

Employment expectations of former female offenders

By

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Declaration

I declare that **Employment expectations of former female offenders** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE

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Acknowledgments

This study would not have been possible without the support, help and patience from my family, especially my mother Flora. I also want to thank all those that participated in the study for sharing their personal experiences. I would like to thank my Supervisor Professor Fourie for always being there and guiding me along the way. Last but not least I would like to thank God for the courage and strength He gave me to begin and complete my master's degree.

Abstract

Most studies in South Africa focus on male offenders as they make up the majority of the offending population. With female offenders being in the minority, they receive less of the research attention. The aim of this qualitative study was to explore the subjective experience of finding employment with a criminal record from the perspectives of six female former offenders who participated in the study. Participants were asked to share their accounts during semi-structured interviews. The transcripts were analysed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis. A total of nine themes were identified, namely; confronting the labour market; it affected my life not my chances; experiences of vocational skills and labour in corrections; current financial status versus previous financial status; those left behind: the impact of incarceration on the family. I am Human too, entering and adjusting in the correctional system, finding God and oneself, and rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. The findings showed that the experience of incarceration cannot be separated from the experience of adjusting back into society and finding employment. Employment and unemployment had an effect on participants' financial status but also affected self-esteem and the relationship with family. The findings illustrated how participants used different coping methods to deal with not being able to find employment, dealing with the stigma attached to being a former offender as well as adjusting back into the community. The analyses from the interviews were compared to existing literature, thus creating a rich discussion. An overview of the discussion and some recommendations were provided and the limitations of the study were also taken into account.

Key words

Criminal record; Department of Correctional Services; Employment; Unemployment; Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis; Latent and Manifest deprivation theory; Risk Needs Responsivity; Rehabilitation and reintegration; God; Former female offenders; Experiencing incarceration

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Chapter 1

Orientation

1.1 Introduction

South Africa has a high prison population rate consisting of 294 prisoners per 100 000 inhabitants of which 2.3% are females (South Africa | World Prison Brief, 2014). On being released from prisons, these ex-offenders face discrimination from the community, family and friends (Borzycki & Baldry, 2003). Most have very little education, and a criminal record. These circumstances can contribute to ex-offenders not integrating back into their society and therefore leading to recidivism (Visher, Winterfield, & Coggeshall, 2005). The study investigated the experiences of ex-offenders when entering the job market with a criminal record. The focus of the study was on female former offenders who completed a vocational skills programme or studied while incarcerated and were searching for employment, self-employed or employed.

There is a sense of hopelessness and stigma that is attached to a criminal record, and former offenders may feel pressured to revert to crime in order to make a living (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). This may create a circular pattern of events where a first time offender is released from a correctional facility without the necessary skills, support, and a criminal record (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). A criminal record may affect one's chances of employment or an employee with a record might be subject to poor working conditions, less pay and other forms of discrimination in the workplace (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), 2004). Coupled with the stigma, there was a time when it was thought that no rehabilitation method worked and offenders simply could not be rehabilitated (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). With more research done, it was found that some programmes do work and

those programmes are usually guided by a set of values that not only put the safety of the community first but also address the individual needs of the offender (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Andrews and Bonta (2010) have developed the Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR) model that encompasses these values. The RNR values can be applied to any model of rehabilitation that a correctional facility is using in order to optimise the impact of the rehabilitation programme (Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006). A brief discussion on rehabilitation and re-integration is discussed looking at the changes the South African Correctional Services had undergone through the years of apartheid and post-apartheid. Blanchet and Brown (2006) have developed a RNR model that is gender-specific and focuses on the needs of female offenders. Since the present study only focuses on female former offenders, the gender-specific RNR model was discussed in a South African context looking at the needs identified by Blanchette and Brown (2006) and research done in South Africa on female offenders. The Latent and Manifest deprivation theory of Jahoda (1981) is discussed in order to understand the effects that unemployment might have on individuals. There are some studies that have looked at the Latent and Manifest deprivation theories and have found results that differ from Jahoda's theory (Hoare & Machin, 2006). These studies were discussed further under section 2.6.1.

With regards to the method, the data analyses used in the study was that of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). This method was chosen as it allowed me to analyse the interviews without moving away from the participants' experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The interpretation of the analysis was done using the two theories, namely; the RNR model and the Latent and Manifest deprivation theory as lenses through which I tried to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their experiences (Smith, Floweres, & Larkin, 2009).

1.2 Rationale for the study

Internationally, there have been a number of large scale studies on recidivism and correctional programmes that have the best results when it comes to recidivism (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Looking at the different programmes in European countries it became apparent that many of the countries worked together to combat recidivism (European Social Fund, 2013). Australia has also put more resources into kerbing recidivism (Borzycki, 2005) and the discrimination of former offenders (Human Rights Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004). In South Africa, there are also many studies of offenders, but there still might be gaps to fill. One also has to consider that the conditions of many countries are different and some of these countries already have lower crime levels than South Africa (South Africa | World Prison Brief, 2014). Many studies focus on the classification of criminals, rehabilitation and conditions in correctional facilities. Mujuzi and Tsweledi, (2014) discuss how a criminal record is used as a basis of discrimination in the labour market but look at it from a legal perspective. The authors concluded that discrimination based solely on a criminal record can be unfair and does infringe on human dignity. Mujuzi (2014) is one of the few authors that specifically looked at the impact of a criminal record in South Africa. It is easier to find various studies on a variety of topics pertaining to offenders internationally. This study aims to look at the effect that this discrimination has on female offenders specifically.

I became interested in this topic during the time I worked in crime prevention campaigns. Community members would approach us to inquire what they could do if they or family members had criminal records.

1.3 Problem statement

Sometimes offenders remain incarcerated for a long period. When they return to their communities much has changed. They now have to try to fill in the gap that was created while incarcerated. Some were unemployed when convicted while others had to interrupt school or work (Visher et al., 2005). Once released, the former offender has to try to integrate back into the community, becoming a law abiding individual who positively contributes to society; unfortunately, this is somewhat hampered by a criminal record.

The research looked to answer “Does having a criminal record influence how one perceives their chances of employment?” Employers generally prefer not to appoint high former offenders (Graffam, Shinkfield, Lavelle, & Mcpherson, 2004).

The aim of the study was:

- To explore the experiences of former female offenders concerning seeking employment, and having a criminal record

The objectives were

- To explore the challenge of finding employment from the perspective of former female offenders.
- Describe the perceived challenges of former female offenders of finding employment

These were the main aims of the study though the study also incorporated other experiences that the participants shared in order not to lose out on the value of their experiences and how it all relates to the main aim of the study.

The study serves to add knowledge of the effects of a criminal record on former female offenders. Increasing the body of knowledge on a very small number of the

offender population with female offenders only accounting for 2.3% of the offending (South Africa | World Prison Brief, 2014).

A qualitative approach was used as it allowed me to be able to explore and describe the participant's experiences and views. However, the focus did not solely lie on the challenges of having a criminal record and finding employment. It explored the experiences and perceptions of former female offenders concerning skills vocational programmes and their relationship to employment.

The focal point was a group of former female offenders who had completed a vocational programme. Both employed and unemployed former offenders were interviewed. The study focused on employment expectations based on participants' experiences of being former offenders who have completed a skills vocational programme or studied while incarcerated. The study looked at the effect of unemployment or employment in relation to the Latent and Manifest deprivation theory.

The literature review focuses on behaviour modification, mainly the RNR model, specifically looking at female offenders and rehabilitation in South Africa. The effects of unemployment are also discussed and the Jahoda's Latent and Manifest deprivation theory was used to better understand the effects that unemployment may have on offenders. The snowball method was used to attain six participants and interviews were conducted at the most convenient place for participants. Semi-structured questions were used in the interviews. These interviews were transcribed and analysed using the IPA method. In the analysis process, nine themes were discussed. These themes looked at vocational skills and their experiences of finding employment with a criminal record. Themes were interpreted using the RNR model

and Jahoda's Latent and Manifest deprivation theory identified in the literature review.

1.4 Chapter overview

Chapter 1 provided an orientation and motivation for the study. The rationale of the study was discussed. Furthermore, the problem statement, the objective and aims of the study were outlined.

Chapter 2 looks at the literature on rehabilitation and integration focusing on the Risk Needs Responsivity model. Unemployment was discussed in relation to those with a criminal record and the distress caused by the loss of income. A brief history of corrections in South Africa pre and post-apartheid is discussed including the gender-specific needs of female offenders.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology used in conducting the study. The ethical considerations are discussed as well as the participants' selection process. The method used to collect the data was a semi-structured interview and IPA was used to analyse the data. IPA was discussed in detail including the step by step process undertaken in the analysis of the transcripts.

Chapter 4 begins with a brief introduction and discussion of each participant's demographic information. The themes and sub-themes identified during the analysis are presented and followed by a discussion of each.

Chapter 5 includes a brief overall view of the discussion in Chapter 4. This is followed by the recommendations and limitations of the study.

1.5 Acronyms

CMC	Classification Management Committee
CMD	Common Mental Disorders
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
HREOC	Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenology Analysis
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders
OLF	Out of the Labour Force
RNR	Risk Needs Responsivity model
SAPS	South African Police Service
TEP	Tough Enough Programme

1.6 Definition of key terms

Rehabilitation – A planned intervention which aims to bring about change in some aspect of the offender that is thought to have caused the offenders criminality, such as attitude, cognitive processes, personality or mental health.

Reintegration – Reintegration is the process by which a person is re-introduced into the community with the aim of living in a law-abiding manner.

Recidivism – The tendency to relapse into a previous mode of behaviour specifically relapse into criminal behaviour

Manifest deprivation – The loss of income as the primary effect of unemployment

Latent deprivation – Consist of five unintended factors due to loss of employment

Remand detainee – An accused person detained awaiting the finalisation of his or her trial.

RNR - Risk: Risk factors refer to the characteristics of offenders and their circumstances that are associated with an increased chance of future criminal activity.

Needs: are differentiated into criminogenic and non-criminogenic needs. Criminogenic needs are risk factors that can change and are highly associated with Recidivism. Non-criminogenic needs cannot be changed.

Responsivity: The principles of effective correctional treatment which are cognitive-behavioural and cognitive social learning strategies and the individuality of the offender.

Criminal Record – A record of a person's criminal history

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the overall study discussing the reasons for the study, the main theories and the problem statement. A brief view of how the study was conducted and the findings were discussed. A brief overview of each chapter was given, and acronyms were also listed.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Throughout the decades, there has been a debate on rehabilitating offenders. In the seventies, there were doubts about rehabilitation programmes. Martinson (1974) published his assessment of correctional treatment entitled: *"What works? Questions and answers about prison reform"*. In this publication, Martinson (1974) presented results of an analysis of 231 programme evaluation studies conducted between 1945 and 1967. He concluded that with a few exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that had been reported at the time of his assessment had no appreciable effect on recidivism. Consequently, this became criminological wisdom that 'nothing works' in the correctional system to change offenders (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000).

In contrast, there has been an extensive body of work by Andrews and Bonta (2010) to support the notion that some rehabilitation programmes do work. The Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR) model will be discussed in detail to better understand how the model is applied. The psychological theory it is based on will be discussed to understand the model better. As the focus of the study is on female offenders, I will discuss the gender-specific RNR model in relation to the South African female offender. A brief history of correctional services in South Africa will also be discussed as well as the current methods and programmes used in rehabilitation. Employment has been identified as a criminogenic need for female offenders. This will be the main need that the study will focus on; and to better understand the role employment plays in individuals' lives, the Johoda's Latent and Manifest deprivation theory will be used. The chapter looks at the main concepts of the theory and its shortcomings, taking into consideration the studies that have been done on the theory. Both theories serve to assist in understanding the female offender using the RNR model

and what the effect of employment and unemployment can consequently have on recidivism and mental health using the Latent and Manifest deprivation theory.

2.2 Rehabilitation and reintegration programmes

More recent approaches to rehabilitation view offenders in relation to their families, communities, socio-economic background, and have a focus that is broader than the psychosocial (Dissel, 2008). Dissel (2008) goes on to define rehabilitation as a term that is broadly accepted to mean a planned intervention which aims to bring about change in some aspect of the offender that is thought to have caused the offenders criminality, such as attitude, cognitive processes, personality or mental health. Reintegration is the process by which a person is re-introduced into the community with the aim of living in a law-abiding manner. Reintegration also refers to active and full community participation by former offenders. This preparation for reintegration can occur in correctional facilities (Dissel, 2008).

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005, p.32) defines Rehabilitation as “The result of a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibility and values. It is a desired outcome of processes that involve both departmental responsibilities of Government and social responsibilities of the nation”.

The White Paper On Corrections (2005) explains that rehabilitation should be viewed as a holistic action incorporating and encouraging, social responsibility, social justice, active participation in democratic activities, empowerment with life-skills and other skills, and contribute to making South Africa a better place to live in. Rehabilitation has to engage the offenders at all levels (social, moral, spiritual, physical, work, educational/intellectual and mental).

Rehabilitation and reintegration will be used interchangeably and synonymously in this dissertation. The essence of rehabilitation is to bring about positive change in offenders and their fundamental behaviour. This means that the disposition, attitude and behaviour of the individual must change. It is a primary requirement in order to influence this change that the offender should come to the realisation that her behaviour, deeds and actions were wrong. As soon as the offender has reached this realisation and feels remorse for deeds done, there is a possibility that a turn-about can be achieved and the beginning of a process of positive change within the individual can take place (Cilliers & Smit, 2007).

Rehabilitation programmes offered to offenders should therefore, firstly, focus on the orientation of the offender to change her attitude towards becoming involved in skills and training programmes. As long as the offender sees participation in these programmes merely as a possible method to influence the parole board, rehabilitation will remain a myth (Cilliers & Smit, 2007). This change is important as offenders may at times participate in rehabilitation programmes too late. A study done at Pollsmoor Correctional Centre in South Africa found that many participants felt that the rehabilitation interventions were provided too late during incarceration to be effective; they were only referred to these programmes immediately prior to the parole hearing dates of the offenders (Gaum, Hoffman, & Venter, 2006). Gaum et al. (2006) found that the results supported the model by Andrews and Bonta (2010). Behaviour exhibited by offenders while incarcerated is not necessarily an indication that an offender's rehabilitation will be successful because offenders have to revert to blind obedience and compliance to survive while incarcerated. Therefore, criminal behaviour and its outcomes may at times form a vicious cycle and will continue unless the cycle is broken by strong, firm therapeutic programmes that allow for the

acceptance of human needs and the development of pro-social skills with which to manage them (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Gaum et al., 2006).

2.2.1 Risk needs responsivity

The Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR) model has strong links to the general personality and cognitive social learning perspective on human behaviour. It is not limited to models of justice and punitive methods because those methods do not rest on a solid psychology of human behaviour. As the originators of the RNR model, Andrews and Botha (2010) believe that a broad personality and social psychology model helps to shape the identification of risk/needs factors. This model was developed to counter argue that nothing works but rather that the programmes at the time were not effective and did not meet the needs of the offenders.

Andrews and Bonta (2010, p. 47) define RNR as follows:

Risk factors refer to the characteristics of offenders and their circumstances that are associated with an increased chance of future criminal activity. An example would be the attitude one has towards crime. A favourable attitude towards crime is linked with increased chances of criminal behaviour compared to a moderate or an unfavourable attitude. It is also very specific about who should be offered more intensive rehabilitative services. The intensity of the service has to match the risk level of the offender. High-risk offenders need more intensive and extensive services for chances of a significant reduction in recidivism while for a low-risk offender a minimum intervention is sufficient.

This is consistent with the finding in the Pollsmoor Corrections Services study where the programmes were perceived not to be intense enough to make a difference (Gaum et al., 2006). Needs are differentiated into criminogenic and non-criminogenic needs. Criminogenic needs are risk factors that can change and are highly associated with recidivism. Eight needs have been identified with the first four being

the major ones (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). The first need involves the offender's history of *antisocial behaviour* and includes early involvement in a number and a variety of antisocial activities in various settings, both at home and out of the home (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Important indicators include being arrested at a young age, a large number of prior offences, and parole violations while on conditional release. The *antisocial personality pattern* is described as impulsive, adventurous pleasure-seeking, generalised trouble, restless aggressive and callous disregard for others. *Antisocial cognition* involves attitudes, values, beliefs, rationalisations, and a personal identity that is favourable to crime (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

Antisocial associates is a risk/need factor that includes both association with pro-criminal others (this can include gangs, friends, and family) and relative isolation from anti-criminal others (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). *Family/marital circumstances* is key to assessing both family of origin for young people and marital circumstances for older people, the quality of the interpersonal relationships within the unit (parent-child or spouse-spouse) and the behavioural expectations and rules in regard to antisocial behaviour, including monitoring, supervision, and disciplinary approaches are important (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). In *school/work*, a major emphasis is placed on the quality of the interpersonal relationships within the settings of school or work. *Leisure/recreation* refers to low levels of involvement and satisfactions in anti-criminal leisure pursuits. Current problems with *substance abuse* indicate higher risk than a prior history of abuse (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Non-criminogenic needs are fixed aspects of offenders' histories that cannot be changed through deliberate intervention, such as age and the extent of previous offending.

The principles of effective correctional treatment are based on two principles. The general responsivity principle believes that the most powerful strategies available are

cognitive-behavioural and cognitive social learning strategies and these can bring about effective change. The specific responsivity principle focuses on the individuality of the offender, looking at characteristics such as interpersonal sensitivity, anxiety, verbal intelligence, and cognitive maturity. By identifying the individual's characteristics, interventions are better matched (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

There is now considerable evidence of the factors that influence re-offending. The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in the United Kingdom was set up by the Prime Minister in December 1997 and became part of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister in May 2002 (Social Exclusion Unit Pamphlet, 2004). Social Exclusion is defined as what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, poor health and family breakdown. The SEU's main aim is to help improve government action to reduce social exclusion by producing what they call 'joined-up solutions to joined-up problems'. The SEU pays special attention to people who have direct experience of social exclusion and work with different government organisations as well as non-governmental organisations (Social Exclusion Unit Pamphlet, 2004). Building on criminological and social research, the SEU conducted a study on reducing re-offending and identified nine key factors and most of these factors matched Andrews and Bonta (2010) eight risk/needs factors. According to the Social Exclusion Unit (2002), employment, drug and alcohol misuse, mental and physical health, attitudes and self-control, institutionalisation and life-skills, housing, financial support and debt, and family networks factors influence re-offending. Poverty, employment, education among others have also been identified as factors playing a role in recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

According to a study done by the European Social Fund (ESF, 2013), rehabilitation is a process that should commence from the beginning of the sentence and that different European countries like Denmark, have been using successful models of rehabilitation. According to the European Social Fund (ESF, 2013), successful models are those that are based on the RNR Principles. Rehabilitation depends on a structured and comprehensive implementation and to achieve this, one has to take into account the principles of effective correctional treatment developed by Andrews and Bonta (2010).

Andrews and Bonta (2010) divided the principles into three groups:

The first group is *respect for the person in the normative context* and states that services should be delivered with respect for the persons, personal autonomy, with services being humane, ethical, just, legal, decent, and normative. Norms may vary with the agencies or the particular settings within which services are delivered. For example, agencies working with young offenders may be expected to show more attention to educational issues and to child protection. Conversely, agencies working with female offenders may place more attention on attending to trauma and/or to parenting concerns. The second group is *the psychological theory* in which Andrews and Bonta (2010) recommend programmes based on an empirically solid psychological theory such as a general personality and cognitive social learning approach. The third group is concerned with the *general enhancement of crime prevention services*_which is concerned with the reduction of criminal victimisation which may be viewed as a legitimate objective of service agencies, including agencies within and outside of justice and corrections. Crime prevention is most

effective when all its techniques are applied from preventing the facilitation of crime to the modelling of positive social behaviour (Wortley, 2001). There is a total of fifteen core principles and key clinical issues. The principles will be discussed in order to understand how the RNR model is applied in rehabilitation.

Many of the methods used to reduce offending have very little effect as they do not focus on the risk/needs of the offender. It is important that corrections do not only rely on the methods used in the principles of justice but also incorporate human, clinical, and social services so that the major causes of crime may be addressed. This is known as the principles of *human service* (Andrews and Bonta 2010).

The *risk principle* is divided into two parts. The first is that criminal behaviour can be predicted. The second part of the risk principle involves matching levels of treatment services to the risk level of the offender (Andrews and Bonta 2010). These matching of services to offender risk is the core of the risk principle and is the link between assessment and effective treatment. Specifically, higher-risk offenders need more intensive and extensive services if a significant reduction in recidivism is to be noticed (Andrews and Bonta 2010). Lowenkamp, Pealer, Smith, and Latessa's (2006) study on risk and needs principles focuses on the supervision programme offenders received which examined 66 community based correctional programmes in Ohio, USA, confirmed the risk principle. Their study found that intense programmes of a longer duration were more successful for high-risk offenders, than a "one size fits all" approach. For the low-risk offender, minimal or even no intervention was sufficient. Research has shown that programmes that incorporate the RNR principles have a significant effect on recidivism in comparison to programmes that do not incorporate these values (Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006; Olver, Wong, & Nicholaichuk,

2008). The *criminogenic needs principle* mostly targets criminogenic needs (discussed earlier in the chapter). Once offenders are released, they need employment, a place to live, health care services, social services and much more. In order to reduce recidivism, criminogenic needs should not be sidelined but addressed.

General responsivity involves delivering treatment programmes using a method or style that matches the ability and learning style of the offender. Andrews and Bonta (2010) believed that the best strategies available to influence human behaviour are cognitive behavioural and cognitive social learning strategies. Cognitive behavioural treatment is more effective than most other forms of interventions. The strategies that influence the most are modelling, reinforcement, role playing, skills building, modification of thoughts and emotions (Andrews & Bonta 2010). Through cognitive reconstruction and practicing new low-risk alternative behaviour in a variety of high-risk situations until there is a change in behaviour, the offender is able to learn the low-risk alternative. Andrews and Bonta (2010) believe that these strategies can have a major impact on criminogenic needs.

Specific responsivity works by identifying personality and cognitive styles so that treatment can be better matched to the offender. That is, a certain treatment approach or therapist is matched to the characteristics of the offender (Andrews & Bonta 2010). This is where motivation treatment is incorporated especially for high-risk offenders who tend to drop out of treatment or therapy. It is important for offenders to remain in treatment and remain motivated. In this way, treatment does not just work in a group setting but also on an individual level (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Motivational interviewing is a client-centred, goal-oriented approach to counselling, with the objective to increase an individual's intrinsic motivation for

behaviour change through the examination and solving of uncertainty (Miller & Rollnick, 2002). Miller and Rollnick (2002) explain that the aims of motivational interviewing are to increase the levels of motivation for behaviour change and to strengthen that commitment to change. The approach is often combined with other interventions and techniques, together these have been found to be more effective than when alone (Hettema, Steele, & Miller, 2005). Motivational Interviewing as a clinical practice for promoting behaviour change among criminal justice population has been identified as central to treatment responsivity (McMurra, 2002). A study of British probation officers also found those trained in motivational interviewing achieved greater gains with probationer motivation (Clark, Walters, Gingerich, & Meltzer, 2006; Harper & Hardy, 2000).

Breadth (or multimodal) targets a number of criminogenic needs relative to non-criminogenic needs. This principle emphasises the importance of targeting multiple criminogenic needs when working with high-risk cases (Andrews & Bonta 2010). The higher the risk, the more criminogenic needs are manifest. Therefore, it is necessary to try and address all the criminogenic needs of these individuals and not just a few (Ward, Vess, & Collie, 2006). This principle is highly recommended when working with the female offender, as programmes targeting various criminogenic needs have shown to be more effective (Blanchette & Brown, 2006). The *strength principle* involves assessing the strengths of risk assessments to enhance prediction and specific responsivity effects of recidivism.

The validity of *structured assessment* greatly exceeds that of unstructured professional judgement. Once again, Andrews and Bonta (2010) stress that it is important to differentiate between low-risk and from higher-risk cases and the structured assessment are more reliable than unstructured judgments in

differentiating the two. Different studies conducted in Canada and the United Kingdom found that intervention programmes based on the RNR model framework were effective in reducing rates of high-risk offender recidivism two years after release. The researchers pointed out that the programmes assessed differentiated between high-risk and low-risk offenders and followed the RNR principles of offender assessment (Di Placido, Simon, Witte, Gu, & Wong, 2006; Fylan & Clack, 2006; Wong, Gordon, & Gu, 2007). The principle of *professional discretion* recognises that professional judgment on rare occasions may over-rule structured decision making but this should be well documented (Andrews & Bonta 2010).

The last three principles are organisational principles. It involves the organisation of the programme or intervention offered to the offenders and includes settings, staffing, and management. The *community-based principle* emphasises that the RNR model also applies in residential and institutional settings of reintegration, therefore, continuing with the rehabilitation that had commenced while incarcerated (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). The *core correctional staff practices* state that the success of interventions is improved when delivered by therapists and staff with high-quality relationship skills which are characterised as respectful, caring, enthusiastic, collaborative, and valuing of personal autonomy (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). High quality structural skills are also necessary. These include pro-social modelling, effective reinforcement and disapproval, skill building, problem-solving, effective use of authority, advocacy/brokerage, cognitive restructuring, and motivational interviewing (Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011).

According to Andrews and Bonta (2010), it is important that staff members are trained and supervised according to RNR. Monitoring, feedback, and adjustment systems have to be introduced. This also includes managing resources and

administration, like having programme manuals, monitoring of service processes and intermediate change. Working with the different professions (for example, correctional service staff, social workers, researchers, and clinical psychologists) is essential in the design and delivery of service. This falls under the *management principle* (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

The RNR model of correctional treatment is relevant because it provides a comprehensive and empirical approach to offender assessment and treatment categorisation. This approach highlights the need to assess the level of risk for re-offending on the basis of static and dynamic risk factors, and to match the intensity of intervention to the level of risk. To reduce recidivism, it is necessary for treatment to focus on the criminogenic needs of the individual that are directly related to re-offending. The responsivity principle takes into account factors that may affect or possibly impose on treatment and requires that they are identified and accommodated in the process of rehabilitation. Behaviour, while incarcerated, is not necessarily an indicator of success in rehabilitation (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Guam et al., 2006). Therefore, criminal behaviour and its outcomes form a vicious cycle and will continue unless the cycle is broken by strong, firm therapeutic programmes that allow for the acceptance of human needs and the development of pro-social skills with which to manage them (Graffam, Shinkfield, & Lavelle, 2012).

The principles of effective correctional treatment identified by Andrews and Bonta (2010) are very specific and offer a guideline in developing effective rehabilitation programmes for both male and female offenders. The principles require one to concentrate on specific target groups and their particular problems and needs (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). In addition, the appropriate methodology should be used to evaluate criminal needs and risk factors, and consider criminals as persons

responsible for their acts and their choices. It is important to start the intervention from the beginning of the sentence and continue until the released person is stabilised back into the community (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). One of the challenges that were noted in Guam et al. (2006) was that offenders only received intervention treatment when they were eligible for parole. There needs to be a balance between surveillance and control on the one hand, and support and assistance on the other hand (European Social Fund, 2013). Programmes have to provide an integrated and comprehensive approach. Efforts of all partners, close networking, and information protocols, clear and common definitions of tasks, activities, services and schedules need to be coordinated (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Evidence-based practices and models need to be implemented using new information systems. In the whole process, one still has to take into account and prioritise public safety (Andrews & Bonta 2010). The community needs to be involved in the planning and implementation of the programme. It is important to include in the programme some long-term and regular evaluation tools in order to improve and clarify the programme (European Social Fund, 2013). For all the principles of the RNR model to be effective, it is important to understand the psychological theory on which it is based. The RNR has its foundation in the Cognitive Social Learning Theory.

