

**A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE REHABILITATION
PROGRAMMES FOR MALE JUVENILES IN WESTVILLE
PRISON**

BY

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ABSTRACT

The study focuses mainly on the effectiveness of the rehabilitation programmes offered to male juveniles at Westville prison. The study also tries to uncover how the rehabilitation programmes improve the quality of life of the juvenile offenders and how it prepares them for reintegration into the community.

A combination of sociological theories has been used interchangeably since they are interrelated. The main theory is symbolic interactionism, including the views of G.H. Mead (1934), W.I. Thomas (1923) and H.S. Becker (1963). Other theories used were differential association by Sutherland (1947); anomie by Merton (1956); subculture by Cohen (1956) and the labeling theory of Schur (1971).

Data from prison officials were collected by means of questionnaires and an interview schedule was administered to the juveniles.

The results of the findings indicate that rehabilitation programmes offered to male juveniles are effective. The reason being that the number of second time offenders is very small compared to the number of first time offenders. Only six respondents out of 50 were found to be second time offenders.

The main conclusion of the study relates to the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes.

The recommendations of the study focus on communication between prison staff and external agencies.

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CHAPTER ONE

The field of study

1.1 Introduction

Very little research has been done in South Africa about prisoners' lives in prison cells, particularly juveniles. This stimulated the researcher's interest in looking deeply at the rehabilitation programmes being offered by the prison authorities to male juvenile offenders.

From a sociological point of view the main reason assumed to have lead them into prison is due to deviant behaviour. The concept of deviance is very broad and there is no single definition of deviance. This makes it difficult for one to explicitly define what deviance or deviant behaviour means unless one tries to put it into a proper context of the study undertaken. Other disciplines refer to deviance as delinquency or delinquent behaviour. These different concepts mean one and the same thing and at times they are used interchangeably. For the purpose of the present study the researcher will use the concept deviance as a sociological concept.

According to Cohen (1959:462) deviant behaviour is: "... behaviour which violates institutionalised expectations, that is, expectations which are shared and recognised as legitimate within a social system." On the other hand Merton (1961:723-724) states that deviant behaviour "... refers to conduct that departs

significantly from the norms set for people in their social statuses. Deviant behaviour can not be described in the abstract but must be related to the norms that are socially defined as appropriate and morally binding for people occupying various statuses”.

According to Haralambos (1985:407) deviance refers “... to those activities which do not conform to the norms and expectations of members of a particular society”. From Haralambos’ definition of deviance, deviance is a relative concept since actions are only deviant in relation to the standards of a particular society at a particular time in history. In other words, what is deviant in one group might not be deviant in another group if their norms, values, expectations and standards are totally different to that of the other group. An act defined as deviant in one society may be seen as perfectly normal in another.

Clinard (1963:22) wrote that deviant behaviour is: “... behaviour in a disapproved direction from the norms and of sufficient degree to exceed the tolerance limit of the community”.

Since there are different views of what deviance is and there is no single definition for deviance, the researcher has chosen a useful criterion, specified most directly by Erikson(1951), but also implied by both Clinard (1963) and Merton (1961) and that is the degree to which the behaviour is likely to invoke a corrective social response from others or to engage the attention or action of social control agencies.

In short, the definition by others of the need for a corrective response, or the actual occurrence of social control responses, provides a means of specifying behaviour which departs substantially enough from shared expectations of appropriateness to warrant characterisation of deviant. Deviance as defined, fits well as an instance accommodated by a recent definition of social problems. Social problems are problems in the sense that they present interruptions in the expected or desired scheme of things.

According to Jessor (1968:50) there is no single cause for deviant behaviour. There are multiple causes for deviant acts. The most common cause is the sociocultural system. The researcher supports Jessor's viewpoint that deviant behaviour is the result of many factors. Therefore one can not conclude by saying that deviance is the result of certain factors only. It is due to a number of factors that are intertwined.

Jessor (1968:55-56) quoted Robert Merton's terms that: "... it is the disjunction between culturally induced high aspirations and socially structured obstacles to realisation of these aspirations which is held to exert distinct pressure for deviant behaviour". Pressure is great where access to legitimate means to achieve goals is most limited, that is, where the disjunction between values and access is greatest.

From Jessor's (1968) viewpoint it is true that if the institutionalised means for one to achieve his goals are blocked, the individual may use uninstitutionalised means to achieve his goals. Uninstitutionalised means from a sociological point of view refers to unacceptable ways or means to achieve goals. The mere fact that

the individual has used illegitimate means to achieve his goals since legitimate means are blocked, is regarded as deviance. Deviance from Merton's viewpoint is the result of the social structure that does not provide its individuals legitimate means to achieve their goals. The society as well plays a very crucial role in promoting deviant behaviour in the sense that it places more emphasis on educational qualifications so that the individual could get a better job.

When the means to attain educational qualifications are blocked by the very same social structure, the individual is left with one option, that is, to use illegitimate means to achieve his goals. It is therefore obvious that under certain circumstances the social structures of society, together with its institutions, are the main causes of deviance. The social structures block legitimate means of an individual to achieve his goals. Its institutions on the other hand, for example the courts and the police may promote deviance by labeling the individual as deviant.

Society as well, due to its reaction to deviance and stigmatising the individual, may promote deviant behaviour. Because of the label attached to him and his isolation by the social structures of society, the individual would act according to the label attached to him and the impact it has on his self-image. Therefore the individual would perceive himself in that way and act accordingly.

Deviance is at times used interchangeably with the term "delinquency". It is difficult to define juvenile delinquency in terms of deviance from conduct norms because these norms vary from one society to another. When we talk about the delinquent, we refer to someone who has been labeled as such by the juvenile

system. Once a person has been labeled, he is often forced to play the role he has been given even though he may prefer another course.

Conklin (1995:264) states that: "People first violate a norm by chance or for unexplained reasons. This initial act of deviance, called primary deviation, sometimes elicits reactions from others...". Shoemaker (1991:209) states that: "The primary factor in the repetition of delinquency is the fact of having been formally labeled as a delinquent." Repeated acts of delinquency according to Shoemaker (1991:209) are influenced by formal labels because such labels eventually alter a person's self-image to the point where the person begins to identify himself as a delinquent and act accordingly."

The labeling theory states that labeling a person has some negative consequences in the sense that a person becomes delinquent because of the label attached to him by the society. Societal reaction obviously makes one to be delinquent. For the purpose of this study it means that the juvenile offenders who have already been incarcerated and stigmatised with this label may become hardened criminals since they have been so labeled by a court of law. Society as well has isolated them on the basis of the stigma. This stigma attached to them has some impact on the person's self-image. Therefore the young offender would perceive himself according to that label and internalise it and then objectivate.

Tannenbaum was quoted by Bartollas (1993:193) stating that: "The process of making a criminal, therefore, is a process of tagging, defining, segregating, identifying, describing, emphasising, and evoking the very traits that are

complained of .” This view by Tannenbaum (1993) means that society by defining, segregating and tagging stimulates the very same kind of behaviour from the juvenile offender that the society is complaining about.

For the purpose of the present study, the researcher agrees with the labeling perspective because it is possible that society may create criminals by labeling them and the manner in they react towards a juvenile offender. This reaction by the society would force the agents of social control, like the police and courts, to also react negatively towards the offender by attaching a label of being a criminal.

Society and its social institutions may thus promote deviance and criminality, which the very same society and its agents of social control try to prevent. In this case, the labeling theory fits well in this present study.

1.2 Goals of the present study

The research will focus on rehabilitation programmes. Rehabilitation of offenders by prison authorities in general terms is mainly aimed at changing the criminals’ behaviour, that is, the self of the individual criminal. The aim is to change from the criminal culture, norms and values to those that are reinforced by the larger society in order to become an acceptable member of society after his release from prison.

Rehabilitation is a multidisciplinary approach since it involves a therapeutic programme, youth empowerment, family therapy, recreational facilities, environmental education, street law, school projects, literacy and numeracy.

The focus will be on:

- i) The effectiveness of the programmes, which would be judged by looking at the number of first-time juvenile offenders and the number of second-time juvenile offenders.
- ii) How the rehabilitation programme:
 - a) improves the quality of life of the juvenile offenders and
 - b) prepares them for reintegration into the community.

1.3 Definition of concepts

It is necessary for the researcher to define certain concepts at this stage. Other concepts will be explained in the text.

1.3.1 Deviance

Definitions of deviance, are many and varied, depending on the orientation of the definer. Vetter and Silverman (1986:11) assert that deviance is not a fundamental property of human behaviour but is descriptive of certain kinds of conduct. They further state that deviance can be ascribed to almost any behaviour that departs from standards or expectations. Vetter and Silverman (1986:11) quote Schur (1971) stating that human behaviour is deviant "... to the extent that it comes to be viewed as involving a personally discreditable departure from a group's normative expectations and elicits interpersonal or collective reactions that serve

to isolate, treat, correct or punish individuals engaged in such behaviour.” This definition asserts that deviant behaviour is regarded in negative terms by others and that their response to this behaviour has the effect of either changing or suppressing the behaviour or punishing the person who exhibits such behaviour.

Giddens (1989:118) also asserts that the study of deviant behaviour is one of the most fascinating tasks of sociology. It is a complex area of analysis because there are as many types of rule-violation as there are social norms and values. Since norms vary between different cultures and between differing sub-cultures within the same society, what is normal in one cultural setting is deviant in another.

Giddens (1989:129) then defines deviance as: “... non-conformity to a given norm, or set of norms which are accepted by a significant number of people in a community or society.” He further states that deviance does not just refer to individual behaviour, but concerns the activities of groups as well. Therefore the scope of the concept of deviance is very wide.

Labeling theorists (Giddens, 1989:129) interpret deviance not as a result of characteristics of individuals or groups, but as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants. According to labeling theorists, those who represent the forces of law and order, or are able to impose definition of conventional morality upon others, provide the main sources of labeling. Labeling theory begins from the assumption that no act is intrinsically criminal. Definitions of criminality are established by the powerful, through the formulation of laws and their interpretation by police courts and correctional institutions. Once a child is

labeled as a delinquent, he or she is stigmatised as a criminal and is likely to be treated as untrustworthy. The individual then relapses into further criminal behaviour.

1.3.2 Juvenile delinquency

Kratcoski and Kratcoski (1979:2) state that juvenile delinquency could mean any type of behaviour by those socially defined as juveniles that violate the norms (standards of proper behaviour) set by the controlling group. From this viewpoint, juveniles could be considered delinquent if they adopted modes of hairstyle, dress or action that were opposed to the standards set by those in authority.

Kratcoski and Kratcoski (1979:2) further state that in a narrower sense, juvenile delinquency is defined as any action by someone designated as a juvenile (non-adult) that would make such a young person subject to action by the juvenile court. Even here there are problems of definition, since many youths that commit such acts are not reported or subjected to official juvenile court action. According to Kratcoski and Kratciski (1979:3) a youth is not normally considered to be a juvenile delinquent unless he has been officially processed by the juvenile court and judged (adjudicated) as such.

Cavan and Ferdinand (1975:23) say that: "... juvenile delinquency refers to the failure of children and youth to meet certain obligations expected of them by the society in which they live." Cavan and Ferdinand (1975:23) have also offered a legal definition of delinquency: "Juvenile delinquency cases are those cases

referred to courts for acts defined in the statutes of the State as a violation of a state law or municipal ordinance by children or youth of juvenile court age, or for conduct so seriously antisocial as to interfere with the rights of others or to menace the welfare of the delinquent himself or of the community.” This broad definition of delinquency includes conduct that violates the law only when committed by children, e.g. truancy, ungovernable behaviour, and running away.

According to Coetzee *et al* (1995:155) all persons under the age of 21 admitted to South African prisons and sentenced to a term of imprisonment are regarded as juveniles. Van Zyl Smit (1992:222) states that the Correctional Services Act provides for the establishment of special prisons for juveniles and for such prisoners over the age of 21 years as, by reason of their immaturity, may, in the opinion of the Commissioner, more appropriately be classified as juvenile. From the Juvenile Justice for South Africa, proposals for policy and legislative change (1994:49) young people of 14 years or older shall be deemed to have criminal capacity, and may be dealt with by the criminal courts if there is no other suitable way of dealing with their cases. Young people between the ages of 7 and 14 can be dealt with by means of a formal police caution.

1.3.3 Rehabilitation

Vetter and Silverman (1986:262) say that the idea of rehabilitation in corrections began as a matter of moral redemption of the offender. It was gradually co-opted by psychiatry, however, and transformed into a problem for psychotherapy. The goal of correctional treatment became the changing of the personality of the

individual offender to achieve improvements in social behaviour and personal adjustment.

Rehabilitation for Conklin (1986:433) is the restoration of criminals to a law-abiding way of life through treatment. More specifically, rehabilitation is the result of any planned intervention focused on the offender that reduces criminal activity, whether that reduction is achieved by changes in personality, abilities, attitudes, values or behaviour. Excluded from rehabilitation are the effects of fear and intimidation or specific deterrence and the maturational effects that cause older offenders to live a life of crime.

Coetzee *et al* (1995:156) referred to rehabilitation as a multidisciplinary treatment programme designed especially to meet the particular needs of the juvenile. The aim of this approach is to equip juveniles, as far as possible, with the life skills they will require to function effectively in society. Staff representing a variety of vocational and other fields are involved in this programme.

The treatment programme for juveniles is based mainly on the principle of interdisciplinary presentations with a strong emphasis on education. The specialised treatment programme for juveniles are more receptive to positive influences and reform than adult prisoners. The specific nature, character and needs of the juvenile demand a particular approach within the prison environment based on tested principles, such as maintaining sound discipline, the privilege system and comprehensive physical care.

1.4 Assumptions upon which the present study are based

Based on the literature review undertaken, the researcher has come up with certain assumptions with regard to individuals adopting a deviant status and delinquency.

The assumptions are as follows:

- i) Swigert and Farrell (1979:117) assume that: "... the stigma that accompanies deviance has negative consequences for the self-concepts of persons so labeled." This means that labeling a person has a negative influence on the self of the individual and the response of others may be to exclude him from more meaningful interactions.
- ii) Other researchers including Swigert and Farrell (1979:124) have found that: "... lower-class people are more susceptible to the labeling process." This is because of the fact that those responsible for enforcing the norms apply more negative sanctions to lower-class persons.
- iii) The socialisation of lower-class boys (Swigert and Farrell, 1979:220) does not adequately prepare them to compete effectively for status rewards in middle-class-dominated institutions. Delinquency is thus viewed as a by-product of the unequal competition at school.
- iv) Individuals become delinquent because: "... they are denied access to the legitimate opportunity structure, and all people aspire initially toward the

traditional indices of success (e.g. education and vocational training.” (Swigert and Farrell, 1979:228). This is due to the inequalities that exist in modern society as to who holds power. Those in power would always strive to serve sectional interests, particularly of the middle-class.

- v) Swigert and Farrell (1979:235) assume that “... delinquency is the product of group influences by which the individual learns both the techniques and the motives and drives involved in committing deviant acts.” This learning takes place in a process of socialisation within a group context. Thus an act which may be deviant within the context of the larger society may conform to the normative standards of particular groups within the society.

1.5 Background studies on deviance, delinquency, and rehabilitation

Most of the research studies undertaken in this field of study are based on international experience rather than South African experience. Even those few that happen to be based on a South African experience are based mostly on the experiences of prison gangs. Countries mostly cited in the literature review are Britain and the United States.

Deviance and the family is seen as: “... the main cause for deviance that socialisation of the young within the family setting is not proper and effective” (Johnson, 1974:104). In an extended family particularly, parents might send mixed messages to a child. The uncles, aunts, grandmothers, grandfathers, father

and mother, they all send different teachings to a child and the child ends up totally confused as to whose teachings are to be listened to, accepted and internalised.

Barlow and Ferdinand (1992:154-155) state that the family plays a major role in shaping a child's attitude towards school and peers. The family is the first line of defense against juvenile misbehaviour. Instability within the family, however, has its costs, and those who pay most heavily in the long run are the children. Parental discord often involves bitter quarrels over the children. Child rearing practices are frequent points of contention, and disagreements often confront children with conflicting demands from their parents.

Parental discord encourages children to use hostility and abuse in their own relationships. Barlow and Ferdinand (1992:155) further state that quarrels focusing on the children often invite them to choose one parent over the other. As a family turmoil takes its toll, the parents lose any desire to give children the kind of guidance and supervision they need, so that often the children are left to follow their own whims and inclinations. Weak parental supervision may result in delinquency.

Barlow and Ferdinand (1992:156) further state that parental disciplinary style also influences the child's delinquency. Nagging and scolding as well as extreme strictness, leniency, and inconsistency or unfairness have all been associated with delinquency or aggressiveness.

According to Barlow and Ferdinand (1992:156) family discord is not the only basis in the family for delinquency. Other factors such as parental deviance, family description, or the child's own impact on the family also makes a difference. Deviance, violence or criminality in the parents seem even to carry over from one generation to the next. Delinquents are much more likely to have poor relationships with both their mother and father, negative attitudes towards school and their teachers, and to approve of their delinquent peers.

Delinquency for Haralambos (1985:406) refer to: "... the criminal activities of young people." On the other hand, Bartollas (1993:5) define juvenile delinquency as: "... an act committed by a minor that violates the penal code of the government with authority over the area in which the act occurred". A youth (Haskell and Yoblonsky, 1982:7) is defined as a delinquent when that status is conferred upon him by a court. Haskell and Yablonsky (1982:8) further state that a child may also become a juvenile delinquent when that status is conferred upon him by a court.

Haskell and Yablonsky (1982:96) quoted Robert Audry's study of both delinquent and nondelinquent boys. The results indicated that delinquent boys receive less strong and open love from their parents than of nondelinquents. It is the father's affective role that is (constantly) less satisfactory than that of the mother's among the delinquents, in contrast to a sense of satisfaction with both parents among nondelinquents. It was also concluded from this study that delinquent boys tend to perceive greater defects in their father's roles than in their mother's roles,

whereas nondelinquents tend to perceive the roles of both parents as being adequate.

Haskell and Yablonsky (1982:97) further state that parents of delinquents seem to be less concerned about the welfare of their children than were parents of nondelinquents. When boys see this lack of parental concern for their future, it only added to their difficulty. The family can be a primary source of deviance and delinquency. The most significant role of the family is to socialise the young children properly. If the family has failed to properly socialise child at an early stage of their development, it then becomes difficult to socialise and shape them when they have fully grown up.

The family is the beginning and foundation of socialisation. Delinquency starts within the family before it can extend to other external societal institutions which enforce the values and norms of the larger society. The only institution that seems to be blamed for deviant behaviour among juveniles is the family. Even though other institutions, like the police, school and court can also contribute to deviant behaviour. Failure of the family in its role as a socialising agent means failure to other social institutions in regulating deviant behaviour amongst the delinquents since these institutions are inextricably linked.

