presence of the head of prison.

Although the cell-buddies will have access to the 'ear' of the authorities, they should be trained not to carry messages and requests from other prisoners, as this will thwart other prisoners' desire to strive towards the position. Each cell-buddy must be allocated to a group of staff members (to ensure continuity throughout rotation of shifts and changing appointments), and these staff members must have regularly scheduled meetings to deal with issues brought up by the cell buddies. Any complaints deposited in the complaints-box mentioned in the preceding paragraph should be dealt with seriously, and the relevant members of the cell in question should be invited to attend a discussion on the matter.

7.2.5 Allocation of Rehabilitative Modules

As suggested in section 7.2.2, an individualised rehabilitation plan designed for each offender should form the basis for the allocation of rehabilitative modules. This plan should be the result of a collaborative contract between prison management and the offender, rooted in understandings derived from the demographic questionnaire, psychometric data and discussions with the offender aimed at a constructive outcome of the incarceration. It is important for both parties to be realistic regarding the proposed outcome, and if the recommendations concerning status and cell allocation (described in section 7.2.3) are followed, the social consequences of making constructive/destructive choices will be modelled throughout the incarceration process.

7.2.6 Prisoner Training

Apart from the constant monitoring and assignment of prisoner status and associated privileges, the individual rehabilitation plan may include group therapy and individual therapy, physical treatment, an exercise schedule, and access to occupational activities. The subcategories of rehabilitative needs emerging from the data are 'thinking skills', 'life skills', and 'practical skills', around which pre-set courses and programme modules may be developed. In terms of admission to courses and training, the modules should be hierarchically arranged in levels from basic to complex skills.

7.2.6.1 *Thinking Skills*

According to the concept formulations derived from the data, a number of properties of the subcategory ‘Thinking Skills’ emerged. These properties are:

- Prioritising and resource management
- Intellectual, scholastic, and academic skills
- Responsibility
- Troubleshooting
- Problem solving
- Motivation
- Planning and goal setting.

Regarding the **prioritising and management of resources**, the participants find that it is imperative to keep mentally active while incarcerated. They would like to learn how to distinguish essential needs from optional wants. In this regard, the inmates mentioned a need to learn to prioritise efforts around constructive personal choices and avoid being distracted by the vagaries of communal living and peer pressure. They also felt the need to learn how to identify existing resources, cultivate new resources, and how to preserve access and use resources.

Having discovered the negative effects of limited education, many participants mentioned the need for **intellectual, scholastic and academic skills**. They suggested that the effect of courses and studies would be greatly enhanced if prisoners were offered the chance to first become skilled in different ways of thinking, reasoning and maximising their retentive capacity. The participants felt that after such training, scholastic training involving basic literacy, reading, writing, maths and languages would be more readily absorbed. It was also evident that lateral, creative and metaphorical thinking skills would be beneficial as a higher-level course module taught before commencement of tertiary academic studies. Further to this point, the participants requested guidance regarding the identification and utilisation of learning opportunities.

Yeab, [the books] were lovely, some of them were really new Listen, you can t even take old books and give to these people, they destroy everything. They don t appreciate them. Because they have never learned. That is what I am saying; it is

all those things that can be taught to them. How to use your library, how to take care of a book, what a book can do for you (4066).

A variety of concepts emerged around the need for a well-developed sense of **responsibility**. According to the participants, rehabilitation should revolve around the prisoner's willingness to take responsibility for her own development, as no growth will take place without the desire to change. The process of accepting responsibility was seen to begin with learning to accept accountability for one's past and present actions and choices, and could involve putting an end to a habit of rationalising criminal conduct. The next step should entail identifying short-term and long-term consequences of one's actions. The data suggested that such mapping of consequences could assist prisoners in attaining a sense of integrity. The final step should be learning to accept responsibility for one's future decisions.

when I was younger, when I ran away from home, from my mom when she started drinking. I was sixteen years old. It was wrong what I did. Even though I was in a bad situation, there was other ways to maybe I could have gone to my Dad, and said to him I can't handle it anymore (2040). But, I thought it was better, when, those bright lights, all the dancing, and everything that went with it. But little did I know the consequences that it would leave me with. You know, I always did things without thinking. And it wasn't good (2041).

The participants suggested that there is a need to learn sound approaches for **troubleshooting** and negotiating obstacles in order to optimise lawful access to resources and activities. It seemed that poor decision-making is often the result of misinformation and lack of knowledge. It was ventured that the ability to learn from one's experiences and adapt, rather than blocking off valid options out of fear, was largely dependent on whether the prisoner feels empowered to change. The participants suggested that self-insight is vital to recognising the correlation between their problems, their conduct, and their self-image.

A frequently occurring concept involved **problem-solving** skills. The participants suggested that in order to be effective in solving their problems, they need resolution- and decision-making skills. The data indicated that good problem solving is based on deliberation rather than impulsivity, and that many inmates need to learn how to develop an internal locus of reasoning and control, instead of an externally derived, global locus. The realization of an internal locus of control will depend on a prisoner's ability to gain clarity regarding alternative options and possibilities, so that her choice of conduct is based on insight, knowledge and deliberation.

The respondents lamented their inability to muster the **motivation** to change, grow and learn. Many concepts emerged around the need to be of value; useful; purposeful; constructive; productive; and feeling needed by society, community and family. They also complained that the current idleness of the prison existence breeds a lack of motivation. A need to be taught self-discipline and how to persevere in the presence of obstacles was suggested. Motivation appeared to depend on the development of a future perspective, and in this regard it was suggested that prisoners should be helped to broaden their scope of interest. The participants maintained that imprisonment could be seen as an opportunity for self-reflexivity which compels the offender to develop. In this regard, the prisoners expressed a need to experience that society values their efforts to improve themselves.