2.2.2 Cognitive behaviour and cognitive social learning

The RNR model emphasises that rehabilitation should not focus only on judicial forms of reintegration, but should include programmes based on a strong psychological background, such as the Cognitive Social Behavioural (CSB) therapy. It is part of the RNR model's principles and beliefs that the methods used in CSB therapy can help address many of the criminogenic needs faced by offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). To better understand how CSB theory can have an impact

on rehabilitation, it will be discussed in greater detail later. Cognitive-behavioural therapy for offenders is based on an assumption that the roots for criminal activity are dysfunctional patterns of thinking. By changing their routine misinterpretations of life events, offenders can modify antisocial aspects of their personality and consequent behaviours (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

Cognitive social behavioural learning in offender treatment targets the thoughts, choices, attitudes, and meaning systems that are associated with antisocial behaviour and deviant lifestyles. It uses a training approach to teach new skills in areas where offenders show weakness (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). These areas may include interpersonal problem awareness, generating alternative solutions rather than reacting on first impulse, evaluating consequences, resisting peer pressure, opening up and listening to other perspectives, requesting feedback, taking other persons' well-being into account, and deciding on the most beneficial course of action (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

Cognitive social behavioural therapy comes from two different fields. It is based on behavioural theory and cognitive theory (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). The development of behavioural theory in the late 1950s and 1960s provided the foundation of the behaviour component of social cognitive behavioural therapy. Behaviourism focuses on observable, external behaviours and disregards internal mental processes (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). Skinner (1938) believed that behaviour could be studied without any knowledge of the internal subjective aspects of the personality. He believed that psychology should only study behaviour and environmental factors that determine behaviour (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Behaviour is divided into two categories, namely respondent and operant behaviour. In respondent conditioning, behaviour is stimulated by the stimuli (what comes before)

and the response to the stimuli (what comes after) (Meyer & Moore, 2012). In contrast, operant behaviour is not preceded by a stimulus but has an effect on the environment. The individual learns by behaving randomly which may or may not be repeated depending on the outcome of the behaviour (Meyer & Moore, 2012). When behaviour is repeated or increased, Skinner (1938) believed that it has been reinforced or learnt.

Operant behaviour works with reinforcement which is a stimulus which increases the probability that behaviour will be repeated. Two types of reinforcement exist, namely; positive and negative as well as other methods linked to reinforcement like punishment, and extinction (Meyer & Moore, 2012; Skinner, 1938). Positive reinforcement occurs when a pleasant stimulus is added after the behaviour has occurred, increasing the chances of it occurring again. Negative reinforcement occurs when a negative stimulus is removed after the behaviour has occurred as this may increase the chances of the behaviour occurring again (Meyer & Moore, 2012). The main aim of punishment is to decrease unwanted behaviour. It can occur through the execution of an unpleasant stimulus after the behaviour has been performed in order to decrease the behaviour (Meyer & Moore, 2012). It can also be the removal of a pleasant stimulus after the behaviour has been performed in order to decrease the behaviour. Extinction occurs when a specific type of behaviour decreases and eventually disappears because the stimulation is withheld (Meyer & Moore, 2012; Skinner, 1938).

In behavioural theory, one's optimal development lies in learning to behave in such a way that one receives positive reinforcements and avoids unpleasant ones. The environment totally determines one's development; therefore, individuals cannot do anything to contribute to their optimal development (Meyer & Moore, 2012). The

historical roots of the cognitive component of Cognitive Behavioural Theory are found in philosophy as well as psychology. The basic concept of cognitive psychology is that one's view of the world shapes the reality that one experiences; this is found in ancient Greek thinking such as Plato's concept of "ideal forms" (Leahey, 2003). Philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries also built their view of the world around the idea that the mind determines reality. This is particularly found in René Descartes' concept that "I think, therefore I am," and Immanuel Kant's idea that the mind makes nature (Collingwood, 1949).

In modern psychology, the cognitive approach was a reaction to the more narrow view of behavioural psychology, which did not attend to and even rejected the importance of internal thought processes (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Albert Bandura's work *Principles of Behavioural Modification* challenged the traditional notion of behavioural psychology and stressed the importance of internal mental processes in the regulation and modification of behaviour. The cognitive social learning theory agrees with the behaviour orientated theories in regard to behaviour as primarily learnt and focusing on the study of observable behaviour (Hall, Lindzey, Loehlin, & Manosevitz 1985). The difference between the two theories is that radical behaviourists strongly oppose mentalist explanations, while the cognitive social learning psychologists make liberal use of unobservable matters such as thoughts, symbolic processes, expectations and convictions in their explanation of behaviour (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Cognitive social learning theory makes use of concepts originating in cognitive psychology, Gestalt psychology and phenomenology, rather than strictly positivist concepts (Meyer & Moore, 2012).

The social cognitive view of a person is not only seen through the positivist approach, it acknowledges that there are multiple factors within the individual and

environment that can influence behaviour (Bandura, 1986). Central to the social cognitive learning theory, reciprocal determination emphasises that behaviour is determined by the interaction of three factors: the person, the situation, and the behaviour that takes place in the situation. Therefore, behaviour is the result and part of the ongoing process in which an individual, the situation and the behaviour always influence each other (Bandura, 1986). SCL theories see individuals as active participants who can evaluate stimuli, strive towards goals and create plans to achieve them. In summary, human beings have the potential to plan their future behaviour and judge their past behaviour as well as change their current behaviour as they self-evaluate (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Bandura (1986) emphasised that in every situation, the individual has various behaviours from which to choose (response repertoire). How one makes a choice depends on the exact nature of the situation, learned experience whether yours or someone else's, expectations and goals as well as the behaviour people would normally produce in such a situation.

Bandura (1986) stated that an individual has various capabilities. These capabilities underlie one's functioning in the context of the interaction between the person, situation and behaviour, which distinguishes man from animal. A total of five capabilities were identified by Bandura (1986). *The symbolising capability* enables humans to keep and manipulate experiences in the form of thoughts. In this way, it is possible to reflect on experiences and to use them in planning future actions. Individuals can create ideas about situations that they have never directly experienced. Humans are also able to accumulate experiences in the form of culture which is valued from past generations (Bandura, 1986). *The forethought capability* suggests that one does not only just react to an immediate situation or their past. A human being is able to conceptualise great plans and goals for the future and act

upon those plans. *The vicarious capacity* involves learning from other people's experience which broadens one's learning capacity greatly. *The self-reflective capacity* is the human capacity to have a self-image and be able to reflect and evaluate oneself. This involves a person's belief about their capacity to function effectively in a specific situation (Bandura, 1986).

According to the social cognitive learning theorists, individuals are active participants in learning, and are able to influence their own learning process (Bandura, 1977). Social cognitive learning also makes use of reinforcement but it is understood differently. There are three different types of reinforcement identified, namely; direct, vicarious, and self-reinforcement (Bandura, 1986). *Direct reinforcement* occurs when an individual receives a reward from an external agent for their behaviour, or when something unpleasant is taken away from the person. *Vicarious reinforcement* is when one person observes another being rewarded or punished for his/her behaviour. Vicarious reinforcement and punishment play a very important role in observational learning. Self-reinforcement happens when an individual rewards their behaviour by praising themselves and even rewarding themselves for their behaviour (Bandura, 1986). This can also occur as self-punishment where an individual punishes themselves either by feeling ashamed for their actions or in a more concrete manner like denying oneself certain privileges (Bandura, 1986; Meyer & Moore, 2012). In the Social Cognition Learning theory, there are three forms of learning that have been identified, namely; learning through direct experience, observational learning, and learning through self-regulation (Bandura, 1986).

Learning through direct experience involves changing one's behaviour as a result of carrying out a behaviour for which one either received a reward or punishment (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Bandura (1977) states that people do not just produce

behaviour, but perceive and think about the results of their behaviour. Thinking is an important factor as the individual does not only react to stimuli but interprets and makes propositions about the results of the various possible behaviours in a specific situation. Bandura (1977) puts great emphasis on observational learning. He believes that people learn a small proportion of their behaviour through direct experience. In observational learning, there are important terms used. *Social learning* involves all learning in which social and cognitive factors play a role. *Model* is the person, character, or another figure whose behaviour is observed. The *observer* is the person observing the model and the reinforcement agent is the person rewarding or punishing the observed behaviour (Bandura, 1986). *Observational learning* occurs when the observer changes their behaviour after observing the behaviour of the model. The behaviour of the model is called *modelling* and that of the observer imitation (Bandura, 1986). *Counter imitation* refers to the imitator doing the opposite of the behaviour modelled. When observational learning takes place, the observer pays attention to the behaviour of the model. *Retention* (remembering the observed behaviour) depends on the observer's attention which can be influenced by various factors. Retention involves remembering the modelled behaviour, while *reproduction* is when the behaviour is reproduced (Bandura, 1986).

The factors that influence retention have been identified as the nature of the modelled behaviour, the characteristics of the model, the characteristics of the observer, the results of the models behaviour, and self-efficacy (Meyer & Moore, 2012). The nature of modelled behaviour depends on the situation in which the modelling occurs as well as the observer's motivation (Bandura, 1986; Meyer & Moore, 2012). The characteristics of the model are also important; a model with a

high status is imitated more than a model of lower status (Hall et al., 1985). The characteristics of the observer are important as well, one has to take into consideration the observers' values, motivation, interest, perceptions and self-confidence. The observers' personality plays a crucial part in determining which model they will select or get their attention (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Expecting a reward also plays an important part in imitating behaviour. One normally uses vicarious reinforcement to assess the benefit or punishment of reproducing modelled behaviour (Meyer & Moore, 2012). Self-efficacy involves the individual's confidence to reproduced behaviour previously acquired. One may see a behaviour being modelled but lack the confidence to actually reproduce it (Bandura, 1969; Meyer & Moore, 2012).

Self-regulation involves the individual's ability to regulate their own behaviour, especially their learning process. This involves self-reinforcement and self-punishment. Bandura (1977) identified two types of self-regulation. They include *internal self-regulation*, which refers to an individual's subjective evaluation of their own behaviour; this is when one is satisfied and proud of their behaviour or ashamed and disappointed of their behaviour (Meyer & Moore, 2012). *External self-regulation* involves one punishing or rewarding themselves in a concrete manner depending on the behaviour; for example, a person tells herself that if she manages to stay a year without breaking any of her parole conditions, she will buy herself a new smartphone, but if she breaks the rules, she will not buy herself the gift. Self-regulation is seen as fundamental to learning (Meyer & Moore, 2012).

This is where motivation plays an important role. Motivation is seen as the result of two processes, namely; interaction and learning. Humans are motivated by the interaction between individuals and the situation (Meyer & Moore, 2012). For human

behaviour to be explained, one needs to take into account the interaction between the environment and cognitive processes. This involves thinking, interpretation of stimuli as well as expectations of future events (Bandura, 1969). Therefore, behaviour is motivated by the results it may yield, as well as the individual's self-evaluation, that is, the expectations regarding the results and if they would be able to achieve the desired results (Bandura, 1977).

Behavioural therapies and cognitive approaches seemed to develop in parallel paths. Over time, the two approaches merged into what is now called cognitive-behavioural therapy (Meyer & Moore, 2012; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). The RNR model focuses on training staff in the Cognitive-Behavioural theory in order to have a greater impact on the effect of the programme (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

2.2.2.1 Cognitive social learning and the RNR model

The RNR model does not focus on a specific programme but rather on the individuals who interact with antisocial individuals. This means that the RNR model places significant focus on probation officers, parole officers, youth workers, and other professionals working with involuntary offenders (Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006). Studies have shown that adequately trained staff had lower rates of recidivism than staff who had not received any training in Social cognitive behavioural learning (Gornick, 2002; Lowenkamp et al., 2006; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). According to Andrews and Bonta (2010), in order to reduce recidivism, staff working with antisocial offenders has to differentiate between anti-criminal and pro-criminal expressions. The main objective of the staff is to increase anti-criminal expressions and decrease pro-criminal expressions of offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Those working with offenders need to be aware of their expressions at all times in order to make sure that they are always anti-criminal. This is why it is

essential for all those working with offenders to have the adequate training so that the principles of cognitive social learning can be applied to any programme in the reintegration system (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006).

As discussed in criminogenic needs (earlier in this chapter), antisocial attitude is a very strong predictor of recidivism. Pro-criminal expressions involve antisocial attitudes. Its ideas and point of view involve the justification and the use of neutralising techniques that suggest that criminal activity is acceptable (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006). Some of these actions can be shown by an offender's negative attitude towards the law, the tolerance and acceptance for breaking the rules and the law. Other characteristics involve the identification with other offenders who also have a negative attitude, support of vindictive means and seeking out risky situations (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). On the other hand, anti-criminal expressions involve an emphasis on the negative consequences of law breaking for the offender, the victim, and the community (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006). This includes not accepting or tolerating any justification for criminal behaviour, as well as identifying the risk in associating with other criminals or accepting their beliefs systems (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

Cognitive social behaviour therapy encourages offenders to examine their own conduct and use problem solving skills. They are required to evaluate how their behaviour corresponds with their anti-criminal values, and how well they are reaching their goals (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006). Offenders learn to think before they act, to choose alternative solutions in a given situation and consider the consequences of their actions. These are skills necessary to help an offender or former offender in various life situations (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007; Pearson, Lipton, Cleland, & Yee, 2002).

It is very important for staff to take note of the positive change in anti-criminal behaviour by praising and supporting it. At times, rehabilitation programmes focus on maintaining housekeeping duties and schedules (being quiet, clean, compliant, cooking, cleaning toilets et cetera) (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Although this compliance is relevant, it is important to note the criminal expressions of these individuals in order to determine if they are pro-criminal or anti-criminal as they might just be going through the process in order to get early parole (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

2.2.2.2 The effectiveness of all correctional staff

Correctional staff members that are successful with offenders have certain attributes. These attributes involve establishing what Andrews and Bonta (2010) call high quality relationships. The staff members need to establish high-quality relationships with their clients who may be offenders, parolees, or former offenders. The relationship creates a setting in which modelling and reinforcement can take place. The relationship should allow for the expression of feelings and experiences. Mutual liking, respect and caring are necessary for such a relationship to become high-quality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006). Workers have to demonstrate anti-criminal expressions (modelling) by showing the behaviour in a concrete and vivid way, even when only a verbal description is available. It is important for the worker to reward himself for exhibiting anti-criminal behaviour (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

Correctional staff also has to reward the offender for modelling the anti-criminal behaviour. The worker has to show similarities between him/her and the offender, for example, by talking about a similar situation previously encountered and how he/she handled it (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). At times, it is important to use a coping method

when encouraging the offender to model the behaviour. Staff members should talk about emotions that might come up when the offender does something different or for the first time (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). The offender should be advised that it is alright to experience fear and uncertainty and that changing behaviour or requesting help can be intimidating (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

The use of reinforcement is very important and the reinforcer has to have a wide variety of reinforcements at hand. A high quality relationship constitutes such reinforcement. Actions like empathy, immediate approval, support and agreement in regards to anti-criminal attitude and behaviour (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Reinforcement works in conjunction with effective disapproval. Effective disapproval is also part of the high-quality relationship already discussed (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). The expression of disapproval at antisocial behaviour is very important. A worker does this by showing strong, empathic and immediate disapproval, no support as well as disagreement with what the offender has said or done. Just as in reinforcement, it is important to explain why the worker disapproves of the behaviour (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). This disapproval has to stand in contrast to the levels of interest and concern previously offered. Once the offender begins to express the appropriate anti-criminal behaviour, the disapproval should be reduced immediately (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Latessa, 2006; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007).

According to the RNR model, the offender is encouraged to pay attention to their thoughts and feeling, recognise risky thoughts, and practice new less risky thinking and practice until they become good at it (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). If the staff sees through the assessment tools that an offender does not show any positive change and has a disregard for the rules and the rights of others, it is important that

justice professionals advise the respective authorities (courts or parole boards) (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). According to Bandura (1977), humans have the potential to think and evaluate the results of their behaviour. In the RNR model, the offender is encouraged to find different solutions to situations they might find themselves in. This allows the offender to choose the behaviour with the best outcome. The promotion of forethought is important in the RNR model and is deeply rooted in Bandura's (1977, 1995) concept of self-efficacy. However, the RNR model does not come without critics. One of the theories which criticise the RNR model is the Good Lives model which will be discussed next.

2.3 The good lives model

The Good Lives Model (GLM) is a strengths-based rehabilitation theory that argues the risk, need, and responsivity principles of effective correctional intervention through its focus on assisting clients to develop and implement meaningful life plans that are incompatible with future offending (Ward & Brown, 2004). Preliminary research suggests that the GLM can enhance client engagement in treatment and reduce dropouts from programmes (Simons, McCullar, & Tyler, 2006) a factor well-known to be associated with higher recidivism rates (Hanson, Gordan, Harris, Marques, Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2011). A central assumption of the GLM is that offending results from problems in the way an individual seeks to attain primary human goods, which reflect certain states of mind, outcomes, and experiences that are important for all humans to have in their lives. Primary human goods can include happiness, relationships/friendships, and experiencing mastery in work and leisure activities (Yates & Prescott, 2011). Identifying the primary human goods that are most important to offenders and those that are involved in the offence process are part of an important part of assessment. Treatment aims to assist clients to attain

these primary human goods in personally meaningful, rewarding, and non-harmful ways in addition to addressing re-offence risk. The GLM believes that they directly target treatment as a crucial step towards assisting clients to attain primary goods in their lives. In this way, offenders become invested in the treatment process because treatment directly aims to assist them to live a fulfilling life in addition to reducing and managing risk (Ward & Brown, 2004). To better understand the GML, an example is provided; an offender might have an extensive history of theft, an instrumental/secondary human goods need to be identified in order to know why the offence was committed. The offence could indicate different attempts to achieve the common life goals of life, which could be stealing money to pay rent, enjoying the risk-taking element of stealing (happiness), being financially independent (personal choice and independence), belonging to a gang (community), or any combination of these. Without exploring what the offender gains from theft, the clinician could incorrectly conclude that the offender is simply anti-social, resulting in an incomplete treatment approach to this behaviour (Ward & Brown, 2004).

The GLM believes that it is important to include a section in therapy addressing relationships that focus on how to seek out and establish satisfying relationships rather than to focus on overcoming intimacy deficits and avoiding problematic relationships. Furthermore, GLM believes that the basic idea of the RNR model is to reduce recidivism rates by identifying and reducing or eliminating an individual's range of dynamic risk factors (Ward & Brown, 2004). These factors constitute clinical needs or problems that should be explicitly targeted. Consequently, treatment programmes for offenders should typically be problem-focused and aiming to eradicate or reduce the various psychological and behavioural difficulties associated with offending behaviour (Yates & Prescott, 2011). These problems include intimacy

deficits, deviant preferences, cognitive distortions, empathy deficits, drug and alcohol abuse, and difficulties managing negative emotional states. The GLM is said to be offender-oriented and more tailored. Even though the followers of GLM state that this theory is more solution-oriented and motivational, they admit that the RNR model has shown a significant effect on lowering the rate of recidivism (Hollin, 1999; Ward & Brown, 2004; Yates & Prescott, 2011). The GLM believes that even though the RNR is a strong model, there are also some areas of weakness. The majority of these concerns revolve around the issue of offender responsivity and point to the difficulty of motivating offenders using the RNR approach. GLM argues that as a theory of rehabilitation, the RNR model lacks the conceptual resources to adequately guide therapists and to engage offenders (Ward & Stewart, 2003). According to the GLM, the risk need model does not thoroughly address the issue of offender motivation and tends to lead to negative or avoidant treatment goals (Ward & Brown, 2004).

The GLM's criticism goes on to state that the focus of the RNR is on the reduction of maladaptive behaviours, the elimination of distorted beliefs, the removal of problematic desires, and the modification of offence supportive emotions and attitudes. Therefore, the goals are basically negative in nature and concerned with eradicating factors rather than promoting pro-social and personally more satisfying goals. This perspective often results in a "one size fits all" approach to treatment and does not really deal with the critical role of contextual factors in the process of rehabilitation (Ward & Brown, 2004). They also claim that the RNR does not thoroughly consider the relationship between risk factors and human needs or goods. This is important because, in order to motivate offenders to pursue more

socially acceptable goals, it is necessary that they view the alternative ways of living as personally meaningful and valuable.

However, the RNR does not address the issue of treatment readiness and the causal preconditions for engagement in therapy. The concept of readiness is broadly defined as the presence of characteristics (states or dispositions) within either the client or the therapeutic situation, which are likely to promote engagement in therapy and which, thereby, are likely to enhance therapeutic change (Willis & Yates, 2012). Hence, the RNR model does not explicitly focus on the importance of establishing a strong therapeutic relationship with the offender and it is silent on the question of therapist factors and attitudes to offenders.

The criticism that GLM makes can be easily answered or cleared by the 15 principles of the RNR model. The GLM states that the RNR is a one-type-fit-all approach, principles 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 all involve assessing the offender to identify his/her criminogenic needs which to a certain extent are unique (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011). The RNR principles look at the interventions that are needed which involves more treatment for high-risk offenders. The level of the offender's cognitive ability as well as cultural differences, including language, has to be taken into account during treatment. Other professionals are involved in the treatment of offenders depending on their needs (justice, health, and social services). It is recommended that personality, cognitive style be matched with treatment and therapist. Motivational interviewing is also applied in the RNR model and is part of therapy (Andrews et al., 2011). The GLM goes on to state that the RNR model has a lack of resources to guide the therapist in the actual therapeutic process. The RNR model is based on psychological theory and uses the cognitive social behavioural theory. This theory is a well-grounded psychological theory that was brought into

popularity by Bandura (1977) and is an approach also used in learning. It has also been shown to have consistent positive results among substance abuse rehabilitation programmes (Dutra, Stathopoulou, Basden, Leyro, Powers, & Otto, 2008). CSB theory has a clear guideline on how a therapist should use it. The RNR model has also tailored it for the offender. Research has shown that rehabilitation programmes using the RNR model have lower rates of recidivism in comparison to programmes not implementing the RNR model (Lowenkamp et al., 2006; Pearson et al., 2002; Robinson et al., 2011).

The RNR model does not only focus on the therapist but also on all the other staff members that come into contact with the offender. Therefore, it is important that they too model and reward pro-social behaviour and reprimand antisocial behaviour or pro-criminal attitudes (Milkman & Wanberg, 2007). The RNR model places an emphasis on empathy and believes that the relationship between therapist and offender is very important. To date, the RNR model has been shown to be a valid and reliable method for reducing recidivism (Andrews et al., 2011). Even the GLM model admits that there is substantial evidence that the RNR has an impact on recidivism (Ward & Brown, 2004). Research has been done on the GLM model mainly with sex offenders, which is a high-risk group. Some studies show that it does work, while others find the contrary. The model is still in the process of refining its theory and terminology, and has changed throughout the years. Currently, it is being promoted as an additional model or co-model to be implemented with the RNR. But the basic idea behind the two theories is basically different. A recent finding favourable to the RNR approach, based on longitudinal studies revealed that desistance from crime enhanced success in other areas of an ex-offender's life. In contrast to the GLM model, the RNR model postulates that decreases in

criminogenic needs lead to the enhancement of personal well-being while enhancing personal good does not lead to decreases in criminogenic needs (Andrews et al., 2011).

2.4 The female offender

There are significant differences between female and male offenders. Female offenders mostly differ from men in their background characteristics, the offence they have committed, and that they are less dangerous. Recidivism is not only caused by the factors identified by the RNR model but also by factors unique to female offenders (Van Voorhis, Bauman, Wright, & Salisbury, 2009). Most women serving sentences are likely to be substance abusers, economically marginalised, lacking in employable skills, have low education, are single parent of young children, victims of physical and mental abuse and coping with physical and mental health problems (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2005; Borzycki, 2005; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

According to Wright, Cropanzano, Douglas, Bonett, and Diamond (2009), the criminogenic needs that influence recidivism among women are substance abuse, mental health problems, trauma, unhealthy relationships, parental stress, employment, safe housing, child care, financial assistance and education.

The level of risk of reoffending is an important component in treatment planning. When the RNR principles are applied to programmes specifically designed for females, it allows for the inclusion of the needs that are unique to female offenders. Blanchette and Brown (2006) suggest that risk principles should be more gender informed as some dynamic factors may be more important to women. Blanchette and Brown (2006) also state that unlike treatment methods for men that have been thoroughly researched, on the contrary, the female corrections still need considerable research.

The criminogenic needs identified in the RNR model can also be applied to female offenders but differ in the level of importance for females (Brown & Motiuk, 2005; Dowden & Andrews, 1999; Howden-Windell & Clarck, 1999). Most of the criminogenic needs that are cited as women specific can be included in the personal/emotional category. These may include low self-esteem, childhood and adulthood personal victimisation and self-injury/attempted suicide (Blanchette & Brown, 2006). Brown and Motiuk (2005) conducted a study on the components of the offender intake assessment process in the Canadian correctional service with a sample of 765 incarcerated women. The study showed that there were factors assessed at intake that could reliably predict recidivism; also women with high need levels were more likely to re-offend than those with lower need level rates. The needs assessed in the study were employment and education, marital and family situations, associates, substance abuse, attitudes, community functioning, and personal or emotional orientation. The findings showed that women with higher need levels were more likely to re-offend than women with lower need levels. This was consistent in all seven domains.

The offender population has on average, less education and fewer skills in comparison to the general population (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). A qualitative study conducted by Dastile (2010) on black females offending post 1994, with 32 black females in two of Gauteng's correctional services found that only 25% of the females had completed grade 12 and 16% had acquired a national diploma in different skills. Some women had some secondary school education (32%) while 9% of the women had primary school level education another 9% had no primary school education. Another qualitative study also conducted in Gauteng found that in a sample of 56 women, 46% had completed secondary education and 16% had a national diploma

or higher only 4% had never received any form of schooling (Dastile, 2014). A study was done in the Western Cape by Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer, and Moulton (2012) on women's pathways to crime and incarceration found similar trends in female education levels in corrections. According to this study, women have much lower levels of education in comparison to incarcerated men and the general female population. The study was conducted at Pollsmoor and Worcester Corrections Facilities with a sample of 55 females. Their study found that only 9% of their participants had completed secondary school. A total of 75% did not complete grade 12 with 42% being high school dropouts, 20% completing primary school, 11% with incomplete primary school level and 2% never attended primary school. The study showed that female offenders in the Western Cape were less likely to complete secondary education in comparison with the female offenders in Gauteng. In a study on female incarceration in South Africa, a larger sample of 477 incarcerated females was given questionnaires. With regards to the demographic information, the study reported that the majority (23.58%) had obtained grade 12 and that 7.91% of these women had a degree (the study was not specific in noting if all degrees were obtained before incarceration). More women did not have a grade 12 (61.52%) with 25.58% being high school dropouts, 23.50% only having primary school education and a total of 12.44% with no education (Luyt & Du Preez, 2010). In all the studies mentioned above, it is shown among the female offender population that lower levels of education are very high.

A meta-analysis of the general adult offender recidivism in Canada, conducted by Gendreau, Little, and Goggin (1996) suggested that social achievement, that is education and employment, is a strong predictor of recidivism. There is also evidence to show that offenders that participate in educational and vocational

programmes have lower rates of recidivism than those who do not participate (Wilson, Gallagher, & Mackenzie, 2000). In his doctoral study, Rettinger (1998) found that education and employment were not only a risk domain for male offenders but were also risk factors for female offenders. Education and employment were also identified as predictors of general and violent crimes (Brown & Motiuk, 2005). Bonta, Pang, and Wallace Capretta (1995) found that women who had non-employment sources of income, and women who depended on welfare were at a higher risk of reoffending. The evidence is significant that education and employment are very important factors that contribute to recidivism (Brown & Motiuk, 2005). Benda (2005) a feminist theorist, states that this need (education/employment) was a better predictor of recidivism with males than females. However, more research is needed on female offenders to form a conclusive body of evidence as to whether this domain is significant in assessing the risk of recidivism among female offenders. Even so, this domain is still very important in the gender-specific domain.

