

An evaluative case study of the YiPSA prison post-release programme in Cape Town, South Africa

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Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed:

Signed by candidate

Date: 16 November 2021

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Abstract

This research study explored the perceptions of a group of young men that participated in a prison post-release programme implemented by Young in Prison South Africa (YiPSA) based in Cape Town, South Africa, that used primarily arts-based methods to engage the participants. It aimed to explore their perceptions of whether or not participating in the programme affected their attitudes and behaviour, with a particular focus on factors that are associated with desistance. It also aimed to explore which aspects of the programme they considered to be the most significant in affecting their attitudes and behaviours.

The research was conducted using an evaluative case study approach. In-depth interviews were conducted with 12 respondents that had participated in the programme between 2013 and 2015, in order to gain an understanding of their perceptions about how their behaviour had changed and what aspects of the programme they thought were most influential in bringing about these changes.

The research found that nearly all the respondents reported that their behaviour had shifted to become more empathetic, and their life skills had improved, most particularly their communication skills. They also reported a decrease in criminal activity and changes in their aspirations to more prosocial ambitions as well as improved self-esteem and a newfound purpose. They also reported that they had experienced a shift in their identities, which many scholars believe is necessary for desistance to be maintained. They attributed these changes to a combination of various factors. This included the sense of belonging that they felt while participating in the programme, which was nurtured by the supportive relationships with staff and the non-judgemental environment. They also referred to learning new skills and exposure to new experiences, which were linked to the creative projects that they completed while attending the programme.

The findings of the research indicate that the creative methods that were utilized were an effective way of engaging the young people when they left prison, as they appealed to their interests and gave them opportunities to learn new skills as well as practice behaviours that are associated with desistance.

Recommendations are made for the Department of Correctional Service as well as non-governmental organisations and social service professionals who are working with this target group.

Chapter One: Contextual Background and Orientation to the Study

1.1 Introduction

This study explored the perceptions of a group of young men who participated in a prison post-release programme implemented by Young in Prison South Africa (YiPSA) in Cape Town in order to gain a greater understanding of their experience as well as the effect that it had on them and evaluate the impact of the programme. It explored whether or not they perceived that the programme had any influence on their attitudes and beliefs, focussing on attitudes and behaviours that are connected with desistance from crime. It also explored their perceptions of which aspects of the programme were most effective in influencing these shifts. The first chapter outlines the statement of the problem as well as gives a contextual background to the study, which includes a history of the organisation and details about how the programme operated. The significance of the study and the overall aims and the objectives of the study are discussed and the chapter ends with a discussion on reflexivity.

1.2 Statement of the problem

This research study took place in the City of Cape Town, the second largest city in South Africa, a country where violent crimes such as murder, assault and rape have remained consistently high over the last 20 years (DeKock, Kriegler & Shaw, 2015). Out of the thirty police stations that reported the highest levels of contact crime in South Africa in 2019, eight are within the city of Cape Town (SAPS, 2019a). Most violent crime in Cape Town takes place predominantly within poorer, previously disadvantaged neighbourhoods and is often related to gangsterism, which is widespread across the Western Cape, the province that Cape Town is situated in (SAPS, 2019b). It is mostly young men who are involved in gangsterism, but the effects are felt by the entire community.

Many of these young men are arrested and sent to prison, with the primary intention of this being a deterrent and a secondary objective of rehabilitation (Khwela, 2014; Khwela, 2015; Smit, 2004). However, it does not seem to be much of a deterrent, with the rate of recidivism in South Africa reported to be as high as 95% (Jules-Macquet, 2014). Arguably, the very high rate of recidivism in South Africa is an indication that most people who have been arrested and sent to prison have not been provided with the support needed to address the issues that

contributed to their engagement in criminal activity, resulting in a return to this behaviour on their release from prison.

Former inmates usually return to the same communities where they lived prior to incarceration, with the same challenges still existing in these areas and without the requisite skills needed to navigate their way through life (Khwela, 2014, Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). Sometimes, they find themselves without any support as family relationships are often negatively affected when they go to prison (Khwela, 2014). Furthermore, they are stigmatised by their communities and labelled criminals (Khwela, 2014). This labelling can also contribute to how they perceive themselves, causing them to take on the label of 'gangster' or 'criminal' (Maruna, 2001, Rotenberg, 1974). Once they have adopted this identity it becomes very difficult for them to desist from criminal activity (Maruna, 2001; Rotenberg, 1974).