According to the respondents, it was cathartic to recognise that the worst thing that can happen to a person, imprisonment, had already happened to them. The awareness that their lives could only improve from the present situation was beneficial in terms of **planning and goal setting**. They maintained that although many prisoners currently see prison as a comfort zone, the right guidance could help them to plan for the future by developing and expanding the vision of their future, and setting realistic and achievable goals for the attainment of their dreams. In this regard, it is important that prisoners are encouraged to dream and have high aspirations, and this should be followed up by the attainment of realistic goal setting skills.

Before I came here, while I was still outside? In fact, my life was bad outside. So, since I came here I start to realise that, ok, if I but, it is too different. The knowledge I gained from here. It is not the same as the one I had when I was still outside. While I was still outside, I was just I couldn't know what to do to change my life. Which means I was just walking in darkness. But the moment I acquired her, the one that came close to me [my colleague from Wits with whom Makgadi had a year of therapy] and give me the light about my life. Now I have got some plans, I have got some more things I am going to achieve. But I never had those things while I was still outside (5001).

7.2.6.2 Life Skills

The rehabilitative needs in the 'life skills' subcategory were been sorted into the following properties:

- Intrapersonal
- Physical/Medical
- Interpersonal
- Spiritual
- Social

Some of these properties were further subdivided into secondary properties. The life skills subcategory elicited the largest number of concepts in the rehabilitative needs framework (see section 6.4).

In the **intrapersonal** group of properties, secondary properties were established as follows:

- Self-esteem
- Self-efficacy
- Self-insight
- Emotions

The secondary property of **self-esteem** revolves around the prisoners' need to develop their self-respect, learning to accept themselves, gaining a sense of confidence, feeling secure in themselves and learning to shift from an externally based to an internally-based self-esteem. In this regard, it would be helpful to

develop a course around the difference between negative and positive self-talk, self-conditioning, and this course should also address the issue of learned helplessness. Further to the issue of self-esteem, the prisoners should be guided towards achieving an internal locus of control, based on pride in their coping skills, sincerity and forthrightness.

So, once you have been through this and you can really say I have come through here, and I have survived this, and gone out there and proved to yourself that you can stand up, there is nothing that can pull you down. If you can survive this, Janne, you can survive anything. I have said to everybody we were actually talking about fraud they were actually dealing with my case because they have started investigating (2058). There is one thing people have told me: Never say never but believe me, I am saying never. They can put a million Rand in front of these feet of mine, I don't want it. Because I don't want the experiences I have had to go through here (2059).

The prisoners who had participated in one of the Integrative Life Planning groups (ILP) generally felt that it was a relief to have nothing to hide after baring their souls to the group. With an increase in self-esteem, the prisoners were also progressively more able to appreciate that they needed to take care of themselves in order to take care of others. This is an important point as many of the respondents committed their crimes in order to please or help others due to their lack of self-esteem. They eventually over-extended their personal or material resources and resorted to various crimes to restore the imbalance.

Closely linked to the previous secondary property is **self-efficacy**. This secondary property contains concepts regarding the prisoners' need to improve their self-confidence and self-reliance by discovering and appreciating their own strengths, coping skills and abilities. Heightening the prisoners' sense of self-efficacy would also enable them to deal more resolutely with the temptation to act against their own and society's best interests when they are subjected to peer pressure.

Firstly, what I have learned is the thing that, you know I am one kind of person. You know, I grew up in a rural area. And then I was used to limit myself from a lot of things, just telling myself ok, I can't reach there, I can't do this, I can't do that, because I used to think maybe this thing is for special other people, for educated people, intelligent people. I won't reach there. And then I end up there, and I just tell myself ok, there is nothing I can do; I just have to live the life my mother lived. That is all (5004). Make yourself to get just whatever you can be, ah, like Getting marriage [sic] and children, cook and serve things like that. That was the only thing I was looking for. Oh, if I could just get a man and stay with a man who does all for my mother and there that is all. But now I have realised there is nothing like that. I can still have a chance. From that course, I have learned that, ok; I don't have to undermine myself. I can do a lot. I have realised my purpose for living, which is to progress, to unfold, to change, to develop. So, I have to do all those things. I don't have to stick only with one thing. I have to keep on changing, growing, unfolding. [Long pause] and then I realised that I can do everything as long as I want it (5005).

In order to improve self-esteem and self-efficacy, it is usually necessary to gain a certain level of **self-insight**. According to many of the respondents, prison time is experienced as functional in terms of the amount of time available for reflexivity, although they tend to engage in depressing rumination. If such reflexivity were interspersed with personal or group therapy under the guidance of a registered or student psychologist, the prisoners could achieve an increased awareness and understanding of themselves. In this way, the psychological reasons for criminal acts could be uncovered, and limiting life-scripts and unfinished business from earlier experiences explored. This would also allow the prisoners to negotiate parental expectations and demands, and gain insight into the effect that parental values and their particular upbringing have had on their lives and choices. Some respondents added that they were overprotected by their families, and that this did not prepare them well for adult life. The prisoners who had participated in ILP groups generally felt that such issues had hampered their relationships with lovers, spouses, children and friends. The participants related that the lack of personal

space in prison and frequent confrontations with others force them to learn about themselves, and say that although it is often unpleasant they have benefited from the experience. The respondents expressed a need to gain deeper insight into their interests and values since many have merely adopted those of their parents and husbands without questioning their suitability. This need shows a desire for a more authentic existence, and should be greeted with enthusiasm as it indicates a potential for integrity and highly developed principles.