Once these juvenile offenders have been convicted for their deviant acts, they are thereafter sent to prison to serve their sentences. The sentences imposed on them depend on the seriousness of the crime they have committed. While these juveniles are still in prison they have to undergo a rehabilitation process in trying

to help them to return to an acceptable way of living as human beings. According to Carney (1974:407) rehabilitation refers to "... the restoration of an individual to a useful place in society, as through therapy or education." Recently there has developed an increased public concern about the role that prisons play in society. Many people are under the impression that correctional institutions act as rehabilitative agents of society. The facts refute this belief in a great majority of cases.

Conklin (1989:482) states that: "... punishment was in the old days not designed to rehabilitate offenders, instead, physical pain was publicly inflicted on convicted criminals in order to humiliate them and to deter other people from crime."

Conklin (1989:485) further states that: "... offenders can be changed by treatment, even though prisons emphasise custody more than treatment. The principle underlying these treatment programmes is to return the offender to society not with the negative vacuum of punishment – induced fear but with the affirmative and constructive equipment, physical, mental and moral for law-abidingness..."

According to Conklin (1989:483) it means that treatment programmes offered to the offenders must be able to rehabilitate them physically, mentally and morally. Once these mentioned elements within the offender have successfully been built up, the offender after his release from prison is more likely to become a law-abiding citizen and leave his criminal career.

Hosford and Moss (1975:3) quoted Kenton commenting that: "... traditionally, the correctional institution has been viewed as being outside the perimeters of society as a whole, as existing to serve society's needs while being at the same time unworthy of reciprocal assistance." This means that initially prisons were viewed by the society as existing outside of it or independently from it. The correctional institutions are part of the society and they cannot function without its support and help.

This is actually an appeal to the society that they must work together with correctional corrections so that treatment programmes for rehabilitation can be successful. Since some of these programmes are community-based they will never be successful if the community itself is not co-operative and isolate itself.

It is important to recognise that society is made up of several different parts, none of which can afford to be exclusive if each part is to do its job effectively. Those individual members of society placed in prisons cannot be forgotten. They are real people with real problems who are struggling in the most unreal of all worlds, the prison, to learn how to make it in the real world outside. It is unrealistic to isolate these individuals from the real world and then to expect them upon release to become successful and useful citizens. By restricting the individual exclusively to the prison setting we are helping him learn how to live within the prison setting, not how to live in the real world outside.

On the other hand Conklin (1995:499) defined rehabilitation as: "... the restoration of criminals to a law-abiding way of life through treatment. More

specifically, rehabilitation is the result of any planned intervention focused on whether that reduction is achieved by changes in personality, abilities, attitudes, values, or behaviour...”

Johnson (1974:102) states that: “... at the rehabilitation of the offender end of the continuum of conceptions of extramural programmes, protection of the community is sought incidentally, and the emphasis is on developing self-discipline and strengthening the capacity of the client to achieve personal goals through law-abiding behaviour.”

The focus of attention for rehabilitation is on the client. Rehabilitation is therefore aimed at changing the attitude, behaviour and social relationships of the offender. This whole process of rehabilitation tries to change the individual offender to become a law-abiding citizen. But this requires full participation in all the programmes administered to them in order to have a complete change from criminal behaviour to a law-abiding citizen.

Changes in the offender's attitude, behaviour and social relationships are due to effective supervision. Supervision is a form of aftercare. It is the mechanism through which help is delivered to the client. This is where the progress of the offender is noted and subsequently recorded. Supervision means control, and it also means assistance. The goal of supervision (Carney, 1979:224) is to help the individual grow into the sort of adjustment that will enable him to live his own life within the limits set by the community.

For the present study rehabilitation and supervision are interrelated concepts, they cannot be separated. Rehabilitation is some form of supervision in the sense that the offender is supervised. But rehabilitation cannot take place without supervision. One has to be supervised in order to get rehabilitated.

1.6 Theoretical perspective

For the purpose of the present study the theoretical perspective to be used is humanism. The reason why humanism is used is because it is linked to the theories to be used, and it is also linked to the methodology of the study. The theories to be used for the study is differential association, by Sutherland; subculture theory by Cohen (1956) labeling theory by Schur (1971) and anomie by Merton (1956).

The study is based on evaluating rehabilitation programmes for juveniles in prison. These juveniles have deviated, were arrested, charged and imprisoned. Therefore, they have to undergo rehabilitation while still in prison in order to make them change from criminal behaviour to acceptable behaviour in society after release. As they are imprisoned they may learn new cultures, tactics and advanced methods for committing further crimes. That is, they may get a new culture being transmitted to them by the older prison inmates. That's how Cohen's theory of subculture fits in for the present study.

Sometimes these juveniles have landed in prison because of their association with other criminal gangs in their respective communities. This result in imprisonment

because of their association with such criminal groups. Sutherland's theory of differential association also fits in the present study. Maybe their situation of ending up in gaol was due to the fact that they could not achieve their goals in an acceptable way. Their means to achieve their goals in an acceptable way were blocked by the social structure, as a result they deviated from the standard norms and values of the society. Merton's theory of anomie helps to explain such a situation.

Society would then label them as deviants or criminals because they have deviated from the norms and values of society. They would then internalise the label attached to them as criminals, according to Schur. All these theories to be used fall under humanism and they have relevance for the study. These theoretical approaches will be discussed briefly below.

1.6.1 Anomie theory

Merton's theory (1956:13) states that people occupying different positions in the social structure tend to have distinctive interests and values. For Merton, there are culturally defined goals, purposes and interests for the individuals to achieve their goals. If the institutionalised means to achieve goals are blocked by the structures, the individual would deviate to uninstitutionalised means to achieve his goals. In short, Merton's theory of anomie states that the structures should provide individuals with means to achieve their goals. If the same social structures block those means, the individual would deviate in order to achieve his goals. Therefore crime is the result of that situation.

1.6.2 Subculture theory

For Cohen (1956:13) and his theory of subculture, the delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with problems of adjustment, chiefly status problems. In short, these delinquents resort to deviance because they are denied status. Their acts of deviance is a way of trying to gain status, fame and popularity from their groups. Since they belong to different subcultural groups, there is that pressure for them to commit crime in order to gain recognition and status. But these subcultural groups take norms and values from the larger culture of society and turn them down in order to suit their own group interests.

1.6.3 Labeling theory

The labeling theory (Schur, 1971:7) states that if you label an individual as a criminal, that person would act according to the label attached to him. If you label an individual as a criminal, he will be a criminal because of the way other individuals or society label him. The labeling theorists have mostly used the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism. In short, deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label. If you stigmatise or tag a person as a criminal, that person would become what he is described as being. In a nutshell, criminal behaviour is the result of the attached stigma to other individuals as criminals by others. They then internalise that label by others and act according to the label attached to them.

1.6.4 Differential association

Sutherland's theory (1973:14) states that the individual is more likely to become a criminal if that individual associates with a group of other criminals. According to Sutherland (1973:14): "... social groups differ in the importance they attach to respect for the law, and that the individual will turn towards or away from crime according to the cultural standards of his associates, especially his intimate ones." This statement by Sutherland implies that the individual might be or not be a criminal depending on their perception for the law. If the groups does not have a respect for law, then the person belonging to that group would deviate from the law by engaging in criminal activities.

1.7 Methodological orientation

The methodology of the present study is linked to theories of humanism. These theories link with qualitative methodology in a meaningful way as they help to understand the social context within which behaviour can be studied. Both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used. Data gathered from questionnaires and interviews will be organised in tables.

1.8 General structure of the present study

The researcher has attempted in Chapter One to provide an adequate statement of the problem. Chapter Two of the study will be based on the literature review with

particular focus on rehabilitation, deviance and delinquency since these concepts are used interchangeably and are interrelated. Chapter Three will be based on the method to be used in gathering data. The questionnaires and interviews will be used mainly as data gathering tools.

Chapter Four will focus on the theoretical framework for the discussion of the topic under study. Since the study is based on rehabilitation, symbolic interactionist theory will be presented by combining the theoretical positions of Mead (1934), Becker (1963) and W.I. Thomas (1923) in order to explain the social conditions of the rehabilitation process of juveniles in and outside prison. Chapter Five deals with data analysis, interpretation and application. Tables will be drawn by calculating frequency and percentage responses. The application of the symbolic interactionist theorists would also be applied in the interpretation of data. Chapter Six is a summary of the study, with conclusions and recommendations that were formulated on the basis of data obtained through interviews and questionnaires.

1.9 Summary

The researcher has started by outlining the field of the study, and followed by explaining the goals of the study. The researcher went further by stating the assumptions upon which the present study is based, background studies on deviance, delinquency and rehabilitation. The definitions of concepts have also been included for the present study. The theoretical perspective for the study is also discussed. A methodological orientation that relates to the theoretical

perspective is included. The general structure of the present study is dealt with and the summary of the whole study.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

It has been stated already in Chapter One of the study that most of the literature on deviance, crime, delinquency and rehabilitation is based on an American experience. In South Africa, though some studies have been done on the same areas, but very little literature is available particularly on rehabilitation since this is the main focus of the present study. Juveniles in prisons are a serious problem to society and to the government because the government spent more taxpayers' money on prison inmates.

The bulk of the literature review cites a number of factors that contribute to juvenile delinquency, crime and other different forms of deviant behaviour. Some of the factors cited in both American and South African studies regarding deviance are factors like the family, the school, police, society, peer group influence, economic factors, physical factors, psychological and sociological factors, cultural, political and environmental factors. All these factors contribute greatly towards deviance and delinquency. Once the juveniles have committed serious offences due to the above-mentioned factors, they get arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned. Once they are in prison they have to undergo some form of rehabilitation to try and change their behaviour to become more acceptable.

Through rehabilitation their attitudes and behaviour may change to become more socially acceptable. But there are two competing notions on rehabilitation. The first one being that rehabilitation is effective and works very well in restoring a person's attitude and behaviour. The other notion argues that rehabilitation is not effective, it is a failure. The present study is trying to look at the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes offered to those juveniles who are already imprisoned.

2.2 Rehabilitation: a South African perspective

Coetzee *et al* (1995:114) states that it is impossible to nurse or treat a sick person unless the cause of the condition is known. Similarly, it is also impossible to render any assistance to an antisocial person if the full details of that person's personality are not available. Mason (1981:11) states that in recent years there has been mounting skepticism regarding the success of rehabilitation in the penal system. In South Africa, the major aim of the department of correctional services is to provide for the reform and rehabilitation of offenders by training them in habits of industry and labour. Rehabilitation is a desirable objective, but there are now serious doubts as to the effectiveness of the treatment model. High recidivism rates indicate that prisons may become breeding places for crime. Inadequate resources of manpower and equipment often mean that the effectiveness of rehabilitation cannot be fully tested. Over 80% of prisoners are short-term who receive no "treatment" or rehabilitation during imprisonment. A former deputy commissioner, according to Mason (1981:11) has acknowledged

that prisons in South Africa are unsuitable places for rehabilitation and resocialisation of offenders, while Wootton quoted by Mason (1981:11) described “penal treatment” as “cumulative failures”.

2.3 Philosophical approaches to treatment

2.3.1 The medical model

The medical model (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:115) was characterised by the strong emphasis that criminal behaviour can be attributed to certain internal factors. Through diagnosis, this criminal behaviour had to be exposed and treated. Prisoners would then be “cured” so that they could adapt to society. An environment had to be created (hospital) where the illness could be cured.

2.3.2 The integration model

This model (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:117) developed mainly because offenders come from society and must once again return to that society. As offenders come from society, their problems must be solved in that society since that is where the problem has developed. The argument is therefore that society must accept responsibility for its problems. For this reason society must render assistance to the released prisoners to facilitate their reintegration. Supporters of this model also advocate community sentences for most offenders. Only those hardened criminals for whom imprisonment is inevitable must be detained in prisons.

2.3.3 The justice model

The supporters of this model (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:118) believe that prisoners are entitled to fair treatment. Justice rather than rehabilitation, should be the point of departure. Responsibility forms the basis of this model. Prisoners must be treated with dignity and respect as responsible beings with their own will, and not as passive “sick people”.

2.3.4 The programme approach

According to this approach (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:118), a programme refers to any structured action aimed at influencing prisoners positively with the intention of improving their quality of life. To realise this, the needs of a particular prisoner must first be determined before one can determine what programme that prisoner should be exposed to. To be able to identify a need, it must first be determined, and to be able to do this, certain needs schemes are used. The needs of a prisoner may be diverse, and different prisoners may have different needs. To compile a programme profile of the prisoner, certain programmes must be selected for the prisoner and a priority for the application of these programmes must be determined. A needs assessment is therefore graded.

2.4 Treatment programmes for juveniles

2.4.1 Detention and treatment programmes

This programme (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:156) is divided into three phases, namely, the observation, treatment and preparation for release phases. Sentenced juveniles are allocated to the programme as soon as possible after admission to prison.

2.4.1.1 The observation phase

This phase has duration of four weeks and commences soon after the juvenile's admission to prison (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:157). The aim of the observation phase is, firstly, to obtain information required for the determination of the individual treatment and training objectives. The juveniles are introduced to the total spectrum of activities in the prison, the purpose of their detention, the objectives of their treatment and the rules and regulations of the prison.

2.4.1.2 The treatment phase

During this phase, the juveniles participate in the treatment and training programmes that have been specifically designed to satisfy their particular needs (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:158). At the beginning of this phase, the results of the observation process are discussed with the juvenile during a meeting of the institutional committee whereafter individual treatment and training objectives are

formulated. In this treatment phase, a number of programmes are involved, namely, the recreational programmes, library programmes, psychological treatment, religious care, privileges programmes and discipline programmes.

2.4.1.3 Preparation for release phase

This programme commences ten weeks prior to and lasts until two weeks before the juvenile's placement or release (Coetzee *et al*, 1995:159). The aim of this phase is to prepare juveniles to deal effectively with those problems that may confront them after their placement or release. Community integration sessions are held weekly. Subjects such as stigma of imprisonment as a stumbling block, the disadvantages of crime, responsibility, family planning, dealing with crises, housing and health services are discussed. During this phase, the social worker also makes the necessary arrangements regarding aftercare services. If juveniles are released on parole, they are placed either under the supervision of their parents or foster parents or a welfare organisation.

Coetzee *et al*, (1995: 160) further state that each juvenile's placement or release is considered individually and with great circumspection, taking into consideration factors such as the nature and seriousness of the crime, previous convictions, behaviour and adaptation in prison, and participation in available programmes. Juveniles can be released on parole, either on expiry of their sentence or before the expiry of their sentence, subject to conditions which must be complied with during the period of parole.

Coetzee *et al*, (1995:161) say the growing prison population in South Africa places a heavy burden on taxpayers, and correctional supervision as a cheaper sentence option has certain advantages in this regard. Correctional supervision can be defined as a community – based sentence option which is prescribed by the courts and served in the community under the strict supervision and control of supervision officials of the Department of Correctional Services in South Africa. The underlying philosophy of the sentence option is that only those criminals who must be detained in prisons owing to their dangerous nature and continual criminal patterns must be removed from society, while those criminals who do not fall into this category should rather be dealt with in the community. Programmes for correctional supervision cases include house arrest, victim compensation, community service and correctional programmes.

Although this research focuses on offenders who are not insane, one also needs to highlight the point that there are prison inmates who are mentally ill. Those mentally ill offenders have their own treatment programmes that are slightly different to those offered to prisoners who are mentally sane. Mentally ill offenders (Fairhead, 1983:280-288) are assessed and managed by a multidisciplinary psychiatric team in a hospital setting. Following treatment and rehabilitation in the maximum security ward and after concurrence by the team, the patient whose behaviour warrants it, is moved to a closed ward. Here the rehabilitation programme is continued. There is a graded introduction of privileges such as ground parole and attendance, at the work assessment unit. Intensification of work and social skill assessment and training is carried out in

preparation for discharge. Suitable patients are offered some training course at Nelspoort training and rehabilitation centre where skills related to building, farming and other trades are learnt to enable them to obtain immediate employment on return to the community.

Corporal punishment has been used in all the prisons throughout South Africa. It was believed that corporal punishment can serve as a deterrent to deviant behaviour. According to Smit (1984:71-73) there is no evidence that corporal punishment acts as an effective deterrent. It was discovered that in the South African juvenile courts 57% of those convicted were whipped. Such punishment was imposed for all types of offences irrespective of previous convictions. The physical effects of whipping can be very serious and the psychological effects are often likely to be prolonged and harmful not only to individual himself, but to society in general (Smit, 1984:71-73).

It was said (Smit, 1984:72) that corporal punishment on children and adolescents indicate a relationship between the physical punishment received and the severity of antisocial aggressiveness later demonstrated. Basic modeling theory (Smit, 1984:73) states that anyone who attempts to modify a young person's behaviour by inflicting severe physical punishment is providing an aggressive model from which the individual may learn aggressive means of responding in interpersonal situations. Such treatment debases not only the individual, destroying his dignity and self-respect, but also the society that permits it.

Stevens (1991:1) argued that rehabilitation cannot be considered independently of the consequences of imprisonment. The question, which is posed, is whether rehabilitation can be realised for the majority of those passing through the prison system. They have quoted Arthur *et al* (1979) who stated that a society “makes its own criminals”. This is not only in the unequal distribution of resources but also in the values propagated by that society, that the pursuit of material wealth is seen as an honourable vocation.

2.5 Imprisonment

Stevens’ (1991:4) point of view is that the prisoner has been physically rejected by society and subjected to a totally abnormal environment, with its own culture, values and norms. Most prisoners, in their need to belong, will identify with the prison subculture, which usually acknowledges a negative and antisocial code of behaviour. Irvin and Shaw, quoted by Stevens (1991:5) indicate that United States prisons failed miserably to rehabilitate their inmates. Worldwide recidivist rates of between 60% and 86% further prove that prison does little to rehabilitate (Stevens, 1991:5).

Stevens (1991:5) argued “... that prison is, in spite of all the treatment facilities and professional personnel, the least suitable place where personality development and therefore behaviour changes could be engendered. Rehabilitation of the general so called “prison population” does not appear to be possible in so negative an environment”. Arthur *et al* (Stevens, 1991:5) is also concerned when they

castigate prison as being "... the most expensive and futile of all ways at present in use of trying to combat crime".

2.5.1 The effects of imprisonment

The effects of imprisonment from Stevens' point of view (1991:6) is that the stigma seems to cloy. The change in environment causes disorientation. The individual no longer has a place in society or a meaningful role to play. Many individuals find themselves isolated as inter-personal relationships have disintegrated. Erickson *et al'* (1951:7) views were considered, suggesting that "... the most successful programme for the offender would be one that would allow the offender to feel like a man and to be self sufficient. He needs to have his ego rebuilt on his release". The prison system has torn his ego down through coercion, control and humiliation. If basic needs cannot be met, crime become a survival strategy and imprisonment a repetitive cycle, according to them.

2.5.2 Prison gangs

Prison gangs, according to Lotte (1988-89:67-68) are certainly prevalent in part of the South African prison system. Social units of various kinds are, of course, common in prison and their nature tends to reflect elements of prisoner subculture. Such units are based on, for example, friendship, sexual or other attractions, shared interests, forced proximity in cell or workplace and prison experience which may result in "homeboys", persons from the same town, city or

neighbourhood, sticking together. Prison gangs are to be found almost exclusively in prisons for Black and Coloured men and particularly in maximum security prisons. Prison gangs may have considerable impact on life in prison. Their prison codes and the more generic inmate code restrict interaction between inmates and staff and reinforce negative attitudes towards and opposition to staff.