Many young people in South Africa are released on parole to complete their sentence in the community. They maintain regular contact with the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) through parole officers at the Community Corrections (CommCor) Centres, who oversee the supervision of all offenders who are not incarcerated (DCS, 2005). Ideally, the staff at these centres should be providing the ex-offenders with psychological support as well as assistance in addressing the criminogenic factors that are still present in their lives, in order to try and combat the high levels of recidivism (Khwela, 2015; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). The staff at CommCor offices often develop partnerships with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs). One of the organisations that they would refer their clients to was Young in Prison South Africa (YiPSA).

The problem is thus that young offenders often leave prison and find themselves living in situations that are not conducive to encouraging desistance, resulting in high rates of recidivism. The DCS does not have sufficient capacity to provide the necessary support and assistance to these young people, and therefore programmes, such as the YiPSA post-release programme, play an important role in offering care and support to them as well as providing them with skills and experiences that are conducive to desistance.

1.3 The post-release programme at Young in Prison South Africa (YiPSA)

The programme which was evaluated in this study was implemented by an organisation called Young in Prison South Africa (YiPSA). This organisation was started in Cape Town in 2002 by a Dutch woman, named Noa Lodeizen, who had travelled to South Africa to complete the practical component of her social work degree. She recognised the need for a programme for young people who were in prison and accessed resources in the Netherlands to start a life skills programme at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town. The organisation grew over the following years to include programmes in a number of other prisons in the Western Cape as well as Gauteng.

The post-release programme was established in 2007 as a mentorship programme for young people that were coming out of prison. The programme expanded over the following years and took on the following structure when this researcher took over as the coordinator in 2013.

The structure of the programme was informed by the Circle of Courage. The programme coordinator/researcher was very familiar with working with the elements of the Circle of Courage as he had previously worked in the child and youth care sector, where this model is the predominant model used to assess young people and develop intervention programmes. He drew on his previous experience of working with this model as well as his experience as an art teacher to develop the various elements of the programme. The following section will give more details of how the Circle of Courage influenced the design of the programme.

The programme was structured into three levels. The first level took place either at the CommCor offices or at the YiPSA offices and workshop space in Salt River, Cape Town. This level consisted of either six group workshops, or five individual activities if there was no group planned and there was a willing applicant. At this level, the participants were engaged in a number of creative activities that got them to reflect on their past and set goals for the future. They were required to attend all of the workshops, arrive on time and complete all tasks to continue on to level two.

At the second level, they participated in a more intense programme that operated from Monday to Thursday from 10am to 3:30pm. They participated in three different workshops a day with a total of twelve a week. These workshops included a number of different activities such as meditation, yoga, critical thinking and debating social issues, horse therapy, music, drawing

and other arts activities and book clubs. These workshops were facilitated by the programme staff, youth leaders or volunteers.

At this level, they were also required to complete projects, usually group projects, which meant that they had to work with each other as well as with people from outside of the organisation. Many of the projects required the participants to complete tasks that they had never done before, including creative projects as well as community service projects.

The participants of the programme were involved in art lessons and working on creative projects every day. These projects included making comic books, creating an art installation in collaboration with a postgraduate art student,¹ recording a song with a Dutch band and shooting a music video of their own original song as well as other small projects.

Creating a story for a comic book was one of the main projects that was repeated every year and therefore nearly all of the respondents were involved in this project. Each participant was required to conceptualise, draw and write their own story. The stories were not necessarily related to their experience of prison, but many of the stories related either to how they ended up in prison or the situation when they were released. The stories were based around a theme and were published in a collection called “This Life”. Three volumes were created between 2013 and 2015. The other creative projects involved collaborating with people from outside of the organisation and only happened once-off and therefore not all of the respondents participated in all of these projects.

At level two, they also received counselling from the programme staff when needed as well as assistance from a mentor with the creation of a personal development plan. The mentor was either a staff member, a social work intern or a youth leader. The plan covered various areas of their life such as education, employment, accommodation, family and health. They met with their mentor on a regular basis to set long-term goals as well as short-term tasks that were supposed to be completed by the participant before the next meeting.