Family is every individual's first experience with socialisation. Among male offenders family is not a very strong predictor in influencing recidivism. On the other hand, with female offenders, family seems to play a more important part (Bloom, 2000). Dysfunctional family lives and family dynamics are important in promoting and maintaining aggressive behaviour in adolescent Girls (Leischied, Cummings, & Van Brunschot, 2000). A longitudinal study was conducted in the United Kingdom by Farrington and Painter (2004) with 494 boys and 519 of their female siblings from the ages of eight to 48 years. The study analysed crime data for the boys' siblings to compare risk factors for offending in boys versus girls. The authors found that some factors affected both girls and boys, those were large family sizes, a convicted parent, delinquent siblings, and parental conflicted. The factors that affected girls

more significantly were low parental interest in the child, low praise, poor parental supervision, and harsh or erratic parental discipline. Family process factors such as attachment, affection, and supervision have been found to play an important role in predicting recidivism especially among women (Benda, 2005; Dowden & Andrews, 1999; Farrington & Painter, 2004; Simourd & Andrews, 1994). Benda (2005) found that job satisfaction and education were strong predictors of recidivism in male offenders. In females, the number of children and supportive family relationships had a significant impact on recidivism. This is also true for the South African female offender. South African female offenders are more likely to be single (including divorced and widowed) and have more than one child younger than the age of 17 (Artz et al., 2012; Dastile, 2010, 2014; Lurtz & Du Preez, 2010).

A study conducted by Artz et al. (2012) gives a detailed image of incarcerated women's childhood and relationships. In the survey, the majority of the women described their childhoods as normal and their homes as safe, but during the qualitative mapping of their lives, it was shown that their childhoods were far from normal. Many of the women grew up in between parents, grandparents, and extended family members. These women also faced abuse from parents, stepfathers, and uncles. Many described being abandoned by their parents and being ill-treated as well as feeling excluded from family functions when they lived with relatives. One of the participants illustrated her childhood living with her uncle's family, she stated that she felt excluded from the family life and was beaten up by her uncle. She described an incident when her uncle tried to sexually abuse her, and that when she screamed for help, he "hung me up with a rope and he left me there. And I was crying, and when he saw saliva come out of my mouth, then he released me" (p.79). She was eight years old at the time. Many of the women related stories

of parental neglect, physical and sexual abuse as well as substance abuse. They perceived their childhood as normal but in fact, it was dysfunctional. These findings are consistent with the study by Farrington and Painter (2004) that showed the influence of the family environment on the offender, and that a high number of female offenders have experienced victimisation at some point in their lives. Most married men 10 years older found themselves once more in abusive relationships where their children (especially one's from previous relationships) were at risk of being molested. Some women also experienced the stresses of being a single parent, as the fathers of their children would evade responsibility, putting strain on these women who already do not have a family support system (Dastile, 2010, 2014; Lurtz & Du Preez, 2010).

Antisocial associates are one of the most consistent predictors of recidivism and therefore are recommended as a priority treatment target (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Females seem to have high treatment needs in this area because antisocial associates are not only predictors in first-time convictions but have a strong relationship with recidivism among women. Conversely, in males, criminal peers have been found to be strong predictors of recidivism while positive relationships (friendships, partners) were more related to desistance in women (Benda, 2005).

Having family members involved in crime transmit to women the idea that crime was normal and a legitimate means of creating income. Artz et al. (2012) found that some women who participated in their study (who reported drug use that led, at least in part, to their incarceration) described how their fathers were involved in the drug trade. In other interviews, it was reported that the type of crime mattered. One participant described her father as a drug merchant respected by her, the family and the community while her crime (attempted murder) was horrible. The study also

indicated that the majority of the women who participated were introduced to crime by a family member, a friend, a husband or partner. Many started by covering up family member's or partners' criminal activity. In this way, crime became normal and it was easier for them to become criminals. When these women found themselves alone, they then turned to crime in order to support themselves. Some participants described how they would see friends with money, and were then introduced to fraud, theft, and shoplifting. Another participant stated that she saw her boss defraud the company and decided to do it too. Other participants were involved in gangs and even though they had been previously incarcerated, once released they found themselves making bad decisions and manipulated by the gang and because of fear returned (Artz et al., 2012).

Substance abuse and criminal activity have been found to have a very strong relationship (Blanchette & Brown, 2006). Previous studies have reported that alcohol and substance abuse were more related to criminal activity with females than males (Lightfoot & Lambert, 1992; Mc Clellan, Farabee, & Crouch, 1997). Females with substance abuse issues are more likely to break parole in comparison with females who did not have a substance abuse problem (Dowden & Blanchette, 1998; Rettinger 1998). Dowden and Blanchette (1999) also stated that women with substance abuse problems tend to have more difficulties with other needs as well. They are more likely to need more interventions in the domains of employment, family relations, associates and attitudes. In addition, Lightfoot and Lambert (1992) suggested that these women might abuse substances as a coping method for existing problems. According to studies conducted in South Africa, substance abuse-related crimes take up a small percentage of crimes committed by women. When substance abuse is looked at from a more qualitative perspective, it showed that

even though most of the women were not incarcerated for charges related to drugs or substance abuse, the abuse of substances played an important role in the crime committed (Artz et al., 2012).

Traumatic childhood and adulthood circumstances related to physical, sexual and emotional abuse are factors that caused women to abuse substances as a coping method. Other factors that also play a role are parents or partners that abuse substances, and curiosity wanting to fit in with peers (Dastile, 2014; Artz et al., 2010). These women are likely to re-offend if there are no effective intervention or treatment strategies in correctional centres (Dastile, 2014). Women's addictions are often rooted in their life stories and pathways to criminality. Out of a sample of 56 women, 23 admitted suffering from an addiction (Artz et al., 2010). Out of the 23 women, eight grew up in an environment surrounded by substance abuse. In the study, one of the women described her parents smoking Mandrax, another woman related how her father gave her the first pipe (TIK, Methamphetamine). When women were asked about their pathway to crime, substance abuse played an important role with 23% of the women stating that alcohol played a role in their incarceration. Some participants described how under the influence they got into aggressive fights consequently stabbing a friend or family member to death, 9% stated that they had committed financially motivated crimes. Other women became involved in crime in order to become financially stable to be able to divorce an addicted husband while another committed fraud in order to send her husband to a rehabilitation centre. In the Artz et al. (2010) study, women who were addicted to or frequently used alcohol were more likely to have committed violent crimes; this is consistent with international studies (McClellan, Farabee, & Crouch, 1997; Dowden & Brown, 2002; Brown & Motiuk, 2005). These women's addictions exposed them to

risky people, behaviours and situations from which they possibly could have been protected. Together with other factors and experiences like abuse, poverty, disempowerment and isolation from support systems, substance abuse facilitated their route to incarceration (Artz et al., 2010; Dastile, 2014). Some women also reported not having access to rehabilitation programmes and having to go through withdrawal symptoms without any assistance (Artz et al., 2010).

Male offenders have higher rates of antisocial behaviour than women, but it is still an important domain as women who score higher on antisocial behaviour or pro-criminal attitudes show lower levels of security and are involved in misconduct (Blanchette, 2005; Walters & Elliott, 1999). In the interviews conducted by Artz et al. (2010), most women spoke about the different factors that played a role in their criminality but admitted that in the end it was their decision and owned up to the consequences of their choices. There are insufficient studies internationally and in South Africa to know the exact impact this domain has on women. However, studies conducted on male offenders show that antisocial attitude is a high predictor of recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Blanchette & Brown, 2006). Assessing community functioning involves looking at all the factors that influence one's living situation outside of corrections. The categories in this domain include leisure activities, self-care and health, accommodation, and finance and support like social services (Boe, Nafekh, Vuong, Sinclair, & Cousineau, 2003; Finn, Trevethan, Carriere, & Kowalski, 1999). According to Brown and Motiuk (2005), not all the categories in the domain were significant predictors of recidivism. Financial difficulties that ranged from not having a bank account, being dependent on social grants, unemployment or non-secure employment, were more likely to have an effect on recidivism. Farrington and Painter (2004) found that socio-economic risk factors

played an important role in criminal offending for women with 45% of incarcerated women committing economic crimes (see Table 1).

Dastile (2014) found that most women had the burden of child care responsibilities and cited financial burden and stresses as a reason for offending. The women in the study indicated that the main stresses were clothing and food. Many mentioned the fact that even though the men lived with their mothers, they still have to provide for their children as most incarcerated women are single parents. Parental poverty has also been shown to significantly impact on female delinquency in mid-adolescence in relation to males (Belanger, Lanctot, & Leblanc, 2005; Lanctot & Leblanc, 2005). The needs associated with the personal or emotional domain are self-concept, behavioural problems, mental ability and cognitive problems such as impulsivity, poor problem-solving, and lack of empathy. According to Boe et al. (2003), a significant proportion of female offenders were assessed as having a need in this domain. The study conducted by Brown and Motiuk (2005) found that the personal/emotional domain was a good predictor of recidivism. The study found that 41% of the women that had a high need in this domain were more likely to return to correctional services than 20% of the women who did not have a need in this domain.

Not all the factors of this domain are predictive of recidivism. Thrill seeking, impulsivity, low frustration tolerance and disregard for others (lack of empathy) played a stronger role in recidivism than personal distress, mental ability and mental health (Andrews & Bonta, 2003; Dowden & Andrews, 1999; Motiuk & Brown, 1993; Robinson et al., 1998). Only qualitative research suggested that self-esteem should be targeted in treatment (Koons, Burrow, Morash, & Bynum, 1997; Simourd & Andrews, 1994).

Low self-esteem is often a by-product of other factors like victimisation, rejection by family, or mental illness (Blanchette & Brown, 2006). Low self-esteem has also been related to violence against more vulnerable others (Lariviere, 1999). To date, there is not sufficient research on this domain. Therefore, more research is needed internationally and locally. Female offenders in South Africa may find it hard to access services that can assist them with this need. Women reported that even in emergency cases, it can take weeks to see a psychologist. With the shortage of professional staff at the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), it can take a while before offenders who really need help will see an overworked professional (Artz et al., 2010; Marquet, 2014). This is unfortunate as many of these women have a history of abuse and victimisation. There is a strong relation between the experience of abuse and criminal behaviour. A high number of female offenders experienced victimisation at some point in their lives (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Howden-Windell & Clarck, 1999). There is some disagreement when it comes to the role that victimisation plays on recidivism. Rettinger (1998) and Bonta et al. (1995) state that victimisation only influenced recidivism when experienced at a young age. While research suggests that victimisation is common amongst female offenders, it is not a criminogenic need. It may play a role in increasing the chances of criminal behaviour but it is not a factor that influences recidivism (Blanchette & Brown, 2006).

Table 1 Gender distribution of Crime Categories

Crime Category	Percentage of women	Percentage of men
Economic	45%	22%
Aggressive	38%	55%
Sexual	1%	16%
Narcotics	10%	2%
Other	6%	5%
Total	100%	100%

Source of table: adapted from the Department of Correctional Services, 2011, p. 8

2.5 Risk Needs Assessment in South Africa

South Africa has one of the most liberal constitutions in the world and many African countries come to South Africa to learn from DCS. Unfortunately, even though our constitution is one of the greatest in the world, the South African DCS is still faced with many challenges. Hesselink and Herbig (2012) identified some challenges that the DCS face. These included: corruption which involved unethical relationships with offenders, problems with implementation of correctional programmes, as well as aiding in assisting offenders to escape. Staff turnover is also a serious problem. The statistics for 2012 to 2013 showed that the ratio of incarcerated offenders to staff was one social worker for 208 offenders, one psychologist for 1565 offenders, and one educator for 227 offenders (Marquet, 2014). Overcrowding and fragile infrastructure, poor mental health services, unaffordable bail, and inequitable treatment of awaiting trial detainees (ATD) are also serious issues that the DCS faces. Looking at the history of incarceration in South Africa, there appears to be

continuity from the old apartheid system and the current government (Super, 2011). During the 1970s, there came a time when classifying offenders according to race was no longer justifiable. The decision was taken to equalise the treatment of all population groups. At the time, there was also a high influx of offenders and government decided to move towards a less punitive but rehabilitative approach to corrections (Super, 2011).

Classification of offenders changed to a more scientific approach where assessment tools and questionnaires were used. Roux (1975) stated that although it was established at the time that treatment was for all races, only white offenders received any form of rehabilitation (as cited in Super, 2011). This was because the government stated that there was a shortage of staff for non-white offenders. There was one white social worker for 80 white offenders, 100 social workers per 9157 coloured offenders and one social worker per 8467 black offenders. Roux (1975) elaborated that white staff (social worker, parole officers) could not assist black and coloured offenders because white staff could only work in a sound stable community as rehabilitation was only possible in that kind of setting and would not be effective in non-white townships (as cited in Super, 2011). As the number of offenders continued to increase another shift was made from the scientific view to a more therapeutic approach. Labour was perceived to be a valid method in the rehabilitation of offenders who were trained in the habits of industry and labour (Super, 2011)

Sloth-Nielson (1986) stated that criminal behaviour was defined as blacks who were idle and did not want to work therefore ended up committing crime. The main idea was that black men could be rehabilitated by hard labour. Short-term offenders (mostly Pass law offenders) were also subject to this form of rehabilitation (as cited in Super, 2011). In reality, during the apartheid era there was a need for cheap and

unskilled labour, and the view of labour as rehabilitation served to fill the need. In 1978, all skills training programmes were available for all races including women (Super, 2011). According to the Department of Police and Prison (1980) when it came to better paying artisanal professions no blacks passed the trade tests (as cited in Super, 2011).

During post-apartheid, the new government made what they called changes to the old prison department now called correctional services and these changes were in line with the new constitution which was to uplift human rights (Department of Correctional Services, 1997). With time, the new government realised that it had to start developing new policies as they did not have any. They also had to develop new high security correctional facilities, and change the rules on privileges (Department of Correctional Services, 1998). However, the new correctional services have adopted some of the old regimes methods when it comes to rehabilitation. Currently, labour is still classified as a rehabilitation programme, and corrections labour was once more described as a means to promote productivity and combat idleness (Department of Correctional Services, 1997.) An average 5% of the country's offenders actually participate in any form of labour or training in corrections; this rehabilitation method is experienced by very few offenders (Marquet, 2014). The DCS claims to move away from the old punitive system, to a more rehabilitative method. This is something the old apartheid regime also claimed. Both systems were and are faced with a shortage of staff, labour as a rehabilitation programme, and a very small number of offenders receiving rehabilitative services. The changes in the DCS also paved the way for a new assessment tool only introduced in 2003 that would identify the needs of the offender. This is now known as the needs-based assessment and rehabilitation. Hesselink and Herbig (2012)

state that even though the White Paper on corrections states that individual assessment is important for the development of the offender; this is not the norm in corrections and a one-size-fit-all approach is often used in the South African corrections. Consequently, only 38% of offenders have been subjected to regular assessments and correctional programmes that address their criminal behaviour (Herbig & Hesselink, 2012). The DCS bases rehabilitation on needs and risk assessment which involves a unique profile of the offender's, needs, risks, classification of risk level, and intervention strategy. The intervention strategy is a quality corrections programme which deals with substance abuse, anger management, sexual offences, parenting skills, HIV/AIDS, moral renewal programmes, spiritual care, and more (Herbig & Hesselink, 2012).

Activities that are part of rehabilitation also include exercise, social reintegration, sport, recreation, arts and culture, education, vocational skills training, professional counselling and therapy. The aim of all these programmes is to release and reintegrate the offender back into society. The success of the reintegration programme is hindered by the challenges faced by DCS as already discussed. There are non-government organisations which are assisting the department with rehabilitation and reintegration, namely; National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) and Khulisa. Khulisa consists of NGOs working in correctional facilities and vulnerable communities. Their different programmes offer therapy, life skills, offender rehabilitation and reintegration. NICRO was established in 1910 and has been working in correctional facilities all over South Africa. NICRO offers a variety of programmes in correctional facilities and communities that address issues faced by offenders. *Me and my family and partners in parenting* are programmes for adult men who are husbands and fathers. These

programmes look at the family dynamics of the offender and his family. *The Tough Enough Programme* (TEP) is mainly for offenders in correctional facilities and begins six months before release continuing for another six to 12 months after release. The main goal of TEP is to assist released offenders into making the transition back into society. Programmes for substance abuse and juvenile offenders are also offered. NICRO has started a new programme known as the Giving Hope project that has a database of former offenders looking for employment, would be employers can then look through this database and find suitable candidates (NICRO, 2015). This addresses an issue that is faced by many former offenders, that is, the challenge of finding employment.

2.6 Employing former offenders

Work can provide an arena in which one can develop confidence through meeting goals or discovering new talents, establish new social networks, and find a connection to a broader purpose. Work often plays a central role in helping a woman escape patterns of isolation and dependence (Browne, Miller, & Maguin, 1999). Employing former offenders can be a sensitive issue. A former offender may suffer different kinds of discrimination due to a criminal record. They may be refused a job, dismissed from employment, denied training opportunities, denied promotion, subjected to less favourable working conditions or terms of employment, and even harassed in the workplace (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), 2004; Graffam & Shinkfield, 2011).

Non-discrimination is all about removing stereotypes and allowing individuals to participate in society on the basis of their individual qualities rather than to generalise. It involves ensuring that they have the same opportunities as others to participate in society. However, discrimination on the basis of a criminal record

involves the balancing of different rights. Former offenders who have served their sentence and paid their debt to society have the same right to seek employment as any other member of the community. On the other hand, there may be certain circumstances where a former offender with a particular criminal record poses an extremely high-risk if he or she is employed in a particular position (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004).

Fahey, Roberts, and Engel (2006) conducted four focus groups with 28 employers in Great Boston on hiring ex-offenders and found that managers had different views on hiring ex-offenders. Some employers stated that a job candidate with a criminal record was not the desired candidate. Others said that if it was on their curriculum they (the ex-offenders) would not be considered, but if it came up on the second or third interview and they were one of the best candidates, they would be considered. Employers would be willing to offer to train those who have good communication and interpersonal skills, have the ability and willingness to learn, pay attention to detail, and consistently show up for work on time. The opportunity to do a random drug test was attractive for other employers. For companies that did hire former offenders, employers described benefits such as employee enthusiasm, desire to succeed, and appreciation and loyalty for being given a chance. As one employer stated, he had hired maybe two bad ones out of maybe ten good ones.

A quantitative study found that employer's hiring concerns were that former offenders may not have the necessary people skills for contact with customers. Customers may feel uncomfortable if they knew that a former offender worked there. In addition, co-workers may also experience discomfort in working with an ex-offender. However, gender did not make a big difference. About 87% of respondents reported that the gender of the ex-offender made no difference in the hiring situation

in question but 12% of employers said they were more likely to hire a female ex-offender than a male one (Giguere & Dundes, 2002).

Cho (2007) did a study where he analysed data from the Illinois Department of Corrections and the Illinois Integrated Database. The data provided detailed information on the quarterly employment status of offenders between the years 1995 and 2000 with a total of 664 women who entered and exited correction facilities during those years. The study found that a criminal record did not have a negative impact on employment for women who were previously employed before incarceration. Women who were not employed before incarceration also had greater chances of finding employment. Cho (2007) concluded that this was due to the training and skills acquired during the women's time in correctional facilities and that there was less stigma attached to their having a criminal record. When he compared his findings to Korean female offenders, he found that the opposite applied to them. Corrections programmes did not offer adequate skills and stigma was greater. Therefore, employment was negatively affected by incarceration. South Africa may also face similar challenges as Korea.

A study conducted on the findings from the Women's Pathways to Prison project of female offenders in the Pollsmoor and Worcester Correctional Services by The Gender Health & Justice Research Unit (2012) found that many of the women incarcerated became involved in criminal activity due to economic pressure. They were also motivated primarily by economic reasons. Pre-release programmes were also considered inadequate as they did not cover the wide range of women's needs when considering their re-entry into what they called "the modern world". Women wanted more knowledge about technology and about the basics in surviving outside. In the sample, 46 women (84%) reported working inside corrections. The types of

work varied greatly, and included: needlework and textiles; food preparation; cleaning; library work; office work; peer education and counselling; laundry; crèche and hairdressing (most of these are gender-based and some may not be relevant to the outside world like textile especially in South Africa where this industry is on the decline). Interventions are more likely to be successful when integrated with training and employment opportunities (Bluemle, 2008). Work in corrections is salaried between R2 to R5 a day – depending on the type of work (The Gender Health & Justice Research Unit, 2012).

This is done with the hope that education, skills development, access to finance and financial literacy are key drivers for eliminating poverty and creating sustainable lively hoods. The Melleke Correctional Administration of Ethiopia is actively engaged in creating decent work through cooperatives, micro-finance, and micro-insurance (International Labour Organization, 2012). The offenders are trained in basic education, cooperative management, financial literacy skills and business development training. The cooperatives sell their products in an outbuilding attached to the main correctional building and deliver as well (International Labour Organization, 2012). Offenders have access to micro-finance and are able to loan money in order to start a cooperative and are also advised to save on a monthly base with the average saving at 3,000 Birr (R1, 632) per offender. Women have a wide range of skills development workshops to choose from. They range from hairdressing to building bricks and woodwork. The work that has been done in this correctional facility has been highly praised (International Labour Organization, 2012).

Stable, satisfying employment is a critical predictor of post-release success for individuals released from corrections. On the other hand, former offenders typically

have poor work histories and a limited range of skills. These deficits, together with a recent offence conviction and period of incarceration, often lead to difficulty finding and keeping a job that will allow these individuals to provide financial support for themselves, and for many of them, their families (Harris & Kelly, 2005; Lageson & Uggen, 2013, Lockwood, Nally, & Shinkfield, 2011; Shivy, Wu, Moon, & Eacho, 2007; Visher et al., 2005). Employment interventions can include a range of services such as job-readiness classes, vocational education, GED certification, job training, job placement, and job monitoring by a case manager for some time period (Visher et al., 2005). Among those who participated in a pre-release programme, re-offending was lower and even lower for the ones placed in employment than those that did not attend such programmes (Graffam et al., 2012). Legal employment is one of the best predictors of the post-release success of former offenders. A job represents more than just an income that can enable to ensure a proper quality of life. Having a job means also to benefit from a structure and a routine given by the job schedule, and even an opportunity to enlarge someone's social acquaintances (Visher et al., 2005).

We see that reintegration and rehabilitation involve all aspects of an offender's life and need to begin inside corrections together with relevant vocational skills which can be used once outside of corrections. Our programmes should also assist in finding employment as an offender's curriculum might have gaps that they need to account for. On the other hand, employers are afraid of the risk that they might face when hiring an ex-offender.

They avoid these risks by simply not hiring those with a criminal record. In doing this, former offenders face discrimination and face a challenge when disputing discrimination as the labour law Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 does not mention

those with a criminal record directly and may leave the gap for discrimination. The Amended Act includes more groups but does not include those with a criminal record as seen below.

“No person may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against an employee, in any employment policy or practice, on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language, [and] birth or on any other arbitrary ground”. (Employment Equity Act, 55 Section 6, 1998)

2.6.1 Manifest and Latent Deprivation theory

To better understand the role that unemployment has on individuals, an unemployment theory will be considered. Unemployment and economic inactivity are associated with increased risks of developing mental health problems (Clark, Georgellis & Sanfey, 2001). Unemployment, particularly long-term unemployment, is associated with other related factors such as social exclusion, poverty, poor housing conditions, low educational, and risk-taking behaviours (Clark et al., 2001). Unemployment can be both a cause and a consequence of mental health problems; the economic or financial disadvantage associated with unemployment can increase stress. It limits access to activities which enhance independence and well-being. There has been growing evidence of an association between unemployment and reduced psychological well-being (Department of Health Social Services and Public Safety, 2004).

Literature indicates that unemployed people exhibit lower psychological well-being than those currently in jobs and that the harm is significantly greater for unemployed people with a higher commitment to the labour market (Barnette & Michaud, 2011). In both men and women, one factor that has been shown to moderate the

relationship between employment status and psychological well-being is employment commitment. It reflects the degree to which a person wants to be engaged in paid employment. Those with high commitment showed greater change in distress scores as a result of a change in employment status (Clark et al., 2001; Jackson, Stafford, Banks, & Warr, 1983). A longitudinal study conducted by Borie-Holtz, Van Horn, and Zukin (2010) over a duration of 15 to 35 years which included men and women, found that health problems and depression increase with the loss of employment.

Hepworth (1980) conducted a quantitative study of 78 unemployed men. The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) and the Present Life Satisfaction (PLS) scales were used. The unemployed sample (62%) scored low on well-being in comparison with a sample of employed men in another study who completed the GHQ and the PLS; their score was only at 18%. The results suggested that men without a trade (unskilled and semi-skilled) suffered more during unemployment than those with a trade. It also found that the length of unemployment was negatively correlated with subjective well-being, meaning that the longer a man was unemployed, the less likely he was able to fill his time meaningfully (Hepworth, 1980). The study concluded that the unemployed in the sample had significantly poorer mental health and poorer subjective well-being than the employed population. No significant differences between male and females were found (Hepworth, 1980).

One of the reasons that unemployment has such an impact on psychological well-being is due to the financial strain experienced during this period. The study demonstrated that financial strain had a clear direct effect on psychological well-being (Hepworth, 1980). The unemployed are by no means all the same in their reactions to joblessness, and it should not be assumed that every unemployed person passes through a similar pattern of one-sided experiences. A full-time job and

higher education have been shown to be linked with high mental health and life satisfaction (Hepworth, 1980). On the other hand, unemployment is related to a decrease in life satisfaction and after a few months of unemployment there are no changes. The more time one spends unemployed becomes the norm and the individual may not try to change this (Clark et al., 2001). A study conducted by Patel, Araya, de Lima, Ludermir, and Todd (1999) in Goa, India, Harare' Zimbabwe, Santiago, Chile, Pelotas and Olinda, Brazil, found that female gender, low income and other measures of poverty, older age and low education are associated with Common Mental Disorders (CMD). Many times, former offenders are already a high-risk group for CMD, a criminal record and the exclusion that comes with it may aggravate the situation.

Jahoda (1981) came up with the Latent Deprivation Model that states that employment has manifest functions of earning a living but also five unintended or latent functions.

“Employment imposes a time structure on a working day; second, employment implies regularly shared experiences and contacts with people outside the nuclear family; third, employment links individuals to goals and purposes that transcend their own; fourth, employment defines aspects of personal status and identity; and finally employment enforces activity.” (Jahoda, 1979, p. 312)

Hepworth's (1980) study confirms that the loss of employment means that these latent functions are lost and the unemployed person loses their time structure, and consequently, has too much time and not enough activities to fill the time. Unemployed people mostly interact with their family and feel that they may have lost their status in the family as a breadwinner or among peers causing poor psychological well-being (Jahoda, 1981). Jahoda's theory has mainly been used in

Australia and Germany where evidence has been found that both manifest and latent functions of employment play an important role in mental health. It has also been found that some latent functions (time structure, collective purpose, & social contact) affect mental health more than others (Hoare & Machin, 2006).

It has also been found in different research that people with high self-esteem, who have a positive outlook on life and a positive view of their current employment situation, suffer less distress (Creed & Klisch, 2005; Hoare & Machin, 2006). Studies of Jahoda's theory suggest that how a person experiences latent deprivation depends on the level of employment commitment, financial strain, and high self-esteem/positive outlook. Therefore, latent deprivation is an indirect effect of unemployment. On the other hand, manifest deprivation directly influences well-being (Creed & Bartrum, 2008; Creed & Evans, 2002; Creed & Klisch, 2005; Hoare & Machin, 2006). Fryer (1998) suggested this and his main criticism of Jahoda's theory is that the main emphasis is put on Latent Deprivation while he believed that the Manifest Deprivation was the main cause of mental distress. It is important to understand that this model is more relevant to those who are actively seeking employment (Clark et al., 2001). It has been shown that unemployment only affects those that are actively seeking employment or have high levels of commitment towards employment (Barnette & Michaud, 2011; Jackson, Stafford, Banks, & Warr, 1983).