Lotter (1988-89:70-71) states that victimization of inmates by gangs is not limited to the economic sphere. Gangs also contribute to the psychological, social and sexual victimisation of fellow inmates. Newcomers to prison with existing gang affiliations, either on the streets or in reform school or other juvenile institutions, are especially predisposed to join prison gangs. They seem to have accepted gang membership as a way of life and readily adapt to gang life in prison. Gangs offer certain services to their members, that is, protection against victimisation by other inmates, welfare services and psychological support. Gangs certainly alleviate some of the pains of imprisonment such as idleness, boredom, institutionalisation, and powerlessness, deprivation of goods and services and even sexual frustration.

Using a functional approach (Lotter, 1988-89:70-71), it seems possible to show that by and large South Africa's prison gangs have in the past dealt successfully with the functional imperatives like goal attainment, adaptation, integration, and pattern maintenance and tension management which the social system must solve in order to survive and endure.

2.5.3 Parole

Much has been said in the literature review about the importance of rehabilitation. Based on the findings of the literature study it has appeared that rehabilitation is a failure due to certain circumstances like overcrowding in prisons, where certain prisoners can not get rehabilitated. Even though the prisoner can be rehabilitated, the attitude of society towards him after his release is a tremendous problem. Many researchers, therefore, suggest that the best and most appropriate form of rehabilitation is parole because there is greater involvement of the community and the prisoners as well as prison social workers and other agencies. In short, parole is regarded as the best form of rehabilitation.

According to Mihalik (1987:255) parole is the conditional release of selected inmates from confinement to continue serving the unexpired portion of their sentences in the community under supervision and control. Parole is not a right, it can be granted or denied by the Commissioner of Prisons. Graser (1981:209) suggests that in order to rehabilitate the parolee and to protect the community, there must be intensive pre-release preparation of the parolee. The conditions must be specific and realistic, and the parolee must be released under professional supervision. There must be close co-operation between social workers of the prison service and of the community agency during the pre-release stage.

The literature suggests that the parole process should begin while the offender is still in prison. There should be consultation between the prison and community

social workers in preparation for the transfer of services, which begins during the pre-release stage. All three persons are to be involved in the preparation of the parole conditions, which are specific to that offender, and in the planning of the after-care.

There are existing defects with respect to the practical aspects of after-care of parolees (Nielsen, 1986:34) and, that is, there is a shortage of social workers to serve Black and Coloured parolees. There is also inadequate communication between prison authorities and external welfare agencies. Graser (1985:37) in his study of the attitudes and opinions of the judicial officers, prison personnel and aftercare social workers on parole in South Africa, found that some persons felt that in this regard, there should be greater liaison. Respondents also expressed the view that the parole service should have a coordinated approach, that is, representatives of the various facets of the criminal justice system, the police, the judiciary, the prisons, and the aftercare agencies being involved in the parole process.

Another alternative to imprisonment is the idea of community service as community orientated punishment. Howes (1981:131) states that the commission of enquiry into the penal system of community service should be introduced. Community service is a viable alternative, especially for short-term imprisonment. It can alleviate not only overcrowding in prisons, but it can eliminate the detrimental effects that imprisonment may have on certain offenders. Community

service keeps the offender in the community and combines the punitive and rehabilitative aspects of a sentence.

2.6 Summary

The main focus of this chapter is on rehabilitation in the South African perspective although very little research has been done on this area in the South African context. Other factors like political, economic, education, family, environmental, psychological and sociological factors, peer group influence, police and society have just been mentioned in passing. The reason for not delving much on these factors is because they have already been discussed in Chapter One of the study. The effects of imprisonment has also been covered. Parole and community service as alternative models to rehabilitation have also been considered in the present chapter.

Glanz (1988:188) states that society is not doing what it should towards the successful reintegration and resocialisation of the released prisoner. Other factors working against successful reintegration of the ex-prisoner after release, is the stigma society attaches to the offender and the social distance initiated and maintained by the society towards the ex-prisoner. Although the offender can be rehabilitated in all different forms, the stigma of being an ex-prisoner would always exist for him and in the minds and attitudes of society. Because of the stigma attached as an ex-prisoner or criminal, he may internalise that label and externalise it through objectivation and thus creat a solid world of criminality.

Putting one into jail does not necessarily rehabilitate. It may create a stigma for the individual prisoner and make matters worse because it may influence in the success of rehabilitation. Glanz (1988:188) quoted Becker, one of the major exponents of the labeling theory, proposed that once primary deviant behaviour has been identified and labeled, a 'master status' is applied to the individual which overrules all other status positions of the person. All future reactions of society towards the labeled individual tend to be generalised in terms of this master status.

Glanz (1988:189) further states that the stigma experienced by ex-prisoners considerably contributes to their slipping back to crime. Stigma, then can be viewed as one of the influences mitigating the chances of successful adjustment of the ex-offender upon his return to the community. Programmes aimed at promoting more successful reintegration of ex-prisoners will need to address the problem of the debilitating effects of stigma and this is what the present study is looking at as part of rehabilitation.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodological orientation

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the methodological procedures that will be used in undertaking the present study. The study is based on the theory, the research paradigm, the research process, the research technique, ethical concerns and the statistical procedures that will be used. A theoretical perspective cannot be used in isolation from the research activity. On the other hand research methods are of little use without any theoretical perspectives. The focus will be on research models used, sampling in respect of male juveniles and prison authorities, data gathering tools (questionnaires and interview schedules) and data analysis. For the present study the labeling theory which falls under humanism will be used and most of the ideas have been extracted from Mead (1934), Becker (1963), Tannenbaum (1993) and W.I. Thomas (1923). The researcher believes that humanism is compatible with the research paradigm.

3.2 The research paradigm

Without theory, the empirical researcher will find it impossible to decide what to observe, how to observe it, or what to make of the observations. Facts without theory are truly blind (Wilson, 1983:1). According to Haralambos (1991:765) a

theory is a set of ideas which provides an explanation for something. There are no facts without theory. Theories are selective in terms of their priorities and perspectives and the data they define as significant. As a result, they provide a particular and partial view of reality.

Sjoberg and Nett (1992:2) assume that an understanding of the theoretical bases of social research and the ability to examine one's procedures in relation to the overall research design enables the social investigator to transcend the technician's role and attain that of the research scientist, with consequent gains to the cause of science. The initial plan including the theoretical assumptions and the research design, shapes the manner in which the researcher gathers his data, and this plan in turn either determines or, more generally, sets limits to the kind of analysis that can be employed.

Sjoberg and Nett (1992:4) further state that our objectification of the social context within which the research functions, as well as our disquisition upon the relationships between theory and method, has as its goal the improvement of the ideal norms or methods that govern the collection and analysis of social data. In some instances these procedures can be modified so as to make them more effective, in other instances new ideal norms must be created.

Sjoberg and Nett (1992:58) state that theoretical assumptions guide the researcher both in his choice of topics of study and in his research procedures, including on

occasion even the specific techniques such as the interviewing employed. At the very least, specific research methods or techniques are more compatible with some logical – theoretical constructs than with others. So it is with the procedures used in analysing and interpreting data.

In the present study, a combination of methods will be used. The theory and method are not separate from one another, they are inextricably linked. Being clear about a theory makes it easier to conduct proper research. A combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used. This enhances both the validity and reliability of the findings. Shortfalls in one method is compensated for by the other. It is generally agreed that the qualitative method is synonymous with the positivist approach, while the quantitative method is preferred by the anti-positivists. Haralambos (1991:718) quoted Parsons saying that the idea that positivists and anti-positivists or phenomenologists are always at loggerheads is a sixties hangover.

Methodologists (Sjoberg and Nett, 1992:5) generally regard these two approaches (positivism and anti-positivism) as incompatible. Haralambos (1991:718) on the other hand regarding the incompatibility of the two approaches, states that it is much more accurate to describe the relationship between those who do qualitative and those who do quantitative research as one of truce. By looking at Haralambos' (1991) views about the compatibility and incompatibility of the two approaches (positivism and anti-positivism) there seems to be some compatibility

somehow between the two because at times the two approaches are used concurrently in other studies. Still on the issue of compatibility of the two approaches, Sjoberg and Nett (1992:5) explicitly state that certain methodological difficulties in social science can be resolved only if we draw upon the strengths of both of these theoretical perspectives. In a nutshell, the two approaches are compatible because one seems to be dependent on the other for valid and reliable research. The quantitative dimension is provided by the use of questionnaires and interview schedules. The inclusion of open and semi-structured questions in the questionnaires and interview schedules provide the qualitative element by attempting to arrive at an understanding of people's interactions and perceptions. The researcher will, therefore, use both questionnaires and interviews in order to ensure that the data which cannot be obtained fully by any one of these data gathering tools, are obtainable by another tool.

3.3 The research process

Social research projects follow certain stages. They exhibit much diversity in the way in which these stages are carried out. Vithal and Jansen (1997:3) state that research proposals in education and the social sciences are often organised around the following activities:

- (i) Selecting a focus.
- (ii) Identifying critical questions.
- (iii) Stating a rationale.
- (iv) Conducting a literature review.

- (v) Locating a theoretical framework.
- (vi) Preparing a data collection plan.
- (vii) Planning for data analysis strategy.
- (viii) Anticipating the report outline.
- (ix) Dealing with validity and reliability concerns.
- (x) Acknowledging the limitations of the research.

Bailey (1994:18) states that although each research project is unique in some ways, all projects involve the same basic stages. Each of these stage is dependent upon the other, and the total research process is quite circular. As stated above, all research projects are unique in some ways, but all projects involve the same basic stages.

The researcher will use other research methods as an alternative for the present study, and they are as follows:

- (i) Selection and formulation of the research problem.
- (ii) Literature review.
- (iii) The choice of locale.
- (iv) The sample.
- (v) Data collection.
- (vi) Data analysis.
- (vii) Conclusion, recommendations and summary.

Each one of these will now be examined in greater detail.

3.3.1 Selection and formulation of the research problem

On a visit to the Westville prison, the researcher was interested to determine the impact the prison has on the individual, and the future prospects of such a young male juvenile prisoner. The researcher believes that there is a substantial need to investigate alternative strategies for male juvenile offenders rather than sending them to prison. This is what has prompted the researcher to investigate the problem under study. The researcher in particular wanted to find out whether there is any form of rehabilitation offered to these male juvenile offenders so that after their release from prison they will be able to adjust to their communities by behaving in a socially acceptable way. In short, rehabilitation for the researcher was the only viable means to assist those male juvenile offenders on whatever problems they have experienced before their imprisonment. The researcher also believes that through rehabilitation programmes those problems that they might encounter after they have been released from prison are also catered for and seriously dealt with in order to avoid further deviance (recidivism).

3.3.2 Literature review

Voluntary Chapter II

Chapter Two of the study deals with a literature survey. The purpose of a literature review is to sharpen and deepen the theoretical framework of the research, that is, to study the different theories related to the topic, taking an interdisciplinary perspective where possible (Bless, 1995:23). The other purpose of literature

review is to familiarise the researcher with the latest developments in the area of research, as well as in related areas. The purpose of a literature survey is to highlight and identify the important variables and to document the significant findings from earlier research that will serve as a foundation on which the subsequent theoretical framework for the current investigation can be based. Literature survey will be undertaken in order that a valid and reliable method of data collection can be formulated. An attempt will be made in Chapter Five to explain the findings of the present study in relation to the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Four.

3.3.2.1 Methods of data collection

Haralambos (1991:718) state that many sociologists now advocate methodological pluralism, where a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods are used. In the present study the researcher will use both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Questionnaires will be used to produce quantitative data and the interviews will be ^{used} to produce qualitative data. Both questionnaires and interviews methods are discussed fully below.

3.3.2.2 The questionnaires

The questionnaire method will be used as a way of data collection in the study. Questionnaires according to Bless and Smith (1995:122) have an advantage of being simple to record and score and they allow for an easy comparison and

quantification of results. Some negative aspects of structured questions, like over-restrictive response possibilities or exclusion of important ones, can be greatly reduced by adding an open-ended option. The two types can be used to gain the confidence and cooperation of participants in different ways. Open-ended questions may relieve the anxiety of participants of giving 'false' answers since they can speak freely. But easy, structured questions will also reassure participants who recognise that they are able to answer precise, straightforward questions without difficulty. These are the advantages of questionnaires. ✓

The disadvantages of both open-ended and structured questions is that the open-ended questions are not based already on conceived answers. They are thus well adapted to exploratory studies, or studies based on qualitative analysis of data. Answers may be quite complex and not easily comparable to those of other respondents. Their recording and scoring give rise to some difficulties. In contrast, structured questions, by restricting the number of possible answers, may produce bias if important categories are left out (Bless and Smith, 1995:122). ✓

In the present study the questionnaires will be administered to the prison authorities, that is, all the prison warders that work with the juveniles. The reason being that they are sufficiently educated to understand the questions. The interviews are time consuming. Dis. Advantages ✓

From the responses of the respondents to the questionnaires the researcher will be able to deduce whether there is enough qualified prison personnel which will be

able to deal with the problems of juveniles effectively in trying to rehabilitate them. Through the use of questionnaires, the researcher will get all relevant information for the present study about the prison situation and activities which cannot be obtained from the juveniles during the interviewing sessions. Only the prison personnel has the relevant information. That is why the researcher will use questionnaires as a tool for gathering data in the present study. The researcher will also be able to deduce the nature of problems, if there are any, which might hinder the rehabilitation process of the juveniles, in becoming more efficient and effective. The researcher will only interview the male juveniles in trying to get their profile.

3.3.2.3 The interview schedule

As it has been highlighted before, there are many different ways of conducting research, but those different ways seem to follow the same format as others. The interview schedule will be used in the present study as a way of gathering data. The interview schedule has certain advantages and disadvantages. One major advantage (Bailey, 1994:174) of the interview is its flexibility. Interviewers can probe for more specific answers and can repeat a question when the response indicates that the respondent misunderstood the question. The interview tends to have a better rate than the questionnaires. Persons who are unable to read and write can still answer questions in an interview, and others who might be unwilling to expend the energy to write out their answers may be willing to talk.

According to Bailey (1994:174) the interviewer is present to observe nonverbal behaviour and to assess the validity of the respondent's answer. The interviewer has control over question order and can ensure that the respondent does not answer the questions out of order or in any other way thwart the structure of the questionnaire. The interviewer can record spontaneous answers. The respondent is unable to 'cheat' by receiving prompting or answers from others, or by having others complete the entire questionnaire for him or her, as often happens in mailed questionnaires. The interviewer can ensure that all answers are complete. These are the advantages of the interview.

The disadvantages of the interview schedule is that interview studies can be extremely costly (Bailey, 1994:175). He also states that interviews are often lengthy and may require the interviewer to travel long distances. The interviewer can cause error: he or she may misunderstand the respondent's answer, may understand it but make a clerical error in recording it, or may simply record an answer even when the respondent failed to reply. It has been shown repeatedly that a person's reasoning ability is adversely affected by such factors as fatigue, stress, illness, heat and density. The mailed questionnaires provided the best opportunity for the respondent to answer when the adverse factors are at a minimum, even if it means completing the questionnaire a few questions at a time rather than all at once. The interview offers less assurance on anonymity than the mailed questionnaire study, particularly if the latter includes no follow-up.

In the present study the interview schedule is directed at obtaining a profile of male juveniles already incarcerated in prison cells. The interview schedule only

will be administered to male juveniles because some of them are illiterate. Therefore, the presence of the researcher during the interview allows them to respond to the questions posed by the researcher. The interview schedule is therefore advantageous for those male juveniles who cannot read and write. The responses of the interviewee to all the questions will be in the form of fixed alternative categories. This will allow the respondent to give a response not catered for amongst the given alternatives, by including a category marked 'other' specify, not sure or don't know or alternatively will give the respondent enough space without any restriction or limit to respond fully the way he may want to.

The interview schedule for the present study is mainly aimed at obtaining a profile of male juveniles in terms of age, gender, educational qualifications, their family background, the type of offenses they have committed, whether they are first time or second time offenders, and the type of sentences imposed on them by the court of law. These can all become available through the use of an interview schedule. The question of race and family income also comes into play.

Through the use of an interview schedule, the researcher will be able to reach the heart of the research under study regarding the impact of imprisonment on the 'self' of the individual prisoner. Various studies have been done regarding the success and failure of rehabilitation. Some researchers argue by saying rehabilitation of prisoners is not possible. Others argue by saying it has some degree of success and it is not that it is a complete failure at all. The researcher, through the use of the interview schedule, will be able to uncover the impact imprisonment may have on the 'self' of the individual prisoner. Those who are

second time offenders may indicate to the researcher whether it is due to the failure of rehabilitation or not. But at the conclusion of the study, the researcher will be able to tell whether rehabilitation can be successful in dealing with the impact of the label on the male juvenile prisoners after their release from prison back into their own respective communities.

It is due to the above-mentioned reasons that the interview schedule has been used in order to uncover some of the things that the questionnaire may have failed to uncover. The research methods, are therefore relevant to the present study and will make the findings of the researcher more reliable and valid. Although limitations may still exist even though both questionnaires and the interview schedule are used, the researcher believes that those limitations have been minimised in using both methods as data gathering tools.

3.3.3 The pilot study

The researcher will not be able to conduct a pilot study just to pre-test his questionnaires and interview schedules due to the fact that access to the respondents is not easy due to the nature of bureaucracy that prevails in the Department of Correctional Services. The researcher must first get permission from the department in Pretoria before he can conduct a pilot study.

3.3.4 The choice of locale

The researcher had chosen Westville prison as a locality for the study. On visiting the prison the conditions under which they are living stimulated an interest in the researcher.

Westville prison is one of the biggest prisons in KwaZulu-Natal. The prison is divided into four sub-divisions. Those sub-divisions are Medium A, Medium B, Medium C and Medium D. In medium A those prisoners who must be isolated from others for particular reasons stay in their own cells. They do not share with anyone. Medium B is mainly for those prisoners who are regarded as a threat to the community. Medium C is where the juvenile inmates and women prisoners are housed. The juveniles live separately from the female prisoners although they share the same block. In Medium D, only those prisoners on death row are kept. Another reason why the researcher has chosen Westville prison is because of its proximity.

3.3.5 The population

The researcher will choose a sample that will be representative of the whole population of male juveniles in the Westville prison. Since the total number of male juvenile inmates in Westville prison is not yet known to the researcher it will be very premature to state something about the representativeness of the population. The prison personnel will also be part of the sample.

3.3.6 Data processing

Once data processing has been completed, that is, tables and figures, have been used to present and summarise the quantitative aspects of data, a statistical analysis will be presented to infer some properties of the population from the sample results. Qualitative data will also be interpreted.