The last secondary property in the intrapersonal property-group revolves around **emotions**. Concepts around recognising and understanding one's emotions arose from the data, and the respondents appealed for guidance regarding constructive ways to react on one's emotions and dealing with emotional lability. In this regard, most respondents lamented the lack of a safe place to express feelings in prison, and requested that they should be provided with increased access to emotional support. Dealing with pain and loss is a given for the majority of female prisoners, and the lack of privacy is unfortunate as it forces the prisoners to disengage from their grieving process. A frequently occurring concept revolved around learning to deal with rejection, judgment, derision, greed and disrespect. The data suggested that this need becomes especially strong when such experiences are encountered while trying to grow and better oneself. Prisoners further requested guidance regarding anger management and methods for dealing with their feelings of jealousy, anger, hurt and self-pity. This point is particularly important, as it was reported that many prisoners resort to drugs to manage their emotions. The prisoners further told that they regularly ignore unfair treatment in order to appear rehabilitated which causes them to experience emotional conflict.

The **physical/medical** property yielded fewer concepts, and there was no need to subdivide this section. The elicited concepts covered the need to stay physically active in the inactive prison environment and the need for improved medical attention including increased access to medication to avoid the effects of untreated physical illness. Many respondents reported that the proliferation of HIV/AIDS infections in prison necessitates increased access to testing, counselling, and information regarding the disease and preventative conduct. The

respondents felt that limited knowledge of AIDS is responsible for the ostracisation and persecution of prisoners with HIV or AIDS. A related concept revolves around the prisoners' sexual needs in prison. Some respondents told wistfully of prisons in foreign countries where inmates are permitted to have sexual relations with their spouses in designated cubicles. They suggested that such an arrangement would limit the promiscuity and spread of sexually transmitted diseases in the prison. Self-medicating (substance abuse) to manage untreated psychological or physical pain, sleeplessness and adaptation to prison life, was another area of contention and it seemed that prisoners have easy access to a multitude of drugs. The respondents maintained that substance abuse has a negative effect on rehabilitation.

As with the interpersonal group of properties, the **interpersonal** property-group was found to be multifaceted, and likewise required a subdivision into the following secondary properties:

- Relationships
- Family
- Control and dependency
- Sharing
- Negotiating conflict
- Diversity
- Sexuality
- Values
- Power and aggression
- Communication

A multitude of concepts turned out to be related to the secondary property of **relationships**. The respondents felt the need to be guided in finding a realistic basis for trust and confidence in their relationships, and be taught how to deal with disappointment and hurt. The discernment of bad influences was a recurring concept in the data, and the offenders thought it important to learn how to exercise sound judgment. There was a strong need to discover personal values regarding friendships, and be able to determine what one values in and what one wants from friends. Choosing a confidante and rallying a strong support group was considered equally important, and in this regard prisoners should be encouraged to form

substitute family bonds in prison. The prisoners had a need to redefine group affiliations by expanding their sense of 'us' and minimising their definition of 'them'. This process is often forced, as prisoners have to socialise at too close quarters due to the overcrowding. This frequently leads to a prisoner feeling like the odd one out, and issues arise regarding belonging and acceptance, fairness, encouragement, respect and love. These issues in turn give rise to insecurity and a vulnerability to peer pressure, and many respondents explained that they often find themselves living up to the negative rather than positive expectations of other prisoners and staff. Training modules around dealing with individual differences and realising what is your 'stuff' and what is other people's 'stuff' would be welcomed, and would help prisoners learn how to deal with gossip, accusations, rudeness, judgment, discouragement, maliciousness, unfairness, rejection and other forms of interpersonal conflict. The prisoners report that they often isolate themselves socially as a response to crowdedness, and that this seems to offer a measure of self-preservation. They find that they often do not have the emotional resources for dealing with other people's pain and emotions, but would prefer to share their compassion, information and skills to a greater extent since they seek others' interest and involvement too.

Preserving and rebuilding the relationship with their **family**, seemed to constitute a major need for the prisoners. They especially suffer from the lack of contact with their children. They often feel the need to protect their families from the stigma and pain of seeing a loved one in prison, and feel compelled to hide their own problems in order to prevent their family from worrying about them. Unfortunately, this circumvents their need for support from their family, and the resultant lack of connectedness often necessitates the rebuilding of familial trust. A large part of this disconnection is also due to the offenders' overwhelming guilt at being away, and thus not being part of their families' daily life. One respondent feels that she is not entitled to take pride in her children's achievements since she is not involved in their daily lives, and says that she feels unable to be a positive role model due to the shame of imprisonment.

Yeah, it is I mean, when my youngest son was I heard on the radio that they beat [another school] 8-3, and my son was the only one who scored a try. I thought gee whizz, the newspapers came with all these big photos in, and they were watching him on TV. And at visit all the fathers came to me and said your son was on TV, you know. But you feel like Is he your son and you think but not really you see, I was always there [before coming to prison]. But it is like they say, when they play it is like I am still there. You know, my youngest son said he had a dream one night, he dreamt I was coming home, and he was playing a rugby match and all of a sudden I was standing on the side of the field. And he says mommy you are home you know. And he says he woke up and I wasn't there. But, I am doing all right, I am doing fine (2076).

In the same vein, most prisoners fear that their families may reject them, and worry whether they will have a safe place to return to when they are released. The separation wrought by the incarceration adds to this issue, and most report that they need help in dealing with their husbands' as well as their own infidelity before they will be able to make a successful return to the family. In this regard, they suggest that prisoners often engage in 'rebound relationships' in the prisons instead of dealing with the painful emotions surrounding their partners' infidelity. As many female prisoners have been abused by their husbands, they also need to learn how to deal with abusive situations in their future lives.