Creed and Watson (2003) conducted a study in Australia on the effects unemployment has on gender. It was found that there were no gender differences and that both male and females were equally distressed by their employment situation, which means that females cannot be assumed to be less negatively affected than males. Males and females also reported similar access and did not

differ on their levels of access to the latent or manifest benefits. Unemployed males and females in relation to age and psychological distress showed a monotonic increase from young, middle-aged to mature, with the young unemployed displaying less distress than the middle-aged and mature unemployed. The next most important individual factor was financial strain which was a more important predictor of distress in the younger rather than the other two groups (Creed & Watson, 2003).

A study conducted by Paul and Batinic (2009) in Germany with 998 participants (non-offenders) from all over the country with 52% of participants being female measured the Latent and Manifest functions of employment and mental health. Paul and Batinic (2009) found that Jahoda's latent deprivation model could not be applied to all unemployed participants and that home-makers students, and retirees what they called OLF(Out of the Labour Force) did not score high on the tests measuring the access to the latent functions of employment meaning that even though they were unemployed, they did not suffer the loss of the latent benefits (it has been established that for this research the unemployed are those who are actively seeking employment). The study also found that younger participants and OLF did not experience a high sense of loss of status, in fact, there was not a significant difference between employed participants and OLF when it came to both manifest and latent functions of employment, but there were significant differences between employed and unemployed. There was a strong relationship between manifest functions (financial situation) and mental health, while employed participants showed better mental health than the unemployed (Paul & Batinic, 2009).

2.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to discuss rehabilitation and the role employment plays in the rehabilitation of former offenders. In this chapter, the RNR model is discussed

in detail, the cognitive social behavioural theory on which the model is based is also discussed. In this chapter, the risk needs responsivity model, which looks at the level of risk of offenders, criminogenic needs, and principles needed for effective correctional treatment was discussed. This model was chosen as it is based on the psychological theory of Cognitive Social Behaviour. The main focus of this model is to target criminogenic needs with the principles of effective correctional treatment. The RNR model was created using predominant male offender data, but as female offending has increased, a need has risen to include female offenders, and a more gender specific RNR model was developed. Gender specific criminogenic needs have been identified by Blanchette and Brown (2006) with mainly American and Canadian samples of female offenders. In this chapter, I linked the criminogenic needs with different studies done on South African female offenders; the criminogenic needs seem to apply to South African women too. The factors that were most similar among the female offenders were that most had lower levels of education and higher rates of unemployment in comparison to women who have never been in trouble with the law. Female offenders were most likely to be single parents of young children, who stated that the burden of being the sole provider led them to commit economic crimes. The main difference was that internationally the most prevalent crime is in the category of substance abuse. In South Africa, the most prevalent crimes are economic and violent crimes. Atraz et al. (2010) state that though economic and violent crimes are the highest, many of the women who participated in their quantitative study admitted to being under the influence of alcohol when the crime was committed, or have committed crime in order to support a habit. This is why it is important to have a holistic approach when treating women. The chapter gave a brief outline of the corrections programme during the pre-

apartheid era and looked at how offenders were treated and opportunities granted according to race or class. In the new South Africa, there had to be new principles that were in line with the constitution. The White Paper states that all offenders should be assessed, and treatment should be uniquely tailored for the individual. This section also looks at some of the shortcomings in the South African correctional services, mainly the lack of sufficient staff which makes it difficult to adhere to the principles of the White Paper. Many offenders claim to have seen a social worker only once and that was on admission. They also state that they had to wait weeks to see a psychologist. The study only focused on one criminogenic need, namely; employment. The literature review also looks at an employment theory, the Manifest and Latent deprivation theory of Jahoda and because my focus is on employment I used the RNR model and the Manifest and Latent deprivation theory to help me create prompts for the interviews and to interpret the data. This study only seeks to look at one of the criminogenic needs identified, namely; employment, and how women with a criminal record perceived their employment opportunities.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Qualitative research is interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 2009). For this study, a qualitative method was chosen because it is more suited for the aims and objectives of the study. The study aimed to look mainly at the experiences constructed by former offenders concerning employment and how these experiences affect their attitude towards recidivism. This chapter looks at the rationale of the study and the paradigm that was chosen for the study. Phenomenology will also be briefly discussed as well as the characteristics of a qualitative study which are used to guide this study. The requirements when selecting participants will also be discussed as well as the ethical considerations of the study. The section thereafter will look at the data collection process as well as the interview technique used. The method used for analysis is Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis. The method is discussed in greater detail and step by step. Finally, the measure of trustworthiness that was applied in the study is also discussed.

3.2 Rationale

The paradigm used in the study is interpretive. This paradigm focuses on the internal reality of subjective experience; the researcher plays an empathetic role and is subjective in her observations (Terre Blanch & Durrheim, 2010). As such, an interpretive paradigm is based on the idea that qualitative research efforts should be concerned with revealing multiple realities as opposed to searching for one objective reality and is associated more with methodological approaches that provide an

opportunity for the voice, concerns and practices of research participants to be heard (Denzin, 2010; Weaver & Olson 2006). The method used to gain this subjective reality in this study is Interpretive Phenomenology Analysis, also known as IPA. Most of the phenomenology design is based on Edmond Husserl's work. His insights launched a new philosophy and a new approach to scientific inquiry (Moran, 2000). Husserl moved from a positivist paradigm to a more postpositivist view in which he described the subjective perception of the participant as the truest form of experience that one can have in perceiving a phenomena, allowing one to examine the phenomena as they are originally given to consciousness (Husserl, 1913/1982). The approach is to suspend all judgment about what is real until they are founded on a more certain basis. Phenomenology involves the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, taken-for-granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based on a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasise the importance of personal perspective and interpretation (Larkin et al., 2006). The use of phenomenology is powerful for understanding the human lived experience, or understandings of particular phenomena (Smith, Floweres, & Larkin, 2009). All these descriptions consist of what and how the participant has experienced a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). IPA is based on Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology, where the phenomena are not only described but also understood on the basis of known knowledge. The participants are trying to make sense of their world and the researcher then tries to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world (Smith & Osborn, 2003; Smith et al., 2009). In line with the aims of the study, the phenomenological method will draw from the female former offenders how they have experienced having a criminal record and how they

perceive this in relation to employment. Therefore, the study focuses on describing and understanding the essence of their experience.

As IPA is a qualitative method, eight characteristics of qualitative research identified by Creswell (2007) were considered in the study. 1) Building rapport with the participant was important and data were collected in their natural settings. Interviews were conducted in the participant's natural environment (place of employment, or at a restaurant) and there was no need to take them to a control room or lab. 2) The researcher is the key instrument as she was the main tool in the data collection. Some of the methods a researcher can use to collect data are interviews, observations and documents and researchers seldom rely on a single data source. The data that I have collected are from interviews with participants. 3) Inductive data analysis is used in qualitative research patterns and categories are built from the bottom up. 4) Participants meaning, and learning, involve the meaning that participants hold about the issue and not necessarily the researcher's meaning of the phenomena. Career expectations of females with a criminal record is the experience I wanted to explore; in other words, only those with a criminal record who are seeking employment or are employed can give details on how they have experienced this when seeking for work. It is their experience and views I want to capture. 5) Emergent design meaning that the research may change after the researcher enters the field and begins to collect data. The main objective is to learn about the problem from the participants and address the research to obtain that information. When collecting data I realised that there were other important issues that participants wanted to share, some of these issues also played a role in how they experience being former female offenders seeking employment. 6) Theoretical data or the lens that the researcher used to view the study are the Risk Need

Responsivity model and the Latent and Manifest Deprivation model. 7) In interpretive inquiry, researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear and understand and cannot be separated from their research. 8) Holistic account involves identifying the many factors involved in a situation and generally drawing a larger picture that may emerge with the aim of identifying the complex interactions of factors in a situation. These characteristics helped to guide the study as they are applicable to the different methods including phenomenology in qualitative research.

3.2.1 Selection of participants

Durrheim and Painter (2010) describe a population as the larger pool from which the participants are drawn. For this study, the population are female **former** offenders who have completed a vocational skills programme while in South African correctional facilitation. The selection method that I intended to use was, purposeful selection of participants where cases used are typical of the population, and depend on availability and willingness to participate, but ended up using the snowball method in which participants refer other potential participants to the researcher (Durrheim & Painter, 2010). The snowball method is well suited for a number of research purposes and is particularly appropriate when the focus of the study is a sensitive issue, possibly pertaining to a quite private matter, and requires the knowledge of insiders to locate people for study (Biernacki & Woaldorf, 1981). Data saturation is when data collected serve only to confirm an emerging understanding and does not give any new information. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that for a qualitative Master's level study, one should use at least three participants. Studies often use a small number of participants that range from 6 to 15 participants (Merriem, 2009; Fade, 2004). I have used a sample of six participants as this was sufficient in order to reach saturation.

The criteria for inclusion in the study were former female offenders, who have completed a vocational skills programme while being in corrections; and unemployed, employed, and self-employed former offenders were included. In total, three organisations were approached in order to get access to participants. Two of the organisations are faith-based, one is a body of churches and the other is a local church in my community, they are both involved in corrections ministries. I met one of the representatives of the body of churches during an event of the Inside-out Outside-in South African Corrections Interest Group. I explained what I wanted to do and the pastor said he would be able to assist me. I then exchanged contact details and sent an email with more information on the study (see Appendix B). I was informed by community members about the local church that also did corrections ministries and approached the pastor of the church who was very eager and promised to find out if any of the former females he was in contact with would like to participate. I also sent him a letter (see Appendix B) with all the relevant information on the study. In my local community, there is a drug rehabilitation centre which focuses mainly on females. I also approached them and they said they worked with some women but were not certain if they would be able to assist me and would inform me. I emailed them a copy of the appendix too. After many conversations with all three organisations only one was able to put me in contact with one participant. The pastor of the local church stated that at that moment he was very busy and would not be able to assist me in time. The drug rehabilitation centre ignored me. The one participant referred to me by the pastor of the body of corrections ministries was currently doing her master's degree. I believe that this also made it easier for her to participate as she was very understanding and eventually referred three more participants to me, of which one referred two more. I realised that they trusted my

first participant and this helped them to in turn trust me enough to participate. In the end, my participants were acquired through snowballing.

The organisation is located in Johannesburg, Rooderport and is involved in correction facilities ministries. The organisation asked potential participants if they would like to participate in the research and if they could then forward the participants contact details to the researcher in order for me to make contact with the prospective participants in order to give more detail on the research (see Appendix C). Those participants to whom I was referred had to fit the selection criterion.

The interview that was conducted with the first of the six participants assisted in refining and improving interview questions and prompts. As the participant stayed outside of Johannesburg, we had to agree on a day to meet that would be convenient for her. When she was in Johannesburg we met at a local mall and the interview was conducted in a public dining area. Even though it was a public place it was quiet because it was during the week and due to the electricity cut very few people were around. I had a set of open-ended questions and started with the demographic questions first. Since the participant was herself a Master's Degree student, she seemed comfortable and quite knowledgeable about the interview process. When I did the interview, my main focus was on how different participants experienced having a criminal record and how has this impacted them in terms of work opportunities. During the interview, I realised that the experience of having a criminal record goes hand in hand with the experience of being incarcerated, being released, depending on others especially family, coping financially and most of all rehabilitation and reintegration. In the process of rehabilitation and reintegration, religion played a big role as now there was a new sense of community, a community consisting of former offenders and fellow church members. All the other topics that

emerged were just as relevant and merged well with the theories chosen as my lenses. The first interview helped me to be more confident with the participants that followed. I was more familiar with their challenges and had an idea of the topics that they would like to discuss and knew how to link it with the study in order not to drift too far away from the actual experience I was researching.

3.2.2 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was gained from the ethical clearance committee of the Department of Psychology at UNISA. As the purpose of research ethics is to protect the welfare of participants, there are about five philosophical principals that are broadly accepted and informed the current study. These are a) Autonomy b) Non-Maleficence c) Beneficence d) Justice and e) Fidelity (Wassenaar, 2010; American Psychological Association, 2002). Autonomy involves the protection of individual and institutional confidentiality. In addition, the voluntary informed consent of the research participants is very important. Justice in research requires that participants be treated with fairness and equality during all stages of research (Wassenaar, 2010). The organisations requested permission from prospective participants to share the participants contact details with me (see Appendix C). Once prospective participants had consented to have their contact details shared with me, I then contacted the participants and started to build rapport with them before the actual interview. By the organisations attaining consent from the perspective participants to share their contact details I am respecting the participants need to have their rights to individual privacy, confidentiality, and self-determination. Participants were given a consent form (see Appendix A) which has the details of the study and it clearly states that participation is voluntary. A pseudonym was used in order to ensure confidentiality. Non-maleficence requires the researcher to ensure that no harm

befalls the research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research psychologists (Wassenaar, 2010).

Scientific and professional judgments and actions may affect the lives of others; researchers need to be alert to and guard against personal, financial, social, organisational, or political factors that might lead to misuse of their influence (American Psychological Association, 2002). The participants in this study may be considered somewhat vulnerable as literature describes female offenders as more vulnerable than most women. This was taken into consideration when building rapport and conducting interviews. After interviews if participants seemed distressed they would have been referred to a counsellor at the local organisation from which they were referred to me or assisted in finding local organisations with registered counsellors who could assist them. Fortunately, none of the participants became distressed during the interviews, instead, some thanked me for the interview and said they felt better. One participant even commented that she felt better as she had gotten a load off her chest. Beneficence attempts to maximise the benefits that the research will afford to the participants in the study. In this particular study, there will be no direct benefit in participation; participants rather contributed to gaining more knowledge on former offenders' career challenges.

Fidelity and responsibility concerns the researcher to uphold professional standards of conduct, clarify their professional roles and obligations, accept appropriate responsibility for their behaviour, and seek to manage conflicts of interest that could lead to exploitation or harm (American Psychological Association, 2002). This research is for the purposes of gaining a master's degree and does not involve organisations that might want certain findings that may be more favourable to them. During rapport building, it was made clear that the researcher only has certain

expertise if the need arises for referral, participants will then be referred. Researchers need to have integrity and seek to promote accuracy, honesty, and truthfulness in the science. In these activities, the researcher may not steal, cheat, or engage in fraud, subterfuge, or intentional misrepresentation of fact (American Psychological Association, 2002). An audit trail is attached to the dissertation in order to describe in detail how data were collected, how categories were described and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry (Merriam, 2009).

3.3 Method of data collection

Once participants were identified, appointments were made with them telephonically in order to set a date on which we could meet as well as to discuss the purpose of the study in more detail. Participants were interviewed at the nearest convenient shopping mall or at a location most convenient depending on where they were most comfortable. Participants willing to participate were given a consent letter (see Appendix A) which also explained what the research was about.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to facilitate a comfortable interaction with the participant which hopefully contributed to them providing a detailed account of the experience under investigation (Smith et al., 2009). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher and participant to engage in an interview where initial questions are tailored to the participants' responses and the researcher is able to explore interesting and important areas which arise in the conversation. It facilitates rapport and empathy, allowing a greater flexibility of coverage and allows the interview to go into new areas, and it tends to produce richer data (Smith & Osborn, 2003). It is most useful if there will be only one chance to interview the participant as it allows the researcher to be prepared for the interview but allows the participant the freedom to express their views in their own terms (Cohen & Crabtree,

2006). The interviews lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. The interview guide included a mix of flexible, more and less structured interview questions (see Appendix B). Specific data are usually required and the interview guide consisted of a list of questions or issues to be explored; however, the guide is flexible with questions both more and less structured (Merriam, 2009).

I started with the most general possible question in the hope that this would enable the respondent to talk about the subject. Questions asked were neutral rather than value-laden or leading, jargon and assumptions of technical proficiency were avoided as well (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The interviews started with a neutral question like “What has been your experience in looking for employment?” from the conversation more questions were derived, the interview guide included additional questions that are related to theory (see Appendix B). As already discussed, IPA research is concerned with an in-depth exploration of lived experiences and how people make sense of that lived experiences. Therefore, the focal point of an IPA study is guided by open and exploratory research questions (Smith & Shinebourne, 2012).

3.4 Method of analysis

As the data collection process occurred, data were analysed using the IPA process. IPA has an interpretative phenomenological epistemology. Its main interest lies in understanding a person’s connection to the world and the things which matter to them, through the meanings that they make (Smith & Shinebourne, 2012). Therefore, IPA is based on certain assumptions that an understanding of the world requires an understanding of experience and this creates a connection with personal accounts of peoples’ world whether it is physical, cultural, or linguistic. Experience is not accessed directly from the accounts but through inter-subjective meaning making

process. In order to do this as the researcher, I needed to be able to identify and reflect upon my own experiences and assumptions. I cannot run away from interpretation, but can reflect on my role in producing these interpretations and can remain committed to grounding them in the participant's view (Smith & Shinebourne, 2012).

Smith and Osborn (2003), Biggerstaff and Thompson (2008) and Smith et al. (2009) identified six steps in analysing the data. The first is to encounter with the text after each interview, the recording is transcribed with thorough accuracy (see Appendix D for transcripts). The analysis involved the close reading and re-reading of the data. It was important to listen to the audio recording of the interview while reading the transcript at least once, making the participant the focus of analysis (Larkin, & Thompson, 2012).

In his later works, Husserl (2001) presented a model of transcendental subjectivity, a condition of consciousness where the researcher is able to successfully abandon his or her own lived reality and describe the phenomenon in its pure, universal sense. According to Husserl, the state of transcendental subjectivity may be accomplished by using the process of bracketing, which involves consciously and actively seeking to strip away prior experiential knowledge and personal bias so as not to influence the description of the phenomenon at hand (Tymieniecka, 2003). When reading the transcript, I had to try and halt all pre-conceived assumption and judgements in order to focus on what is actually presented in the transcript data which is known as bracketing. I made notes of any thoughts, observations and reflections that occurred while reading the transcript in order to help to bracket for a while (Smith et al., 2009). I also spoke to my supervisor during this process and shared with him the interview transcripts and analysis. The reading of the transcript facilitates an appreciation of

how rapport and trust may build across an interview and highlight the location of richer and more detailed sections, or contradictions and paradoxes (Smith et al., 2009).

After transcribing the data, the transcripts were analysed together with the original recordings. Step 1 merged into step 2, which ensured a growing familiarity with the transcript and began to identify specific ways by which the participant spoke about, understood and thought about the issue (Larkin, & Thompson, 2012). Here notes were added as I read the transcript (see Appendix E). The text was divided into meaningful units and a comment was assigned to each unit. The main aim was to produce a comprehensive and detailed set of notes and comments on the data (Smith et al., 2009). The comments had to have a clear phenomenological focus and stay close to the participant's explicit meaning and the meaning of those things to the participants. This was done in order to help me understand how and why the participants have these concerns. I looked at the language they used, thought about the context of their concerns and identified more abstract concepts. This assisted in making sense of the patterns of meaning in their account of the phenomena (Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Shinebourne, 2012).

Moving through the transcript, I looked to comment on similarities and differences, echoes, amplifications and contradictions in what the person is saying. One needs to engage in analytical dialogue and ask questions of what the words, phrases sentences mean to the researcher and what it means to the participants. Interview themes were identified which may or may not match those on the researcher's prompt sheet shown in Appendix B (Smith et al., 2009). In step 3, themes were identified from each section of the transcript and connections between themes were also examined. Themes were then grouped together as clusters or concepts. The

aim, at this stage, was to arrive at a group of themes and to identify categories that suggest a hierarchical relationship between the concepts (Smith & Shinebourne, 2012). The task of managing the data changed as I simultaneously attempted to reduce the volume of detail. While maintaining complexity in terms of mapping the inter-relationship, connections and patterns between exploratory notes were identified (Smith et al., 2009). An analytical shift occurred during this process and I began to work primarily with the initial notes rather than the transcript. But the exploratory should closely tie in with the original transcript. Themes were then identified; this process represented one manifestation of the hermeneutic circle (Smith et al., 2009).

The next step in the analysis was to tabulate the themes in a summary table creating a list or table, of themes. It was important to locate these themes in a chronologically ordered system that identified the main features and concerns identified by the research participant (Larkin, & Thompson, 2012). These were created as a table with evidence from the interviews, using a quotation which, I felt, best captured the core of the person's thoughts, as well as their emotions about the experience of the phenomenon being explored (Smith et al., 2009; Smith & Shinebourne, 2012). Themes were chosen according to the research questions in order to show how the themes fit together. The methods that I used were Abstraction, Polarisation and Contextualisation (Smith et al., 2009). Abstraction involves identifying patterns between emerging themes and developing a sense of what can be called a super-ordinate theme. It involves putting like with like and developing a new name for the cluster of themes that speak about the same thing (Smith et al., 2009). In Polarization, one looks for oppositional relationships between emergent themes by focusing on the differences instead of the similarities (Smith et al., 2009). This was

mainly applied to participants that are unemployed and those currently employed, as well as differences amongst each other (will be used in stage 6). Contextualisation was used to look at the connections between emergent themes by identifying the contextual or narrative elements within an analysis (Larkin, & Thompson, 2012). I have also organised the emergent themes in terms of the temporal moment where they are located (Smith et al., 2009). For the participants, this moment will start from when they started looking for employment to where they are now (still unemployed, employed or self-employed).

Part five involves moving on to the next transcript. It is important to look at each case individually this required me to bracket the previous themes and ideas. The whole process was repeated from step one to four with each transcript (Smith & Shinebourne, 2012). Stage six involves looking for patterns across cases to analyse the transcripts. Questions that were asked for example are: What connections are there across cases? Which themes are the most potent? This also led to relabeling themes and theoretical connections (Smith et al., 2009).

The final part concerned, involved writing from the final themes to a write-up and final statement outlining the meanings inherent in the participant's experience. The analysis was expanded in the writing. The analysis consists mainly of the interpretive account which is a close reading to what the participants have said. In the discussion, I engaged in a dialogue between my findings and the existing literature (Smith et al., 2009).

3.4.1 Measures of trustworthiness

Qualitative research involves increasing the worth of the findings by reducing the distance between the researcher and the participant. Trustworthiness in qualitative research has four categories a) truth value, b) applicability, c) consistency and d)

neutrality (Guba, 1981). Truth value is normally obtained from the discovery of human experiences as they are lived and perceived by participants. Truth value is subject-oriented, not pre-defined by the researcher. A qualitative study is credible when it presents an accurate description or interpretation of human experience (Sandelowski, 1986). This will be achieved by triangulation; the interviews were checked against literature, the RNR model and the Latent and Manifest Deprivation theory. Adequate engagement in the data collection is important and the data and emerging findings have to feel saturated (Merriam, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

Applicability in qualitative research refers to transferability as the condition against which applicability of qualitative data is assessed; findings are transferred to another situation or population than the research of the original study (Guba, 1981; Macnee & McCabe, 2008). Consistency considers whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context (Sandelowski, 1986; Bowen, 2009). For this study, sufficient descriptive data has been provided of the, sample, the context of the study and interviews in the audit trail if anyone wishes to replicate the study. The fourth criterion of trustworthiness is neutrality, which involves the freedom from bias in the research procedures and results (Anney, 2014; Sandelowski, 1986). In IPA bracketing allows the researcher to bracket their experiences ideas and biases by writing them down as notes. I also had debriefing sessions with my supervisor in order to assist in the bracketing process. The bracketed experiences are then incorporated into the interpretative part of the analysis (Smith & Osborn, 2003)

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the rationale for the methods used in the study, the characteristics that guided the study, the sample requirements and the method used to analyse the data. A qualitative method was applied and the IPA method, which is derived from phenomenology, was used to analyse the data. This method was chosen in order not to lose the phenomenological aspect of the participants' experience of being former offenders in the job market. The IPA method also allowed me to analyse the data and interpret it according to the gender-specific RNR model and the Manifest and Latent Deprivation theory of Jahoda.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results of the interviews, a brief background is given for each participant presented in order to familiarise the reader with the participants. A master table of themes and sub-themes was created (see table 2) from the transcripts of the interviews. Each theme and sub-theme were interpreted using examples of the individual participant's experiences from their transcript and linked to the recurrent thematic patterns across interviews and external literature (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

4.2 Background Information

A total of six participants were interviewed. Demographics show that all participants interviewed are black and over the ages of 35 at the time of the study. Their ages range between 39 and 52 years. Alice was the first participant. I was referred to her by one of her colleagues with whom she does church ministries in correctional facilities. At the time of the interview, Alice was 39 years old, making her the youngest of all six participants. Alice was very different from the other participants as she had never been married, had no children and was the only one with a tertiary education. When she was arrested she was doing her Bachelor of Arts in Psychology but during the awaiting trial period, she could not continue with her studies because awaiting trials were not allowed to study. Once Alice was sentenced she changed her degree from psychology to HIV and AIDS counselling. Even though the conditions in which she had to study were not favourable, she was able to do well. Alice was released in 2009, after a year and a few months she then found employment as an Occupational Therapist and is registered with the HPCSA, while

she was also studying towards her master's degree. During the interviews, Alice was very confident and showed to be a woman of strong faith.

Anna was referred to me by Alice. I met Anna at her place of work. She was 52 years old at the time of the interview and is a mother of three children. She is the only participant that was married. Anna completed her grade 11 but did not want to do her grade 12 when she was incarcerated. She said studying while incarcerated was difficult because of time. She felt that she would not have had the time to complete her grade 12 since she was serving a short sentence. Anna has been released since 2009 and is currently employed by her husband. During the interviews, Anna showed that she had a very strong relationship with her husband. He was always there for her and visited her every weekend while she was incarcerated.

Randy was also referred to me by Alice as they are both involved in corrections ministries. Randy then referred Thandi and Channel to me. Randy was 42 years old at the time of the interview and a single mother of two adult children and the guardian of her late daughter's children aged ten and four. Before incarceration, she was employed in the motor vehicle industry. When she was sentenced, she decided to complete her grade 12 and participated in most of the programmes available in corrections. Since her release in 2012, she was only employed in a sewing cooperative but left because she was not getting paid. She tried to find employment using the certificates she received while serving her sentence but has not found any work. Randy is a very vocal woman who is not afraid to express how she feels. Her sharp sincerity is also mixed with a bit of humour.

Thandi was 46 years old and a single mother of three of which one is under the age of 18. Her eldest son is currently doing an internship and the second one is in

university and the youngest is in secondary school. Before her arrest, Thandi worked in the insurance and finance sector for 10 years but since her release in 2010, she was not able to find any employment due to her criminal record. Not being able to find work impacted her status in the family as her siblings were successful and even capable of employing her but had not offered to do so. She feels that she does not belong with them and is more comfortable around other women that are also former offenders.

Channel was 44 years at the time of the interview. She is a divorced mother of two children. She is skilled in dress design, sewing and embroidery. Before incarceration, she had her own tailor business. At the time, it was not doing well and she struggled to make ends meet especially to pay for her children's school and university fees. When she was sentenced, she began teaching her skills inside the correctional facilities. She also participated in provincial and national corrections competitions of which she was the only female to participate. She represented Gauteng and came second nationally. Channel was released in 2012 and was able to find employment, but once she disclosed to her employer that she was on parole, her employer fired her. She then found other work as a domestic worker but had to leave to look after her ageing mother.

Demy was 44 years old and a single mother of three children. While incarcerated, she completed her grade 12 and did a one-year computer course as well as sewing and a textile dyeing course. When Demy was released in 2008, she found work at a fast food franchise but later was employed by a childhood acquaintance. She stated that the computer course was most beneficial to her as she never got to use the other skills she learnt. With her current job and a daughter who is employed, Demy is financially sustainable.