3.3.7 Editing

Especially when data come from interviews, observations and questionnaires containing open-ended questions, they have to be edited. In other words, the information that may have been written by the interviewer, in a hurry must now be clearly deciphered so that all of it can be coded systematically (Sekaran, 1992:276). If there are some inconsistencies in the responses that can be logically corrected, they should be rectified and edited at this stage. For the present study, the researcher will ensure that all the questionnaires have been properly answered and that there are no inconsistencies in both questionnaires and interview schedule.

3.3.8 Coding

Sekaran (1992:277) states that it is better to use a coding sheet first to enter the data from the questionnaires and then key in the data to avoid confusion,

especially when there are many questions in the questionnaire. The present study will use a nominal measurement. Nominal measurement is just a classification system. For the present study a system of coding based on a nominal scale will be used. The codes will be formulated and then transferred from the interview schedules and questionnaires onto data sheets.

3.3.9 Data Capturing

All the coded data will then be transferred from the interview schedule and questionnaires onto data sheets. All the questions in the interview schedule will be allocated a number so that they can be easily identifiable. Once the process is done the researcher will check whether there are any inconsistencies that need to be rectified.

3.3.10 Computer programming and statistical techniques

The researcher will employ a specialist in computer programming who will formulate a programme so that statistical analysis can be done. Through this process, tables indicating frequency distribution and percentages of the responses in the interview schedule and questionnaire will be drawn up. Inconsistencies will be checked by the researcher.

3.4 Summary

In this Chapter the procedure and the techniques for gathering data have been discussed. Those techniques and procedures include the research paradigm, the research process, selection and formulation of the research problem, literature review, methods of data collection, the questionnaires, and interview schedule. The choice of locale, population, data processing, editing, coding, data capturing, computer programming and statistical techniques have all been discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Theoretical perspectives

4.1 Introduction

For every research undertaking there is always two opposing philosophies of positivism and anti-positivism. Each one of these two opposing philosophies is linked to a specific methodology. Positivism uses the quantitative method, whereas anti-positivism uses the qualitative method.

The positivists (Haralambos, 1991:17) make the assumption that the behaviour of humans, like the behaviour of matter, can be objectively measured. The positivist approach places particular emphasis on behaviour that can be directly observed. It argues that factors that are not directly observable, such as meaning, feelings and purposes are not particularly important and can be misleading. People react to external stimuli and their behaviour can be explained in terms of this reaction to the matter.

The anti-positivists on the other hand, like the interactionist or humanist perspective and the idealist approach argue that the methods and assumptions of the natural sciences are inappropriate to the study of humans (Haralambos, 1991:19). For the idealists (Wilson, 1983:19) actions must be explained not by the forces that impel them but by the end for which they are performed. To the

idealist, social reality is cognitive, it consists of ideas, thoughts, and contents of consciousness. These social perspectives (Haralambos, 1991:19) argue that to understand and explain the behaviour of matter it is sufficient to observe it from the outside.

The anti-positivists seem to share similar ideas and beliefs with the phenomenologists. To phenomenologists (Haralambos, 1991:20) are of the opinion that the most that sociologists can hope to do is to understand the meaning that individuals give to particular phenomena. Interactionists and phenomenologists believe that humans do not react and respond passively to an external society. They see humans as actively creating their own meanings and their own society in interaction with each other.

Although the two approaches differ considerably, Wilson (1993:153) states that phenomenological sociologists recognise that there are shared guidelines which prescribe the behaviour that is appropriate in given social situations but these guidelines delineate only general possibilities. The philosophical assumptions guiding the present study contain elements of both positivism and anti-positivism. The anti-positivist approach is rooted in a number of theoretical perspectives, some of which is symbolic interactionism. According to Haralambos (1991:707) sociologists who take an interpretive approach are usually the strongest advocates of qualitative data. Many interpretive sociologists argue that there is little chance of discovering these meanings and motives from quantitative data. They argue that only qualitative data with its greater richness and depth can assist the

sociologists who hope to interpret the meanings which lie behind social action.

The other sociological theories apart from symbolic interactionism will also be applied to explain deviant behaviour of the juvenile in prison. It is therefore imperative for the researcher to point out that the theories that will be used in the present study fall under humanism. The reason for the researcher to refer to humanism is because the humanists believe that people construct their own reality. Other theoretical perspectives will also be referred to because the labeling theory as a theory to be used for the present study cannot be used in isolation from other theoretical perspectives.

4.2 A synthesis of ideas

The present study will use the labeling theory as the main theoretical perspective. The labeling theory falls under humanism. The link between humanism and labeling theory lies in the fact that humanism is very broad, and most of the theories fall under it. Labeling theory falls under humanism and is mainly dominated by the ideas of the proponents of symbolic interactionism like G.H. Mead (1934), H.S. Becker (1963), W.I. Thomas (1923) and Frank Tannenbaum (1993). The humanists, particularly the symbolic interactionists and labeling theorists, focus mainly on the individual in interaction with others. According to the symbolic interactionists (Wilson, 1993:122) each social interaction is a meaningful encounter in which actors assign purpose and significance to each other's conduct and adjust the meaning they give off accordingly. This statement

by the symbolic interactionists has some relevance for the present study in the sense that the kind of actions that the juveniles have engaged themselves in and which constitute deviance to others are meaningful to them. Their deviant acts constitute purpose and meaning they give to particular situations and they have acted according to those meanings they have attached to those situations. The ideas of the above mentioned theorists are interrelated and each one of them will be dealt with separately. Their relevance to the present study will be shown by the researcher along the way as each one of them will be discussed in detail.

Before each of the theorists can be discussed in detail it is imperative for the researcher to elaborate why the labeling theory is used in the present study, how it will impact on the study and how important it is for the study. This will be stated briefly here and a more detailed discussion will be given later after a full discussion of the theorists mentioned above.

Although these juveniles in prison can undergo rehabilitation, they can change in some way or the other in terms of their behaviour, but the label attached to them after their release from prison may influence future behaviour. This makes it difficult for a person with a master status of once labeled a criminal to be perceived as someone who may be trustworthy, even though the criminal act may have been an isolated one in the person's life. Society will always look at a juvenile ex-prisoner in terms of retrospective interpretation regardless of whether he has served his sentence for his deviance. Labeling can thus be viewed as both an effect and a cause due to the way society will react to the ex-juvenile prisoner

after his release from prison. In short, the present study is trying to look at the things that can make rehabilitation to be perceived as unsuccessful, the effects that the label might have on the juvenile after his release from prison, although he can undergo rehabilitation and whether rehabilitation can effectively deal with the stigma attached to the juvenile. The study will also look at whether the ex-juvenile prisoner can adjust himself properly in the society after this release from prison. This is how the theory will impact on the study and how important it is for the study. The researcher looks at how labeling and rehabilitation relates to each other.

4.3 An analysis of Mead's ideas on the development of the self during early childhood

Mead (Wilson, 1983: 123) was influenced by William James as well as other pragmatist philosophers like John Dewey. They taught him that the mind is not a passive spectator of the passive scene. Rather the mind is an activity. "Minding" is a process of interaction between the individual and his social environment. On the basis of certain goals he has in mind, the individual deliberately selects the environmental stimuli to which he responds. Meaning is a relationship between an individual and events in the environment. Existing meanings are utilised to interpret events and events are simultaneously utilised to evaluate the adequacy of meaning. Mead is generally regarded as the founder of symbolic interaction.

Mead's contribution (Wilson, 1983:123) to symbolic interactionism can be

summarised in the form of three postulates. First, the world of reality becomes known to human beings only in the symbolic form in which it is perceived by them. Second, social reality changes as human beings develop new perceptions of it. Third, the world is objective, capable of resisting efforts to change it. Mead's contribution was to help overcome the dichotomy between the thinking actor and social forces characteristic of positivism. We shall now look at the analysis of the development of self during early childhood or primary socialisation.

4.4 Self

Haralambos (1991:799) cited Mead's statement that through the process of role-taking individuals develop a concept of 'self'. By placing themselves in the position of others they are able to look back upon themselves. Mead claims that the idea of a self can only develop if the individual can get outside himself (experientially) in such a way as to become an object to himself. To do this they must observe themselves from the standpoint of others. Therefore the origin and development of a concept of self lies in the ability to take the role of the other.

Mead (Haralambos, 1991:800) distinguishes two aspects of the self. the 'me' is your definition of yourself in a specific social role. (For example, you might see yourself as a 'good father' or a 'loyal friend'. The 'I', who can also be called your 'self-concept', is built up from the reactions of others to you, and the way you interpret those reactions. It can exercise considerable influence over your behaviour. The motivation of self is not inborn, it is learned during childhood.

Mead sees two main stages in its development. The first, known as the 'play-stage', involves the child playing roles which are not his or her own. For example, children may play at being mother or father, a doctor or a nurse. In doing so they become aware that there is a difference between themselves and the role they are playing. Thus the idea of a self is developed as the child takes the role of a make-believe other.

The second stage (Haralambos, 1991:800) in the development of self is known as the 'game stage'. In playing a game, children come to see themselves from the perspective of various participants. In order to play a game such as football or cricket they must place themselves in the roles of the others in order to appreciate their own particular role in the game. In doing so, they see themselves in terms of the collective viewpoint of the other players i.e. from the perspective of 'the generalised other'.

In Mead's view (Haralambos, 1991:800), the development of a consciousness of self is an essential part of the process of becoming a human being. It provides a basis for thought and action and the foundation for human society. Without an awareness of self, the individual could not direct action or respond to the actions of others. Only by acquiring a concept of self can the individual take the role of self.

How does all this relate to the present study? In looking at the concept of the self, those juveniles who are in jail have the self in them. Since the self is always

changing, people define and redefine the self every time when they are forced by certain circumstances to change their self. The significant others are like a mirror to juveniles in the sense that juveniles will act the way the significant others behave themselves. If their behaviour is different from that of the significant others (society) it means they have to change their self in order to fit that one which is largely approved by the larger society. These juveniles who are in prison have developed their sense of self when they were young. As time went by, when they started associating with the other juvenile criminals, their sense of self changed to fit that of the group. When these juveniles happened to get caught and imprisoned, the self changed since they are in a totally different world, that is, a jail is the world of criminals. When they see themselves, they see themselves from the perspective of criminals.

The prison may influence the self of the juvenile prisoner. Imprisonment may remove their human dignity, their sense of worth and replace it with a sense of powerlessness, normlessness and isolation from the larger society. When these juveniles are released from prison they may not be able to change themselves properly because of the self they have acquired while they were in prison. That sense of self they have developed while they were in prison are supposed to change again so that they can be accepted by the larger society. Since self is defined and redefined, the same applies to juveniles: they have to redefine their self in order to fit into the society. The 'I' who is made up of the reactions of others and the way the reactions are interpreted may be devastated. When society reacts negatively to the released prisoner because of the label he has of being an

ex-juvenile prisoner may destroy the 'I' of the juvenile.

After release the juvenile prisoner may look back upon himself, get outside of himself in a way as to become an object to himself. By doing so he is trying to develop a concept of self by trying to take the role of the other. The juvenile might try to take the role of the other or generalised others (i.e. the members of his community) after his release from prison. He may fail to adjust and interact with them because of the label of being an ex-prisoner.

4.5 Symbols

In Mead's view (Haralambos, 1991:798), human thought, experience and conduct are essentially social. They owe their nature to the fact that human beings interact in terms of symbols, the most important of which are contained in language. A symbol does not simply stand for an event or object. Symbols impose particular meanings on objects and events and in doing so largely exclude other possible meanings. Without symbols there would be no human interaction and no human society. Symbolic interaction is necessary since humans have no instincts to direct their behaviour. In order to survive, humans must therefore construct and live within a world of meaning.

In the context of the present study a prison might symbolise something to the large society. To other juvenile inmates it might be a symbol of home, shelter and happiness particularly to those who are homeless and therefore prison for them is

the only place to live in. On the other hand, society can view it as a symbol of human suffering and dehumanisation or whatever symbol it might be symbolised with. Therefore if the society holds a different perception and meaning of the prison, it becomes difficult for them to accept the juvenile prisoner after his release from prison due to the meaning that they have for the prison which to them may symbolise something unacceptable. In this case, whatever role the juvenile might take in society after release from prison, he may be sidelined by the society itself because of their negative attitude of the institution.

4.6 Role-taking

According to Haralambos (1991:799) social life can only proceed if the meanings of symbols are largely shared by members of the society. The process of role-taking involves the individual taking on the role of another by imaginatively placing herself or himself in the position of the person with whom he or she is interacting. For example, if a person observes another smiling, crying, waving his or her hand or shaking a fist, they will put themselves in that person's position in order to interpret the intention of meaning. On the basis of this interpretation they will make their response to the action of the other. The person with whom they are interacting will then take their role, interpret their response and either continue or close the interaction on the basis of this interpretation.

If the released juvenile try to take a positive role in society by getting himself

involved in all the societal activities and does not get full support he may become marginalised. This means that the avenues, processes and channels for role-taking of the released are sanctioned by the society because of the symbol and the meaning that society places on the institution (prison) where he has been released from. If society holds a negative view of the prison, those released juveniles may be labeled accordingly. This may influence their self and role-taking for them may be problematical. Self and role-taking are closely related. Role-taking is impossible without the self because this is where a person feels his sense of worth. Without the strong sense of self for the juvenile, role-taking will be problematical.

4.7 The individual and society

According to Mead (Haralambos, 1991:801) individuals initiate and direct their own action while at the same time being influenced by the attitudes and expectations of others in the form of the generalised other. The individual and society are regarded as inseparable for the individual can only become a human being in a social context. In this context she or he develops a sense of self which is a prerequisite for thought. She or he learns to take the role of others, which is essentially both for the development of self and for cooperative action. Without cooperation in terms of symbols whose meanings are shared, these processes would not be possible. Humanism, therefore, lives in a world of symbols that give meaning and significance to life and provide the basis for human interaction.

Society is made up of individuals. Without individuals society will not exist. In other words, society is a result of human activities and the individuals on the other hand are the products of society. Both society and individuals are closely related and inextricably linked. This means one cannot survive without the other. It is therefore imperative for the society to assist those released juvenile prisoners by giving them all kinds of support they might need, so that they can develop a sense of self. Society as the 'generalised other' must assist those juveniles who will be released from prison in ensuring that they live up to the expectations of society because without their support it may be difficult for juveniles to become rehabilitated and incorporated into society.

4.8 An overview of Mead's ideas that are used in the present study

The present study has focused much on the concept of self. The self (Wilson, 1983:128) is a process, a constant movement between two analytical distinct phases. The first phase of the self Mead called the 'I' and the second phase of the self is the 'me'. When we reflect, we stand outside the stream of consciousness to make sense of our actions and plan for the future. The 'I' is the impulsive phase of the self, the spontaneous and unpredictable aspect all individuals possess. The 'me' is the product of the inferred attitudes of other people. The 'me' phase of the self is the product of the generalised other. The 'I' and the 'me' are continually adjusting to each other. The 'I', spontaneous and creative, is constrained to some degree by the 'me'. The attitudes of others constitute the organised 'me' and then one reacts toward that as an 'I'.

For the present study, the 'me' which is an inferred attitude by the 'generalised others' has a very important role in building and shaping the self of the juvenile offenders, which is the 'I'. If the 'generalised others', that is, the 'me' or society has a negative attitude towards the juvenile prisoners it might impact on the self of the juvenile offenders, which is the 'I'. The prison officials and society are so important in making the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders a complete and smooth process because of the positive attitude they might infer on the juvenile offenders. If the attitude of the 'generalised others' (i.e. the 'me') is negative towards the juvenile offenders, it is likely to impact on the juvenile offenders, particularly their 'self'.

4.9 Thomas' ideas about the definition of the situation

When the juvenile offenders have been labeled as deviants, they will internalise that label and externalise it by acting according to the label attached to them. If society defines them as deviants they will act according to the definition imposed on them. The reason why juvenile offenders commit certain crimes is just because they are trying to adjust themselves to a particular situation. For them to commit crime may just be a solution to the situation they find themselves in. Since some of the juvenile offenders belong to or are affiliated to particular groups, they have their own version and definition of the situation. They define a situation in terms of their own culture, rules and codes of the group.

Some of the male juveniles in Westville prison may have landed in jail due to peer group pressure that forced them to commit certain deviant acts. Crime, delinquency and deviance are the result of conflicting definitions of the situation. The juvenile offenders define a situation in terms of their culture, values, norms, customs and traditions. Society on the other hand holds a different view of a particular situation and also define a situation in a way that is different from that of the juvenile gangs. In short, the juveniles define a situation in their own way and society define a particular situation differently to that of the juveniles. As a result, the juvenile end up being in confrontation with the agents of social control due to the conflicting definitions that they hold.

According to Volkart (1951:5) human behaviour, however, occurs in terms of what is thought to exist. Men act 'as if' the conditions really are as they imagine them to be. Any behaviour, by groups or the individual, cannot be understood apart from the situation in which it occurs and to which it is a potential adjustment. Every concrete activity is the solution of a situation. Each individual or group comes into the situation with a different train of experience, a different outlook or perspective. This in turn becomes a factor in the total situation, leading to different 'definitions' of the situation and subsequently to different situations.

Volkart (1951:7) states that one of the most important features of human existence is the fact that each individual is born into a group which possesses a going way of life, or a culture. In Thomas' (1923) terms a culture is composed of, or contains, 'definitions of situations' which have been arrived at through consensus of adults

over a period of time. As a product of social life, these definitions are embodied in codes, rules, precepts, policies, traditions and standardised social relationships.

On the other hand Thomas (Volkart, 1951:8) was keenly aware of the influence of the group on the individual. Individual life is experienced as a series of situations, more or less unique to each society and to which the group has attached its own definitions. In the process of socialisation the group endeavours to have the individual internalise its own definitions, to make them a part of his habitual self. Of course, only the individual can ever define his own situations and behave with them accordingly, but the effort of the group is to have him define situations in its own terms so that the behaviour will conform to social norms. As long as the definitions of situations remain constant and common we may anticipate orderly behaviour reactions. When rival definitions arise, we may anticipate social disorganisation and personal demoralisation. The mass of delinquency, crime and emotional instability is the result of conflicting definitions.

4.9.1 The four wishes

According to Volkart (1951: 121-139) the variety of expressions of behaviour is great as the variety of situations arising in the external world, while the nervous system represents only a general mechanism for action. The human wishes have a great variety of concrete forms but are capable of the general classification:

- (i) The desire for new experience
- (ii) The desire for security
- (iii) The desire for response
- (iv) The desire for recognition

Each one of these four wishes will be very briefly discussed below.

4.9.1.1 The desire for new experience

Men crave excitement, and all experiences are exciting which have in them some resemblance to the pursuit, fight, capture, escape, death which characterised the earlier life of mankind. Behaviour is an adaptation to environment, and the nervous system itself is a development adaptation. It represents, among other things, a hunting pattern of interest.

4.9.1.2 The desire for security

The desire for security is opposed to the desire for new experience. The desire for new experience is emotionally related to anger. The desire for new experience implies, therefore, motion, change, danger, instability and social irresponsibility. The desire for security, on the other hand, is based on fear, which tends to avoid death and express itself in timidity and flight.