With my ex-husband, he was here two months ago, he came in here, he had had a few drinks, we sat talking, and I said to him: I need to ask you something, what did I do wrong to you that you hit me the way you did? Because I start thinking, maybe I will go do the same thing while I am in another relationship and that the same thing is going to happen all over again. And he said to me: but you did nothing wrong. So, I said to him; but then why did you do that to me? So, he said to me that it was his way of his aggression coming out. I said to him, but it is not acceptable. So I said to him, I said: [ex-husband], do you see this hand, I said the next man that lifts his hand to me, I will hit him back. He just looked

at me, he just looked at me, he says because he has also said I have changed a lot. But I can't see the change in myself (2029).

The prisoners experience the need to have some form of **control** over their **environment**. They disapprove of the ever-increasing **dependency** produced by the lack of self-determination while incarcerated. It seems that the prisoners become progressively affected by a sense of learned helplessness, and that courses regarding the negotiation of financial and emotional dependency, and the balancing of dependence-interdependence-independence would be beneficial.

Sharing, goodwill and encouragement of peers was seen by the respondents as skills that are worthwhile achieving, and would help to make the prison environment less hostile. Learning how to mentor others and taking on such a role was a recurrent need, not only in terms of substitution of their inaccessible roles as mothers while in prison but also in terms of the desire to improve the lives of others. In this regard, the concept of learning to give only what is not detrimental to oneself became relevant, as did the perception that a mentor must accept and respect her charge in order for the person to be willing to learn.

Also, because I gave them everything. There was never time for me for anything. I remember I said to my mom, in the letter I wrote, I wrote you know what, ma, I have never done so many courses in my whole entire life. I have always wanted to study, but I never had time. And that is what I want to do. I will always be there for people, that will never go away, but I will rather think of the consequences around what I have got to do for other people. I am not going to let people just use and abuse me, the way they used to. I have got to think of Sonja a little bit. And I think that is going to make me happy, and it is going to make me content. It is going to be difficult, because sometimes it still happens here, a person will come, and I will take of my panty if I had to [laugh]. You know, I have seen before that I do things like that (2037).

Negotiating **conflict** constituted another need, and it would be valuable to design a rehabilitative module around conflict resolution skills, including how and when to stand up for oneself, how to consider a situation from more than one angle, relinquishing the need for blame attribution, the principles of compromise and when to make concessions.

The respondents stated that misperceptions about other cultures are rife in prison, and they felt that a **diversity** training module should be made compulsory. They reported that most inmates seem to prefer sharing their accommodation with like-minded people. It seems that this preference is centred on the sharing of etiquette, norms, standards, interests and values. Conflicts in the cells often arise as a result of culturally differential norms around hygiene, language differences, and volume of speech. It is possible that discussions and information about the cultural differences could promote racial tolerance and understanding, and prevent some of the current resentment. Such understanding may also reduce the prisoners' current use of racially disrespectful and derogatory name-calling.

It appears that sexual deprivation and the lack of opposite-sex appreciation and flirtatiousness impels prisoners to change their sexual orientation while in prison. As a direct result of the close quarters and the lack of privacy, prisoners often have to deal with their prison-partner's infidelity on a continual and inescapable basis. This situation causes **sexuality** to be regarded as a source of power in the prison, and as a side effect of this perception many prisoners reportedly compromise themselves sexually to support a drug habit.

The respondents reported a need for clarification of their **values**, so that they may feel more confident about the righteousness of their conduct. They said that it is difficult to avoid offending others prisoner if they stay true to their own beliefs. The current discrepancy between social norms and generally accepted behaviour in the prison highlights this issue for them on a daily basis, and a contextually sensitive course module should be developed around this topic. The respondents claimed that they are attempting to retain their manners in prison, but that the coarseness of the emotional environment often causes them to falter. It was clear from the interviews that the prisoners needed guidance in learning to accept

differential values regarding depth and integrity, sharing and social responsibility in their fellow prisoners. The prisoners also had difficulties dealing with the hypocrisy and phoney religiousness that some prisoners use in order to gain social acceptance and a semblance of being rehabilitated.

Power and aggression represented a major issue for the respondents, and it seems that there is a need to learn how to negotiate the prison power dynamics. The authoritarian and often hostile stance of staff members serves to increase rather than limit aggression amongst the inmates, and the insecurity, fear, and power play that ensues, induces some inmates to use violence, blackmail and inappropriate trading of favours to increase their sense of control. According to the respondents, the current monitor system allows the appointed monitor prisoners to abuse their status and give vent to anti-social tendencies. The long-term effects of such exposure to aggression seem to revolve around disempowerment, helplessness and depression, and there is a marked fear of violence, retribution and revenge among the prisoners. As anti-social interactional patterns require more space and resources, in prison as well as in society, a course module should be designed around the negotiation of power, hierarchy and aggression.

A **communication** skills module would aid in the negotiation of the interpersonal issues discussed above, and should include learning how to take a non-defensive stance, discerning constructive and destructive means of expression, learning how to express your feelings safely, and learning to express one's needs in a productive manner.

The **spiritual** property yielded surprisingly few needs concepts, and it is assumed that this is due to the excellent work done by the multitude of volunteers from the different churches. These volunteers comprise both ordained ministers and compassionate lay-people. The few concepts that emerged revolved around the need for spiritual guidance, shared worship, and an increased fear of divine justice brought on by their feelings of shame and worthlessness as convicted offenders.

The **social** property contains concepts pertaining to the prisoners' need to separate their stigmatised prisoner role from their other life-roles. The respondents suggested that it is important to realise the social repercussions of their unlawful conduct on their community and the wider society, and that a strong sense of belonging to a community (feeling connected, being accepted and valued, experiencing the interest and involvement of others) is vital to the process of rehabilitation and the development of a social conscience.