¹ Deborah Weber was a postgraduate student at the Michaelis School of Fine Arts at U.C.T. She collaborated with the participants on a project that involved creating a multi-dimensional art installation that consisted of 5 movies, 8 still images, a mural and a soundscape which dealt with the subject of *Rhodes Must Fall* and mob justice. The work was entitled *Ubulungiswa/Justice* and was shown at the Michaelis gallery and the AVA gallery in Cape Town and the Maboneng Arts Festival in Johannesburg.

There was not a set amount of time for participants to exit the programme and they each participated for a different length of time, depending on their needs and their progress. Some of the participants dropped out of the programme because of external circumstances such as problems with drug addiction, while others left when they found work. Some of the participants were asked to leave the programme if they refused to comply with the conditions of the programme and others left if they or the staff felt like they were no longer benefitting from participating in the programme.

The programme ended at the end of 2015, when a new director joined YiPSA and restructured the organisation as well as the programmes without considering any of the advice from the experienced staff or some of the partners and funders. The post-release programme was replaced by an entrepreneurship programme which ended at the end of 2016, when YiPSA closed due to lack of funding.

1.3.1 Theory of change of the programme

A theory of change describes how and why certain activities or processes are likely to have a particular desired outcome (Connel & Kubisch, 1998). The table below shows how the elements of the Circle of Courage were considered and influenced decisions about the structure of the programme and the activities that were included. More details of the Circle of Courage are discussed in the next chapter as well.

Table 1: Theory of Change

Element of CoC	Purpose	Related activities	Intended outcomes of activities
Belonging	Give participants a sense of connection with others and feel part of a group.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weekly group check in sessions. • Camps. • Outings • Working with mentor on personal development plan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a sense of belonging in a prosocial group, rather than a gang. • They develop meaningful relationships with other people who encourage a positive lifestyle.
Mastery	Give participants an opportunity to learn new skills and produce a variety of different creative projects.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts classes. • Creative projects with mentorship from experts. • Practical life skills workshops. • Exhibitions of participants work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They learn new skills that they can use to generate income. • Their self-esteem is boosted when they gain recognition for their artwork. • They aspire to be successful as artists and musicians rather than as gangsters.

Independence	Encourage participants to take responsibility.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants responsible for cleaning the space. • Participants responsible for arranging food. • Participants involved in planning exhibitions, events, outings and other activities. • Participants given opportunities to run workshops for the group. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They learn how to manage resources. • They feel a sense of ownership of the programme and the projects they are working on. • They are able to share their knowledge, skills and experience with one another. • They feel like they have something to offer the group, raising their sense of self-worth.
Generosity	Encourage participants to support others and use their skills and time to help others.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community service projects. • Participants given opportunities to support and mentor one another. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They experience how it feels good to help and support other people. • Their self esteem is boosted as they feel like they have positive things to offer people around them.

1.4 Aim of the study

This research study aims to understand what value the respondents gained from participating in the post-release programme at YiPSA and how it may have influenced their attitudes and behaviour. Their insight into what aspects of the programme were most effective in teaching them useful skills or shifting their perception of themselves will be valuable in understanding how programmes can be more appealing to young people as well as play a role in promoting attitudes and behaviour that is associated with desistance.

1.5 Rationale for the study

The introduction of the Child Justice Act (75 of 2008) provided a shift away from a punitive approach and towards a more therapeutic approach to working with young people in conflict with the law in South Africa. This Act only applies to young people under the age of 18 but it has also created a shift in perceptions of how to work with older offenders.

With the move towards a more developmental approach to corrections, it is necessary to ensure that new programmes are being developed according to principles that are evidence-based, in order for them to be more likely to be effective. Even though this study does not aim to generate quantitative data as evidence of effectiveness, the findings of this study provide insight into factors that are likely to have contributed to the success of the programme which could be useful when planning and delivering programmes with offenders in order to promote desisting behaviour and reduce recidivism.

1.6 The objectives of the study

The overall research question was: What was the impact of the YiPSA post-release programme on the participants, according to their own perception? The objective was to also gain a better understanding of how participating in this programme may have promoted attitudes and behaviours associated with desistance. This study explored the perceptions of 12 young men who had participated in the programme between 2013 and 2015 to explore the following specific questions:

- What were the circumstances and the details of their involvement and overall experience of the programme?
- Has there been any shift in their behaviour and attitudes since participating in the programme?
- How has their behaviour and attitude changed since participating in the programme?
- Did participating in the programme have any influence on how they perceived themselves?
- Which aspects of the programme had the greatest impact on their perceptions of themselves as well as their behaviour ?