4.9.1.3 The desire for response

The desire for response is primarily related to the instinct of love and shows itself in the tendency to seek and to give signs of appreciation in connection with other individuals.

4.9.1.4 The desire for recognition

This wish is expressed in the general struggle of men for position in their social group, in devices for securing a recognised, enviable and advantageous social status. The importance of recognition and status for the individual and for society is very great. The individual not only wants them but he needs them for the development of his personality. On the other hand society alone is able to confer status on the individual and in seeking to obtain it he makes himself responsible to society and is forced to regulate the expression of wishes. This dependence on public opinion is perhaps the strongest factor impelling him to conform to the highest demands which society makes upon him.

What relevance does the definition of the situation and the four wishes have for the present study? Starting with the definition of the situation, it is explicitly clear that the behaviour of the group or individual can only be understood within the context of a particular situation in which it occurs. Therefore behaviour of the group or individual is the result of trying to adjust to a particular situation. Any kind of activity or behaviour that might be displayed by the individual or group is

actually the solution of a situation in which one is involved. The same applies to those male juveniles in jail. Their unacceptable behaviour that has led to their imprisonment is the direct result of the situation they have found themselves involved in.

They were trying to adjust themselves to the situation but the way they have tried to adjust themselves seemingly was unacceptable to the society. They did not follow the institutionalised means to get out of the situation and ended up in prison. As Volkart (1951:7) states each individual is born into a group which possesses a going way of life, or a culture, and a culture is composed of or contains definitions of situations. The male juveniles in prison belong to a particular group or are affiliated to certain groups, therefore, they have their own culture and since they have their own culture as a group they define situations in terms of rules, codes and policies of the group. They have internalised the definitions of situations of the group and later they have externalised them through practice and have objectivated a criminal social world. But the definition of the situation is based on individual experiences. Those juveniles have different definitions of certain situations that are contrary to those of the larger society because of their experiences. Their definition of the situation is shared by members of the larger society. Regarding the four wishes discussed above, the desire for new experience is caused by the fact that the unacceptable behaviour of those male juveniles in prison was the direct result of their adaptation to the environment. The desire for security among the male juvenile prisoners is caused by the fact that they are insecure. For them to join a particular group is another

way of trying to build a sense of security for themselves. The desire for recognition is caused by the fact that most male juveniles in particular do things that will earn them recognition from their larger groups. They also want to gain status and recognition in their groups. Their deviant acts are mainly for status and recognition.

4.10 Becker's views on deviance

Becker (1964:2-11) sees the study of deviance as always and everywhere a process of interaction between at least two kinds of people: those who commit deviant acts and the rest of society. The two groups are seen in a complementary relationship. One cannot exist without the other. People attach the label 'deviant' to others and thereby make deviants of them. Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not the quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied. Deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

From a sociological point of view, deviance can be defined as conduct that is generally thought to require the attention of social control agencies, that is, conduct about which something should be done. Deviance is not a property inherent in certain forms of behaviour. It is a property conferred upon these forms

by the audiences which directly or indirectly witness them.

4.11 Deviance and the response of others

Goode (1996:32) states that deviance is not a simple quality present in some kinds of behaviour and absent in others. Rather, it is the product of a process that involves responses of other people to the behaviour. The same behaviour may be an information of the rules at one time and not at another. Whether a given act is deviant or not, depends in part on the nature of the act (that is, whether or not it violates some rule) and in part on what other people do about it.

Goode (1996:33) states that the political and economic process through which rules are created and enforced must be considered. Here it is enough to note that people are in fact always forcing their rules on others. Differences in the ability to make rules and apply them to other people are essentially power differentials, either legal or extralegal. Those groups whose social position gives them weapons and power are best able to enforce their rules. In addition to recognising that deviance is created by the responses of people to particular kinds of behaviour, by the labeling of that behaviour as deviant, we must also keep in mind that the rules created and maintained by such labeling are not universally agreed upon. Instead, they are the object of conflict and disagreement, part of the political process of society.

The relevance of Becker (1964) and Goode's (1996) ideas regarding deviance for

the present study is that people become deviant because of the label that is attached to them by others. Deviance is the result of the label attached to the individual. Those in power are able to make laws whose infraction constitute deviance. The police and courts are quick at labeling others as deviants because of the powers entrusted to them. Without societal response to a particular act of deviance, that act is not deviant until it is so regarded by the society. In short, society may also be responsible for creating criminals due to their responses they project towards criminals.

The male juveniles who are in prison are there because of the fact that they have acted against the laws of those in power, i.e. the state and its agencies of social control. Because of the label that they already have as 'criminals', their chances of being rehabilitated may be slim. The society may treat them after their release on the basis of the stigma attached to the label that they already have from prison. But the label attached to these juvenile offenders is not acceptable to them, they do not recognise the label at all. Because of their class position and less power that they have, they cannot resist the label which has officially been accorded to them, legally by the court of law. The researcher will now discuss the labeling theory in detail below.

4.12 Labeling theory

The present study will focus on the effects that labeling has on the individual. Although the individual prisoner can undergo all kinds of rehabilitation programmes, the stigma attached to him as an ex-prisoner may remain. Schur (1971:10) states that the person becomes the thing he is described as being.

It has been highlighted earlier by the researcher that although the main focus is on the labeling theory, other theories will be included later as part of the discussion in the analysis of data. Those other theories have already been mentioned in Chapter One of the study.

According to Giddens (1989:128) labeling theorists interpret deviance not as a set of characteristics of individuals or groups, but as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants. Labeling theory begins from the assumption that no act is intrinsically criminal. Definitions of criminality are established by the powerful, through the formulation of laws and their interpretation by police, courts and correctional institutions. Those who represent the forces of law and order, or are able to impose definitions of conventional morality upon others, provide the main sources of labeling.

Gove (1975:149) states that labeling is the single most important cause of careers of residual deviance. Once labeled, correctly or incorrectly, the individual is likely to proceed on the career of chronic deviance. The effect of labeling is so

pervasive that it tends to be irreversible for the individual. This leads to the organisation of social roles and self-regarding attitudes around deviance, what is known as secondary deviation.

Gove (1975:163) further argues that official classification as a deviant has pejorative consequences that result in rule-breaking by those who are labeled. Being labeled is said to generate negative reactions by others, including attribution of stereotypical behavioral expectations. These reactions, in turn, limit opportunities for conforming participation and produce changes in the self. Limited opportunities for participation and an altered self lead ultimately to rule-breaking.

Becker (Haralambos, 1991:611), one of the early exponents of the interactionist approach, argues that deviance is not a quality that lies in behaviour itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it. From this point of view deviance is produced by a process of interaction between the potential deviant and the agents of social control. A label is not neutral. It contains an evaluation of the person to whom it is applied. It is a master status possessed by an individual. Since an individual's self is largely derived from the responses of others, he will tend to see himself in terms of the label. This may produce a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby the deviant identification becomes the controlling one. For Becker (1964) a deviant label can lead to further deviance and can change a person's self.

The relevance of his views for the present study is that the label attached to the male juveniles as criminals by the agents of social control has an impact on their self. The male juvenile prisoners may tend to see themselves on the basis of the label that is conferred to them by the society. They may then internalise the label and act accordingly as part of the self-fulfilling prophecy by engaging themselves in further deviance. This might be due to the fact that their self has been influenced by the label and the view that society holds of them.

Although a lot has been said about the impact of the label attached to the individual, Frank Tannenbaum (1993) has made a tremendous contribution regarding the role that early stigmatisation plays in generating delinquent and criminal careers. According to Tannenbaum (Schur, 1971:10), the process of making the criminal is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious. It becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained of. Retrospective interpretation (Schur, 1971:52) involves the mechanisms by which creators come to view deviants or suspected deviators in a totally new light.

The relevance of Tannenbaum's view for the present study regarding deviance is that when those male juveniles in prison have been defined, tagged, segregated, identified by society, they are more likely to continue with their unacceptable behaviour which the same society is trying to prevent. It seems as if society thinks that by labeling those juveniles with all sorts of labels they are trying to

prevent deviance of which that is not the case. They may force criminals to continue with their criminal behaviour by labeling and tagging them.

According to Lilly (1989:115) the criminal justice system not only is limited in its capacity to restrain unlawful conduct, but also is a major factor in anchoring people in a criminal career. Pulling the people into the system makes the matters worse, not better. The contention of the labeling theorists is based on the belief that labeling and treating lawbreakers as criminals have the anticipated consequence of creating the very behaviour they were meant to prevent. Lilly (1989:121) further argues that by imprisoning young people who have committed merely misdemeanors of minor importance, we are bringing up professional criminals. Prisons may become the breeding grounds for crime. From Lilly's (1989) point of view it seems as if those male juvenile prisoners who are in prison for having committed minor acts of deviance are more likely to become hardened criminals.

Lilly (1989:125) argues that imprisonment entails the loss of existing employment and strains family relations to the point that they may not survive. Saddling offenders with an official label, particularly when they spent time in jail and carry the status of 'ex-convict' limits their employment opportunities. Through their sentences offenders may 'pay back' society for their illegal behaviour, but they find it more difficult to shake off their definition as a person of unacceptable character who may fall by the wayside at any time.

The relevance of Lilly's (1989) views for the present study is that those male juveniles already incarcerated may have limited chances to find employment after their release from prison. The reason being that they will already be possessing a criminal record. Employers may not be willing to employ an individual with a criminal record. If they cannot find employment after their release from prison, they are more likely to commit further crime since the legitimate means to support themselves are blocked by the criminal label and criminal record that they have.

The applicability of the labeling theory for the present study is clear. From the time the juvenile is arrested and imprisoned by the agents of social control, the label 'juvenile delinquent' or 'criminal' is applied. This label has negative effects on the self of the juvenile in blocking chances for him in a variety of ways like being unacceptable to society, unable to find a job and being isolated from other societal activities. These male juveniles may again resort to illegitimate means to obtain what they want. Because of their marginalisation by the larger society due to the label that they hold, the self is affected because they may start to have a negative self. Although they can undergo rehabilitation programmes, if after their release from prison they encounter problems that hinder development and opportunities for them, they may have no other option except committing further acts of crime as a means of adjustment and survival. In this way, the purpose of rehabilitation seems to be defeated by these factors.

4.13 **Summary**

In this chapter the researcher has attempted to present the two opposing philosophies of the positivists and anti-positivists since the study is based on both philosophies. The positivists have their own philosophical stance regarding crime and deviance. The anti-positivists on the other hand view deviance and crime in a manner that is totally different to that of the positivists. The positivists and anti-positivists feature in the present study in the sense that for a study to be reliable and valid it has to encompass both methods. The proponents of the labeling theory have been discussed in detail. An analysis of Mead's (1934) ideas on the development of the self; Thomas' (1923) ideas about the definition of the situation and the four wishes, Becker's (1963) views on deviance; and the detailed discussion of the labeling theory have been presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis and interpretation of data

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to provide an analysis of data. The data have been gathered through the use of questionnaires and interview schedules. The literature survey shows that rehabilitation programmes offered to incarcerated juveniles are producing some positive results. It is therefore imperative that an analysis of data is made so that it can correspond with the assumptions upon which the study has been formulated. This chapter presents the empirical findings based on interview schedules administered to 50 juvenile offenders at Westville prison. The analysis is presented by providing frequency distributions and percentages and discussion follows after that.

5.2 Biographical details of juveniles

Table 1

Age	Number	Percent
10 – 15	0	0
16 – 20	46	92
21 – 23	4	8
Over 24	0	0
Total	50	100

It appears from the above Table that the majority of the respondents fall between the age of 16 and 20.

A study was undertaken by The South African Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions (1989:63) on sentenced and detained juveniles in prisons, places of safety, reform schools, schools of industries, and children's homes. The findings seem to concur with those of the present study because the majority of juvenile inmates were between 15 and 20 years.

In Scotland, Scottish youth from 16 and 20 years of age are dealt with under the adult legal system, one might expect a higher rate of imprisonment than among Germans who are dealt with under youth law. In Germany youth under the age of 18, and many up to the age of 21, are dealt with under special provisions of youth law which emphasize educational measures. The sentences of 18-20 year olds under both youth and adult laws in Germany reveal that imprisonment (short and long term)

is more likely for those processed under youth law. In comparison, it appears that for both younger and older age categories, the German youth system is more punitive than either the children's or adult system in Scotland. It appears that in both countries the risk of a custodial sentence for those under the age of 21 is greatly reduced if they appear in an adult court (Dobash *et al*, 1990: 311-312) Mqadi (1996:78) argues that everywhere age is correlated with crime regardless of race, class or gender. In a study carried out by Mlambo (1977:94) in the then Rhodesia about African juvenile offenders, he found that 26 respondents were 16 years old. He also found that 23 respondents were 15 years of age. In the present study the majority of respondents are between 16 and 20 years of age, being one year younger and four years older than the children in his study.

5.2.2 Gender

The respondents in the sample were male, 50 (100%).

5.2.3 Race

Table 2

Response	Number	Percent
Black	29	58
White	0	0
Coloured	4	8
Indian	17	34
Total	50	100

The above Table indicates that the majority of respondents in the sample are Blacks since they constitute 29 (58%).

The literature survey shows that in South Africa the problem of crime is exacerbated by the large number of people who are labeled as criminals for contravening racially-based laws. The apparently high Black crime rate, however, may be explained by a variety of factors including the fact that there are many more offences which Blacks may commit. The privacy of the poorer classes (in South Africa the Blacks) is usually ignored by the law enforcement authorities (McQuoid-Mason, 1981:3).

Blacks are more likely to be the subject of police and public suspicion and surveillance than Whites. Blacks may have more to gain and less to lose than Whites if they engage in economic crimes, and Blacks are less likely than Whites to have legal representation in criminal cases. It follows that in South Africa any programme aimed at preventing crime, or providing for the welfare, rehabilitation and aftercare of prisoners, should be primarily focussed on the Black population (McQuoid-Mason, 1981:3-4).

McQuoid-Mason (1981:5) further states that the socialists argue that poverty results from private ownership of the means of production and from exploitation of the working classes. Poverty causes people to turn to crime. South Africa is a classic example. The Whites own the means of production and exploit the Black

working classes. The poverty of the Blacks causes them to turn to crime. Deprived youths living in slums are denied access to legitimate means of success, and pursue status through crime by developing 'conflict cultures'. Black and Coloured youth in South African slum townships are denied access to adequate educational and employment opportunities and are unable to compete with their White counterparts on an equal footing.

Bowling (1990: 488-489) in his study regarding race differences in delinquency considers the possibility of racial bias in policing as an explanation for why Black boys in his study were likely to admit 'delinquent acts'. He suggested that lower 'validity' for Blacks than for Whites could be because Blacks are more unjustly arrested. Wrongful arrests might be one of the most serious manifestations of racist policing. A consideration of the production of arrests from 'all crime' might reveal a more pervasive racial bias in The Netherlands, as it seems to in Britain. This image is clearly reflected in police officers' beliefs about an area with a large Black population and about the residents themselves. Against this backdrop, it is obvious that police practice clearly discriminated against Black people. Bowling (1990) further states that Surinamers were often searched on the street on the mere pretext of suspicion and are vulnerable to police attention.

5.2.4 Religious affiliation

Most of the respondents were Christians, 47 (94%). Hindus constituted 6 (12%) and Muslims were 3 (6%).

Chetty (1995:134) in her unpublished research, stated that religious influence, while not strongly revealed, may, of course, be deep-rooted in the upbringing and therefore influential in the shaping of attitudes, and consequently, be an intrinsic part of a familial pattern of living, rather than an isolated and recognisable influence.

5.2.4.1 Attendance at place of worship

The results from the respondents in the sample show that 37 (77.1) were church goers before imprisonment; 8 (16.7) were going to the temple; 3 (6.3%) were going to a mosque; 2 respondents did not give responses, therefore the two cases were recorded as missing.

Table 3

Attendance at place of worship with family members

Response	Number	Percent
Mother	22	45.8
Father	3	6.3
Both parents	12	25.0
Other	11	22.9
Missing	2	0
Total	50	100.0

The Table shows that the majority of respondents 22 (45.8%) use to go to church with their mothers; other respondents, 12 (25%) were going to church with both parents; 11 (22.9%) indicated that they attended church services with their relatives like their sisters, brothers, aunt, uncle and other relatives. The church has played a very important role in the lives of the inmates. Their regular attendance of church services has helped to form their entire well-being, that is emotionally, spiritually and psychologically. The church has benefited them a lot before imprisonment. This would be proved by the responses they gave later when they responded by saying that church services inside the prison are beneficial. This might be due to the fact that they are used to church services even before their imprisonment.

5.2.4.2 Frequency of church attendance

It has been established that most of the respondents used to go to church often, that is, once a week or more. The findings revealed that 20 (47.6%) attended church once a week. Ten respondents (23.8%) indicated that they used to go to church more than once a week. Seven (16.7%) indicated that they seldom go to church; Five (11.9%) responded by indicating once or three times per month. The other eight respondents did not respond to the question. Their cases were then recorded as missing.

5.2.4.3 Church services organised for inmates

A total of 42 (84%) have indicated that church services are organised for them by the prison authorities. Six (12%) respondents stated that no church services are being organised for them by the prison authorities. The other respondents, 2 (4%) indicated that they do not know whether church services are organised for them by the prison authorities.

5.2.4.4 Importance of church services

The responses to this question indicate that the respondents have a positive attitude towards the church since the majority of respondents indicated that church services are beneficial and important in their lives. Very few respondents responded by indicating that church services which are organised by prison authorities are not beneficial to them.

A total of 28 (66.7%) respondents indicated that church services are beneficial to them. This is, as alluded in the earlier findings, due to the fact that the majority of them were church goers before imprisonment. Since the juvenile inmates are in a difficult situation, church seems to be the means that enable them to cope with difficulties they are experiencing in prison. This is proved by the high level of responses that church is beneficial to them. The reason why church services are beneficial to them would be provided shortly. Ten (23.8%) responded by saying

‘no’. This means church services are not beneficial to them; the other 4 (9.5%) indicated that they do not know.

5.2.4.5 Reasons why church services are important

The findings revealed a high rate of positive responses regarding the importance of the church. The majority of respondents stated that:

- the church makes them exposed to the world of God and that through His name everything is possible in life;
- the church makes them change their attitude regarding crime;
- the church makes them better persons, it builds them spiritually and emotionally and makes them repent from the sins/crime they committed; and
- church provides them with hope.

5.2.5

Highest educational level

Table 4

Highest educational level	Number	Percent
Junior Primary: Class 1, 2 and Std 1	1	2
Senior Primary: Stds 2,3 and 4	6	12
Junior Secondary: Stds 5, 6 and 7	14	28
Senior Secondary: Std 8, 9 and 10	27	54
No formal schooling	2	4
Total	50	100

The above reveals that 27 (54%) of the respondents are better educated since the majority of them have go standard 8, 9 and 10. These are the respondents with senior secondary qualifications. Of the other respondents 14 (28%) have a junior certificate, that is, standard 5, 6 and 7. Six (12%) respondents have senior primary qualifications, that is, std 2, 3 and 4; 2 (4%) respondents have no formal schooling; and 1 (2%) have junior primary level only.