Participants were all elegant women who were warm and friendly. Only one participant had a tertiary education while the others had grade eleven and, or completed their grade 12 while incarcerated. In addition, participants had an average of three children and were all employed before incarceration. All of the participants have been released for over a year ranging from 1 year to 7 years at the time of the study (see table 2).

In the discussion below, I have quoted some discussions from the interview between me, the researcher (Jess) and some of the participants.

Table 2 Demographics of participants

	Age	Relationship status	Children	Ages	Education	Employment Before/After		Time released
Alice	39	Single	None	-	Honours	Yes	Yes	5 years
Anna	52	Married	Yes 3	30, 23, 16	Grade 11	Yes	Yes	6 years
Thandi	46	Separated	Yes 3	+ 18 11yrs	Grade 12	Yes	No	3yrs 9 months
Channel	46	Divorced	Yes 3	+18	Grade 11	Yes	No	1yr 9 months
Demy	44	In a relationship	Yes 3	+ 18	Grade 12	Yes	Yes	7years
Randy	42	Single	Yes 2 & 2 grandchildren	+ 18 10, 4	Grade 12	Yes	No	3 years

4.3 Results and Analysis

Work can provide an arena in which one can develop confidence through meeting goals or discovering new talents, establish new social networks, and find a connection to a broader purpose (Browne, Miller, & Maguin, 1999). Former offenders may be refused a job, dismissed from employment, denied training opportunities, denied promotion, subjected to less favourable working conditions or terms of employment, and even harassed in the workplace (Graffam & Shinkfield, 2011; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004). Unfortunately, this is true for some of the participants. Many have faced the challenge of looking for employment with a criminal record.

A total of nine themes were created from the sub-themes in the interviews (see table 3). The themes and sub-themes focused on participants collective and personal experiences of having a criminal record, as well as their experience of incarceration and release.

Table 3 Themes and Sub-themes

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Confronting the labour market	1.1 I started planning for my release 1.2 The search for employment 1.3 Working towards helping each Other
2. It affected my life not my chances	2.1 Fewer chances of employment 2.2 The need to persevere 2.3 We are Here accept us 2.4 Disclosing vs. not disclosing a record
3. Experiences of vocational skills and Labour in corrections	3.1 Improving the skills of offenders 3.2 Just keeping busy

<p>4. Current financial status vs. Previous financial status</p>	<p>4.1 I had a job 4.2 Surviving by God's grace</p>
<p>5. Those left behind: the impact of incarceration on the family</p>	<p>5.1 Family as a support system 5.2 A parent in conflict with the law</p>
<p>6. I am Human too</p>	<p>6.1 Empty promises and the loss of trust 6.2 Feeling used and discarded</p>
<p>7. Entering and adjusting in the correctional system</p>	<p>7.1 Waiting in awaiting trial 7.2 Finally sentenced</p>
<p>8. Finding God and oneself</p>	<p>8.1 Filling the void inside 8.2 Studying the word of God</p>
<p>9. Rehabilitation and reintegration Programmes</p>	<p>9.2 It is me not we 9.3 Hot, cold or lukewarm you never know 9.1 More skills for females</p>

4.3.1 Confronting the labour market

For former offenders, finding employment is a challenge as they face all kinds of discrimination. Most potential employers would not hire a former offender especially if they stated it on their curriculum but would be more open-minded if it came up during the interview process that they had a criminal record especially in cases when they were the preferable candidate (Fahey, Roberts, & Engel, 2006). Employers also worry that if their customers or employees know that former offenders have been hired, it might leave them uncomfortable (Giguere & Dundes, 2007). Employment after release is also impacted by the skills offered in correctional facilities and the level of stigma in society (Cho, 2007). In the study, participants had different opinions and experiences in disclosing their record when looking for employment. Alice was very confident and started planning ahead for her release. She is also the most educated of the six participants. Her education and faith might have helped build her confidence and determination as she was the most confident of all the participants. Alice also seemed to have been less distressed during the time she was unemployed. Studies have found that people with high self-esteem, who have a positive outlook on life and a positive view of their current employment situation, suffer less distress when unemployed (Creed & Klisch, 2005; Hoare & Machin, 2006). The employment situation of the other participants had more of an impact not only on their finances but also on how they perceive themselves in their families and communities. In this theme, the sub-themes discussed look at how Alice started planning for her release and the advantages that came with her early preparation, how participants experienced their search for employment, and how some participants, namely; Channel, Thandi and Randy, decided to come together to

work on creating employment opportunities for themselves and other former offenders.

4.3.1.1 *I started planning for my release*

In the interviews, Alice seemed like a very confident woman. This was also seen in the way she approached the challenges she faced. A year before her release, she was already preparing for her release by making sure her curriculum vitae was in order. This is interesting as the DCS has pre-release programmes available before release but Alice did not make use of those programmes. She started on her own preparing a year before her actual release. According to the DCS correctional programmes targeting offending behaviour (n. d.), pre-release programmes aim to prepare offenders for reintegration, prevent re-offending, ensure that proper support systems are in place, restore relationships, build self-esteem and teach responsibility by providing them with skills and information to help cope with the challenges they might face after release. The White Paper sees the purpose of the Integrated Support System as a fully holistic programme which involves former offenders participation in rehabilitation programmes and counselling by psychologists, social workers and religious workers in their respective communities. The support system, motivates offenders to develop further and to attend programmes designed for their rehabilitation process. This support system assists offenders in securing employment and accommodation, with other role-players before they are released or placed out (Draft White Paper on corrections in South Africa, 2003).

If pre-release programmes are well designed and address the needs of offenders they can have an impact on recidivism (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). The fact that Alice needed a year to prepare herself is in agreement with the Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR) model that suggests that the preparation process should start as soon as

possible in order to ensure that offenders are ready for release (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). In addition, those programmes should not be given a few months before release but should start well before transition back into society. Assisting a former offender's re-entry is simply an exercise in making the offender and his or her family more comfortable about the transition (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Alice agreed:

Alice: ...I can say a year before I started planning, like preparing my CV because this thing you also need to be very stubborn, very stubborn in a sense that everybody tells you that a criminal record means no job but you need to come to a point where you realise that somebody bigger is in charge.

Alice also felt that she needed to be, in her own words, *stubborn*. Correctional staff and family members told her about the challenges of having a criminal record but Alice was confident and had strong faith in God. She believed that God would take care of her situation and that when the right time came for her to find a job God would open that door.

Alice: My sister would keep on saying did you send the CV; did you send the CV all the time. Until I said to my mum tell your kids to stop asking me about the job I have a job and I am going to fill my position at the right time not at their time so I told somebody bigger than me and somebody bigger than me said yes it is available but at the right time. His time not my time...

Her sister kept on putting pressure on her to find a job. But Alice answered with the same confidence and trust in God's timing. Alice was able to find employment as an Occupational Therapist after a year of searching for work and her criminal record did not come up as a problem.

Channel also spoke about her preparation for release, and unlike Alice, she did not start preparing on their own but joined the pre-release programmes recommended

by the correctional officials. The pre-release programme Channel attended was only for a week and the main topic was how the community would stigmatise offenders and call them names such as “*Boshwa*” (a person who is incarcerated). The programme also focused on how offenders should react when faced with such a situation and avoid all forms of confrontation that could lead them to break their parole condition and return to the correction facility. Channel admitted that she has faced stigmatisation but has not had an experience where people called her names or wanted her to get into physical fights.

Channel: There is a course we did, it is a pre-release; they tell you this is what you are going to meet and you must not react like this; this is how you should handle this because maybe the other one will say hey I do not talk to ‘Boshwa’ they call us like that, and maybe I will react end up fighting with the person and that will take me back to prison people like that you just avoid them by all means. So it is a pre-release course it is a one week course so I do not want to lie I have never experienced that.

For Alice, preparing for her release was the key to her success even though she faced challenges and lacked support from family, her faith in God gave her the confidence to be optimistic. Channel was the only participant who still remembered what she did in the pre-release programme. In contrast to Alice, Channel only had one week of preparation and the release programme only covered the stigma she would face when released. Unfortunately, Channel’s experience did not match the outcomes stated in the DCS’s correctional programmes pamphlet.

4.3.1.2 The search for employment

Former offenders usually have poor work histories, and a limited range of skills together with a recent conviction and a period of incarceration often lead to difficulty finding and keeping a job that will allow them to provide financial support for

themselves and their families (Harris & Kelly, 2005; Lageson & Uggen, 2013; Visser et al., 2005). The three participants who were employed, Alice, Anna, and Demy, had different experiences. Anna stated that if it was not for her husband, she would not be employed, and she can only work as a general assistant (cleaning, filing) because of her criminal record she cannot fill or sign forms. Anna felt that prospective employers would want to know what she had been doing during the years she was not employed and she would have to disclose that she was incarcerated.

Anna: My husband just talk to that lady; that lady is dealing with security and she did her uniforms so I got a job. I got it through my husband because it's difficult to get work when you come from prison because you must state on your CV I'm coming from prison.

Demy's first job after being released was at a fast food chain restaurant. She was later offered a job by an acquaintance where she is currently employed doing office work.

Demy: The first one I was a cashier at a fast food restaurant then I left because of the money it was not enough for me then now I'm at a black company owned by a black man from the same location we grew up together I'm working there now in the office.

She stated that her age (36) as well as having a criminal record was a disadvantage.

Demy: It was difficult because of my age the time I went out I was 34; so, every time I go and look for a job they will tell me about the age restriction that was my thing.

Demy: Ya! And the criminal record everything they will... especially when you fill in the forms they will say criminal record.

Demy and Anna felt that they were employed because they were offered employment by people they knew personally. In addition, Demy and Anna both felt that they were at a disadvantage because almost all job applications checked for a criminal record. Alice also applied for many posts before finding her current job. One employer conducted a telephonic interview with her and offered her the job, when the Human Resource department did not call her, Alice called them to find out what had happened. To her surprise, they denied any knowledge of ever having interviewed her. Alice was not discouraged by this but felt that the job was not for her or that it was not the one that God chose for her.

Alice: I did interviews through the phone and they said, no we do not want you to travel let us do it through the phone; different institutions in fact and I still remember there was this one institution that said okay fine you got the job our HR will call you tomorrow before the end of the week tell you when to start then I waited for the HR there was no HR, nothing totally. Then when I called them they said no we know anything about you as if we never did an interview but I keep on laughing because I knew that you know what it is not my job.

Alice did find employment and her criminal record was not a problem. It did not even come up in the interviews.

Alice: I was expecting that question because I put it over there in writing criminal record, I say YES sentenced but it never came forth during the interview; it's a one page thing that Z83 it's just a one pager were you can just cover it and see at the back criminal record but it never surfaced; they never asked anything.

The other three participants were not as fortunate and their experiences have demoralised them to a certain degree. It has been found that female gender, low income and other measures of poverty, older age and a low education are

associated with Common Mental Disorders (CMD) (Patel et al., 1999). Most of the participants could be at risk for developing CMD as they are female, unemployed, are over the age of 40 and have grade 11 and grade 12 as the highest level of education. Studies have shown that people who are unemployed experience many psychological problems created by the loss of income (Clack Du Preez, & Jonker, 2007; Department of Health Social Services and Safety, 2004). Unemployed people exhibit lower psychological well-being than those currently employed (Barnette & Michaud, 2011).

Health problems and depression also tend to increase with the loss of employment (Holtz et al., 2010). Unskilled and semi-skilled workers suffer more during unemployment than those with a trade, financial strain also has direct impact on psychological well-being (Hepworth, 1980). Alice was the most skilled of the participants with a university degree and she was completing her master's degree. She is the only participant that experienced being better off financially after her release.

Alice: but then and now I think now I'm doing even better than before in everything I think God is just multiplying everything in my life now its extreme now I got no complaints honest.

Upon release, Thandi thought that with all her work experience, she would find a job without any difficulty but soon realised that with a criminal record she would not be able to work in the financial sector anymore. She also seemed hurt that her brother never thought of employing her even though he owned a fast food franchise. She felt that this was because she is not employable due to her criminal record.

Thandi: ...This thing of stigma because: one of my brothers owns two McDonalds but he will not even think of employing me I do not know

why... I Am not blaming him for that, but I am not employable I do not know how I can put it.

Thandi did not blame her brother for not giving her a chance. She took all the responsibility for the stigma attached to being a former offender. Further in the analysis of the relationship with family we will see that Thandi felt misunderstood by her siblings and that she had lost her status among her very successful siblings.

Randy worked in a government co-operative and was not paid at the end of the month. She felt that they wanted her to work for nothing and that she was treated like she was less than human and as someone that has no feelings. As pointed out later in the theme "Taken advantage of" Randy was very vocal about how she felt. Here we see those feelings emerging already. She stated that employers would call and tell her to bring her CV but were just playing with her, and threw her CV away.

Randy: We were doing this school uniform thing with the government we went to the schools we measured the children the sizes and everything we started doing the trouser, shirt and the tunic... but it did not go well that is why I quit because they did not give me money, I cannot work for nothing.

Randy: They take it and throw it in the dustbin, it's what they are doing, so what are you going to do if they say bring the CV I don't take my CV there. I don't waste my time for nothing because people are playing with us.

Channel was self-employed as a dressmaker before incarceration. After her release, she found a job but did not disclose from the beginning that she had a record. As she was still on probation she decided to tell her employer about her situation. Her employer then fired her. In her second job, she disclosed her record upfront and was employed. However, she had to leave work to help take care of her mother. At the time of the interview, she was trying to establish herself by sewing duvet covers and

scatter cushions but many people are aware that she was incarcerated and, according to her, do not want to associate themselves with her, consequently affecting her business.

Channel: I said let me just be honest with her. And then she said no she cannot trust me no. She said no because she has this lady for the past two years so now if maybe something is missing I will be the first suspect so she said no she cannot take me.

Even though Anna and Demy felt that disclosing their record was a disadvantage, Channel was fortunate to be employed after she told her employer that she had a record. When it came to finding work, experiences varied, how worthy participants felt of employment was something else that showed from their narratives. Not being able to find employment has a negative effect on psychological health. Thandi tried to be understanding towards the stigma she faced while Randy felt used.

4.3.1.3 Working towards empowering each other

The constitutional vision of the realisation of equality between men and women is a value pursued and achievable through the implementation of the Constitution as stated in The Freedom Charter (1955) that South Africa belongs to all who live in it (Department of Women, 2015). Women face significant challenges globally in the labour market. Challenges include differences in level and quality of education, interrupting work due to childbearing, discrimination in terms of employment practices and wage determination. Women also have to face gender norms and unequal division of labour (Department of Women, 2015). In South Africa, the unemployment rate for females is higher (28.7%) compared to 24.4% of males, women also dominate the lower earning categories of employment (Department of

Women, 2015). Female-headed households are more generally likely to be poor than male-headed households (Human Science Research Council, 2014).

Channel, Thandi and Randy have decided since no one seems to want to employ them they will create opportunities for themselves and consequently in the future help other women in the same situation. These three participants have decided to work together to create an organisation where they can start a co-operative sewing embroidered duvet sets. They intend to train other former female offenders to sew and create employment for them and other women released from correctional facilities. They are still in the process of trying to raise funds in order to buy the material and industrial sewing machines. This seems to be very difficult as they had no money when they were released and need capital to start their project.

Channel took the initiative to start a programme with her own capital but the people she was training wanted to be paid and the project was short lived.

Channel: My idea was to train at least get maybe 5 people train them for free and then we start an organisation and then we do the duvets the scattered cushions and then Thandi because she is good in marketing she will do the marketing maybe approach different retail stores...

Randy joined Channel to try and create employment opportunities for themselves and other offenders.

Randy: So I'm looking for something that I can do or create with other people so that I can help other inmates ex-inmates so that we can put bread on the table, not working for other people but helping each other supporting our families.

Randy wanted to put all the skills that she learnt while incarcerated to use as she believes that her skills can help others and herself, but also admits that they need help from the government.

Randy: I have the experience of doing sewing and clothing like my sister is doing the beading and stuff and all those things we have a business plan; we can help others to make their own business by helping them making their own business plan to create whatever they want to do because we have different skills whatever that they come up with we can help them but the thing is we need someone or the government so that he can help us to give us capital.

Though they believe that their criminal record has affected their chances of employment, these participants, Channel, Thandi and Randy decided to take the situation into their own hands in order to make a living for themselves.

4.3.2 It affected my life not my chances

Non-discrimination is all about removing stereotypes and allowing individuals to participate in society on the basis of their individual qualities rather than to generalise; it involves ensuring that they have the same opportunities as others to participate in society (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), 2004). Former offenders who have served their sentence and paid their debt to society have the same right to seek employment as any other member of the community. When it comes to a criminal record, there needs to be a balance of different rights because there may be certain circumstances where a former offender poses a high-risk if he or she is employed in a particular position (Human Rights and Equality Opportunity Commission, 2004; Graffam & Shrinkfield, 2004). The South African Employment Equity Act Section 6 Act 55 of 1998 contains a very detailed description of who should not be unfairly discriminated against though there is no mention of those with a criminal record. This leaves former offenders excluded from the employment act and with very little protection or law to fall back on when faced with discrimination in the workplace. The sub-themes discuss the challenges

participants faced when looking for employment, the need to be strong and persevere, the need to be accepted back into society as well whether they should disclose their criminal record when searching for employment.

4.3.2.1 Fewer chances of employment

To apply for the expungement of a criminal record 10 years should have elapsed after the date of conviction for the offence and the person should not be convicted of any other offence or sentenced to a period of incarceration without the option of a fine during those 10 years (Criminal Procedure Act, 51, 271B (1), 1977). Most of the participants felt that the criminal record was the main reason they were unemployed. The second reason was age as they were much older when they were released. Not all of the participants were well informed about the challenges they would have because of their record or on the process of expungement of a criminal record.

Thandi felt that a criminal record did not just affect her chances of employment. With a criminal record, she cannot even earn an income, therefore, her life is affected. According to Jahoda's Latent and Manifest deprivation theory, the main course of distress in unemployed people is the Latent deprivation factor. This factor involves the loss of time structure, contact with people outside the family environment, goals and purposes that transcend their own, personal status and identity, as well as the loss of activities (Jahoda, 1979). In Jahoda's theory, the Manifest (Loss of income) deprivation factor is a secondary factor and not the primary factor affecting distress and mental health during unemployment (Jahoda, 1981). Studies have since shown that the Latent deprivation factor was not the main cause of stress in unemployed people but a secondary cause. Studies further show that Manifest deprivation was the factor that had the most impact on mental health (Creed & Bartrum, 2008; Creed & Evans, 2002; Creed & Klisch, 2005). During the analysis of the interviews and

themes, the Manifest deprivation factor was the primary course of distress among participants because of the loss of income (manifest factor) participants then experienced some of the Latent factors. Thandi's experience of being unemployed corroborated with the findings of these studies. She says her life has been affected by not being able to work and not having an income. This meant that she was directly affected by the manifest deprivation functions of unemployment and indirectly affected by the latent deprivation functions.

Thandi: It affected my life. Not my chances! It is my life because which means if it is like that it means nobody is going to employ me.

Anna explained that because she works in a security company she cannot do many tasks as she is limited because of her criminal record. She also explained that she was told that her criminal record would be erased after she completed her sentence. Anna felt that a record should not be for life she gave examples of people who had committed crimes over 20 years ago.

Anna: I can't file things that require fingerprints because I have a record but I am okay life is going on. They say you must go to Pretoria and pay some chochos (bribes) so that they can declare you or what. Why they did not erase it because I finish my 3 years in prison I finish my 3 years outside they were coming after a week to my house and every go to their offices and sign.

Anna: We have CV's for people who are looking for jobs and when we have a site we call them and we hire them the fingerprints we take to Pretoria and when it comes back you find people doing crime in 1980 something but it's still there 10 years passed a long time ago. Why they did not erase it.

During the interview with Anna, we discussed that not everybody qualified for an expungement and that it was a legal process of which she would have to pay a fee.

Jess: It depends on the crime committed and you have to pay.

Anna: Others it's not according to the crime there is a guy who stole a tin of fish at checkers it's there 1989 but it's still there.

Jess: He would need to apply but the problem is he might not have the money.

Anna: So you must pay! But in prison, they said they will erase when you finish but I can see they are lying. It is difficult.

The participants also had different feelings about their experience of finding employment. Some felt hurt, less worthy (not employable), played with, discriminated against, or just plain speechless. Anna felt hurt she admitted that she felt sorry for the people who had a record and lost work opportunities she could identify with them. She is in the same situation if finger prints were required for general assistants she too would be unemployed.

Anna: I feel hurt because even me if they can take my fingerprints you see it's bad. What can we do; it is South Africa. But God will help us.

Thandi took all the blame for not being able to find work not even in her brother's food chain. She deemed herself in her own words as “*not employable*”.

Thandi: I am not blaming him for that but I am not employable I do not know how I can put it.

Randy felt that she was being played with as she had given her CV to countless people but never heard from them. Now she does not bother to drop her CV off anymore.

Randy: They take it and throw it in the dustbin, it's what they are doing, so what are you going to do if they say bring the CV I don't take my CV there I don't waste my time for nothing because people are playing with us.

Demy could not say much about having a record. She just kept shaking her head. The matter left her speechless.

Demy: ...Criminal record Eish! (Shaking head)

Anna mentioned that there is nothing that she could do because this is South Africa. Thandi also felt that the Government not just DCS was to blame for the difficulties they faced with a criminal record.

Thandi: You understand our government does not accept us; they rehabilitate they do whatever they want to do but they don't want to accept us with the skills with what they teach us they do not.

It was the Government who did not accept them so why should anybody else accept them. There were many emotions that came up when discussing a record; participants were deeply impacted by the exclusion they faced in the job market not only because of the lack of an income but they also felt rejected.

4.3.2.2 *Reliance on God for self-motivation*

Motivational interviewing while being incarcerated provides a basis for carrying out the principle of responsivity by suggesting a style of communication that makes it more likely that offenders will listen, will be engaged in the process, and will be more ready to make changes (Walter, Clark, Gingerich, & Meltzer, 2007) and its role in criminal justice is becoming increasingly emphasised in research and practice (Clark et al., 2006). Motivation predicts how likely a person is to initiate and carry through with an action. It is not a fixed trait like height or eye colour; it can be increased or decreased. Motivation is interactive talking with the corrections staff that can raise or lower the offender's motivation and guide what the offender talks and thinks about. Motivation can be affected by both internal and external factors, but internally

motivated change usually lasts longer. Internal factors include how actions fit with personal values or goals (Mann, Ginsburg, & Weekes, 2002; Walter et al., 2007). Motivational interviewing plays an important role in the relationship between correctional staff and inmates and helps to encourage inmates to change and make positive decision (Walter et al., 2007).

Motivational interviewing is a person-centred method of encouraging change by helping a person explore and resolve indecisive behaviour (Miller & Rollnick, 2002). Rather than using external pressure, motivational interviewing looks for ways to access internal motivation for change. It borrows from client-centred counselling in its emphasis on empathy, optimism, and respect for client choice (Rogers, 1961). Motivational interviewing also draws from self-perception theory, which says that a person becomes more or less committed to an action based on the verbal stance he or she takes (Bem, 1972). Therefore, an offender who talks about the benefits of change is more likely to make that change, whereas an offender who argues and defends the status quo is more likely to continue his present behaviour (Walter et al., 2007).

Participants did not seem to have been motivated while incarcerated. This is also been discussed in the theme “relationship with correctional officials”. Participants did not have a good relationship with the correctional officials. They felt that the correctional officials were happy to see them struggle after release. Only one participant would not let the correctional officials get to her and this was because of what she called “crazy faith”. For her to survive, she needed extreme faith in God and used her faith as her motivation. For Alice, her faith encouraged and gave her hope that she would be able to find employment. She felt the need to be determined and not let anyone discourage her.

Alice: You also need to be very stubborn, very stubborn in a sense that everybody tells you that a criminal record means no job but you need to come to a point where you realise that somebody bigger is in charge.

When applying for her current job, Alice disclosed her record and sentence. She stated that she left everything in God's hands. Her record did not come up during her interview. Alice believes that she has been forgiven by God and that she has been given a new beginning to start her life.

Alice: Sent my CV with everything being stated every little thing yes because it indicated over there like I said to you God covers everything I was expecting that question I was expecting that because I put it over there In writing criminal record I say YES sentenced but it never came forth during the interview Then I said oh okay, God okay just cover it so it's not important so why should I worry about the past because He says you must forget about the past because you are doing new things so why should I worry about it.

Employment has been shown to be a good predictor of lower recidivism rates. Stable, satisfying employment is a critical predictor of post-release success for individuals released from correctional facilities (Harris & Kelly, 2005; Looockwood et al., 2011). Offending has been linked to social disadvantage and on average offenders are confronted with a wide range of social challenges. Poverty, poor education, unemployment and poor physical health, accompanied by alcohol, drug and mental health issues, intellectual disability, and poor social and communication skills, may place an individual at high-risk of re-arrest and return to corrections (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, and Peeters (2002) described social isolation as a central part of many former offenders' experiences as a result of homelessness or unstable, unsuitable housing. Offenders returning to the

community with weak or no family support are less likely to succeed in reintegration than those with strong family support (Nelson, Deez, & Allen, 1999).

Although none of the participants have re-offended, they all spoke about women whom they had seen while they were incarcerated returning after re-offending. The women would say that they could not cope outside as they had nothing, no job, and no home. The participants did not understand why these women would want to go back to the correctional facilities but once released they found themselves facing similar problems and were now able to understand and related to the women who kept on offending in order to go back, once released they realised that it was not easy. A range of social barriers including stigmatization and discrimination toward former offenders, loss of social status in the community, fear and hostility among the general community, the fear to ask about applications for housing, employment, and further education have also been identified as factors released offenders have to deal with (Solomon, Gouvis, & Waul, 2001). Accommodation is a vital area that may affect successful transition into the community and present a barrier to a more positive lifestyle. Problems finding and sustaining stable, livable, and affordable accommodation can impact on various psychological and health-related conditions, social network and employment (Solomon et al., 2001).

Anna explained that many women returned to correctional facilities because of the lack of employment and that incarceration meant a meal and accommodation.

Anna: Especially those who are stealing in the shops shoplifting, they release them today tomorrow they are back serious I have seen that. When you ask them why they say we can't live outside we can't find a job we can't find anything so it is better here.

Anna reflected on her situation and admitted that if it was not for her husband who has employed her, she too would be jobless.

Anna: But even if my husband did not open the company I will be at home doing nothing staying there, where will I get a job? Sometimes you will go they want fingerprints or your CV you can't find a job it's not easy.

Channel explained that when one is released, they leave with nothing and it can be very difficult to survive without any assistance once released.

Channel: Nothing so can you imagine if you do not have a family? If you struggling?

Six broad domains have been identified as influencing reintegration of former offenders, including personal conditions, social network or environment, accommodation, criminal justice system, rehabilitation and counselling support, as well as employment and training support (Graffam, Shinkfield, Lavelle, & Mcpherson, 2004). Former offenders may have various psychological conditions including depression, low self-esteem, and low motivation (Fletcher, 2001).

Alice also shared the same experience that when she was released, she needed basic things like clothes. The uniform is worn when incarcerated but once released there is a need for clothes. Money is needed to adapt back into the community and without assistance it can be very difficult.

Alice: And hmmm the other thing that happens is you become so fearful of asking them things like money because remember you were wearing a uniform all this time now you go out before you were arrested you were wearing size 32 now you come back you are size 40 sometimes the clothes are not fitting.