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the reasons why this research was undertaken. The social context of the study was discussed, while noting that it took place in a community with high levels of violent crime as well as high levels of recidivism. This is exacerbated by the lack of programmes that encourage behaviour that is associated with desistance of crime. This chapter also provided information about the programme that was explored outlining the structure and giving details of various aspects. The significance of the study was discussed, indicating that the insight gained from the respondents could be useful in developing programmes aimed at desistance. The aims and objectives of the study were discussed, indicating the issues that were focussed on as they relate to desistance. The next chapter is the literature review which will discuss the theory underpinning this study in greater detail as well as give an overview of the current literature regarding other subjects related to the themes of this research project, such as the legal and historical context of prison post-release programmes and the findings of research on other arts based programmes with offenders.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theories which underpinned this research study. It will also discuss prison post-release programmes, giving the historical context and explain the legal framework within which such programmes operate as well as indicate what has been found to be effective in other programmes of this nature. The main themes that appear in the literature about arts programmes with offenders are highlighted and discussed in relation to the theories that have been explored.

2.2 Theories underpinning this study

Theories of desistance are described here as well as the Circle of Courage model, as they are useful in understanding whether or not the programme promoted behaviours that are associated with desistance from crime as well as how it may have contributed to changes that they experienced. They both explain how a change in the way a person perceives themselves is necessary for this shift to take place, and propose which factors are necessary in order to bring about this change. The theory of desistance is useful to understand what factors may contribute to reducing criminal behaviour as well as the other attitudes and behaviours that are commonly associated with this change. The Circle of Courage provides a model of how the behaviour change can occur when certain elements are addressed.

2.2.1 Desistance

Desistance refers to the process that takes place when a person that has been involved in criminal activities has a distinct change in their behaviour and refrains from doing crime for a prolonged period of time (Maruna, 2001; Pannucio, Christian, Martinez & Sullivan, 2012). This is a relatively new field of study but there is already a selection of literature with slightly variant views on how to identify desistance or what the key factors are that encourage desisting behaviour (Pannucio et al., 2012). Recidivism is a very similar concept to desistance as it also looks at reoffending behaviour, but this literature tends to focus on the factors that cause reoffending and less on the factors that encourage desistance. Blanc and Loeber (in Pannucio et al., 2012) consider a reduction in the seriousness of the offence, referred to as de-escalation,

or a reduction in frequency of crime (deceleration), as being signs of desisting behaviour. Khwela (2015) proposes that a time-frame is significant, and suggests that three years of crime-free behaviour are necessary in order to identify desisting behaviour.

Maruna (2001) distinguished between two types of desistance: primary desistance and secondary desistance. Primary desistance refers to the moment when the person has stopped doing crime, and may happen repeatedly between episodes of criminal behaviour (Maruna, 2001). Secondary desistance refers to a complete change in the person's behaviour which results in them not committing any further crimes for a prolonged period or permanently (Maruna, 2001). Ageing out of crime, informal social control and cognitive transformation are three factors which may influence how and why desistance takes place.

2.2.1.1 Ageing out of Crime

Adolescence seems to be the peak for anti-social behaviour, and also tends to be the time when most people would first become involved in crime (Moffit, 1993). However, most people tend to become aware of the limitations of crime as they get older (Davis, Bahr & Ward, 2012). This results in a sharp decrease in rates of offending as people age out of puberty and into adulthood (Sampson & Laub, 2005; Youssef, Casey & Day, 2016; Davis et al., 2012; Moffit, 1993). This is referred to as ageing out of crime and is seen as a natural process that occurs as people start to become more mature and gain a different perspective on life (Sampson & Laub, 2005; Youssef et al., 2016; Davis et al., 2012). A change in a person's behaviour as they become older is not unusual and many young people undergo a transformative process at the end of puberty as they enter into adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Moffit, 1993). The renowned psychologist Erik Erikson noted that from the age of 21 we start to learn about intimacy and isolation and start to explore ourselves through our relationships (Poole & Snarey, 2011). Arnett (2000) draws on Erikson's theory but proposes that emerging adulthood (ages 18-25) is a distinct stage of human development, during which adult identities are formed through a process of role transformation. During this period, a person is not tightly bound to either the role of adolescent nor yet the role of adult, which can lead to a greater opportunity for exploring new identities (Arnett, 2000). This could be a significant factor in desisting behaviour, as a notable decrease in criminal behaviour often happens between the ages 17 – 30 (Sampson & Laub, 2005, Moffit, 1993). Ageing out of crime implies that desistance is simply a natural and common experience for most people when they reach the end of adolescence. Moffit (1993) notes that a smaller group

of offenders, which she refers to as 'life-course offenders' continue behaving in anti-social ways and continue committing crime. Ageing out of crime therefore does not sufficiently explain why some people desist while others persist with criminal behaviour.