I read through that a beng of a lot, what really impressed me was that quilt [in Hansen, 1997]; you remember that, and when I think of life that is how I try to think. And the pebble [actions spreading like rings in the water], how everything you do counts for something in other people s lives, no matter how small it is. And then you said, about friendship, that there is always one close friend. That you have a lot of friends, but that someone you might meet along the line how everything fits in. But what always sticks in my mind is that quilt, you know (2033).

It was regarded as important to be taught to let go of one's public façade and face reality by taking responsibility for the consequences of one's actions. Thus, a non-punitive course module designed for reflection on one's behaviour would provide some form of reality check. This would also allow the prisoners to gain insight into the choices and factors leading to their incarceration. One prisoner noted that getting away with an act of theft in her youth had set a precedent for her choice to commit large-scale fraud later in her life. To arrive at a higher level of authenticity, it is important to provide the prisoners with the opportunity to deal with their self-doubt, humiliation and the temptation to adopt the victim role and blame others or society for one's conduct.

The subcultural status conferred on a prisoner's in response to her crime (and the concomitant gains) necessitates skills training around dealing with peer pressure and social-status pressure. Many respondents reported that they avoid situations connected to the crime as they don't trust themselves to resist the temptation to commit further crimes. In this regard, the respondents claimed that the anti-social attitudes and patterns of interaction amongst the staff rub off on the prisoners.

They argued that it is difficult to retain their values while juggling the glaring discrepancies between the law and accepted behaviour and the different levels of cultural and subcultural pressure.

In consideration of the preparation needed before their return to society, the participants offered the following needs:

- 1) Learning to speak up against injustice, and insight into the effects of not speaking up in terms of their sense of self when they do what is right instead of merely doing what is 'safe'. This relates to the difference between being in control and being controlled by others.
- 2) Finding a way to contribute to society by learning to share knowledge and resources, learning from other cultures, and using one's capacity for compassion, fairness, respect to become a teacher or mentor to others.
- 3) Managing their fear of returning to society upon their release, as well as the fear of living in a society with crime and violence, without resorting to criminal conduct in order to survive, and in this regard a strong support system outside prison is required.

7.2.6.3 Practical Skills

The practical skills category yielded a limited number of concepts, and it seemed that the respondents were hard pressed to imagine what kind of training and rehabilitation could be made available. Presently, the access to practical training in Diepkloof prison is limited to a minimal number of placements in doll making, cooking, cleaning, washing, and sewing. A once-off basic course in hairdressing was presented during 2002, but no advanced course has been offered yet. A highly successful computer course, run by volunteers from the IT industry was presented continuously for 1½ years. Unfortunately, it became increasingly difficult to recruit new volunteer presenters for the course, and the final course ended in September 2003. The prisons offer practical skills training in different areas, but the female prisons generally present far fewer options for obtaining vocational skills than the male prisons.

Despite the paucity of concepts regarding practical skills training, the following properties did emerge:

- Education
- Practical
- Legal
- Financial
- Technical
- Do-It-Yourself (DIY) workshops

It is hoped that individuals and organisations involved in in-prison rehabilitation will add to this part of the framework.

In terms of **education**, the appropriateness and relevance of the offered education for each developmental level was considered vital, and the respondents stated that many prisoners have educational gaps resulting from inadequate schooling. They reported that many would-be students give up education fearing the embarrassment of being exposed as unable to grasp the learning. It was further suggested that although current attempts at peer-education (e.g. ABET) are useful, the facilitators are often too ill informed and should be prepared better for their task. It was requested that trained educators be brought in to conduct thorough ‘Train-The-Trainer’ courses for facilitators. Respondents were concerned about the way in which studying is disparaged by staff and many prisoners, and feel that the inmates’ motivation to complete courses suffers as a result. They also complained that conditions for studying are very poor in the prison, and that the inmates are reduced to sitting on the floor in the bathroom in order to concentrate. The use of dagga in the cells causes further deterioration of their ability to study as they are affected by the fumes. As a last point regarding education, the respondents requested sustained and progressive opportunities for learning, as fragmented one-of-a-kind courses will not provide them with skills to survive without crime, and they asked that courses should entail information on careers and conduct in the workplace.

No concepts emerged regarding **practical** training courses, except that there is a need for non-academic learning.

In terms of **legal** training needs, the respondents suggested that prisoners must be helped to understand the law and rationale behind the structure and length of their sentence, as this will give them insight into the penal and social consequences of potential future plans involving criminal activity.

Respondents requested information and guidance regarding sound **financial** planning to help them manage their affairs successfully after their release. This training should include issues around the management of entrepreneurial activities, as most ex-prisoners battle to obtain employment due to their criminal record.

It is likely that **technical** training would be valuable, and it has thus been decided to include this section despite the fact that no data emerged on the subject. If the research were conducted in the male prison, it would most likely have yielded more data. Due to social changes in terms of what is considered work for women, it is suggested that course modules regarding technical skills be made available as a pilot project.

The respondents maintained that there is a need for **Do-It-Yourself** training for two reasons. Firstly, because access and skills related to hands-on activities will provide a channel for stimulating hobbies and dispersion of energy, irritation and aggression; and will help to calm down the bored troublemakers. They also mention that practical activities help to disperse depression, and that the need for meaningful activity is so strong that they become subversive in order to retain access to their hobbies (e.g. hiding your yarn and knitting needles, smuggling in stationery for writing, drawing and painting). The respondents further mention the need to escape the tedium of their cells, and workshops will provide them with a place to go to in the day, where they can apply themselves meaningfully. The respondents who have had access to skills courses report that they are generally fearful of being slow learners as this often means that they will be banished from the course. Secondly, DIY training would provide for the prisoners' need to become more self-sufficient since they would require less help from others to regarding household maintenance, restoration and repairs.