South Africa has come a long way from apartheid to democracy. Most of the African people were oppressed and never had a chance to compete with their White counterparts because of the injustices of the past. Most of the means to achieve goals in an institutionalised way were blocked by the previous government. Blacks never had a good quality education compared to Whites. The education system for Blacks was structured in a way that would ensure that Blacks are always subordinates to Whites. That's why there is a high crime rate in South Africa because the Blacks never had a fair chance given to them to achieve

their goals in an acceptable way since their means were blocked by the previous social structures.

According to Fleish (1998:53) reporting on the findings of the Eiselen Commission about Bantu education in South Africa, the position is "... what is taught and learnt in Bantu schools is never applied in practice, because the economic incentives that should operate when children leave school are either absent or of such a nature as to undo the work of the schools. The reform of these economic conditions cannot be the function of an Education Department, but the success of the work of the schools is dependent upon the existence of social and economic opportunities for absorbing the products of the schools."

Fleish (1998:55) further echoed the findings of the Eiselen Commission regarding inconsistencies in the education system. He said the facts showed that a large proportion of African children were kept back every year or dropped out of school. Compared with White pupils of the same age, the Eiselen Commission found that African children began schooling later, spent additional time in the sub-standards, and then left at an average with less than four years of schooling. Unqualified teachers were regularly assigned to the overcrowded lower classes.

5.2.6

Sibling size

Table 5

Juvenile offenders		Number of Siblings
Number	Percent	
2	4	1
6	12	2
11	22	3
11	22	4
8	16	5
5	10	6
2	4	7
2	4	8
1	2	9
1	2	10
Missing 1	2	-
50	100	

The Table above indicates the number of siblings in the families of respondents. Most of the juveniles come from large families. Only 19 of them come from relatively small families: 1-3 siblings only. Thirty (60%) come from families ranging from 4 to 10 siblings. Mlambo (1977:90) also found that there is some association between large families and the incidence of delinquency. This may be due to the fact that there is some association between large families and the incidence of delinquency. This may be due to the fact that the parents earned little money and did not have sufficient means to support their families.

5.2.7 People they lived with prior to imprisonment

The majority of respondents, 21 (42%) were found to be living with both parents; 18 (36%) were living with their mother; 9 (18%) were found to be living with relatives like aunts and uncles since they mentioned them under 'other'; 2 (4%) of the respondents were living with their fathers. Eighteen (36%) stayed with their mother prior to their imprisonment. During the early stage of childhood the mother is mainly the one who cares for the child. The emotional bonding between a child and his mother is very strong because they are always in interaction with each other. Although the father can spend some time with the child, the mother in terms of frequency spend most of the time with the child. In the study most respondents come from an intact family, living with both parents.

Mlambo (1977:84) found in a similar study that most respondents lived with both parents before imprisonment.

5.2.8 Parents living together/separated/divorced

Some 20 (40%) indicated that they were living with one parent only; 29 (42%) respondents were living with both parents; 9 (18%) had parents separated or divorced.

Mlambo in his study (1977:84) found that 33 respondents were living with both parents. The other 41 respondents indicated to have lived with one parent or other

relative when one of the spouses had deserted the family. All these 41 respondents came from broken homes, since their parents had divorced, separated or deserted the family after experiencing an unsatisfactory marital relationship. As a result many of the respondents experienced unsatisfactory stepparent – child relationships. Some were either rejected or neglected and others were overprotected by their mothers.

In a study done by Gurusamy (1994:3) in India, he established that every child is born with a desire of being wanted, loved and understood. As the child grows, he or she expects to have an ever increasing sphere of affection beginning with mother, father and other members of the family. Failure to meet these needs results in dissatisfaction and hostility which precipitate social deviance. Emotional insecurity, feelings of inadequacy and inferiority, lack of affection, over discipline and lack of cohesiveness of the family unit are among the common problems of personal adjustment, behavioural disorders and delinquency. The findings seem to support those of Mlambo that delinquents in most cases come from maladjusted families. For the present study, since most of the respondents were living with both parents and ended up in jail, this might be due to the factors cited by Mlambo and Gurusamy that there is a lack of or over discipline and lack of cohesiveness of the family unit.

5.2.9 Employment status of a parent/guardian

Table 6

Value	Number	Percent
Both parents employed	11	22
Only father employed	17	34
Only mother employed	5	10
Guardian employed	2	4
Not employed	15	30
Total	50	100

Seventeen respondents (34%) indicated that the fathers are employed; 15 (30%) indicated that their parents are not employed.

A study undertaken in the United States by Shihadeh and Steffensmeir (1994:739-741) regarding economic inequality, family disruption and urban violence, they found a correlation between income inequality, family disruption and Black violence rates. They found that black-to-black income inequality increases the rates of violent crime in black communities through an underlying pattern of family disruption that serves to diminish the social controls. These findings seem to support the findings presented earlier in the study regarding parents who have deserted the family.

5.2.10

Prison record of parents/guardian

Table 7

Value label	Number	Percent
Both parents were imprisoned before	1	2
Father was imprisoned before	5	10
Guardian imprisoned before	1	2
Not imprisoned before	43	86
Total	50	100

The table above shows that 43 (86%) respondents do not have parents who have criminal records; 7 (14%) respondents have parents or a guardian with criminal records.

In a similar study conducted by Sutherland (1947:157) regarding the home and family in relation to crime, he found that criminal acts of other members of the family is one of the important reasons why a particular child becomes delinquent. Sutherland (1947:157) quoted Burt's (1940) findings on a similar study. Burt concluded from his study in England that vice and crime were present five times as frequently in the homes from which delinquents come as in the homes of non-delinquents. Sutherland also quoted Gluecks' (1947:7) findings, that 84.8% of the offenders released from Massachusetts Reformatory had been reared in homes in which there were other criminal members. Sutherland's (1947) findings differ greatly with the above findings of the study in the sense that most parents of the juvenile inmates, 43 (86%) never had any criminal record.

5.2.11 Visits by family members

A total of 47 (94%) juveniles indicated that they are being visited by family members. The other 3 (6%) indicated that they are not visited by their families.

In a study conducted by Chetty (1995:148) it was revealed that 74% of the children studied reported having contact with their families and 40% reported seeing members of their immediate family at least once every two weeks. These findings were based mainly on those street children who were kept in places of safety.

The respondents revealed that they miss their families a lot. The family seems to be so important in the lives of prison inmates. Some of the respondents regard their families as their only friends.

5.2.12 Crime committed

Table 8

Value label	Number	Percent
Murder	10	20
Rape	6	12
Burglary (Housebreaking)	7	14
Car theft	10	20
Armed robbery	3	6
Robbery	11	22
Car Hijacking	1	2
Fraud	1	2
Assault (Grievous bodily harm)	1	2
Total	50	100

The Table above indicates that the majority of respondents, 11 (22%) have committed robbery. The other respondents, 10 (20%) committed murder; 10 (20%) committed car theft; 6 (12%) committed rape; 1 (2%) hijacked a car; 1 (2%) committed fraud; 1 (2%) is held for assault and 7 (14%) for burglary and 3 (6%) for armed robbery. All these crimes are serious offences, murder, rape, armed robbery, car theft and hijacking, robbery and fraud.

According to an article in the Daily News (28.7.1998:1) murder, rape, serious assault, robbery and vehicle theft have increased every year since 1990; murder by 26%, rape by 81%, serious assault by 38% and vehicle theft by 43%.

5.2.13 Previous imprisonment

The majority of respondents, 44 (88%) revealed that they have never been imprisoned before; 6 (12%) indicated that they have been imprisoned before. Of the 6, 3 revealed that they were imprisoned once before; 2 revealed to have been imprisoned twice before; 1 indicated to have been imprisoned several times.

5.2.14

Place they lived in before imprisonment**Table 9**

Value label	Number	Percent
Home	36	72
On street	6	12
With relatives	4	8
Other	1	2
No response	3	6
Total	50	100

The Table indicates that the majority of respondents, 36 (72%) were living at home with their parents before imprisonment; 6 (12%) respondents were living on the street; 4 (8%) respondents were living with relatives; 1 (2%) with stepfather; 3 (6%) respondents did not respond to the question.

Since the respondents gave some indications that ‘friends’ forced them to commit the crimes they are presently serving time for, the family could therefore not be held responsible. Since most of the respondents were living with their families, friends obviously could have been the main influence on them to commit crime. These assumptions would be proved correct in the next Table below.

Table 10

Value label	Number	Percent
Friends	24	48
Unemployment	5	10
Fun	2	4
Older criminals	5	10
Other	7	14
Friends and unemployment	3	6
No response	4	8
Total	50	100

The majority of respondents 24 (48%) indicated that friends influenced them to commit crime. Under 'other' 7 (14%) respondents indicated a number of factors which influenced them to commit crime. Some of these factors were that they were drunk and could not realise their acts of deviance. The majority also stated that they are innocent, they did not commit those offences they are sentenced for. They said their cases were unfairly treated by the court of law.

Five respondents (10%) indicated unemployment; 5 (10%) said older criminals influenced them; 4 (8%) gave no response; 3 (6%) said friends and unemployment; and 2 (4%) did it for fun.

In a study conducted by Gurusamy (1994:4) it was found that criminal behaviour is acquired through interaction with others. An individual's behaviour is influenced to a considerable extent by the conduct of his companions. Peer

groups and the neighbourhood to a great extent contribute towards juvenile delinquency. No child is born delinquent. Delinquency is acquired through a learning process. The delinquent behaviour of a youth is often the reflection of his surroundings. In another study Sutherland (1947:140) found that association of children with others in the neighbourhood is an important factor. In a study conducted with the juvenile court records in Chicago, he found that 88.2% of the boys had been engaged in delinquent acts in company with others, and that 93.1% of those engaged in stealing had been in company with others.

Given the background history of South Africa, most of the juvenile inmates are Black. Again, most of those incarcerated juveniles have senior secondary certificates as the statistical results have proved in Table 4. These juveniles were willing to achieve their goals in an institutionalised way. But the means to achieve such goals were blocked due to unavailability of jobs. As a result they resorted to illegitimate means to achieve their goals by means such as theft, burglary, robbery and fraud.

This links up with the anomie theory of Merton (1961) for him, under certain circumstances, cultural goals are over-emphasised. The means to reach those goals are not always equitably distributed in society. This may lead to socially structured rates of deviance.

5.2.16

Incarceration other than imprisonment

Table 11

Value label	Number	Percent
Reform school	3	6
School of industries	4	8
Other	2	4
Not applicable	41	82
Total	50	100

The Table above shows that 4 respondents (8%) were in a school of industries before; 3 (6) were in a reform school; 2 (4%) indicated 'other'; 41 (82%) indicated that they have never been confined before.

5.2.17

Places which juveniles would prefer if convicted again

Table 12

Category label	Number	Percent
Children's home	6	12
Reform school	8	16
School of industries	30	60
Other	4	8
No response	2	4
Total	50	100

This Table 12 shows that 30 (60%) of the respondents prefer a schools of industries if convicted again; 8 (16%) prefer reformatory school; 6 (12%) prefer

children's home; 4 (8%) under 'other' preferred own home; 2 (4%) did not respond to the question.

In a study done by Vahed (1986:151) regarding a need for reform schools for Indian juvenile offenders, he found that the Supreme Court has repeatedly held that the committal of a juvenile to a reform school is drastic step and should be imposed as an absolute last resort. He said the Indian community does not have a reform school catering for it in Natal. As a result most of the Indians had to be sent to Cape Town.

The disadvantage cited by Vahed (1986) for sending Indian juveniles to a reform school in Cape Town was that the dominant language was Afrikaans. Indians are not familiar with the language. As a result they ended up being abused by the Coloured inmates. The other disadvantage cited was that reform schools are a great distance from home. It is virtually impossible for the family members to visit Indian inmates regularly, if at all.

The South African Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions (1989:42) reported that both reform schools and schools of industries are within the normal educational responsibility of the education authorities and do not, like the places of safety, constitute a social welfare service. The role of these schools is to educate children in a therapeutic environment. These schools make provision specifically for the child in need of care and not for the juvenile

offender. However, the possibility can not be excluded that a child in need of care may be admitted to a school of industries.

5.2.18 Prison gangs

A total of 40 (80%) juveniles revealed that there are prison gangs in their juvenile prison. The rest, 10 (20%) revealed that they do not know about the existence of prison gangs.

According to Cohen (1956:28) the delinquent subculture takes its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down. The delinquent's conduct is acceptable by the standards of his subculture, precisely because it is unacceptable by the norms of the larger culture. Delinquency and the delinquent subculture in particular are overwhelmingly concentrated in the male, working-class of the juvenile population. Prison gangs are a subculture since they exist inside the prison, and their culture is the culture which is against the larger culture, norms and values of the prison.

In a study conducted by Houston and Mullen (1997:1) about gang membership, they blame the American Dream for much that is good or on the dark side of the American psyche. It drives people apart, weakens the sense of community, and instills a drive to succeed at any cost. Capitalism has an exaggerated emphasis on monetary success and the unrestrained receptivity to innovation. This goal

overwhelms other goals. This can be linked to Merton's (1961) theory of deviant behaviour and anomie, referred to above as an over-emphasis on cultural goals.

Houston and Mullen (1997:2) stated further that Merton (1961) proposes that our society demand that individuals strive for success without questioning their true opportunity to reach societally agreed upon goals. For those who lack the opportunity, whether their own fault or not, this results in a state of anomie. Some pursue the American Dream by deviant means, while others create an entirely new, and perhaps deviant, American Dream which demands alternative means. Gangs appear to thrive wherever poverty and anomie exist. When the gangs resort to deviant behaviour, they are trying to innovate so that they can achieve whatever they want for need. Other gangs reject both socially approved goals and means.

5.3 Rehabilitation programmes

The majority of respondents 33 (66%) revealed that rehabilitation programmes are offered to them; 13 (26%) indicated that there are no rehabilitation programmes offered by the prison; 4 (8%) indicated that they do not know whether such programmes exists.

5.3.1 Types of rehabilitation programmes mentioned by the juveniles
offered to them by the prison authorities

The majority of the respondents mentioned things like, bricklaying, sport, particularly soccer, body building, painting, drawing, carpentry, sculpture, school, religious care, sexual offenders' programmes and community outreach programmes.

In a similar study conducted by McQuoid-Mason (1981:10-11) on the rehabilitation of the offender, he said the reform of the offender and his rehabilitation in society is one of the principal aims of penology in modern times. According to the social defense theory offenders are sentenced for the protection of society, but there are frequently those who require treatment or those who are likely to repeat the offence. In recent years there has been mounting scepticism regarding the success of rehabilitation in the penal system. In South Africa, the major aim of the department of prisons is to provide for the reform and rehabilitation of offenders by training them in habits of industry and labour. Rehabilitation is a desirable objective, but there are now serious doubts as to the effectiveness of the treatment model.

Of the 33 respondents 10 (30.3%) indicated both social workers and ordinary trained prison warders offer these programmes; 7 (21.2%) responded by saying it is offered by the ordinary trained prison warders; 6 (18.2%) indicated that social workers only are involved; 6 (18.2%) revealed that it is offered by the 'other', that

is, teachers and religious workers/pastors; 4 (12.1%) did not respond to the question.

In a study by Tshivula (1996:6) it was stated that juvenile crime is complex. Its uniqueness lies in the fact the offender is not yet an adult. The development of the personality is not quite completed, and consequently there is a greater possibility of being rehabilitated. It is important to look at the juvenile offender in his totality, taking into consideration his development.

The majority of respondents 25 (75.8%) revealed that they are informed about the importance of rehabilitation programmes; the other 8 (24.2%) respondents indicated that they are not informed about the importance of rehabilitation programmes.

The majority of respondents, 25 (75.8%) revealed that they are not forced to undergo rehabilitation programmes. The respondents indicated that those who have registered for schooling are forced to attend classes; 8 (24.2%) revealed that they are forced to undergo the programmes.

The majority of respondents, 26 (78.8%) indicated that they have participated in the programmes; 7 (21.2%) have not participated.

5.3.2

Results of the programmes

Table 13

Value label	Number	Percent
Have changed behaviour positively	20	60.6
Have changed behaviour negatively	0	0
Have not changed behaviour at all	0	0
Have changed views regarding crime positively	13	39.4
Total	33	100

The majority of the respondents, 20 (60.6%) revealed that rehabilitation programmes have positively changed their behaviour. The other 13 (39.4%) claim that the programmes have changed their views regarding crime.

The results of the programmes seem to be positive. Out of 33 responses all of the respondents indicate beyond doubt that the programmes are effective.

It was mentioned earlier in Chapter One that there are two competing notions regarding rehabilitation. The first notion is that rehabilitation is a failure. The second notion is that rehabilitation can be a success. A number of theories have been developed in the field of criminology (particularly penology), sociology and psychology in trying to explain complex issues on the plight of prisoners. Some theories argue that imprisonment of offenders is not a solution. It makes people to be hardened criminals. They claim that prison does not rehabilitate at all, instead it makes one learn more criminal tactics from other criminals.

The fact that one is imprisoned means that he has a label/stigma of being a criminal. It is not easy for an offender to shake it off after having served his sentence. The label will always be there, as the labeling theory claims. The master status would always be with him.

But looking at the results given above from Table 13, it shows that most of the juvenile offenders have changed. They have somehow been rehabilitated. It seems there is some progress regarding rehabilitation programmes. The reason being that most juveniles have expressed change in their attitude and behaviour. Although imprisonment can be damaging to one, these juveniles, indicate that their sense of 'self' has not been devastated by imprisonment. They still have a sense of 'self' which makes them cope with prison conditions and the label.

5.4 **Participation in prison activities**

Table 14

Category label	Number	Percent
Soccer	13	26
Rugby	2	4
Tennis	1	2
Music	9	18
Athletics	1	2
Other (including none)	19	38
No response	13	26

The Table above shows that 19 (38%) respondents participate mostly in other sporting activities and others also indicated that they do not participate at all for certain reasons that would be mentioned shortly below; 13 (26%) respondents indicated to have much interest in soccer; the other respondents 13 (26%) did not respond to the question; 9 (18%) revealed to have much interest in music; 2 (4%) seem to like rugby most; 1 (2%) like tennis; 1 (2%) likes athletics.

Those who indicated to have an interest in soccer have stated that it keeps them away from crime, and it makes them forget about their problems as prisoners in those few hours of play. Those who opted for body building want to get physically fit and always keep themselves healthy. The reason why there is a very low level of interest in athletics and rugby is that they are not offered much, soccer dominates. The music lovers indicated that "... through music one is able to convey a message, and it also revives the spirit".

In local newspaper, the Daily News (17.12.1998:13) it was reported that a soccer team from Cape Town visited the inmates in Westville Prison. The team has encouraged inmates to improve their lives once they are released. The team visited about 100 convicted prisoners at the weekend and left inmates pledging to change their ways and start new lives after sincere words of encouragement from the team.