Alice felt misunderstood by her family and probation officer. She would have benefited from a support group to help her cope. A support group or group therapy can offer many benefits in that it helps members realise that they are not alone. Yalom and Leszcz (2008) identified some benefits of a support group which involve

not being alone, giving and receiving support, expressing your feelings, relating to others and self, and providing a safety net. Group members may feel that their experiences are unique and that they are the only ones that have certain frightening or unacceptable problems, thoughts, or impulses. In the support group, members discover that they are not alone and that there are others that share the same experiences. Participating in group therapy helps to give and receive support members encouraged to give each other support, feedback, and connection. Being in a group helps members find their voices, by becoming aware of their own feelings and needs and being able to express themselves. Group therapy can help people see how they relate to others and how they relate to themselves it also provides a safety net in which members can discuss and update each other on decisions consequently improving confidence and courage (Yolam & Leszcz, 2008). Alice needed to be in an environment where she felt safe to share her experiences and challenges and knew that she would be understood. The perfect environment to meet her needs would have been a support group.

Alice: It is so difficult you know if there was something like a support system; let's say for an example like a support group of ex-offenders meeting and then talking what are the difficulties we talk the same language that you understand. I'm having this; I can't sleep; I'm having this difficulties with this; I'm having difficulties with let's say for example then out of those, then there is a parole board officer in the middle coming through okay fine now I can assist you by doing this. But you are on your own and you mess up it is like you messed up, go back those things are quite small but they quite big because they can definite change your life completely.

Alice spoke about the challenges she faced. How when she was released she had basic needs like the need for personal space, clothing, and money but was not able

to ask her family for assistance. She felt alone and needed a support group. Coping financially and emotionally after release is not only challenging but creates fear of uncertainty towards the future. Having a job and someone to rely on or assist is one of the main points that were shared. In the family theme, I will discuss further how participants feel about the relationships they have with their families and friends.

4.3.2.3 *We are here; we are alive; accept us*

Two of the participants, Randy and Thandi, were at the time of the interviews trying to address the issue of a criminal record. Randy has been on television discussing the factors that affect former offenders. The feedback she got was that Government would address the concerns they had.

Randy: Last time I was on a TV on a talk show talking about this criminal record thing because if you are looking for a job they ask you about the criminal record they cannot... its only because you have got that thing (criminal record) so they say they are working on it so that they will clear it in every offender so that we can get our jobs.

On the other hand, Thandi felt that appearing on television talk shows was not enough. She needed a programme dedicated to former offenders. She is working on creating her own programme through drama and storytelling about the women who have offended. The main aim would be to create awareness of pathways to crime, be it drug trafficking or abusive relationships and to show the community that they have served their sentences and paid for their crimes and should be given a chance and be accepted.

Thandi: I need a slot... I want something that the ex-offenders will have a chance they must have their own slot on TV to discuss their problem telling the community that we made a mistake guys accept us support these ones that are still inside the mistake that the community made with us they must not do to the other girls that are still coming out.

Thandi: As long as I live I will have a slot on TV telling the South African community to accept us, accept us.

Randy and Thandi decided to be proactive and create awareness about the challenges they face as former offenders. They also wanted to change community perceptions of them. They hope that their efforts will help address the exclusion they face not just in the job market but in the community. Former offenders involvement in community-based interventions might have a positive impact in reducing recidivism and can provide an opportunity to facilitate the integration of offenders back into their communities (Bruce 2015; Uggen & Staff, 2011). Masuku 2015 did a qualitative study on a CWP programme that had former offenders involved in crime prevention campaigns with youth at risk and found that former offenders had a positive impact. Former offenders were seen as important contributors to the programme as they could draw from their personal experiences of crime, incarceration and reintegration.

4.3.2.4 *Disclosing versus not disclosing a record*

Participants also raised the dilemma that they face on whether to disclose their record or not. Non-disclosure of their criminal record could mean that they would get a job and be employed for a while until the employer discovered the record of which either two things could happen; they retain their jobs or get fired. If they disclose the record it might be harder to get employment but if they are hired they do not need to worry about losing the job because of a record. Employees with unseen stigmas face challenges not encountered by those with seen stigmas. Those individuals with unseen stigmas can hide their identity or in this case their criminal record in order to avoid biased reactions and discrimination, but hiding can be detrimental to their psychological well-being (Pachankis, 2007; Smart & Wegner, 1999).

Pager (2007) argues that if an offender has to bear his/her conviction publicly, like a brand, their chances of successfully re-integrating into society are reduced. However, keeping information about the conviction confidential might weaken deterrence and put individuals and organisations at risk of being victimised by a former offender (Jacobs, 2006). When it comes to who can get access to information like criminal records, the laws vary with each country having their own set of laws. Gerlach, (2006) did a comparison of the European countries, namely; Spain and the USA laws on public disclosure of a criminal record. In many states in the USA, an offender's criminal record, criminal history and court files are available to the public on request. However, in Spain, this is seen as degrading and such information is kept private with certain police departments being able to request for such information (Whitman, 2003).

In cases where prospective employees have to fill in forms that ask about a criminal record and sentencing details, the offenders have two options. The first is to either answer honestly by disclosing his or her criminal history. The second option would be to answer dishonestly by reducing or hiding his or her criminal history (Gerlach, 2006). Participants were not comfortable with job applications which requested the disclosure of a record on the form. They felt that if they were honest, they would not even be shortlisted and their résumés would end up being thrown away.

Demy: The criminal record; especially when you fill in the forms they will tell criminal record eish.

Applicants who take the first option are probably better candidates than applicants who take the second option. Offenders who disclose their criminal records are more likely to be serious about improving their lives and taking advantage of the opportunity for meaningful employment. However, employers are more likely to hire

applicants who take the second option because they are not motivated to investigate further into the applicants' background (Gerlach, 2006). Applicants may have a reason for not being honest when filling in their applications out of fear that they will be discriminated against if they disclose their criminal histories. It is important to remember that offenders' criminal history may or may not be relevant to the position he or she is looking to fill but the employer needs information in order to make the right decision when hiring (Gerlach, 2006). Participants spoke about not knowing whether to disclose their records or not. They felt they had better chances of getting employed if they did not disclose but would then face anxiety from hiding and not knowing what would happen if found. Most participants spoke about the experiences of fellow former offenders but Channel was one participant that experienced the dilemma of not declaring her record first hand.

Channel did not tell her employer when she was hired that she was on probation. She only told her afterwards, which resulted in her employer feeling that she could not be trusted and fired her. The next job Channel disclosed her record and was hired.

Channel: I said let me just be honest with her. And then she said no she cannot trust me. She said no because she has this lady for the past two years so now if maybe something goes missing I will be the first she said no she cannot take me. The following year January I got another job and then I started honest with the lady and then she took me.

Alice was also honest when filling in her job application form and was hired.

Alice: It never came forth during the interview it is a one-page thing that Z83 it is just one page where you can just cover it and see at the back criminal record but it never surfaced they never asked anything.

Anna felt that even if she did not disclose her record, she would still be unemployed because once the prospective employer did a criminal check, they would not hire her.

Anna: hum but even if my husband did not open the company I will be at home doing nothing staying there where will I get a job? Sometimes you will go they want fingerprints or your CV you can't find a job it's not easy.

Participants also spoke about what other former offenders were facing in the workplace:

Channel: She phoned me this morning she said I must pray for her they discovered she is from prison and she is two months with those people, she said she does not know what are they going to say.

In England, criminal checks were mainly for the protection of children but there has been a rise in employers requesting criminal checks. This might then cause problems for former offenders who may face more discrimination and social exclusion (Thomas, 2002). There are many barriers that former offenders face once released. These barriers are called collateral consequences of a sentence of a criminal offence. The consequences are called collateral because they are not imposed by a sentencing court, but are usually civil consequences that may arise as a result of a conviction of a criminal offence. The collateral consequences involve barriers to finding housing, education, employment, and the denial of access to various benefit programmes. As a result of these collateral consequences, those with criminal records face a complex set of barriers that can possibly make re-entry into the community and becoming a productive citizen difficult (The National Institute of Justice, 2008). The laws that allow prospective employers to do criminal checks are essential but such legislation should be carefully drafted to achieve the suitable

balance between the needs of former offenders and valid concerns of employers and society (Mullings, 2014). It is important that guidance should be given to employers as to what they should consider when deciding whether to hire former offenders. Protection should be provided to employers who, trustingly, employ former offenders and follow the laws guidance but are confronted with potential legal responsibility to customers or business partners (Mullings, 2014).

Participants did not seem to know the best way to go forward when it came to disclosing their record. At times, it was beneficial not to disclose but the fear of the employer finding out would always be there. Disclosing may mean a chance to work without that fear of the employer doing a record check but the stigma may also play a role in the ex-offender not gaining any employment even if it is short term.

4.3.3 Experiences of vocational skills and labour in corrections

The United Nations (UN) standard minimum rules for treatment of offenders are international guidelines for the treatment of sentenced inmates or other forms of custody (Gender Health & Justice Research Unit, 2012). The UN's standard minimum rules in terms of the labour of inmates aim to ensure that inmates are provided with sufficient, non-exploitative and fairly remunerated work. It states that work in correction facilities should be constructive, should prepare inmates for further education or employment after release, and where possible should help support the families of offenders or create a saving base for the future (The United Nations, 1977).

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) has identified education and training, and productive work that increase employability, as important parts of effective behaviour modification. In section 9.10.2, it goes on to emphasise that the

training and activities provided by the DCS should not be rooted in gender and racial bias but should aim to empower all offenders and that eligible offenders should receive certificates to document their work. In the Human Rights Commission Report of the National Prison Project (1998), it was stated that there was not enough work opportunities created in the corrections industry to generate skills-transfer to the large number of inmates and suggested that there should be an opportunity for working inmates to accumulate or save money that may assist them once released.

Most of the vocational programmes in female corrections facilities are gender-based and some may not be relevant in the outside world such as in the textile industry, especially in South Africa where this industry is on the decline. Interventions are more likely to be successful when integrated with training and employment opportunities (Bluemle, 2008). Work in corrections is salaried between R2 to R5 a day – depending on the type of work (The Gender Health & Justice Research Unit, 2012). A complaint that was prominent was the stipend given to offenders. With the R2 to R5 stipend offenders were not able to send money to their families or keep any for their release. As stated in the theme "finding work," participants reported that they were released with nothing and needed accommodation, clothing and other basic necessities. The sub-themes focus on the skills that offenders are offered while incarcerated and the reason why many chose to participate in these vocational skills or work during their sentences.

4.3.3.1 *Improving the skills of offenders*

There is an important relationship between offenders in corrections and reintegration into the society and vocational skills acquisition (Ogunleye, 2014). Educational and Vocational programmes can benefit inmates in that they can help to lessen the

negative social effects of incarceration. They are part of a wider lifelong learning experience to those who previously had limited educational opportunities. Vocational skills can also assist with efforts to rehabilitate offenders and help them abstain from crime upon release (The City & Guilds Centre for Skills Development (CSD), 2008). According to the White Paper on corrections in South Africa (2005, p.11) The Department is to provide sufficient work of a useful nature for inmates in correctional centres which have to be based on the following principles:

(i) productive work should form an integral of the correctional sentence plan, (ii) the nature of such productive work should be consistent with the profile of the offence category and the inmate him/ herself, (iii) it should contribute towards the human development of the inmates, (iv) productive work should be conducted within the framework of the country's labour and safety legislation, and a departmental policy on a skills-based remuneration system for labour by inmates, (v) the nature of productive work should not entrench gender and racial stereotypes, but should be geared to empower all inmates, irrespective of race, class or gender, to play a full and economically active role in society, and (vi) productive work should enhance the employability of inmates once they are released, through providing all inmates who have worked with an accredited and certificated record of their employment in these facilities."

Three participants, Anna, Channel and Randy, worked while being incarcerated. They stated that the reason they worked was to keep themselves busy. Participating in work was also seen as an advantage when going for parole. An account is opened and the inmates make a list of the products they need, they pay for the products from the stipend they get.

Anna mentioned that she was only paid R10 per month and that she had an account. Unfortunately she could not check her balance or see if she was in fact paid. There was a sense of distrust in the corrections banking system as her husband used to

deposit money for her but when she was released she did not know if there were any funds left in the account.

Anna: it was R10 but they do not give you the R10 they put it in your account. There is a time month end, if they like it... everything is like that if the officers like to do it. It is a joke. If they like, month end there is a shop they call it snoopy we buy our groceries there you will write down whatever you need, and then they take it to the shop they will call you by the section you cannot see whether they take that R10 or what. As my husband was putting the money for me so I do not know if they put in R10 I do not know.

Anna did not consider working in the sewing workshop as a skill. She felt that it was very limited as she would not be able to put an outfit together and could not be employed with so little knowledge.

Anna: I was working in the workshop and the workshop we were making clothes for prisoners, so I learnt to sew.

Jess: So you did do something while incarcerated!

Anna: But it is not sewing because if they say you sew the hem you only do that.

Anna: If you are cutting you only do the cutting.

Anna was not impressed with the way things were done. When I asked if she participated in any vocational skills she denied, but as she spoke she said she participated in the textile workshop and that it was not a skill because she was only taught how to put a collar but was not taught how to put together a whole outfit; so, this skill was not useful for her. She also stated that doing laundry was supposed to be a skill and ended up doing the wardens personal laundry.

Anna: Hum you would not know how to put it together.

Anna: Even if you work at the laundry you wash the washing, the officers washing. They bring the washing from out there the husbands' socks whatever, you washing, they say it's a skill they are using it as a skill.

Randy and Channel also worked while incarcerated, Randy worked as an educator and Channel facilitated and coordinated a sewing programme. Channel initiated and ran the sewing programme as there were no skills on offer during her incarceration.

Randy: I got R50 a month when I started and then I got R100, R150 I got the increase after 6 months. I was teaching that is why I got R150.

Channel: I started with R27 a month (laughter) after that it went up to R80 a month and I was teaching, giving people my skill.

It can be debated whether working while incarcerated should be waged or not but there are some benefits to paying inmates. In Ethiopia, there is project running in one of their correctional facilities that encourages offenders to create cooperatives and assists in creating loans to start up cooperatives. The project has been shown to be very successful. Offenders are able to send money home to support their families, pay their loan monthly instalments and save a small amount (International Labour Organization, 2012).

4.3.3.2 Most courses do not help gain employment

Thandi participated in a few programmes and Randy participated in almost all the activities that were offered. Their personal favourite was the entrepreneurship course. This course was provided over a six-month period by a professor from the University of Witwatersrand but when they received the certificate it stated that it was an eight-day course.

Thandi: It is a good course but it has not done anything here for me the duration is 6 months when it comes back I feel very bad (certificate says 8 days' workshop).

They felt that the certificate was not something that they could use in seeking work as a prospective employer would not take their certificates seriously.

Thandi: When you go out most of them don't even help you.

They also were frustrated that even though they participated in all the different courses, they were not able to find employment and had a stack of certificates. They felt that the courses they attended only benefited them on a personal level as they learnt new knowledge that they could use to create their own co-operative or organisation. Thandi did the entrepreneur course and an HIV and AIDS counselling course, since her release she was not able to find employment related to those courses.

Thandi: There is a little bit of knowledge that you are gaining but unfortunately when you go outside you don't use it.

Thandi: Entrepreneurship is a very good one but for most of the girls it is not taking them anywhere.

The courses were good, but unfortunately, it did not increase Thandi's chances of getting employment. Of all the participants, Randy participated in the most courses but was left feeling that her certificates were useless.

Randy: I was a facilitator inside, for HIV and AIDS; I have done testing and counselling, counselling with I have done entrepreneurship with UJ, I have done ministry I'm a pastor. I have done sewing, painting and colouring, I was an actor inside and then I was singing.

Randy: Then we have a lot of certificates full of cockroaches in the house.

Randy: Really I have got a lot of certificates I have done this and that and that what I am doing with it sitting at home.

When Channel was sentenced, she was informed by another inmate that there were no skills and was encouraged to approach the Classification Management

Committee (CMC) with a proposal to facilitate sewing and embroidery classes. Her proposal was accepted and she started the project. At that time, her main aim was to have something to do as she was just sitting doing nothing while incarcerated. Channel has a passion for sewing and she wanted to share her skill with others. She worked earning only R27 a month and never complained because she saw this as an opportunity to keep herself occupied.

Channel: I went to the CMC I said this is what I can do. Already someone told me and said there are no skills here and with sewing I love it; they said go and approach the CMC tell them you are good in this. I went there I told them I am good at this I can give to the inmates for free you know and then they say I must write a proposal. I wrote a proposal it was approved within a week they gave me a small place then I started working. And I was not getting a cent and I was not complaining because I said sitting like this the whole day not doing anything! I was sitting at the waiting trial doing nothing now I am sentenced all those things so I must just sit like this, so I said no let me rather go and approach the CMC.

From the interviews, I realised that the vocational skills were not a long running programme and that it changed with time. Anna was incarcerated in a Pretoria correctional facility, and there she did not do a complete sewing programme. She did not see the sewing she did as a skill. The rest of the five participants were in a Johannesburg correctional facility.

Anna: No, if you put the collar you only put the collar.

When Channel arrived, there was no sewing and she re-introduced the programme.

Channel: No I did not do the skills. I am the one who came with my skills.

Randy and Demy also did a full sewing course. Demy did a one-year computer course of which Thandi said she would have loved to do but there was nothing available when she was incarcerated.

Randy: I have done sewing, painting and colouring.

Demy: You sew everything you cut; you sew other clothes that are sewn there.

Demy: I have done computer literacy.

Anna made a statement that in the correction facility they are not taught new skills but use the skills they have come with from outside.

Anna: There are some people who know how to do hair from outside; they do their hair the officers' hair.

Jess: But to do the hair you do not learn it inside? Is it your own skill from outside?

Anna: You know it from outside but they call it a skill. They do not teach you there.

Channel was one of the participants that brought her skill with her and began to teach others.

Channel: It was the beads and the embroidery yes and, the little bit basic on the machine but it's only a few people because we did not have enough machines.

Only two of the participants completed their grade 12 while serving their sentence and one completed her honours degree during her incarceration.

Demy: It was not easy but I promised myself that I must just work hard to get the Matric certificate because I did not have outside so that is why I said let me just do it.

Randy: I went to school I upgraded my standard 10 my Matric.

Alice refused to participate in any of the programmes they were offering since she felt she was being pressurised only as it was required by the Parole Board. She preferred to do something she felt would be for her benefit and not just to show the parole officials. She felt that she would not benefit from any of the programmes offered.

Alice: There were lots of courses like they would tell you Parole Board social workers and everything, but with me it was like okay fine I will do it then what? Because I don't see any reason to do something which I am not going to use tomorrow; it was not for me; I did not want to pretend to anybody that you know what this is going to help me at the end of the day it's not going to help me.

Vocational skills and work in female correction facilities do not seem to be a permanent or consistently running programme. It varies with who is available to run the programmes. Participants felt that some programmes were very informative but not in demand on the job market. What are the policies and what does the white paper say about this?

4.3.4 Current financial status versus previous financial status

Poverty, employment, education, housing, financial support and debt, amongst others, has been identified as factors playing a role in recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). Creed and Watson (2003) found that there were no gender differences among the unemployed and that both male and females were equally distressed by their employment situation which means that females cannot be assumed to be less negatively affected than males. Studies have also found that unemployment has a negative effect on mental health. A study conducted in Pollsmoor and Worcester correctional facilities found that many women became involved in criminal activity due to economic pressure and were motivated primarily

by economic reasons (The Gender Health and Justice Research Unit, 2012). The unemployed participants faced the challenge of finding employment with a criminal record and had to adapt to the change of once being employed to now being unemployed. The study looked at participants' financial and employment status before they were arrested in contrast to their current financial and employment status.

4.3.4.1 I was employed

All the participants, except for Channel, were employed at the time of their arrest. Channel was self-employed. Most individuals released from corrections held some type of job prior to incarceration and want legal, stable employment upon release (Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2008). However, most former offenders experience difficulty finding a job after release. During the time spent in corrections, many lose work skills and are given little opportunity to gain useful work experience. Once in the community, not only are many employers reluctant to hire convicted offenders, but many former offenders are legally barred from certain occupations (Visher et al., 2008).

Employment is an important component of the re-entry process. Even more than a steady source of income, jobs can provide a sense of structure and responsibility to former offenders as they struggle to reintegrate after release. Unfortunately, many will face a difficult path toward finding and keeping employment. Results showed that working before incarceration and earning wages early after release were significantly related to re-incarceration the first year out.

Alice: It was okay; I was employed; I was independent; I moved out of my ex's house our house, then I got my own place, my own car; so, it was fine.

Alice had separated from her partner but could still manage on her own. Anna worked together with her husband and could make ends meet.

Anna: It was okay even if you know sometimes with money you short but it was okay we try to cover everything.

Demy was employed but her husband supported her financially and her life was financially secure. This changed after divorce.

Demy: It was good because my husband was there. I went there because of my husband so he was doing everything for me while I was still outside.

Thandi was employed and about to receive a tender. She was financially secure and unlike now she did not need any assistance from relatives.

Thandi: I was doing very well; as I said, I was working for the insurance company; I was making money, hum... I register my own company; I had my own car and then after I was trying to find a tender.

Only one participant, Randy, had an additional illegal source of income of which she accepts that she had to pay the consequences of her actions.

Randy: I was on top of the world; I was living the life. But anyway sometimes life is like that. Things get rough and you have to face the consequences you cannot run away from it.

Channel was self-employed and was not coping with her expenses of which one was the education of her children.

Channel: The business was not doing that well; my first born he was attending Bloemfontein technical so the fees as a single mother the fees were too much for me.

Channel was the only participant that had financial difficulties before her incarceration and the fact that she would not ask her ex-husband for assistance with

the children put pressure on her to look for other means to support them. Even though Randy was employed, she needed to finance her lifestyle and did so by illegal means.

4.3.4.2 *Surviving by God's grace*

Alice, Anna and Demy were at the time of the interviews employed and were doing well financially. The fact that Alice had the highest level of education among the participants helped her reduce the level associated with former offenders re-offending. Demy and Anna were also fortunate to be employed eliminating some of the risk factors associated with recidivism.

Alice: Then and now I think now I'm doing even better than before in everything I think God is just multiplying everything in my life now its extreme now I got no complaints honest.

Randy had lost her home and her car. Her daughter passed away and left her with two young children to look after. Her other two children are employed and assist her financially. She felt as if the tables had turned that children should depend on their parents and not the other way around.

Randy: Now I am renting; I'm not fine; I'm struggling, instead of us supporting our children it is them who are supporting us. They are helping me, by the grace of God, because like me the time I was inside my daughter passed away she left two kids and then like I don't get money for those kids.

Thandi: Then hum wow how do I survive? I don't know really I don't want to lie to you, it is by the grace of God; if I can put it that way truly; it is by the grace of God.

For Thandi, it was by God's intervention that she survives. She was unable to explain to me how she manages financially as it had been a long time since she had

any form of paying employment. There was a shift for most of the participants' financial states before incarceration; most were financially secure but after incarceration, only Alice felt that she was more financially stable now. Anna was working for her husband and was coping financially. Demy, with the help of her daughter, was also able to make ends meet. Channel, Thandi, and Randy were not able to recuperate after being released. The participants identified their criminogenic needs that are the risk factors of offenders that can be changed and are highly associated with recidivism (Andrews & Bontas, 2010), their needs were mainly education, housing, and financial support.

4.3.5. Those left behind: The impact of incarceration on the family

Incarceration has been found to injure family members as much as, and sometimes more than, the offenders themselves. Incarceration can have a deep impact on family whether it is a spouse, parent, or child (Braman, 2003). The sub-themes look at how families cope to adjust to having a member incarcerated especially children of single mothers. The importance of family as a support system is also discussed.

4.3.5.1 *A parent in conflict with the law*

Having an incarcerated parent can affect multiple aspects of a child's life. The loss of a parent, especially a single parent, can have a significant impact on the emotional, psychological, developmental, and financial well-being of the child (Travis, McBride, & Solomon, 2005). Inmate mothers are more likely than fathers to have lived with their children prior to arrest, to have been the sole caregiver for the child, and to have been responsible for the child financially (Mumola, 2000). Research reflects that concerns over children's current living arrangements, safety, and emotional development are some of the main stressors women experience while incarcerated (Clark, 1995; Kazura, 2001).

The immediate effects can include feelings of shame, social stigma, loss of financial support, weakened ties to the parent, and changes in family composition, poor school performance, increased delinquency, and increased the risk of abuse or neglect. Long-term effects can range from the questioning of parental authority, negative perceptions of police and the legal system, and increased dependency or maturational regression to impaired ability to cope with future stress or trauma, disruption of development, and intergenerational patterns of criminal behaviour (Gabel & Johnston, 1997). Lack of contact while incarcerated disrupts the parent-child relationship and diminishes an incarcerated mother's authority to make decisions about her child (Clark, 1995; Johnston & Gabel, 1995).

During the time Anna was incarcerated, her children were affected by her absence. Her husband had difficulties managing the children to the point that when their daughter ran away he did not know where the daughter was. Once she, Anna was released, according to her she managed to assist their children.

Anna: When I got arrested my second child was 15 years. She ended up leaving school running around. My husband didn't know where she is you know even now I can see them they are angry.

Anna: Even if I can see him, he got this short temper. But he was not like that before.

According to Anna, her children still had anger issues but she is planning on taking them for counselling. Children of incarcerated parents experience feelings of abandonment, uncertainty, and anger, and these emotions can influence behaviour and school performance (Kampfner, 1995; Snyder, Carlo, & Coats Mullins, 2001). Channel's children were deeply affected by her incarceration with the stigma attached to having a parent sentenced for a crime, her children felt that they could not talk to anyone and began abusing substances and alcohol. Channel had to

mother them from inside the correction facility as she called her children and told them what she had learned in the substance abuse programme she was attending.

Channel: When I was arrested he was 15 years. So, he was not coping at all and they were scared to tell what the problem was. So, he went into drugs drinking. He thought it's the end of it. So, they dropped all of them they dropped out (school).

Channel: My mother had to sell the house hoping that I will get out so it did not happen... My kids were homeless, and my kids they were staying with friends and my first born joined my mother so these two they did not join my mother they were staying with friends.

When Channel was awaiting trial, her mother sold the house and used all the money on the case; this left her children homeless. She committed the crime in order to pay for her children's education but it made things worse. She lost her house and her children left school and university. Children of incarcerated mothers are particularly susceptible to separation trauma because their mothers are often the only parental figure in the home (Bloom, 1995). Additionally, children may be shuffled from place-to-place throughout their mother's incarceration (Seymour, 1998).

When Channel was released, the church helped with accommodation for a few months. Afterwards, she moved to live with her nieces and her brother-in-law. At this point, she received some support from her family.

Demy was very excited to be reunited with her family. Her children were still insecure that she would leave them again but she assured them that she was not going back. Her mother has been very supportive and only a few family members stigmatise her.

Demy: But with my mum everything was okay.

Demy: Even my kids, they were so happy to see me they thought I was going back again I said no I finished everything. Because the young ones I

told them after finishing Matric I will come back so they were happy to see me.

Having a support system for female ex-offenders who have just been released is essential. Channel was helped by a church and Demy by her family to integrate back into the community.

4.3.5.2 Family as a support system

Recent research suggests that tangible and emotional family support leads to positive post-release successes, such as employment and reduced substance use (La Vigne, Visher, & Castro, 2004; Sullivan, Mino, Nelson, & Pope, 2002; Visher et al., 2004). Participants had different experiences with their families once released. Five of the six participants have children and were very happy to be reunited with them. Support from parents, a spouse or siblings seem to play a very important role in adapting well after release. Released offenders rely very heavily on their families for support in steering virtually every aspect of the re-entry experience, from assistance with housing and employment to financial support and overall encouragement (Naser & La Vigne, 2006). Naser and La Vigne (2006) found that families provide even more support than soon-to-be-released offenders anticipate. In addition, they suggest that they shoulder a significant burden of the re-entry challenges released offenders face and may benefit from social support and services designed not just for the returning offender but for his or her entire family. The authors suggest that families should have a larger role in the re-entry process through involvement in the pre-release planning process. It is equally important to identify those returning inmates without positive family ties, who therefore may require additional re-entry support and assistance. Programmes that develop alternative methods of providing real and emotional support for released offenders

who do not have a positive family support network could have an impact in achieving more successful re-entry outcomes (Naser & La Vigne, 2006).