The cell-buddy system proposed in section 7.2.4 would require specialised training of prisoners whose behaviour, interpersonal skills and attitude show above average potential as role models. The responsibility of becoming a cell representative should include special benefits to the cell-buddy, and be based on leading by example rather than through exertion of power and force. The benefits should be in the form of respect and opportunity to interact and learn further skills, rather than access to money food or power. The cell-buddies should be under constant revision, and demoted if misusing their position. This position of responsibility should be seen as a privilege, like being a leader or manager in society. Emphasis should be placed on benevolence, trust and development of prisoner potential and mutual support.

Practical skills training would provide the prisoners with opportunity to interact meaningfully with staff and other prisoners, and practice the skills learned in life skills courses through monitored interactions with others. It would be useful if such interaction included feedback sessions with the staff linked to periodical status reassessments.

7.2.7 Readiness Assessment and Re-evaluation of Sentence

During a discussion around this research, a training specialist friend offered a suitable metaphor for the assessment of a prisoner's readiness for release. She suggested visualising a seesaw, with the pivotal point being the self of the prisoner, and the two arms constituted by the rehabilitative input during prison and the daily demands of one's existence after prison. The arms must be equally weighted, and supported by a strong pivotal point for the seesaw to be in balance.

If the prisoner has obtained rehabilitative input equal to the demands of her daily existence after prison, it is possible that she will cope successfully in society without resorting to criminal conduct, as is shown in Figure 7.2 below.

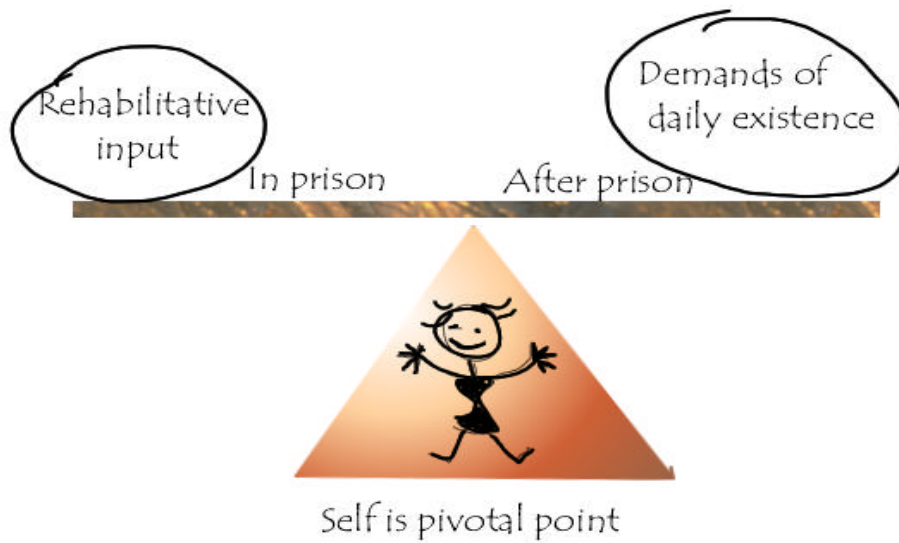


Figure 7.2 Seesaw: Rehabilitative input and demands of daily existence are balanced = fair prognosis.

If, as may be seen in Figure 7.3, the seesaw is too heavily weighted in terms of the demands of daily life after prison, and too little rehabilitative input was available, or rehabilitative input was available but was rejected by the offender, she will probably be unable to cope successfully upon her release.

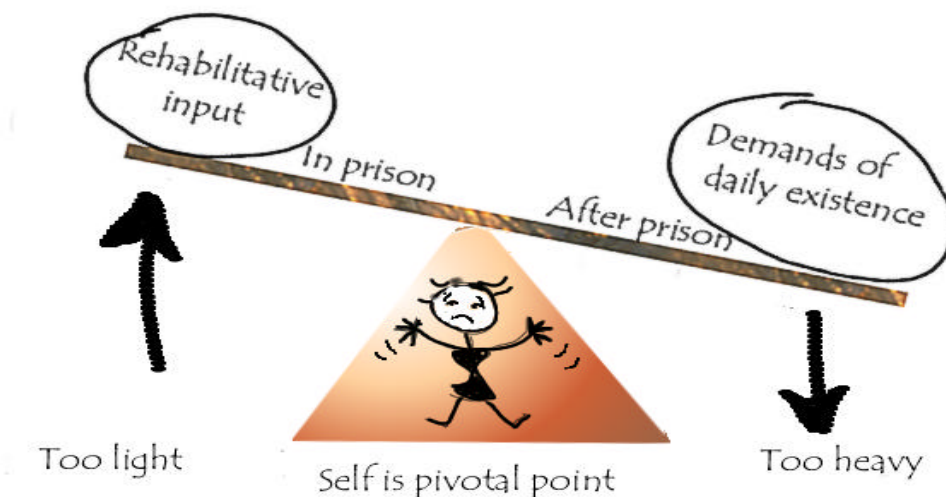


Figure 7.3 Seesaw: Rehabilitative input is less than the demands of daily existence = negative prognosis.

However, if the rehabilitative input led to the attainment of skills and sustained development greater than the demands of the prisoner's daily existence as illustrated in Figure 7.4, the prisoner should have the ability to cope successfully and become an asset to society upon her release.