It is further stated that the visit was part of the rehabilitation programme to reintegrate prisoners into the community. The visit was aimed at showing the

inmates that society has not deserted them and that it still cares for them. But they need to change their ways so they can be welcomed back into the community. After the visit, one prisoner said: "... we feel that we are still welcome outside and we can still dream and achieve our goals, that not all the doors have been closed". Another inmate serving a four year sentence for robbery said: "The visit had recharged my life and showed me that everything was not lost".

A similar sporting event took place at Umzinto Prison (Daily News, 5.1.1998:2). The project was launched by the Department of Sport and Recreation to bridge the gap between inmates and outside communities through mental and physical stimulation. Safety and Security spokesman, Velaphi Ndlovu, said in the article prisoners form a very important part of the community and should not be rejected. He encouraged them not to lose hope, since one day they will go back to their communities. He further said they need to be rehabilitated since they could become responsible members of society. His closing words were that prison walls should be the place where Ubuntu (humanitarianism) is practiced to strengthen the relations between the worlds outside and inside jail.

5.5

Inmates and their friends

Table 15

Value label	Number	Percent
Older criminals	3	6
Gang members	5	10
Other juveniles	35	66
Other	3	6
No response	4	8
Total	50	100

The majority of juvenile inmates, 35 (70%) revealed that their friends are other juveniles; 5 (10%) indicated to be friends of gang members; 3 (6%) are friends of older criminals; 4 (8%) of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Sutherland's theory of differential association(1956:14) states that social groups differ in the importance they attach to respect for the law, and that the individual will tend toward or away from crime according to the cultural standards of his associates, especially his intimate ones. This means that each of the above mentioned groups has its own view of and respect for law. Their engagement in any criminal activities will depend on the view, culture and respect for law. If one associates oneself with delinquents, he is more likely to become delinquent.

Sutherland (1956:7) further states that the immediate factors in criminal behaviour lie in the person-situation complex. Person and situation are not factors exclusive of each other, for the situation which is important is the situation as defined by the

person who is involved. This supports Thomas' views about the definition of the situation. For Thomas (1923) if one defines a situation as real, it becomes real in its consequences. This means, if the gangs/criminals define a situation as real, in terms of their culture, norms, and values, it becomes real to their situation since they are involved and part of it.

5.6 Prospects for the future after release from prison

Table 16

Category label	Number	Percent
To be respected by the community	34	68
To be a successful person	36	72
To be feared by anyone in the community	1	2
To be loved by anyone in the community	31	62
Other	3	6

The majority of respondents, 36 (72%) indicated that they would like to be successful persons; 34 (68%) respondents want to be respected by the community; 31 (62%) respondents would like to be loved by anyone in the community; 1 (2%) respondent would like to be feared by anyone in the community; 3 (6%) respondents indicated interest in the business world.

By looking at the statistical results, one can deduce that almost all young offenders have positive attitudes about prospects for the future. Since the majority

of them indicated that they want to be successful it is clear that they will benefit from any rehabilitation programme. They still aspire for something better in life.

5.7 Views on continued criminal activities

The majority of respondents, 45 (90%) indicated that they do not intend to continue with criminal activities; 2 (4%) respondents said they will continue with criminal activities; 3 (6%) respondents indicated that they do not know whether they will continue with criminal activities or not.

5.8 Attitudes towards friends, parents and themselves

The majority of respondents 32, (64%) revealed that they blame themselves for being in prison; 23 (46%) respondents indicated they blame their friends; 2 (4%) respondents blame parents; 4 (8%) blame unemployment or poverty.

It shows that the families at this stage do not stand to be blamed. The majority of the blame is leveled against the friends and the juveniles themselves for being in prison. One might argue that the family has played its role of socialisation properly. But due to group influence, these juveniles got tempted by many things which have landed them in prison.

5.8.1 Views of juvenile prisoners regarding their current circumstances

The majority of respondents, 27 (54%) indicated that they feel sad about their experiences as prisoners; 21 (42%) indicated anger about being in prison; 18 (36%) revealed bitterness; 13 (26%) indicated to be sympathetic to other juveniles who are in a similar situation; 6 (12%) revealed that they are happy about being in prison; 4 (8%) said they are grieving.

One prisoner said: “I feel angry because I always think about what to do to score my goals. When I think about the past, tears just run down my face”.

Other reactions were:

- I am sympathetic towards others in similar circumstances because there are no jobs outside and no money.
- I am angry because my dreams are shattered by being in prison, and I miss my family.

The fact that almost all the juvenile offenders state anger, bitterness and sadness shows that they are remorseful of their actions. If rehabilitation can be intensified for these juveniles, the possibility of reform is very high.

5.8.2 Views of juvenile prisoners regarding the role of the government

Table 17

Category label	Number	Percent
Government must enact laws protecting/recognising our rights	24	48
Government must create job opportunities for us after release	39	78
Government must increase recreational facilities in our areas of origin	32	64
Government must provide more educational opportunities	32	64
Other (specify)	4	8

The Table above indicates that the majority of respondents, 39 (78%) need the creation of jobs; 32 (64%) respondents need the government to provide them with educational opportunities; 24 (48%) respondents want the government to protect and recognise their rights; 20 (40%) respondents want an increase in recreational facilities in their own communities; 4 (8%) had other views.

Since most of the respondents want jobs to be created, they were concerned about that because they know that chances for them to find a job after release are slim. Several respondents during the interview asked the researcher: “Is it true that if ever one has a criminal record one will not find a job?” This shows that they are

concerned already about the label which seems to block legitimate means to find a job.

According to labeling theorists like Lilly *et al* (1989:125) imprisonment entails the loss of existing employment. Saddling offenders with an official criminal label, particularly when they have spent time in jail and carry the status of ex-convict, limits their employment opportunities. Employers, therefore, see them as risks and hesitate to hire them or place them in positions of trust.

5.9 Relationship between prison staff and the juvenile prisoners

The majority of juvenile inmates 35(70%) revealed that they have a good relationship with prison officials. Only 12 (24%) indicated that they do not have a positive relationship with the prison officials. Three (6%) indicated that they were uncertain about their relationship with the staff.

Sutherland (1947:446) stated that prison officers frequently have an attitude of retaliation toward the prisoners. This is because the prison officers reflect the attitude of the general public towards offenders or toward certain types of offenders. The general law of society is: "If a person breaks a rule, punish him." The attitude of prison officers is therefore due to a tradition carried into the institution from the outside. It is possible by proper training to modify this attitude.

It has already been mentioned in Chapter One that the present study will use both questionnaires and interview schedules in gathering data. The questionnaires were to be given to the prison staff and the face-to-face interviews were going to be conducted by the researcher with the male juveniles only. An analysis of the findings of the data collected through the interview has already been done through the use of tables, frequency and percentage.

In the next section an analysis of data gathered through questionnaires from the 14 staff members will be done and interpreted through the use of frequency and percentage.

5.10 Age of staff

Table 18

Value label	Number	Percent
20-30	8	57.1
31-40	4	28.6
41-50	2	14.3
Total	14	100

Table 8 above indicates the age of prison staff. Most of the prison staff, 8 (57.1%) fall between the age of 20 and 30 years; other staff members, 4 (28.6%) are between 31 and 40 years of age; 2 (14.3%) staff members are between 41 and 50 years of age.

It appears that the majority of prison staff who work with juveniles in rehabilitating them are between 20 to 30 years of age. The staff are relatively young and there is not much difference in age between staff and juveniles. The majority of juveniles are between 16-20 years of age.

Age plays a vital role in that it allows for communication to develop between the juveniles and prison staff. This is supported by the high level of responses given by the juveniles regarding the positive relationship they have with the staff.

A total of 35 (70%) juvenile offenders revealed to have a positive relationship with the prison staff. This confirms the fact that the age of juveniles and prison staff is very important in developing a good relationship. They can understand the problems of juveniles far better than the older prison personnel. They can handle and deal with their problems effectively.

5.11 Gender of staff

The majority of staff are males, 10 (71.4%). The female staff totals 4 (28.6%).

5.12 Occupation of staff

The majority of prison staff are correctional officers/warders: 10 (71.4%); 2 (14.3%) are educational officers; 2 (14.3%) are social workers.

Since educationists and social workers are the lowest in number, compared to correctional officers, there is a need to have more educationists and social workers. The social workers and educationists are the people who are heavily involved in the rehabilitation programmes. They implement and carry out the rehabilitation programmes. One of the respondents stated: "We need people who are trained to deal with juveniles".

5.13 Qualifications of staff

Table 19

Value label	Number	Percent
B Social Work	2	14.3
B Occupational Therapy	1	7.1
Teacher' Diploma	3	21.5
Diploma (Management)	1	7.1
Std. 10	7	50.0
Total	14	100

Exactly half of the staff have Std 10: 7 (50%) The other members have professional qualifications: social work 2(14.4%) occupational therapy 1 (7.1%); teachers' diploma 3 (21.5%) and management diploma 1(7.1%). The latter, in particular, plays an important role in the success of the rehabilitation programme.

Prison staff indicated the following main offences committed by the juveniles:

- 1) drug abuse
- 2) theft
- 3) murder
- 4) car theft
- 5) burglary
- 6) rape.

They gave the following reasons for offences committed by the juveniles:

- 1) peer group influence
- 2) drop-out from school
- 3) lack of recreational facilities
- 4) parental neglect
- 5) unemployment
- 6) lack of role models
- 7) availability of a market for stolen property.

The literature survey indicates a number of factors which cause juveniles to commit crime. Most of the responses given above by the prison staff as the main cause for delinquency are the same as cited in the literature survey. Regarding

peer group influence, a juvenile can commit crime due to pressure from his friends. He may engage himself in stealing just for the sake of getting recognition from his peer group. The school also may contribute to delinquency in the sense that the values, culture and norms of the school are predominantly catering for the middle class interest. Those from the lower class may find it difficult to adjust themselves. The school sets very high standards which the lower class pupils cannot meet. As a result, those pupils who fail to meet the school standards could be labeled as 'failure'. This would impact on the status of a child.

Regarding recreation, Cohen (1956:91) states that the middle class children are taught that one should not waste time but spend his leisure constructively. Play is necessary and desirable, but play gains merit to the degree that it involves some measure of foresight, study, practice and sustained endeavour towards the development of a collection, a skill, a fund of specialised knowledge.

From the researcher's point of view, the teacher is the one who should set an example by encouraging all students in a class irrespective of their class position, race or whatever factors. If the attitude of the teacher is positive, it will encourage those other students from lower class families to do better.

5.15 The attitudes of the prison staff towards sentenced male juveniles

The majority of the staff feel sympathetic towards the sentenced male juveniles. The attitudes of the staff towards the juveniles play a very important role regarding the success of rehabilitation. Since they mainly feel sympathetic to juvenile inmates, it means the interaction between them will be successful. As a result the rehabilitation programme will be successful.

In a study conducted by Chetty (1995:238) about street children in the Durban municipal area, she found that the overwhelming majority of respondents were sympathetic to street children.

This shows that the people who are working with the youth are sympathetic towards them.

5.16 Assistance given by the government to juvenile prisoners

All the respondents agreed that there is some help given to the young inmates by the government. They agree that the government does provide help to juveniles, in the form of programmes such as carpentry, bricklaying, plumbing and welding. Recreational facilities have also been mentioned as one of the things provided to juvenile inmates by the government.

5.17 Views of prison staff regarding involvement of parents in the rehabilitation programmes

Twelve (85.7% of the staff support very strongly the idea of parental involvement in the rehabilitation programmes; 2 (14.3%) indicated that there is no need for parental involvement in the rehabilitation programmes.

The reasons cited by the respondents as to why parental involvement is important in the rehabilitation process, is because sometimes the history of the child is needed. Most of the juveniles have to go back home after release and this would help for easy reintegration of juveniles to their families since parents would be able to assist juveniles to cope with problems they might experience in the family and in the community. The family will always be there to give support to them. One of the respondents regarding the involvement of parents in the rehabilitation process said: "This will enhance rehabilitation as background information about the juvenile will be available and hence the intervention will be appropriate."

5.18 Views of prison staff regarding the involvement of the public in rehabilitation programmes

A total of 12 (85.7%) respondents support the idea of public involvement in the rehabilitation process for male juveniles; 1 (7.1%) was against the inclusion of the public in the rehabilitaiton process; 1 (7.1%) indicated that he does not know whether the public should be involved in the rehabilitation process.

The reasons cited by the respondents why they think the public should be involved in the rehabilitation process are because juveniles are part of the public. This would enhance a better understanding on the part of the public of what the juvenile offenders go through during imprisonment. The public will get clarity on its role to be played in rehabilitation.

In a study by Glanz (1994:74) regarding the South African public's attitudes towards imprisonment and the release of offenders, she stated that one of the most difficult challenges facing a released offender is his successful reintegration into society. The attitude of the general public towards ex-offenders is an important factor in this process. Negative attitudes on the part of the public make successful reintegration that much more difficult.

The findings of Glanz (1994) indicate clearly that it is time to educate the public about the importance of their role in the rehabilitation of prison inmates.

5.19 Views of prison staff regarding staff shortage in the juvenile prison

The majority of respondents, 11 (78.6%) have indicated staff shortages in the juvenile prison; 3 (21.4%) indicated that there is sufficient staff in the juvenile prison.

Judging the high percentage responses of staff, it is obvious that there is a shortage of staff in the prison for juveniles. One of the respondents said: "Taking the social work section as an example only three social workers are employed whereas there are approximately 650 juveniles. Individual and highly therapeutic service cannot be provided. Furthermore, all other disciplines, like health, and physical instructors should play a role in the process".

5.20 Views of staff regarding rehabilitation programmes

The respondents agreed that there are rehabilitation programmes offered to male juvenile prisoners. They, however, indicated that there is a shortage of resources to run the programmes. Two main categories of programmes are offered:

1) Welfare programme:

Welfare programmes include educational programmes for example life skills, alcohol and drug abuse, sports and technical training, sexual offenders programmes, family counselling and individual counselling.

2) **Community work programmes**

Included under these programmes are aids and sexuality, rights and responsibilities and heritage.

It seems as if most of the programmes offered to juveniles are mainly skill related because those are the programmes they have mentioned most.

This position assumes that offenders can be changed by treatment. The principle underlying these treatment programmes is to return the offender to society.

5.21 Staff involved in implementing rehabilitation programmes

The respondents indicated that the people involved in the implementation of rehabilitation programmes are both social workers and prison management staff.

It also includes other staff members within the prison who specialise in different tasks regarding the rehabilitation process, such as occupational therapists. People from outside the prison include community nurses from Durban City Health and ministers of religion.

The findings above reveal clearly that rehabilitation is a multidisciplinary programme. The findings also seem to indicate that the programmes are holistic in that they deal with all the individual's problems. The findings also indicate that rehabilitation of juveniles also include professional people from outside the prison setting.

Almost all respondents 13 (92.9%) indicated that all juveniles should be legible for rehabilitation; 1 (7.1%) indicated that only long-term juvenile prisoners should be legible for rehabilitation.

From the findings above, it is obvious that the juvenile inmates all qualify for rehabilitation, whether they are long-term or short-term prisoners. McQuoid-Mason (1981:10) states that the reform of the offender and his rehabilitation in society has emerged as one of the principal aims of penology in modern times. Apart from the doubts concerning the efficiency of punishment, in recent years there has been mounting scepticism regarding the success of rehabilitation in the penal system. Rehabilitation is one of the cornerstones of penal policy in western countries. Likewise in South Africa, the aim of the Department of Correctional Services is to provide for the reform and rehabilitation of offenders by training them in habits of labour and industry.

Coetzee *et al* (1995:114) in their study of prisons and their conditions, are of the opinion that rehabilitation is a desirable objective. But there are doubts about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes. High rates of recidivism may indicate that prisons are breeding grounds for crime. The inadequate resources of manpower and equipment often mean that the effectiveness of rehabilitation cannot be fully tested.

The majority of respondents, 12 (85.7%) indicated that there is overcrowding in the juvenile prison; 1 (7.1%) indicated that there is no overcrowding in the juvenile section; 1 (7.1%) did not know.

If there is overcrowding some of the young inmates cannot get a chance of going through the rehabilitation programmes. It is clear why some juveniles have not received any exposure to the programmes. It is due to staff shortage, especially with regard to social workers and overcrowding.

According to an article in the Sowetan (14.10.1998:4) it was reported that in total, South Africa has 2817 children who have already been sentenced and about 5593 who are still awaiting trial in prison. The number has increased by 7622 compared to the previous year's 788 juveniles who were reported to be in jail throughout the country in March 1997. According to a spokesman for the Ministry of Correctional Services, KwaZulu-Natal has the highest number of juveniles under the age of 18 in jail, then comes Gauteng, followed by the Western Cape.

The newspaper report support the findings of the study regarding overcrowding.

5.24 Use of corporal punishment

All the respondents indicated that corporal punishment is not used at all as a deterrent.

5.25 Views of prison staff regarding parole

All the respondents agreed that they do offer parole to young inmates.

Plater (1981:209) in his study of the nature of parole and the role of the parole supervision, said parole is the supervision of persons who have been conditionally discharged from prison. Persons discharged are apparently free, yet they are tied to the service of a designated supervising agency for a specified period of time. The sentence now continues to be served in the community.

5.26 Views of prison staff regarding communication with external agencies

All the respondents indicated that there is communication between prison authorities and external agencies.

The reason given by the respondents why there is communication between prison authorities and external agencies is because there are treatment programmes that are run in collaboration with external organisations. Sexual offenders

programmes, for example, are being run in conjunction with Childline. The programmes are being run in conjunction with Durban City Health. Business skills also involves staff from NICRO. Street law is conducted by the University of Natal, Durban Campus.

5.27 Views of staff regarding the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes

The majority of respondents, 8 (57.1%) indicated that the programmes are effective; 3 (21.4%) felt that rehabilitation programmes are not successful; 3 (21.4%) did not know.

Although the majority of respondents have indicated that the rehabilitation programmes are effective, they have stated that the resources are lacking. The majority of respondents, 11 (78.6%) indicated that the sentenced juveniles are happy with the programmes; 1 (7.1%) indicated that the juvenile inmates are unhappy with the rehabilitation programmes; 2 (14.3%) did not respond to the question.

One of the respondents said: "Some will be happy, some would not be happy. Those who are prepared to start a new life and a healthy life-style will be happy and those who are not prepared will not be happy."

5.28 Views of prison staff regarding the importance of rehabilitation programmes for juvenile inmates

Almost all respondents, 13 (92.9%) indicated that rehabilitation programmes are important because they make juvenile inmates adjust to society after release; 10 (71.4%) indicated the importance of rehabilitation programmes is that they make juvenile offenders realise that their actions are unacceptable to society; 10 (71.4%) also indicated that they change a juvenile's behaviour positively; 5 (35.7%) indicated that the programmes make the juveniles to completely abstain from deviance.

One of the respondents had added by stating that: "Rehabilitation programmes make juveniles to become responsible future citizens and law-abiding ones for safety and stability in the country." The positive responses given above by the prison staff correlate with the positive responses given by juvenile inmates regarding the importance of rehabilitation programmes. Both the staff and the juveniles have a positive attitude regarding the importance of the programmes.