Alice was the only participant that did not have any children and had difficulties adjusting back to her family's way of doing things as they expected her to automatically adjust. Her family pressurised her to find employment after they had promised her that they would be there to help her.

Alice spoke quite often about people disappointing her but she felt that God was always there for her and she had to learn to depend on God.

Alice: First thing you get disappointed they (family) will visit you they will promise you stuff and then when you go out they say you know what you have to start finding a job even if they don't say that verbally but their actions say a lot that we cannot support you anymore my prayer was God I do not want my family to come. I wanted Him to train me to survive without them totally.

Alice: My sister would keep on saying did you send the CV did you send the CV all the time until I said to her to my mum tell your kids to stop asking me about the job.

It was hard for them to understand the limitations of being on parole and that Alice could not leave the house without informing her parole office; they saw this as her not wanting to socialise.

Alice: Automatically, automatic adjustment! Start a relationship with people. You are under parole now you cannot just move out you have to call your Parole Officer. They do not understand they just think you that you do not want go shopping you do not want to be sent.

Alice: They never listened when I said you know what I need some space that is one thing I need some space they never listened.

After Alice was released, she wanted space for herself, some privacy, something that she did not have when she was incarcerated. This is important because when

one is incarcerated, there is no privacy; there is no space. This is something she might have longed for, but her family did not understand that she needed some space.

Thandi felt that her relationship with her siblings had changed. They did not understand her. This did not happen before she was incarcerated. Now she feels that the only people that really understand her are the ladies that share her experience.

Thandi: I have this feeling as if when we are together, they look down at me; you know I have this feeling that I do not belong with them; I do not know.

Thandi is not sure about the relationship with her siblings. She felt that since she is a former offender, she has lost her status among her very successful siblings. At the time of the interview, Thandi felt as if she was the odd one out, but she was unsure if this was really the case or if it was just a feeling that she had. But then she explained why she felt that way.

Thandi: Even if there is something that is going to happen in the family, I am the last one to know they will say, did you tell her that there is going to be this ceremony on the weekend; you know they will call me and say sorry man it's a mistake we did not tell you there is this thing that is happening; can you come? They will say we will deposit the money for you so you will be able to come. It was not the life I was living before.

Before Thandi was incarcerated, she was included in important family functions. Now she was the last one to know she also needed to depend on her family to get to the functions. She used to be self-sufficient and independent but now she is unemployed. Thandi says she feels more comfortable with other ladies who are also former offenders because they share her experiences.

Thandi: When I am with my colleagues from prison I feel comfortable because I know they know the pain maybe I know they know what to say to me and what not to say to me.

Randy felt supported by her family during the trial. She only had one sister who testified against her, she felt betrayed by her sister but has moved on and made peace with her. She tries to manage on her own and did not ask for help.

Randy: My family they a wealthy family they were so supportive but one of my sisters she testified against me in court... other family members withdraw themselves. You know when you a criminal you a criminal they do not want to come near you, they call you those stigmas, but I did not worry too much about them all. I forgive my sister.

Anna's husband was very supportive and visited her every weekend. She looked very emotional when told me about this and I could see that she really appreciated his support.

Anna: I don't know what to say, my mother, my sister, my brother in law, my husband my in-law's everybody was there for me, especially my husband for three years he was there every weekend. When I phoned and told him that I am short with this and that he would bring it.

Anna: It was nice to see my children my relatives. They welcomed me when I came out they slaughtered a sheep; they were there all of them in my house.

Anna was very excited to be released. Her family got together and arranged a party for her. Since she lived in a suburb, nobody knew that she was incarcerated as people in suburbs tend to keep to themselves (people in the townships embrace public living, their children play together in the streets while adults talk or gossip with each other (Bieber, 2010).

Anna: I am staying in a suburb and there it's everybody for themselves.

On the other hand, Channel lived in a township and she had the opposite experience many people knew that she was released from a corrections facility.

Channel: You know the kids; you know the adults in our area; they have this thing you are from prison a mother from prison.

Of all the participants, Alice experienced the most difficulty in adapting once released, to the point that she felt like asking her parole officer to take her back so she could finish her sentence inside. She felt a support group would have helped her overcome her challenges. Outside the family structure, Alice felt more comfortable with older women from her church who are more mature than her peers. Thandi also felt more comfortable with other women who were former offenders as they have a shared experience and understand her. Channel, Anna, Demy and Thandi are all parents and they were happy to be reunited with their children.

4.3.6 I am human too

During the apartheid era, offenders were used to fill the need for cheap and unskilled labour. Criminal behaviour was seen as blacks who were idle and did not want to work; therefore ending up committing crime. The main idea was that black men could be rehabilitated by hard labour. Short-term offenders (mostly Pass law offenders) were also subject to this form of rehabilitation. In reality, there was a need for cheap and unskilled labour and the view of labour as rehabilitation served to fill this need (Super, 2011). This is no longer the case but some of the participants left the correctional services feeling used and still see themselves as being used in the sense that many people want to hear and use their stories and in the end others benefit from it but they get nothing. People come and go but they are still in the same situation. Participants spoke about how DCS, organisations, and family would make empty promises or use them for their own personal gain just because they were

incarcerated or former offenders. The sub-themes that really stood out involved the participants' feelings of disappointment, empty promises and feelings of being used and discarded.

4.3.6.1 *Empty promises and the loss of trust*

Demy, Channel, Thandi, and Randy were promised employment or assistance in establishing a business after release, but the people that made the promises have since avoided them.

Channel: That organisation said okay when you go out these are all the equipment that you are going to get, but they never got any. They were just promised and then they did not do anything like even with me.

Channel: They never did anything for me; they promised, saying before you go out you tell us and we will see what we going to do for you. I went out; I told them I am out; maybe if they can help me with the material and all those things they never... No, they said we will come back to you, they did not come back... Because to me, he (DCS representative) said no they will come back and he knows me I was sitting with them they even promised me they are going to give me something the money I never got that money.

Channel spoke about how other inmates had been promised assistance once released but got nothing. She also had the same experience as she participated in a national skills competition in Cape Town and was the only female. Channel represented Gauteng province with her embroidery work. She was told that the Gauteng DCS was very proud of her and made promises but she never received anything from them. Demy had the same experience but with an external vocational skills provider.

Demy: It's like those who are teaching us sewing, they said we will give you the machines we will give you everything then when we out we call

them because we are desperate we call them they will answer your calls for the first time. I know that oh this is so and so its Demy's number.

These organisations gave the participants hope that they will be assisted once released. Demy was released and had to find ways of creating an income the assistance promised to her would have been of great help. Once released, Demy and Randy were desperate to make an income and contacted them. They stopped attending to their phone calls. Both Demy and Randy felt that they were not considered and ignored.

Randy: Some of the people that are teaching us they will tell you if you come out you must call us we will give you a job, and then at the end of the day when you are out you call them you won't find them, they ignore your calls, they do not even consider you.

Channel, Demy, and Randy had similar experiences even though they were incarcerated and released in different years. It is unclear as to why different organisations or the DCS made promises to assist the participants once they were released. The organisations might have stated it in their proposals that they would give skills to the inmates and assist them in starting up businesses once released in order to get funding. Randy felt that this was the case that organisations were not genuinely interested in assisting them but rather using them for their own benefit. The experience of been taken advantage of, made them feel used like they were less worthy just because they were offenders.

4.3.6.2 *Feeling used and discarded*

Randy, Alice, and Channel felt that different organisations had taken advantage of their situation for their own benefit. Randy used the current study as an example, and stated that I was only interested in her story in order to write my dissertation and

that in the end I would get my degree but she would still be in the same situation. The only reason she agreed to do the interview with me was because she felt that I was young and needed a chance but she made it clear that she was tired of people using her story.

Randy: Take for example you are here now you are asking us those questions for you to achieve what you want to achieve; at the end of the day you have what you want, you do not care about us; it's what they are doing some of them it's like that you understand. Next time when you call them they don't even answer.

Once people or organisations get what they wanted, they were no more interested in her or other fellow offenders. She was tired of sharing her story and not getting anything in return. She felt that because she was in her own words “desperate” for a job and money, people saw it as an opportunity to use her. Even though she is a former offender, she is still human and felt pain when taken advantage of.

Randy: I'm tired of selling my story then at the end of the day I do not get anything then that kills me. I do not want people to take advantage of me that because I'm an ex-prisoner I need money. I need a job; I need money, you know those things, okay I'm desperate but not like people can take advantage and play with us. We are human beings at the end of the day like them. So we have been with them we know the situation.

Although Alice had not experienced being taken advantage of, she was aware that many women were told that if they participated in certain programmes, it would be beneficial for their parole application. That was not the case just as Randy had stated they never got any benefits out of sharing their stories. It was a painful realisation that people were using their experiences for their own benefit.

Alice: The big disappointing thing is usually there are people who come and interview women especially the lifies (life sentences)...but the

painful part of it those people are using them and women sometimes just feel like okay fine it will be to my advantage when I go to the Parole Board, and they find out that it is not true because they come and interview them the books are written the books are being sold...

Channel was offered a job at the Johannesburg Correctional Services but she declined. She was hurt and felt that she would never do anything for them. She ended up in a corrections facility because of her mistake and would not return there even to work. She felt betrayed and was done with them.

Channel: She said we want you if maybe you can come, start training the offenders. I told her straight I said no even if you can offer me money I will never come, she asked: "why?" I said "you know what you did to me. Did you give me anything when I went out?" she said, "no Channel you can come and then we will talk." I said "I will never put my foot there" will never; it was a mistake.

Channel was disappointed with the way she was treated. She made duvets and the wardens sold them. They did not give her any money. They also promised to give her samples of her work or a portfolio that she could use when she was released but she did not receive anything.

Channel: Can you believe I was making duvets; I was making money for the DCS but I never got anything when I went out. I had nothing to show; it is like I never got anything nothing, nothing. I had to do my own sample to convince people that this is what I am capable of doing.

The participants felt that they are being taken advantage of as they were incarcerated or former offenders and do not have many choices. They were presented with what looked like opportunities to get parole or employment but then realised that they were being used as objects to benefit others. The stipend for work done while incarcerated was also something that left participants feeling used.

Different countries have different policies and some correctional facilities have their own work projects. In India, Deburma correctional facility has set up a call centre. Offenders are better paid for this work and engage more with it as such work is seen as useful on completion of the individual's sentence (Guardian, 2011).

All offenders in French correctional facilities are entitled to work. Work depends on availability and is voluntary. The work normally is in industry or may include the assembly of small household or industrial products. The wages are almost three or four times lower than outside and are paid by the state. Wages are paid by the corrections administration into the offender's account and are divided into three parts, 80% for canteen, 10% for gate money and 10% for victim compensation. The canteen money is for the inmate to spend while incarcerated, whereas the gate money is only given to the inmate on release. If there is no claim for victim compensation, these funds are added to the gate money (Prisoners Abroad, 2009).

In the United States of America, Oregon correction facilities runs a full-time work or on-the-job training programme where inmates contribute part of their earnings toward meeting their obligations for child support, state and federal taxes, court-imposed fines and victim's assistance funds. Many inmates also help to support their families by sending home a portion of their earnings (Oregon, 2011). Even though Anna, Randy, and Channel worked while incarcerated, they had no access to their accounts, did not know how much they actually had and did not receive the balance once released. There seems to be different views of addressing offenders' employment in correctional facilities with each country, state or project choosing how much offenders should be paid.

4.3.7 Entering and adjusting in Corrections

Internationally, awaiting trial detainees are the sole responsibility of the correction department. In South Africa, the DCS is responsible for housing, securing and caring for the detainees even though they are exclusively the liability of the South African Police Service (SAPS). With a total of 42,901 awaiting trial detainees (ATD's), Correctional Services struggles to cope (World Prison Brief, 2015). Porogo (1998) identified some of the problems that ATD's face in the system. He identified that the majority of ATD's are those charged with crimes which are not serious or granted bail but cannot afford to pay it. Shortage of staff has contributed to the delays in the finalisation of trials in certain areas contributing to over-population in correction facilities. ATD's are protected by a set of rights and requirements different to those of sentenced offenders (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 section 35, 2). However, ATDs do not have to attend correctional programmes until sentenced or wear a uniform designed for sentenced offenders (Clack et al., 2007). Therefore, ATD's do not fall within the rehabilitation mandate of the DCS, and all rehabilitation programmes fall on the shoulder of external organisations (Herbid & Hesselink, 2012). In August 2010, more than 2 000 ATD's had been incarcerated for more than two years, some having spent more than seven years incarcerated awaiting trial (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2010). The sub-themes presented focus on the frustration participants experienced during their trial, and how conditions improved once participants were sentenced.

4.3.7.1 *Waiting in awaiting trial*

One of the complaints that Alice, Channel and Thandi shared was the frustration of waiting for too long and idling while they had nothing to do. Only religious

organisations would come and offer them biblical studies. Alice wanted to continue her studies but was unable to do so.

Alice: Then they said no! Waiting trials are not allowed to study it was quite a disappointment for me.

According to the participants, there are no activities available for ATD's and they had to create their own activities while religious organisations visited them at least once a week.

Alice: You eat and sleep awaiting a trial that's what you do.

Channel: I was sitting at the waiting trial doing nothing.

Alice: Only among yourselves you can just say okay fine guys let's have a dance day so most importantly church people will come on Saturday or Sunday but other activities no. you can't go out you stay in.

Thandi: You do not do anything there it is just the Bible only with the waiting trial.

ATD's face less favourable living conditions with overcrowding being a major problem. Dissel (1996) found on her visit to one of the South African correction facilities that the waiting trial section was overcrowded. Between 30 and 40 people were held in a cell with two people sharing a mattress on the floor. These inmates share a toilet and personal hygiene was a problem. Thandi was in awaiting trial in 2008 when she describes her waiting trial experience that not much has changed in 12 years.

Thandi: I am telling you; it can be so packed, you know in one cell maybe there will be sometimes close to 80/90 in one cell with the waiting trial is not easy because we normally sleep on a single bed the one on the one end and the other one on top so when it is packed you will be two, two on that side on that single bed when those single beds are full they can put the mattress on the floor and the other girls will sleep on the floor when its full.

For the participants, there was also a sense of loss of belonging while awaiting trial. Thandi did not know where to voice any of her concerns. Thandi felt that SAPS, DCS, and the Department of Justice did not want to take responsibility for the ATD. Section 35 (3) (d) of the South African Constitution stipulates that detained persons have their trial begin and conclude without unreasonable delay. In addition, section 12 protects the right not to be detained without a reason or without just cause. In addition, section 342A of The Criminal Procedure Act 9 protects accused persons from unreasonable trial delays by providing for action courts to eliminate such delays. Unfortunately, there is a significant gap between the legal position and reality (Gorden & Cloete, 2012).

Thandi: When they talk to us it is like it is the Department of Justice there is nothing they can do and when you have a problem in the correctional unit, you say guys I have been there ... they say no its justice the justice says correctional services you know as if they do not work together they do not communicate. When you are on trial, they say no you fall under SAPS.

Thandi felt that the different departments in corrections did not work together which left her feeling frustrated and unable to get her queries resolved. Conditions for awaiting trial detainees have not had a significant improvement over the years. Even though the Constitution protects ATD's, they experience very little of that protection as DCS struggles to cope with staff shortages and the high number of inmates in correction facilities.

4.3.7.2 Finally sentenced

Unlike in awaiting trial, once sentenced participants were able to access more services, they participated in programmes, work, and religious activities. Conditions were more dignified than in awaiting trial.

Thandi: There is a little bit of respect on the sentenced side than on the waiting period.

Demy: I have done computer literacy, painting sewing, and choir (smile) I attended school.

Randy: I was a facilitator inside... a lot of things, I went to school I upgraded my standard 10, my matric.

Once sentenced, they were part of DCS and could take part in all the programmes available. Demy and Randy completed their grade 12 while incarcerated and Alice was allowed to further her studies.

Alice: I was chosen to be a church leader for the whole female prison; then immediately after that comes the bible study for three years. So usually it was only my bible and my UNISA studies.

Alice chose to concentrate on the biblical studies offered by external religious organisations. She felt that none of the rehabilitation programmes offered in corrections would benefit her. Anna was also not very pleased with the anger management programme she had to attend. It was a two-week programme but she only attended two sessions.

Anna: They said I have anger so they put me in an anger management programme, but in that anger management you do it two days even now I don't know what they were saying, I don't know I won't lie to you; I did not know but I did anger management.

Anna: I don't wish anybody to go there even if it is my enemy. That place no, no, no. That place is not good for anybody. It's not good. It affects everybody.

Anna and Thandi were very vocal in expressing her experience and it seemed that she felt that no effort was put in by correction officials where it was in rehabilitation programmes or food given to them.

Anna: Can you eat boiled eggs with samp? The veggies, it is pumpkin and cabbage it looks like they cutting it with an axe or what! But they will tell you, we give them nutritious food. The milk it makes water, the white thing goes down the water comes up.

Conditions were perceived to be better than in awaiting trial but they were still seen as not favourable. Anna and Thandi felt that correctional facilities were not a place where one would be corrected but a place that destroyed lives.

Thandi: You must know that your life is finished it is for life, it will be with you, it is finished...

Channel felt that she benefited from some of the programmes she attended. The programmes even had an impact on her family as she would call her son and tell him about what she had learned in the substance abuse lessons. Mothers report that they sing songs and tell jokes over the phone with younger children (Snyder et al., 2001). On the contrary, mothers will discuss the use of drugs, safe sex, and boy/girlfriends with their older children. In these cases, mothers reported that they tried to be loving and reassuring. Some of the benefits mentioned as specific to phone contact were mothers having a larger role in making decisions and discussing problems with children and caretakers as they occur. Phone contact also allows mothers and children to coordinate future visits. Channel's phone contact with her son allowed her to warn him about drugs and offer him support.

Channel: My son was into drugs; so, I used to tell him, immediately I come out of the lesson then I would phone him and tell him these are the consequences of drugs all those things.

Participants had different feelings towards their experience of incarceration. It is understandable that no one would enjoy being incarcerated, but the complaints that came through from their experiences were about the quality of the services and

programmes. Some programmes were beneficial to them and other programmes like anger management seemed to be the least favourable as none of the ladies that participated in that programme understood the content of the programme.

4.3.8 Finding God and oneself

Over the years, the DCS has formed partnerships with different churches and faith-based organisations. Ministers of religion and spiritual workers conduct regular visits to the different female correctional facilities to provide integrated and holistic services to the incarcerated women (Du Preez, 2008). The assumption is that an offender who takes the time to choose to join a rehabilitation programme may be more motivated and open to change than others who do not. Religious faith can be used as a psychological coping method or it might significantly involve finding a deeper level of personal faith in a deity that will help the person in their rehabilitation journey. A study done by Maruna, Wilson, and Curran (2006) found that the conversion narrative of inmates who had converted to Christianity worked as a shame management and coping strategy. It created a new social identity in the inmate, which instilled the experience of incarceration with purpose and meaning and which provided the inmate with a language and framework for forgiveness and a sense of control.

In providing direction to female offenders, religion also offers them a beacon of hope. A female offender needs hope to remain optimistic in her situation and be positive about her future. When a woman is incarcerated, she is forced to deal with her feelings which are often very intense, and that leaves her feeling that she has failed, guilt, rejection and fear (Du Preez, 2008). According to Dammer (2002), religion can help a female offender to deal with the pains of her incarceration and to accept what has happened to her. The aim of most faiths is a belief in the acceptance and love of

a higher power and this helps offenders to feel better about themselves. Spiritual care also better equips the offender to deal with the frustrations and pressures of being incarcerated. As women arguably experience incarceration at a more overtly emotional level than men, they tend to turn to religion in times of distress (Landman, Luut, & Du Preez, 2006). Very little research has been done on the effects of religious faiths in South Africa (Du Preez, 2008). Spiritual care can be beneficial in that it can help a female offender to protect and reinforce her personality, her sense of right and wrong and her inner spiritual being. It is also the basis for a healthy self-esteem and it encourages the development of greater self-control, consequently assisting the offender with her rehabilitation and reintegration into society (Du Preez, 2008).

The DCS allows religious organisation to offer services to female offenders. The following services are offered namely; the holding of divine service and religious meetings, bible study or faith study, training in the faith of the church or faith (Department of Correctional Services, 2007). Offenders are regularly informed about events in their church or faith, participation in the choirs and vocal groups, a variety of Bible courses/faith studies and correspondence courses offered by different churches/faiths. Spiritual workers regularly hold small group meetings where themes and subjects are geared to the needs of the offender; individual interviews are also conducted to address personal problems. Offenders regularly receive religious literature, such as books of faith from their church or faith. From a Christian perspective, justice cannot be attained by building more correctional facilities, but rather by the restoration of offenders. Many Christians wish to be involved in faith-based organisations which offer inmates the opportunity to rehabilitate themselves (Burnside, Loucks, Adler, & Rose 2005)

Randy: But know I am doing prison ministry; I'm using my own money from my own pocket to go there, to preach the gospel...

The conversion experience does not only provide offenders with a new identity and membership into a community that welcomes new converts, it also helped them sort out their lives and empowered them 'to preach to others' and become an instrument of God (Maruna et al., 2006). Offenders feel as if they are given a new chance but with the restraints of a criminal record they realise that the new chance is not applicable in searching for employment.

4.3.8.1 Filling the void inside

According to participants, correctional ministries impacted their lives. It seems to have had more of an impact than the programmes provided by the DCS. The ministry programmes provided healing, faith, hope and confidence. The message of forgiveness, renewal and restoration in the gospel is of comfort to some offenders (Webber, 2014).

Alice did not attend any of the programmes she was recommended to attend by the social workers in order to get parole. She found her healing and rehabilitation in the Christian programmes she participated in.

Alice: Find that void space in your life than you say but I tried everything to fill this but why it is so big (Void) is then that you find out about God.

Alice: Mostly, it's the relationship with God.....He is the teacher. He is the one that teaches you each and every little thing.

Alice: He says you must forget about the past because you are doing new things.

The biblical studies helped her to find herself and fill the void she was experiencing. Alice felt that she was given a new chance and a new beginning.

Anna felt that her experience was a lesson from God. She became aware that there are many people who do wrong but there is also a chance for God to change them. She felt that being incarcerated brought her closer to God.

Anna: To me, it was a learning experience from God in disguise, because I have to learn what are humans, we are cruel if we want to be cruel... So God has a way of changing.

Anna: I would go to church before I went to prison, just for the sake of going to church but in prison it's a different story you hear God you can feel God talking to you. We were praying together with other ladies; so, it helped me a lot, a lot. And then I learnt to forgive because before I was full of revenge.

Anna: What I realised is that except counselling God helps a lot. I pray with her, I pray with her. So she is okay.

Anna used prayer to help her daughter overcome the negative effects of her absence during the years she was incarcerated. For both Anna and Channel, there was a shift from just following the rituals of Christianity to a more personal experience with God.

Channel: I can say the good one it was the bible at least because you know you tell yourself that you go to church but you are not into a relationship with God; you do not know what is wrong or right so I can say at least it did help me some were somehow.

Thandi: Some of them are good as to maybe change you or to build you; you know like we have bible study for me it was nice I enjoyed it even if I knew very well that when I go out I will not use it but because it helped me to communicate with God; it was a help I told myself that it's a good thing to do.

According to the participants, the biblical studies offered at correctional facilities had a great impact. It built their moral awareness, confidence, and hope. Even though Thandi could not use the biblical studies to find a job, she still found it very useful for

her spiritual development. In fact, to these participants, the biblical study programme was more beneficial than many of the rehabilitation programmes offered by correctional services.

4.3.9 Rehabilitation and reintegration programmes

The objectives of the offender rehabilitation programme in South Africa include 10 aspects. These aspects aim to develop offenders during their incarceration period; break the cycle of violence or prevent re-offending; offer proper classification of offenders; provide the environment for controlled rehabilitation interventions; provide guidance to parolees and probationers; address offender behaviour; promote social responsibility ethical and moral values; reconcile the offender with the community; develop economically market-related skills; promote meaningful relationships with family; and encourage self-discipline and restorative justice (Clack et al., 2007). Unfortunately, the DCS is plagued with many challenges that make it difficult to adhere successfully to these aspects. Corruption, staff turnover, overcrowding, poor mental health services, and many more factors have deteriorated the quality of rehabilitation services offered by the DCS (Hesselink & Herbit, 2010). Anna, Alice, and Randy felt that they did not benefit much from the rehabilitation programmes offered and that the religious programmes offered by different church organisations were more beneficial to them. As seen in the previous theme “finding God and oneself,” participants benefited emotionally and morally from the religious programmes. They also continued to use their religious faith as a coping method for themselves and family once they were released. The sub-theme focuses on what participants would like to see happen in corrections from rehabilitation to more skills for the female side as well as the distrust that participants had towards correctional officials.

4.3.9.1 *It is me, not we*

The RNR model has specific guidelines that can be added to any corrections programme in order to ensure a higher success rate (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Blanchette and Brown (2006) have also developed an RNR model that is more gender specific and deals with risk factors associated with the female offender. The improvements and complaints received from Alice, Anna, and Randy are part of the responsivity principles identified in the RNR model. To reduce recidivism, it is necessary for treatment to focus on the criminogenic needs of the individual that are directly related to re-offending. The responsivity principle takes into account factors that may affect or possibly impose on treatment and requires that they are identified and accommodated in the process of rehabilitation. Behaviour in corrections is not necessarily an indicator of success in rehabilitation (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Guam et al., 2006). It is important to start interventions from the beginning of the sentence and continue until the released person is stabilised back into the community. One of the challenges that were noted in Guam et al. (2006) was that offenders only received intervention treatment when they were eligible for parole.

Anna stated that the rehabilitation programmes are needed by the Parole Board to get parole, she felt that she did not learn anything; she did not even understand what was happening. Alice refused to participate in any of the rehabilitation programmes because she felt that it was just done to get parole and it would not benefit her personal growth.

Anna: You must do it so that you can get it when you go to the Parole Board you must show that you did it.

Alice: The reality that we have women who are real who come from different cultures different diversities who have got different problems and

start treating them accordingly they can just sit down and say okay fine what is the main problems regarding women.

Criminal behaviour and its outcomes form a vicious cycle and will continue unless the cycle is broken by strong, firm therapeutic programmes that allow for the acceptance of human needs and the development of pro-social skills with which to manage them (Graffam, Shinkfield, & Lavelle, 2012). Alice felt that the programmes were not unique and treated offenders as if they were all the same with the same problems and did not address specific needs.

Alice: They must not put them in general that everybody has to do that course not everybody its ME it's not WE.

Alice: A social worker cannot do what psychologist do; you have a problem of employing social workers; no, they do not want to talk to a social worker.

The RNR principle of human science emphasises that corrections should not only focus on the principles of justice but also incorporate human, clinical, and social services so that the major causes of crime may be addressed. The model also looks at delivering treatment programmes that are using methods and styles that match the offender's ability to learn. The offender's criminogenic needs should be taken into consideration and referred to programmes that need to be in line with those needs (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). Multi-model targets a number of criminogenic needs relative to non-criminogenic needs. This principle emphasises the importance of targeting multiple criminogenic needs when working with high-risk cases (Andrews & Bonta 2010). The higher the risk, the more criminogenic needs are manifest. It is necessary to try and address all the criminogenic needs of these individuals and not just a few.