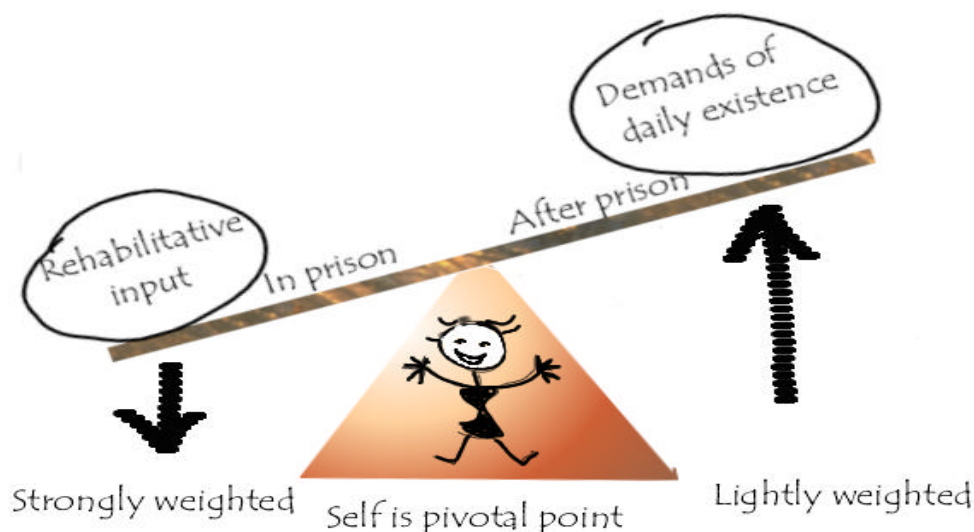


Figure 7.4 Seesaw: Rehabilitative input is less than the demands of daily existence = positive prognosis.

Keeping the see-saw metaphor in mind, the readiness assessment should consider which changes have been achieved by a prisoner during her incarceration. The prisoner's electronic file (discussed in section 7.2.3) would provide a record of rehabilitative assessments and the trajectory of the prisoner's status allocations during the incarceration; various memos regarding cooperation, attitude changes, motivational level, and changes in conduct recorded by the responsible staff-group; statements by the succession of cell-buddies assigned to the prisoner after each status allocation; a record of courses attended and skills achieved; practical issues regarding the prisoner's support network, finances, domicile, dependants, employment, and so forth; as well as notes regarding specific areas that need further attention in order to ensure that a successful reintegration can be achieved. The contents of the prisoner's file should determine which pre-release modules the individual prisoner must attend in order to ensure maximally success in her reintegration.

It was thought that it would be useful for the prisoner to complete the demographic questionnaire when planning the contents of her pre-release module, as the prisoners' circumstances often change drastically during their incarceration. The administration of personality, interest and values inventories again at this point will help to map the prisoner's achieved change and pinpoint any needs regarding further training and support.

7.2.8 Pre-Release Module

The pre-release module could be made up of various components, which should be collaboratively selected by the offender and the prison staff. The selection of the components should be informed by the readiness assessment above.

A number of psychosocial concepts emerged from the data, regarding the prisoner's readiness to go home and the need to learn how to be alone again after years of being constantly surrounded by people. It was also felt that the impact and integration of new learning should be the focus of one or more guidance sessions. Respondents cautioned that it is important to take time to reintegrate after release and that guidance should be provided regarding this process. For long-term prisoners, it was particularly important to facilitate a gradual, monitored adaptation to life outside prison, and some respondents suggested that long-term prisoners should be given the opportunity to leave prison in the company of staff on one or more occasions during the last month or two of their sentence.

I would take them Say now, for instance, someone is due to go home. I would take them into town, and just gradually get them back into the system. Show them the prices. Say now they came in three years ago, you know of the price increases, but they haven't got an idea of what's going on outside. Maybe, if they can drive, let them drive a car. Let them sit in a restaurant. Because they get this feeling that everybody knows they have been a prisoner. Like a mark on their forehead. So, that is why they must get into the community. So there must be some sort of introduction, weeks or months before their release date. So just take them, and a member can go along. They don't have to be in uniform or anything. I know a lady here who has a life sentence, and she is still in prison. Do you know how

scared of men she is; she will not come near a man. About seven years ago, I asked if I could take her out of the prison for a little while. She had been in here for eight years. Just to get her normal, because she had become tronkdronk [jail-mad]. And I took her out. I took her to Westgate [shopping centre]. I wish you could have seen her face. She drew some money [from her prison account, before departing], and we let her buy her own toiletries and things. We took her to have lunch, she could choose from a menu, and she was sitting there and having to eat with a knife and fork. And she couldn't can you believe it [knives and forks are not allowed in the prison, only spoons] (10050).

On the subject of post-release **employment**, the data yielded a number of concepts. It seemed that the ability to combine diverse skills in the workplace would be useful. It also appeared that ex-prisoners need assistance in terms of finding a job so that one can become financially independent, in order to cope without an abusive partner, or to contribute to one's family and society.

In the pre-release module, it was also regarded as vital to help prisoners identify and reconnect with their **family and other support network** in order to facilitate a successful reintegration.

7.2.9 Post-Release External Support

Support from the **nuclear and extended family** is needed when adjusting to life outside prison. The family should work closely together with official and volunteer support groups to provide integrated support.

Management of practical issues such as housing, finance and employment requires **official support**. Officials could also help with initiation of prisoner support groups, and provide contacts for getting into a new prisoner support group if the prisoner has to relocate.

I know that they want to be with their families outside, but they don't want their families to support them or be a burden. They also want to give something back.