5.29 Views of prison staff regarding a satisfactory level of participation in the rehabilitation programmes

The majority of respondents, 10 (71.4%) indicated that the level of participation in the rehabilitation programmes is not satisfactory; 3 (21.4%) indicated they do not

know; 1 (7.15) indicated that the level of participation in the programmes is satisfactory.

The reasons cited by the prison staff regarding the low level of participation in the programmes is due to the shortage of staff.

5.30 Views of the staff regarding who should take responsibility for sentenced male juveniles

All the respondents indicated that the prison should share responsibility with the rest of society. The responses indicate that all the institutions of society must take part in dealing with the problem of juveniles in prison.

5.31 Recommendations by the prison staff

The following were recommendations by the staff regarding juveniles in general:

- Rehabilitation centres should be established to assist male sentenced juveniles after release.
- The young inmates should make use of the life-skills they have been taught while in prison so that they can overcome their life problems.

- Offenses should be classified. Some juveniles should be sent to reformatory school and others should serve their sentence in prison, depending on the nature of the offence.
- A multi-disciplinary approach is imperative in ensuring growth and development in the juvenile.
- The necessary infrastructure should be set in place to ensure involvement of outside agencies.
- Families and communities at large should join hands in the rehabilitation of juveniles.

5.32 Summary

The present chapter contains an analysis and interpretation of data. Data collected by means of questionnaires and interview schedules are presented by providing frequency distributions and percentages in the form of tables.

In the next and final chapter, a general summary, conclusion and recommendations will be mainly based on the present chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary, conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Most of the juvenile inmates are the victims of a variety of factors. For them to be in prison is due to factors such as unemployment, peer group influence, political and environmental conditions, family breakdown, the school system, cultural, physical and sociological factors. Whatever mechanisms can be set in place in trying to address these problems, those mechanisms must be holistic and comprehensive in their approach. They must be holistic in the sense that they must try and address all the problems facing the youth.

These juvenile inmates are imprisoned because they wanted to achieve their goals. But the way they tried to achieve their goals was illegitimate. This has put them in a situation where they have come into conflict with the agents of social control, particularly the criminal justice system. The system has imprisoned them and labeled them as deviants. The label which has already been attached to them as criminals will have a negative impact on their self. They may lose a sense of self which may lead to further deviance. They may internalise the label and act accordingly by externalising the label. The main reason why juveniles commit serious offenses is due to unemployment and poverty. If the problem of

unemployment and poverty can be properly addressed, since it is a national issue, crime rates will drop. The problem of juvenile offenders ask for cooperation between the government, the public and their families. The juveniles need to be empowered with certain skills so that they will be able to make a living after their release.

6.2 **Major findings**

The major findings of the study will be summarised below.

6.2.1 **The previous political system**

The system of apartheid in South African is the main cause for unemployment, family breakdown and crime among the youth. Most of the families broke down and most of the children were left alone by their parents to look after themselves while parents had to go and look for jobs in the cities. Even in families where there was one spouse to look after the children, it was difficult for one spouse to raise all the children. The boys in particular, since the father as a head of the family was working away from home, were deprived of a role model. Most of the incarcerated inmates are from broken families. These families have failed to give all the support to the children. As a result the children have resorted to crime in order to support themselves because their families cannot provide.

Imprisonment of male juveniles, especially if they have committed a minor offense like shoplifting, will not help the juvenile. Locking male juveniles up in prison make them come into contact with older criminals. Once they are in prison, they may associate themselves with other hardened criminals. The older and hardened criminals will teach the young male juveniles new techniques of committing crime. Imprisoning male juveniles may introduce them to prison gangs. The juvenile may join a prison gang in order to get protection.

Once these male juveniles have joined prison gangs as a subculture, the gang members will socialise the young inmates into a new prison culture which may destroy the young person's life. Prison gangs are subcultural groups. They socialise and expose the new young male inmates into a world of crime because they will teach the inmate new values and norms.

Putting a male juvenile in prison does not only expose him to prison gangs, it may destroy his self. The reason why his self gets affected is because of the label he receives from the criminal justice system. The labeling theorists are against imprisonment because imprisonment gives one a label of being a criminal. Imprisonment stigmatises individuals, and this makes them to be alienated by their communities. Therefore, after their release from prison, they find it hard to cope with life in their communities due to the master status that they already have.

6.2.3 Community service

Community service orders seem to be a better option than imprisonment. They must be used as an alternative to custodial sentences. Community service orders is a better method in the sense that it will reduce the inordinately high prison population. Most of the prisons in South Africa have been reported to be overcrowded. KwaZulu-Natal being top on the list. The Department of Correctional Services should grant certain male offenders parole. Community service orders are advantageous in the sense that the young offenders will interact with their communities so that at the end of their sentences, there would be no label attached. The community will easily accept the member back into the community. Reintegration of offenders into the community through community service orders would be easier. Since male juvenile offenders are still young, rehabilitation of them through community service orders is possible.

6.2.4 The attitudes of prison staff

The majority of prison staff indicated that they have a positive attitude towards the juveniles under their care. The juveniles respond favourably to such a situation and thus the majority of them indicated to have a positive relationship with prison officials.

6.2.5 Community involvement in the rehabilitation process

For a complete and proper rehabilitation of male juveniles, the prison authorities must ensure that it includes community members. The offenders have committed their crimes in their communities therefore they must go back and serve their sentence in those communities. Community involvement in the rehabilitation process would expose them to the nature of the problems facing the inmates. As a result, when these juvenile inmates get released they will be able to adjust. The label of prisoner would not be a problem because both inmates and the public have been constantly interacting with each other while the male juveniles were serving their sentences. The attitude of the public also would not be negative towards the inmates after their release.

6.2.6 Parental involvement in the rehabilitation of male juveniles

Parental involvement is very important in the rehabilitation of male juveniles. Parents are the ones who can give detailed information about their children. They can provide prison social workers with valuable information which can assist prison staff during rehabilitation to offer proper rehabilitation based on the needs and wants of the child. If prison social workers can be furnished with proper information, it will enable the prison staff to give juveniles the treatment they deserve.

There must be communication between the prison staff (particularly social workers) and the external agencies. The reason for that is to ensure that when male juveniles are released from prison, external agencies would take over the responsibility by assisting the released juveniles in finding jobs. Whatever problems the male juveniles might be faced with after release from prison external agencies will assist them. This could decrease the rate of would-be second time offenders coming into prison again. Overcrowding can also be reduced because once a person is released, the chances for him to re-offend will become slim.

The shortage of prison staff, particularly social workers, is a serious problem in the sense that the rehabilitation of offenders cannot be done properly. More social workers need to be employed so that they can easily deal with the male juveniles in rehabilitating them.

More empowering programmes should be provided to ensure that juveniles do not re-offend. That should take the form of qualifications that is, academic technical and life-skills.

The male juvenile inmates must be kept occupied most of the time. This would help to move away from criminal activities. The prison staff must prepare a schedule which would keep male juvenile offenders busy throughout the day. Rehabilitation should be made compulsory for each and every juvenile inmate.

This would ensure the success of the programme and that when the male juveniles are released, they will be fully rehabilitated.

The prison staff must organise workshops for the male juveniles. Such workshops would give the juveniles an opportunity to raise their opinions about the things they would like to see happening. Such workshops would further enhance the already positive relationship between the staff and the juveniles.

The Criminal Justice System must have a link between the prison and the public. Court assessment centres should be established which will include social workers, psychologists and doctors. The role of the social worker in this case would be to gather family background on the juvenile and give it to the prosecutors.

The Department of Correctional Services must review its policy regarding the rehabilitation of inmates. Both custody and rehabilitation should be given a first priority.

The government must provide the families of the male juvenile offenders with transport. The reason being that most families cannot visit the juveniles because they are imprisoned very far from home.

Although rehabilitation is offered to juveniles, the level of rehabilitation should be intensified thereby ensuring that personnel with relevant expertise are employed and the necessary infrastructure is put in place. All the juveniles in prison must be

exposed to a variety of rehabilitation programmes and their importance must be fully and clearly explained to them.

6.4 Conclusion

The present study focused on the effectiveness of the rehabilitation programmes for male juveniles in Westville prison. The effectiveness of the rehabilitation programmes was judged by looking at the number of second time male juvenile offenders. If the number of second time male juveniles was much higher, then it was going to be clear that the rehabilitation programmes were ineffective. The results, however, proved that the rehabilitation programmes are effective because of the very small number of juveniles who are second time offenders. Almost 90% of the male juveniles interviewed were first time offenders. The results match the aim of the study.

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QUESTIONNAIRES

Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block

A. Background information

1. Age :

20-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50

2. Race :

Black	Indian	White	Coloured

3. Occupation (position) : _____

4. Secondary Qualifications : _____

5. Highest Educational Qualifications : _____

B. CAUSES :

6. What do you think are the reasons for sentenced male juveniles to commit crime?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Parental neglect			
(b) They abuse drugs			
(c) To earn money for themselves			
(d) Peer group influence			
(e) Dropped out from school			
(f) Lack of recreational facilities in their areas			

(g) Other (specify) : _____

C. Attitudes towards sentenced male juveniles

7. How do you feel towards sentenced male juveniles :

Sympathetic	Unsympathetic	Don't Know	Other (specify)

8. Do you think that sentenced male juveniles :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a)Are a problem or threat to society			
(b)Should be removed from the public or incarcerated			
(c)Are a burden to the government			
(d)Are a problem to taxpayers			

(e) Other (specify) :

9.(a) Is there any help given to sentenced male juveniles by the government?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b)If yes, state the nature :

(c)If no, state the reasons :

10. In your opinion state how the government should assist the sentenced male juveniles?

11. (a) Should parents also be involved in the rehabilitation process?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

12. (a) Do you think the public should also participate in the rehabilitation programmes/ process?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

13. (a) Do you think the number of prison staff is sufficient in the juvenile section?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

D. Management

14. What facilities/ resources are you offering to male sentenced juveniles?

15. What do you think should be done for sentenced juveniles?

16. Do you have enough resources to run all the rehabilitation programmes for juveniles?

Yes	No	Don't Know

E. Rehabilitation Programmes

17.(a) Are there any rehabilitation programmes offered to sentenced male juveniles?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) If yes, mention the different programmes : _____

18. Who implements those rehabilitation programmes?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Social Workers			
(b) Prison Management staff			
(c) Both Social Workers and Prison Management staff			

(d) Other (specify) :

19. (a) Is there any parental involvement in the running of the rehabilitation programmes?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

20. (a) Is it compulsory for juveniles to undergo treatment programmes?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

21. Which category of juveniles is legible / qualifies for rehabilitation / treatment programmes?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Short- term juvenile prisoners			
(b) Long- term juvenile prisoners			
(c) All juvenile prisoners			

(d) Other (specify) :

22. Is there any overcrowding in the juvenile section?

Yes	No	Don't Know

23. Do you use corporal punishment as a way of deterring juveniles from committing further crime after their release?

Yes	No	Don't Know

24. (a) Do you offer parole to juveniles

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

(c) If yes, which category of juveniles qualifies for parole :

25. (a) Is there any communication between prison authorities and external welfare agencies?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer : _____

26. (a) Do you perceive rehabilitation programmes effective for sentenced male juveniles?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer : _____

27. How do the sentenced male juveniles experience the rehabilitation programmes?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Happy			
(b) Unhappy			

(c) Other (specify) : _____

28. What do you think is the importance of rehabilitation programmes for sentenced male juveniles?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) They change a juvenile's behaviour positively			
(b) They change a juvenile's behaviour negatively			
(c) To completely abstain from deviance			
(d) To make them adjust to society after release			
(e) To make them realise that their actions are unacceptable to society			

(f) Other (specify) :

29. (a) Should there be any improvements in the rehabilitation programmes for sentenced male juveniles?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

30. (a) Do you think the reason for second -time male juvenile offenders to commit further crime is due to the ineffectiveness of the rehabilitation programmes they have undergone while in prison?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

31. (a) Do you inform the sentenced male juveniles about the importance of rehabilitation programmes?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

32. (a) Is the level of participation in the rehabilitation programmes by sentenced male juveniles satisfying?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

33. Who should have more responsibility for sentenced male juveniles?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) The government			
(b) Their own communities of origin			
(c) All South African citizens			
(d) The prison			
(e) Department of correctional supervision			

(f) Other (specify) :

34. What type of offense do they usually commit?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Shoplifting			
(b) Murder			
(c) Rape			
(d) Pickpocketing			
(e) Car theft			
(f) Burglary			

(g) Other (specify) : _____

35.(a) What kind of sentence do you think the court of law should give them?

Light	Heavy	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer: _____

36. What in your opinion should be done with male sentenced juveniles?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Should be served with parole			
(b) Should be sent to reformatory schools			
(c) Should serve their sentences by rendering their services freely in their communities of origin			

(d) Other (specify) : _____

F. Deviance

37. Do you think sentenced male juveniles are :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Deviant / Delinquent			
(b) More likely to become hardened criminals			
(c) More likely to be rehabilitated			
(d) Unlikely to be rehalitated			

(e) Other (specify) : _____

G. RECOMMENDATIONS

38. Do you think that :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Sentenced juveniles should be taught some numeracy and literacy skills			
(b) They must be provided with jobs after their release from prison			

(c) Other (specify) : _____

39.What can be done to improve the lifestyle or situation of sentenced male juveniles :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) The law must protect their rights			
(b) Improve living conditions in their communities of origin			
(c) Create centres to assist them after release			
(d) Should be linked with other community agencies after their release			
(e) Other (specify) :			

40. State any other recommendations with regard to sentenced male juveniles :

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SENTENCED MALE JUVENILES

A. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF JUVENILES

1. Age

10-15	16-20	21-23	Over 24

2. Gender

Male	Female

3. Race

Black	White	Coloured	Indian

4. Religious affiliation

Christian	Muslim	Hindu	Seventh Day Adventist	Other(specify)

5. While at home did you go to:

Church	Mosque	Temple	Other(specify)

6. Who did you go with?

Mother	Father	Both	Other(specify)

7. How often did you go ? _____

8. Do the prison authorities organise church services for you ?

Yes	No	Don't Know

9.(a) Are those church services important or beneficial to you ?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer : _____

10. (a) Highest Educational Level

Junior Primary	Senior Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	No formal schooling

(b) Other training ? _____

11. How many children are there in your family ? _____

12. With whom did you live before imprisonment :

Mother	Father	Both	Other (specify)

13. Were you still at school at the time of imprisonment ?

Yes	No	Other (specify)

B. Details of parents/Guardian

1. DOMESTIC

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Is your father alive?			
(b) Is your mother alive?			
(c) Are your parents still living together?			
(d) Have your parents separated/ divorced?			
(e) Has your father deserted your family?			
(f) Has your mother deserted your family?			

(g) Other (specify) : _____

2. EMPLOYMENT

	Yes	No	Other (specify)
(a) Was your father employed?			
(b) Was your mother employed?			
(c) Was your guardian employed?			

3. PRISON RECORD

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Was your father imprisoned before?			
(b) Was your mother imprisoned before?			
(c) Both were imprisoned before?			
(d) Was your guardian imprisoned before?			

VISITATION

4.(a) Do your family members visit you?

Yes	No

(b) If no, give reasons for your answer : _____

PUNISHMENT

5. Did your parents/guardian punish you if you deviate?

Yes	No

RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS/ GUARDIAN

6. Do you miss your family?

Yes	No

C. JUVENILES' CONDITIONS OF IMPRISONMENT

1. What type of crime were you involved in :

	Yes	No
(a) Murder		
(b) Rape		
(c) Burglary		
(d) Car theft		
(e) Theft from a car		
(f) Shoplifting		

(g) Other (specify) : _____

2(a). Have you been imprisoned before?

Yes	No

(b) If yes, say how many times ? _____

(c) State the period(s) of imprisonment: _____

(d) State the place of imprisonment: _____

3. Were you arrested while you were living :

	Yes	No
(a) At home		
(b) On the street		
(c) With relatives		

(d) Other (specify) : _____

4.What influenced you to commit crime?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a)Friends			
(b)Hunger			
(c)Unemployment			
(d)Only fun			
(e)Older criminals			

(f)Other (specify) :

5. Have you ever been before in:

	Yes	No
(a)Foster care		
(b)Reform school		
(c)School of industries		

(d)Other (specify):

6.If convicted again, which place do you prefer :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a)Police cells			
(b)Prison			
(c)Foster care			
(d)Children's home			
(e)Reform school			
(f)School of industries			

(g)Other (specify) :

Give reasons for your answer:

7.(a) Are there any gangs in prison?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) If yes, are you part of a gang ?

Yes	No

(c) If yes, state why : _____

D.Rehabilitation programmes

1(a). Are there any rehabilitation programmes offered to you?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) If yes, name them: _____

2. Who run / conduct the rehabilitation programmes :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Social workers			
(b) Ordinary trained prison warders			

(c) Other (specify) _____

3. Are you informed about the importance of rehabilitation programmes?

Yes	No	Don't Know

4. Are you forced to undergo rehabilitation programmes?

Yes	No	Don't Know

5.(a)Have you gone through such rehabilitation programmes?

Yes	No

(b)If no, give reasons for your answer : _____

6. How beneficial / important are the rehabilitation programmes to you?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a)Have they changed your behaviour positively			
(b)Have they changed your behaviour negatively			
(c)Have they changed your behaviour at all			
(d)Have they changed your views regarding crime			

(e)Other (specify) : _____

7.(a) Do you get any remuneration for your services in prison?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) If yes, what form of remuneration? _____

8. (a) Do you participate in any prison activities such as? :

	Yes	No
(a) Soccer		
(b) Rugby		
(c) Tennis		
(d) Squash		
(e) Music		
(f) Athletics		

(g) Other (specify) : _____

Give reasons for your answer : _____

9. Who are your friends?

	Yes	No
(a) Older criminals		
(b) Gang members		
(c) Other juveniles		

(d) Other (specify): _____

10. Any other comments about your friends : _____

11. After your release from prison would you like to be?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Respected by your community			
(b) A successful person			
(c) Feared by anyone in the community			
(d) Loved by anyone in your community			

(e) Other (specify) :

12. (a) After release, do you still intend to continue with criminal activities?

Yes	No	Don't Know

(b) Give reasons for your answer :

13. (a) Who do you blame for being in prison :

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Friends			
(b) Parents			
(c) Guardian			
(d) Yourself			

(e) Other (specify) :

(b) Give reasons for your answer : _____

14. (a) Has your experience as a prisoner made you :

	Yes	No
(a) Bitter		
(b) Angry		
(c) Sad		
(d) Happy		
(e) Sympathetic to others in similar circumstances		

(f) Other (specify) : _____

(b) Give reasons for your answer : _____

15. What would you like to be in life after your release from prison? _____

16. What do you think can be done to improve your situation as an incarcerated juvenile?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
(a) Government must enact laws protecting/ recognising your rights			
(b) Government must create job opportunities for you after release from prison			
(c) Government must increase recreational facilities in your area of origin			
(d) Government must provide educational opportunities			

(e) Other (specify) :

17. How long is your term of imprisonment / sentence :

18. How is your relationship with the prison staff ?

Positive	Negative	Don't Know

19. Any other comments :