Alice felt that the programmes were not tailored and that offenders were fitted or bulked together into programmes that did not fit their needs. The shortage of staff at correction facilities is a challenge, with over-burdened social workers that need to fill the role of psychologists and inmates do not get the service that they need.

4.3.9.2 *Hot, cold or lukewarm you never know*

The RNR model emphasises on the relationship that correctional officers have with offenders. It believes that the success of interventions is improved when delivered by staff with high-quality relationship skills, which are characterised by respect, caring, enthusiastic, collaborative and valuing of personal autonomy (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). The relationship that wardens have with inmates is very important to the RNR model because it does not focus on a specific programme but rather on the individuals who interact with offenders. As the model is based on the cognitive social learning theory, it is important that staff is skilled in pro-social modelling, effective reinforcement and disapproval, skill-building, problem-solving, effective use of authority, advocacy/brokerage, cognitive restructuring and motivational interviewing (Robinson et al., 2011). Correctional staff needs to establish high-quality relationships with their clients who may be offenders, parolees, or former offenders. The relationship creates a setting in which modelling and reinforcement can take place. The relationship should allow for the expression of feelings and experiences. Mutual liking, respect and caring are necessary for such a relationship to become high-quality (Andrews & Bonta 2010; Latessa 2006). A high-quality relationship constitutes such reinforcement, actions like empathy, immediate approval, support and agreement with regards to anti-criminal attitude and behaviour. Reinforcement works in conjunction with effective disapproval. Effective disapproval is also part of the high-quality relationship (Andrews & Bonta 2010; Latessa 2006; Milkman &

Wanberg, 2007). Some programmes delivered by the DCS did not meet the desired effect for Anna and Alice. The relationship with Wardens and the DCS was strained and left participants feeling taken advantage of.

Anna did not understand the behaviour of the correctional officials; she described them as moody and unpredictable. She had seen corruption from asking for bribes to selling illegal substances to inmates. The behaviour and relationship needed for correctional officials to play a role in the rehabilitation of offenders identified by the RNR model were not being practised.

Anna: Look, people are not the same; like the one who opens you just wonder what is wrong today you never know.

Randy: They want us to go back so that they get paid in their pockets; it's all they are looking for; it's all I can say (the wardens) all they talk about is have you heard, Randy is back if they thought of maybe helping you doing something outside NO.

Randy felt that the correctional officers did not wish them well and would want them to re-offend as this would guarantee them their jobs. She believed that if the number of offenders decreased, there would be no a need for that many wardens. So, the wardens became happy when they saw women that have re-offended. The relationship correctional staff has with inmates is very important in the rehabilitation process. Motivation and motivational interviewing play an important role in encouraging inmates to change. Motivational interviewing as a clinical practice for promoting behaviour change among criminal justice population has been identified as central to treatment responsivity (Mc Murran, 2009). The aims of motivational interviewing are to increase the levels of motivation for behaviour change and to strengthen that commitment to change (Miller & Roller, 2002). The approach is often combined with other interventions and techniques, together these have been found

to be more effective than when alone (Hetteema, Steele, & Miller, 2005). It has also been found that probation officers trained in motivational interviewing achieved greater gains with probationer motivation. Motivation can assist offenders once released to cope with reintegrating back into society and overcoming some of the problems they might face such as discrimination, unemployment and pro-criminal interactions. (Clark et al., 2006; Harper & Hardy, 2000). None of the participants reported having a positive relationship with correctional officials; instead, there was the feeling that correctional officials did not want to see them succeed. The experience participants had of most correctional officials was the complete opposite of what the RNR model recommends for successful rehabilitation.

4.3.9.3 *More skills for females*

Women represent a very low percentage of the total corrections population making them a minority. However, it is not altogether bad to be in a minority group but in the correctional system where resources are limited and they have to be shared with a dominant male group. Minority status can be a disadvantage if more attention is paid to the needs of the male majority (Du Preez, 2008). The types of work or skills development in female correction facilities vary from needlework and textile, food preparation cleaning, library work, peer education and counselling laundry, and crèche to hairdressing (The Gender Health and Justice Research Unit, 2012).

Randy and Thandi were happy with some of the programmes in which they participated. Their favourite one was the entrepreneurship programme although it could not be used to look for employment; they felt that they could use the knowledge to empower themselves. Thandi, Anna, and Channel explained that the female side had fewer skills and study opportunities in comparison to the male side of the correction facilities.

Thandi: I think they must do what they are doing with the male side; we need that. I do not know how the males get their sponsors; they must do the same; there are few females there that are studying with UNISA but with us they must try to do that; we need sponsors we need computers; we need all those things, on our side there is a lot of work that needs to be done there is a lot.

Anna: The boys have more skills but by the women it is only sewing. There are some people who know how to do hair from outside; they do their hair the officers' hair.

The main complaint by the participants was that the male side of the correctional facilities had more skills and education opportunities, including sponsors.

Channel: With males they do better; they have electricians, plumbing, building, they have a lot of skills; so with us it is only the basic painting how to paint the material that is all to go further you do not know anything. So, if they can give more skills to the females.

The skills and work opportunities that females receive are very gender-based and not in demand outside of correction facilities. Anna, Channel, Thandi, and Randy felt that DCS should give the females more skills and education opportunities to be on par with the male side.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the findings of the study, found, described and discussed the themes. The interpretive method of IPA allowed me to interpret the descriptive analysis using the literature review and the two models the RNR model and the Johoda's Latent and Manifest deprivation theory. The next chapter discusses the results holistically and concludes with the recommendations and limitations of the study.

Chapter 5

Wrapping up: Recommendations and limitations of the study

“God takes our sins – the past, the present, and future, and dumps them in the sea and puts up a sign that says NO FISHING ALLOWED” – Corrie ten Boom (1892-1983)

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter of the study, and a summary of the findings is given. Some recommendations and suggestions were made based on the findings of the study and participants' recommendations were also taken into account. The limitations of the study were also discussed.

5.2 Summary of the Analysis

Employment plays an important role in helping former offenders re-establish themselves in society by helping them to be stable and reduce recidivism. Employment has also been linked to better mental health. Even Jahoda's theory states that mental health is affected by the Latent deprivation factor. Studies show that manifest factors play the main role in affecting one's mental health and that manifest functions are not secondary consequences of unemployment but the main factor (Creed & Bartrum, 2008; Creed & Evans, 2002; Creed & Klisch, 2005). The experience of finding employment varied. It is important to consider the level of education of the six participants. Alice had the highest level of education and was studying towards her Master's Degree during the time of the interview. Comparing her with all the other participants, Alice was more financially stable. A higher education level or a skill has been shown to not only improve one's chances of employment but also improve job satisfaction (Creed & Evans, 2002). Demy and

Anna did not think that their employment was based on their skills. They felt that it was because they knew someone that they were employed. A childhood acquaintance in Demy's case and Anna felt that if it was not for her husband she would be unemployed. Randy and Thandi had done many courses while incarcerated and had previous working experience but after being released they were not able to find employment. They felt that the courses given to them were not skills that were in demand and that they could not find employment because no one wanted to give them a chance.

A criminal record was the main reason Randy, Thandi and Channel were not able to find employment. In their case, it was not just the lack of income that created the latent consequences of being unemployed but the stigma that was accompanied by having a criminal record and coming from a correction facility was what actually created the latent effects. These participants felt that they had lost their status in their families and community. They felt rejected by Government. Moreover, they were aware that there are integration programmes to integrate them back into the community but felt that government itself should lead by example. They should help them by employing former offenders and assisting them in starting up cooperatives, but they were told that because they have a record, the Department of Correctional Services is not allowed to help them. If they are not accepted by the Department of Correctional Services even after they have been rehabilitated, they feel that no one else will trust them. The stigma from family friends and prospective employers not only affected employment but relationships with family and the community. Confidence levels were very low, they took the blame for the stigma, and felt that they did not belong or fit in with their families anymore. In Jahoda's theory, the loss of status is a direct effect of unemployment but with the participants, the stigma of

being a former offender and having a record were the main factors influencing confidence.

Even though their confidence has been affected Randy, Thandi and Channel came together to create an organisation where they planned on putting their entrepreneurial skills, sewing and art skills together with their experiences through storytelling in order to create employment for themselves and for other women who are in the same situation. It has also become their aim to create awareness on women's pathways to crime and how to avoid or prevent situations that might lead to breaking the law. Former offenders share their experiences such as an abusive relationship or drug trafficking in order to warn other women of where such paths can lead. Thandi and Randy were very pro-active in speaking out in the media and Thandi would like to get the opportunity to create short stories telling the stories of the women who were once incarcerated. They aim not only to create crime awareness but to inform the community that they have made mistakes and have since changed. They would like to appeal to the community to accept them and discard the stigma and exclusion.

How participants experienced the vocational skills programmes they attended varied. At times, participants spoke of rehabilitation programmes synonymously with vocational skills programmes. According to participants, the programmes were not permanent. They received what was available at the time of their incarceration. When Demy was incarcerated, she did a year-long computer course but this course was no longer available when the other participants were incarcerated. Anna was in a different correction facility from the other participants. She only participated in a sewing workshop where she put in the collar of the uniform. The other participants did a complete sewing course as well as art and textile dyeing. There were some

vocational programmes that participants were happy about especially the entrepreneurial course which they felt that it was very informative and would help them start their own business but were unhappy with the certificate. The duration of the course was three months but the certificate stated eight days. They felt that the certificate was not useful if they had to use it when searching for employment.

When it came to rehabilitation programmes, there were different experiences. Anna said that initially the social workers were not sure about the programme to which they would refer her. Then she spoke about her feelings of anger towards the person that had framed her and was referred to anger management classes. She was only taken for two sessions and felt that the sessions did not address her situation. It was about the challenges offenders would face once released. She felt that the programme did nothing for her and she had to find other means of dealing with her anger. Alice refused to participate in any of the rehabilitation programmes because she felt it was something imposed on offenders and was just done to get parole.

This was a shared feeling among participants. They felt that rehabilitation programmes were just to show the Parole Board. Alice felt that programmes were not tailored and that women were just being forced to participate in these programmes but received little benefits or change. Channel participated in both the anger management and substance abuse programmes and she also stated that the anger management was more directed at preparing offenders for release. On the other hand, she found the substance abuse programme very informative and beneficial to her and her family. According to the RNR model, many factors play a role in creating rehabilitation programmes that actually impact offenders. The general responsivity principle believes that the most powerful strategies available for

rehabilitation are cognitive-behavioural and cognitive social learning strategies and these can bring about effective change. The Specific Responsivity principle focuses on the individuality of the offender, looking at characteristics such as interpersonal sensitivity, anxiety, verbal intelligence, and cognitive maturity. By identifying the individuals characteristics, interventions are better matched (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

Work in correctional services was not seen favourably and left most of the participants feeling exploited. Anna, Channel and Randy worked because they needed to keep busy. Anna was not impressed with the work she was given. She felt that she did not learn much as she was doing the laundry and working in the workshop sewing uniform collars. She had no access to her account and did not know if she was actually getting paid or not. Channel was a facilitator and offered a complete sewing course. She also made choir outfits for inmates as well as duvet covers that correctional officials sold, but she did not get anything in return. Randy also worked while incarcerated and participated in all the programmes that were offered and was frustrated by the amount of certificates she had. The low stipend offered (R2 to R5 a day) seems to be demoralising and creates the feeling of being exploited (The Gender Health & Justice Research Unit, 2012). Together with rejection in the job market and empty promises of employment, Channel, Thandi and Randy were left feeling exploited, and treated less than human. Thandi explained that when one has been incarcerated you are as good as dead. You do not exist. These are strong words and the participants find it very hard to take their place in society and make known that they are still human beings and alive.

Incarceration did not only impact the participants who experience it first-hand but also their families. Families experience the loss of a member and have to face the stigma attached to having a family member who has broken the law and is incarcerated. Every family dealt with this differently, some become closer while others feel shame and disappointment while others failed to understand what kind of support was really needed. Alice had a hard time adapting after incarceration. She felt that she could not rely on her family the way they had promised to be of assistance. In addition, she also felt that they did not understand the rules of her parole and were impatient with her job seeking. Alice felt that she needed space and a support group in order to cope. Thandi felt that she had changed and that she did not fit in with her family, because of her experience, she perceived the world differently. She described her siblings as successful and she was unemployed. This also changed her status in the family. Randy received support from her siblings but during her trial, one of her sisters testified against her saying that she had disappointed the family. The other participants had more supportive families. Anna's husband was very supportive as well as her extended family. Demy received the support of her mother as well as Channel.

When a parent is incarcerated, the parenting responsibility is on the other parent. When the incarcerated parent is single, the responsibility then lies on other family members or guardians to take care of the children (Travis, McBride, & Solomon, 2005). Anna left her children in the care of her husband but her absence created a void in the family. Her daughter ran away from home and Anna's husband was struggling to deal with a rebellious teen while looking after their youngest toddler daughter. When she was released, she realised that her children were still angry about her incarceration and was looking to take them for counselling. Channel left

her children in her elderly mother's care. In order for her mother to pay for the court case, she sold the house leaving Channel's children homeless, Her children dropped out of school and started abusing illegal substances. Channel had to mother them from inside corrections as they were too afraid to talk to anyone about how they felt. All participants had in common the need to be associated with other former offenders. They felt that they understood each other and could relate to one another's experiences, thus creating an environment that allowed them to feel accepted, understood and freed from stigma.

Awaiting trial detainees (ATDs) in South Africa do not belong to the Department of Corrections. They fall under the jurisdiction of South African Police Service because of this they are not entitled to the services for sentenced offenders who fall under DCS (Herbid & Hesselink, 2012). All programmes for ATD's are conducted by external organisations. This is a challenge considering the long periods spent in awaiting trial. Some participants were in waiting for a period of three years. During the interviews, "belonging" was a theme that came up very often. Participants felt that as ATD's, they did not belong to corrections or the justice system. When they had queries, they would be referred back and forth from the different departments and never got any assistance. With poor conditions such as overcrowding and lack of activities, awaiting trial was a frustrating experience for participants. Participants also expressed the fact that there was corruption in the bail process and that some people who had committed more serious offences got bail. Others that got bail would offend and pay bail again for the new offence. They felt that the system was not fair. While in awaiting trial, religion seemed to be the only activity available. Participants were highly impacted by the religious organisations that visited them. The

relationship they developed with God helped them through their rehabilitation and healing process. More credit was given to the experience of finding God, than rehabilitation programmes in which participated. One of the complaints about rehabilitation programmes was that it was just something done in order to get parole and that it was not tailored to the individual offenders needs but rather a one-size-fits-all programme. Christianity focuses on a personal relationship with God and a personal experience of finding God together with acceptance, forgiveness and a new beginning.

These factors play a role in creating a unique transformation experience tailored to the individual. Even though participants had served their sentences, they were constantly reminded of their offences as the community did not accept them and their records were a stumbling block to finding employment. In the Christian faith, participants found forgiveness and a chance to start afresh. It is hard to do a comparison between correctional rehabilitation programmes and religious programmes. In countries with recommendable rehabilitation programmes, there is no significant difference between inmates who attended a correctional programme or a programme of a religious nature. In South Africa, religious organisations are given a substantial portion of the responsibility when it comes to the rehabilitation programmes offered. Consequently, all the participants preferred the religious programmes than the programmes offered by corrections. They felt that the programmes offered by DCS were more of a ritual that they needed to do, that everyone needed to do in order to be eligible for parole.

Participants would like to see more being done for the female side of corrections, they all stated that the male side had many more opportunities and felt that the

female side was being neglected. They expressed the need for more skills and vocational skills programmes. One of the challenges was the skills they were given were either gender bias or not relevant in the job market. They wanted to do skills like farming, carpentry, plumbing, and others. They also desired to be given opportunities to study and said that the males had sponsors and bursaries but it was very difficult for females to get any bursaries and that most women who are studying in prison are paying for their own studies. Participants also felt that if they were given opportunities to start their own businesses or cooperatives in prison, they would really benefit. One of the participants suggested a farming project where the produce could be used to supply correction facilities and sold to the outside community also creating an income for inmates. Another participant suggested that DCS has space where they either equip it with different tools be it carpentry or sewing machines, where former offenders can go and use the tools to make their products and sell their products. DCS could then charge a small monthly fee for the use of the premises.

5.3 Recommendations

During the interviews, participants were asked what changes they would like to see based on their experiences. More vocational skills for females was one of the main suggestions as they felt that the skills they received were not relevant for the current labour market and were very limited in comparison to the male side of the correctional facilities. To address this issue, the DCS could offer vocational skills that are in demand in the labour force and have consistent programmes that run throughout the years rather than short-term programmes.

As participants were not incarcerated at the same time, they did not all receive the same vocational skills. DCS should also consider adding the Risk Needs Responsivity model to their current Needs Assessment model in order to benefit from the values of the RNR model. This model would be a good addition to the Needs Assessment model as a gender-specific RNR model is also available and focus on the needs of female offenders. The RNR model could help with many of the problems that the DCS faces, especially in rehabilitation and reintegration. Its responsivity values are very important as they focus on the relationship that correctional staff have with offenders, with every staff member playing an important role in motivating and modelling positive behaviour. The responsivity principle also emphasises the need for monitoring and evaluating of interventions programmes to make sure that they are still in line with the initial aims and if they are in fact effective.

This would help DCS evaluate the impact of their behaviour modification programmes in order to make sure that it is in line with the aims of the programme and has an impact on behaviour. All the participants felt that the correctional programmes offered were more for the Parole Board than for them, something to show the Parole Board. Programmes aimed at behaviour modification should benefit the offender by actually having an impact on behaviour rather than just being another process one has to go through in order to qualify for parole. Participants gave all the credit to Christian organisation for their rehabilitation, healing, and support both while incarcerated and when released. It is good that DCS has allowed religious organisations to assist with programmes and activities but should not put that much responsibility on external organisations. Religious programmes were more long-term as participants started attending while in awaiting trial, but some of the rehabilitation

programmes were only introduced weeks before release or never completed. It is important that DCS works on getting offenders into programmes as soon as possible that is at the beginning of their sentence. Offenders felt disappointed and lacked confidence in the DCS when they perceived to be receiving most of their behaviour modification and support from other external organisations.

Finding employment can be more difficult with a criminal record. Some countries have amended their employment acts stating that employers should not discriminate against those with a criminal record. This is something that South Africa should consider doing. If the only ground for firing someone is a criminal record and the former offender possesses no risk in the work environment, they should be able to use the employment act to protect themselves from such discrimination. Another recommendation would be a tax reduction as an incentive for companies that do hire former offenders. As already discussed in the literature review, the Ethiopian Melleke project is a great example of how Government and private institutions can empower offenders by not just training them but helping them open bank accounts, apply for loans to start up cooperatives, and get financial advice on how to run the business, pay the loan back, and save money (International Labour Organisation, 2012). One of the participants made an interesting recommendation. She suggested that DCS should find a place, equip it with various tools and have former offenders use these workshops in order to produce their products and then pay a small monthly fee to DCS for the use of the space and the tools or machines.

This is an interesting suggestion but I would like to see it happen while offenders are still incarcerated so that when they are released they will have paid for the material they have used to make their products (sewing, carpentry, welding...) but would also have saved money to use once released. Some participants did not know how much

they had in their accounts, and even though they worked they had nothing once released. In one case correctional officials sold the products and kept the money for themselves. That money could have helped the participant to support her children and have capital to restart her business once released. The stipend offered to offenders who work while incarcerated is very low and offenders work mainly to keep themselves busy. Stipends given to offenders do not need to be compatible with market-related salaries but should be enough to at least save up to R2 000 a year. Depending on the length of the sentence, a released offender would be able to at least for a short period of time take care of themselves as some participants spoke about not even having clothes that fitted after being released. Those offenders with family support could use the money to buy tools and materials for their skill or trade. The main aim would be to help offenders get back into mainstream society, work and contribute positively to society. It is important to consider that many are starting life from a clean slate with nothing and will need some kind of assistance to get back on their feet.

5.4 Limitations

The study is of a qualitative nature and focuses on how participants experienced searching for employment with a criminal record. The findings are similar and repetitive because it is a shared phenomenon but they are personal experiences and each participant's experience is somewhat unique. However, the findings are not intended to be generalised as it is a qualitative study. A duplication of the study using different participants may give different results as they would have their own personal experiences. Five of the six participants were all from the same correctional facility; experiences may differ for offenders who were incarcerated at different correctional facilities. All the participants were of one faith domination (Christian) and

they all spoke about how their faith had impacted their lives and played a big role in not only changing their behaviour but helping them cope. It was one of the factors that they all had in common making them a very similar group of individuals. None of the participants were of different faiths or atheists. I do believe that their faith has greatly impacted their experiences. The limitations I faced were that only one organisation was able to refer participants for the study. Participants were recruited from the same faith-based organisation and this might have played a role in the outcomes of the interview and may have influenced the findings as this made participants part of the same faith community.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter summarises the findings from Chapter 4 in order to help give an overview of the findings. Recommendations based on the findings, as well as suggestions from participants were discussed. The limitations of the study looked at some of the challenges one might face when replicating the study as well as the influence that participants' faith might have had in shaping their experiences. When I began the study, my perceptions were focused on how unemployment affects recidivism rates with the view that lower rates of recidivism can positively impact community safety. The study helped me understand the experience of incarceration and the struggle that female offenders have to go through in order to reintegrate back into the community and most importantly, reintegrate back to their family system. It also helped me understand that the employment of offenders would not just benefit the community in terms of recidivism, but may help the offender adapt back into society and increase self-worth.

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APPENDIX A

Consent form for participation in the research study

Employment expectations of former female prisoners

Description of the research and your participation

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by me Jessuina K. James, I am currently completing a research report in fulfilment of my Masters in Psychological Research Consultation at the University of South Africa.

Former Offenders may have been unemployed when convicted while others had to interrupt school or work. Once released the former offender has to try to integrate back into the community becoming a law abiding individual which positively contributes to society, unfortunately this is somewhat hampered by a criminal record. The aim of the research is to understand the challenge of finding employment from the view of the former offenders. The research will also seek to ask how employment and unemployment affect your life and attitudes towards re-offending.

The research focuses on former female offenders who are currently unemployed, self-employed and employed. Participants are chosen according to this category. All participant contact details were attained from the Organisation that has put us in contact. Your participation will involve an interview of a duration of approximately an hour. Interviews will occur at the time and place of your convenience and will be in English. The questions that will be asked will be about your experience of finding employment, vocational skills programmes completed in prison, financial status after release, support systems (family, friends, community, church), and educational background.

Being in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. There are no known risks associated with this research. There are no direct benefits to you that would result from your participation in this research but it would add to the knowledge on former offender's career

challenges. It gives you the opportunity to have your experience recorded and make known your challenges.

Your identity will not be revealed in any publications resulting from the study and you will be given a Pseudonym (false name). The interviews will be taped recorded, transcribed and analysed. After which they will be destroyed by shredding, electronic information will be deleted. Only those involved in the study will have access to the transcripts and will have to sign a confidentiality agreement. The transcriptions will be included in the appendix of the final work with all identifying remarks and names changed. The recorded interviews and the transcripts will be kept in a safe private cabinet for a period of 5 years.

The participant will be given a total of 200 Rands for participating in the study. This is mainly to assist you if our meeting place is a travelling distance from your home. This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the College of Human Sciences, UNISA. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

Contact information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me on 0735582157 or on this email address james.nina3@gmail.com. Feedback regarding the study's outcomes will be made available in the form of a report to all those interested. Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact my Research Supervisor Professor Eduard Fourie at fourieme@unisa.ac.za.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Thank you.

X

Jessuina James
Miss

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of the Interviews. I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname
(Please Print)

Participant Signature..... Date.....

Researcher's Name & Surname.....
(Please Print)

Researcher's signature..... Date.....

APPENDIX B

Semi-structured Interview questions

Demographic Questions

How old are you?

What is your marital status?

Do you have any children?

If yes how old are they?

What is your highest level of education?

Were you employed before being incarcerated? If yes what kind of work was it?

How many years have you been released?

Interview Questions

1. Are you currently employed, unemployed, or self-employed?
2. If employed/self-employed, is this your first job since being released?
 - a) What work did you do? (employment history after release)
3. If unemployed, since your release have you been able to find a job?
 - a) If yes what work was it?
 - b) What happened (why did it end?)
4. Why did you decide to attend a vocational skills programme/s?
 - a) What was your experience of the vocational skills programme you attended?
 - b) How relevant to you are the skills you have learnt? (prompt)
5. Perceptions of the impact of a criminal record.
 - a) What has been your experience in finding employment?
 - b) Has the fact that you have a criminal record affected your employment

changes?

- c) If yes, how does this make you feel?
- d) Tell me about your family and who supports the family?(manifest function)
- e) Are all the family's needs met?
- f) What would you like to achieve for yourself in your life/what are your goals and aspirations? (latent function)
- g) Do you get to interact with people outside your family structure?(latent functions)
- h) Do you think that your situation could ever lead you to re-offend?

6. Now that you have been released what improvements do you believe can be made to the programmes that you attended?

Looking back at the vocational skills programme, from your own experience how do you think the vocational skills programme could be improved to better equip you for the outside world?

Do you have any questions or contributions; anything you would like to add that you may feel is important and was not covered in the discussion?

Thank you for your time I really appreciate it.

Appendix C

Letter to organisations

My name is Jessuina K. James. I am currently completing a research study in fulfilment of my Masters in Psychological Research Consultation at the University of South Africa.

The aim of the research study is to explore and find a better understanding of the challenge of finding employment from the view of **former** offenders. The research study will also seek to explore how employment and unemployment affect the participants' life and attitudes towards re-offending. The research study focuses on **former female offenders** who are currently unemployed, self-employed and employed. Who have preferably completed a vocational skills programme.

I hereby would like to ask your assistance in sharing the contact details of prospective participants with me after receiving consent to do so from the participants. Participants are already familiar with your organisation and are your clients, if the need arises for debriefing or Counselling I would like to refer the participants back to the organisation to see their counsellor.

Interviews will be conducted of a duration of approximately an hour. Interviews will occur at the time and place of convenience and will be in English. The questions that will be asked will be about participants experience of finding employment, vocational skills completed in prison, financial status after release, support systems (family, friends, community, church), and educational background. Demographic information will also be asked (age, marital status, and children).

Being in this study is voluntary and participants are under no obligation to consent to participation. If the participant decides to take part, a consent form will be given.

Participants are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. There are no known major risks associated with this research but minor discomfort may be experienced by participants. Participants will be given a total of R200 for participating in the study. This is mainly to assist if our meeting place is a travelling distance from the participants' home or place of work. There are no additional direct benefits that would result from participating in this research but it would add to knowledge on former offender's career challenges. It gives the opportunity to have the participants experience recorded and made known their challenges.

A total of 8 participants will be recruited for the study. It will be highly appreciated if the organisation could refer to me as many participants as possible. When I come in contact with the participants I will discuss the study and their expectations and will choose the participants that best fit the study.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me on 0735582157 or james.nina3@gmail.com or contact my Research Supervisor Professor Eduard Fourie at fourime@unisa.ac.za.

Thank you for your assistance.

Editing certificate

EDITING AND PROOFREADING CERTIFICATE

7542 Galangal Street

Lotus Gardens

Pretoria

0008

02 February 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This letter serves to confirm that I have edited and proofread Ms J. James' dissertation entitled: **"Employment expectations of former female offenders."**

I found the work easy and enjoyable to read. Much of my editing basically dealt with obstructionist technical aspects of language which could have otherwise compromised smooth reading as well as the sense of the information being conveyed. I hope that the work will be found to be of an acceptable standard. I am a member of Professional Editors Group and also Language Editor at the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa.

Thank you.

Hereunder are my particulars:



Jack Chokwe (Mr)

Bureau of Market Research (Unisa)

Contact numbers: 072 214 5489 / 012 429 3327

jmb@executivemail.co.za

Professional
EDITORS
Group