*Just to be able to say, this is my part, my contribution or something (10055).
Exactly. Being a prisoner, and then going out looking for work, they will not get it. It is not easy. Only if you have family or friends that have a business that will take you in. But if you don't know anybody So they must be taught the skills to survive, that is a very important point for me. That support. Because, if their support system is not good, they keep on coming back [to prison] (10056).*

The formation of local **prisoner support groups** for ex-prisoners would provide resources for dealing with practical, emotional and social issues during reintegration. Specially trained volunteers (perhaps from various church organisations, or psychologists doing community service) could help to initiate the prisoner support groups. The groups should aim at becoming autonomous as soon as possible, but an allocated contact person should be available to attend their meetings where necessary. Socially successful ex-prisoners could also volunteer to be members of a prisoner support group to help with morale and coping strategies. These groups would be most important during the first 6 months after release, but could provide long-term reinforcement of learning and values gained in prison. The groups should work closely together with the official and family support, and should meet face to face on a regular basis.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The core categories, categories, and the properties were discussed in terms of their inherent concepts, and a coherent framework for rehabilitative practice emerged. This framework has been designed to accommodate findings (hopefully) added by other researchers at any stage. The following chapter will outline the limitations of this research and offer recommendations for areas of future research in the field of female incarceration and rehabilitation.

CHAPTER 8

8 REFLECTIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Almost three years have passed since the inception of the research and 11 interviews were conducted, transcribed and subjected to open and axial coding. A substantial collection of memos concerning links and connections, the respondents, the interviews, questions, and considerations regarding the social value of the research accumulated and was taken into account in the final analysis. The process of constant comparison was experienced as a process of reflecting on similarities and differences in the views and contributions of the interviewees and different sources of literature, as well as the influence of the interviewees' demographic diversity on the interview data.

8.1 REFLECTIONS

The aim of the study was to develop a comprehensive and flexible framework for mapping the rehabilitative needs of female offenders. The framework took the form of a two-axis structure, with the one axis encompassing the management of prisons, staff and other parties involved in the rehabilitation process, and the other axis dealing with the management and rehabilitation of the prisoners. The 'management of prisoners' axis was conceptualised as a sequence of stages from the prisoner's arrival in the prison until her release, and includes a post-release stage.

It is hoped that the theoretical framework will provide a holistic structure for the development and integration of rehabilitative and reintegrative offender programmes. Such a structure could enable the Department of Correctional Services and other parties to provide for all the rehabilitative needs of female offenders, with the least duplication of efforts and wastage of resources.

It is further anticipated that the rehabilitative needs framework could provide a basis for presentations to the business community with the aim of securing additional funding and support for integrated rehabilitative programmes from private companies and individuals. Such additional funds would enable the Department of Correctional Services to ensure that the rehabilitative programmes cover all the offenders' needs and make rehabilitative programmes available to a greater number of prisoners.

The comprehensive rehabilitative needs framework aspires to enable socially responsible individuals and companies to determine where the specific resources at their disposal could be put to use with the greatest effect. To this end, an awareness campaign could help create interest among volunteers.

8.2 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Having thus reflected on the objectives and process of this study, a number of limitations will be discussed, and recommendations made as to future work needed in the field of female offending, incarceration, rehabilitation and reintegration. The recommendations and limitations will be discussed together, as the limitations of this study give rise to the recommendations.

From the beginning of this study, it was clear that a well-rounded examination of the subject field could only be gained by accessing a very diverse sample of participants. It is obvious that the offenders lived in and will be returned to diverse communities in which their choices and actions have consequences. Ideally, various members of the offenders' communities should have been interviewed as an integral part of the rehabilitative needs framework, in order to attain a comprehensive image of the field. However, only interviews with one psychological staff member and one member of prison management were possible. As such, the research findings are limited by the lack of input from the prisoners' families, ex-prisoners, parole officers and other valid sources of information, and thus cannot constitute a fully comprehensive study. As a result, this study is offered as a very tentative framework of offender needs which is designed to accommodate continuous expansion by this researcher and other individuals working in the field of rehabilitation of offenders.

The discussion regarding the management and organisation of the material and human resources of prisons is not based on a comprehensive understanding of the department's current practices (section 7.1). It would be beneficial if a researcher from within the Department of Correctional Services undertook the task of researching this part of the field further in order to render the framework more comprehensive.

As stated in section 1.3.1, the scope of this research has left a number of issues untouched. These issues concern the impact of the socio-political climate on the crime rate of female offenders, determining current official and unofficial efforts to rehabilitate female offenders in South Africa, the most efficacious types of prison-based programmes for female offenders, the extent to which integrated skills training and rehabilitation can alleviate recidivism, the influence of prison-based rehabilitation on the female offender's conceptualisation of her role as a member of society, and the phenomenological exploration of the stories of the individuals involved in South African rehabilitative programmes for female prisoners.

Although researchers have attempted to explore the above issues from a general perspective, they have not yet been explored from the perspective of female prisoners. The rehabilitative framework offered in this research may be used as a springboard for further exploration of the existing rehabilitative programmes and efforts by individuals to make incarceration a more constructive experience. Such exploration would highlight areas of unnecessary duplication, as well as poorly covered areas in need of further development.

As no concepts emerged from the data regarding thinking-skills and practical-skills training of the staff (section 7.1.4.1 and 7.1.4.3), it would be beneficial if these topics were to form the basis for subsequent research exploration. It is also acknowledged that the section covering the practical skills training of the prisoners (section 7.2.6.3) is also not adequately covered and it is hoped that this topic will appeal to future researchers.

To avoid duplication of effort, researchers involved in exploring topics related to the field of female imprisonment and rehabilitation may obtain a compilation of the literature used for this research in compact disc format².

² The researcher may be contacted via e-mail on jmd@dannerup.com

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