2.2.1.2 Informal social control

Sampson and Laub (1990) propose a theory of informal social control to understand why some offenders continue to offend, while others desist. This theory proposes that crime results from social bonds being broken, and therefore rebuilding these bonds or creating new ones is a significant step in the desistance process (Lindegard & Jacques, 2014). As the effect of the social bonds are considered of primary importance in encouraging the process of desistance, it is known as informal social control (Yousef et al., 2016). Sampson and Laub (1990) refer to these significant moments in a person's life that cause a person to follow a route of desistance as turning points. Particular events such as marriage, employment, parenthood and treatment interventions are considered to have an impact on a person's criminal behaviour through establishing new social bonds (Davis et al., 2012; Sampson & Laub, 1990; Uggen, 2004). However, Sampson and Laub (1990) also emphasise that the quality and stability of the relationship or the work experience are also very important to desisting behaviour.

It is necessary for a person to be in an environment that promotes positive values as well as provides the necessary emotional support needed under often challenging circumstances (Davis et al., 2012; Panuccio et al., 2012). Many offenders leave prison with the intention of not reverting to criminal behaviour, therefore the motivation to change is present (Dissel 2008; Khwela, 2015; Gaum, Hoffman & Venter, 2006; Uggen, 2004). However, they revert to criminal behaviour as they do not have support systems or social networks that encourage desisting behaviour (Gaum et al., 2006). Having someone else who also believes in the ex-offender can reinforce their belief in their own personal value as having external validation can help people realise their own self-worth (Maruna, 2001). Positive social networks allow for ex-offenders to focus on change as well as maintenance of these values over time (Davis et al., 2012). These social relationships can be with family members, friends or even with staff of treatment programmes (Davis et al., 2012).

2.2.1.3 Cognitive transformation

Giordano, Cernkovich and Rudolph (2002) propose a cognitive transformation theory which recognises the importance of particular life events as well as social bonds but places more emphasis on the agency of the person. These social factors are seen as catalysts for the change in behaviour but it is necessary for the person to “attend to these new possibilities, discard old habits and begin a process of crafting a different way of life” (Giordano et al., 2002:1000). The cognitive transformation theory of desistance recognises a more reciprocal relationship between the person and their environment (Giordano et al., 2002).

This theory proposes that desistance takes place in four stages. The first stage involves a general cognitive openness to change (Giordano et al., 2002). Therefore, in order for an offender to experience a change in their behaviour they must have a desire to change and view it as being possible (Davis et al., 2012). The second stage is exposure to “hooks” which is similar to the notion of ‘turning points’ mentioned above, as these are also factors such as getting married or finding a job that contributes to a person maintaining desistance from crime (Giordano et al., 2002). Finding a purpose in life can sustain the initial motivation (Maruna, 2001). The third stage is envisioning an appealing and conventional replacement self which comes about as a result of the willingness from the individual combined with the social factors that are present (Giordano et al., 2002). The final stage of cognitive transformation is when the person experiences a transformation of how deviant behaviour is viewed (Davis et al., 2012; Giordano et al., 2002; McNeil et al., 2012). The desistance process is complete when “a person no longer sees criminal behaviour as something positive, viable or relevant” (Giordano et al., 2002:1000). This change in a person’s behaviour is related to a change in their perception of themselves (Giordano et al., 2002; Maruna, 2001). The person no longer defines themselves as a criminal anymore and begins to define their identity with a new label (Giordano et al., 2002; Maruna, 2001). Their ability to conceive of themselves in a new role is a significant factor in staying away from crime and thus is necessary for ongoing desistance to occur (McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler, & Maruna, 2012).

2.2.1.4 Summary of how desistance is achieved

Despite minor differences in their approach, most scholars note that both personal motivation as well as a social support system are necessary for the process of desistance to take place and to be sustained. The attitudes that are commonly associated with desistance are a positive self-image, prosocial goals and improved life skills, such as communication (Giordano et al., 2002; Maruna, 2001; Pannucio et al., 2012). The behaviours that are often associated with desistance includes improved relationships, maintaining a job and being a role model to others (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002). This study looks at whether or not the respondents experienced any shifts with regards to any of these factors.

2.2.2 The Circle of Courage

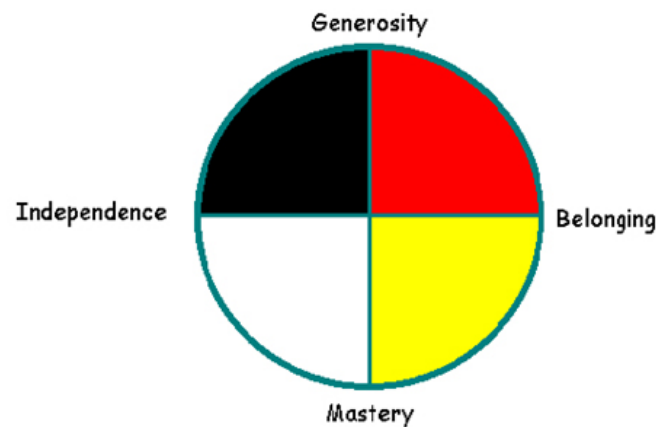
The Circle of Courage has been widely used in working with youth around the world in a variety of different sectors including residential care and education (Coetzee, 2005; Lee & Perales, 2007, Reyneke, 2015), and no critique of this model could be found by the researcher. Therefore this section will discuss the value of this model in working with young people as well as how this model proposes that behaviour change occurs.

The Circle of Courage was adopted by the child care services in South Africa in the 1990s as it provides a useful approach when working with young people and it was recognised as being in line with African traditional models of child and youth development. When Brokenleg presented these ideas in South Africa, he received feedback from many people from local African cultures that it reflected their own cultural traditions of child rearing (Reyneke, 2015). When I came into YiPSA as the programme coordinator for this programme, I was already very familiar with this theory from this context and it underpinned many of the decisions that were made about the structure of the programme and how it operated.

The Circle of Courage proposes that anti-social behaviour can change when a person is able to experience a change in their perception of themselves in relation to four key criteria, namely their sense of belonging, mastery, independence and generosity (Brendtro, Brokenleg & van Bockern, 2002; Coetzee, 2005; Reyneke, 2015). This approach to youth development was developed in the 1980s and was based on Native American ideas of positive youth development as well as Western academic ideas of childcare (Brendtro et al., 2002). It draws on the universal

values that are present in both traditions as the foundation for developing healthy self-esteem (Coetzee, 2005). Brendtro et al. (2002) explain that all young people have the need to experience and express these four ways of being in order to develop a positive sense of their identity and thus behave in a prosocial way. It is suggested that they should be addressed starting with belonging and moving onto mastery, independence and then generosity (Brendtro et al., 2002).

Figure 1: Circle of Courage
(From “Reclaiming Youth at Risk” Brendtro et al, 2002)



When young people display anti-social behaviour patterns, including criminal behaviour, Brendtro et al. (2002) propose this can be connected to a particular element of the circle of courage. If this element was not fully experienced and expressed, and is thus unable to develop properly, it will result in that element being either distorted or absent (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order to change these behaviour patterns, it is not necessary to address the antisocial actions directly but rather consider where the Circle of Courage is not fully developed (Brendtro et al., 2002). Creating opportunities for young people to experience the various elements of the Circle of Courage will develop competency in these ways of being, resulting in a change in their attitudes and behaviour (Brendtro et al., 2002; Coetzee, 2005; Reyneke, 2015). Therefore, in order for people to change their anti-social behaviour, a shift in their perception of themselves is necessary, which comes as a result of experiencing the various elements of the circle of courage within their lives in a positive way (Brendtro et al., 2002, Coetzee, 2005). The Circle of Courage presents a restorative approach to dealing with behaviour problems as it does not react to the problematic behaviour but rather the causes of the behaviour and proposes ways to address these factors (Coetzee, 2005; Reyneke, 2015).

2.2.2.1 Belonging

Belonging refers to the need for people to feel like they belong to a particular group, the family, community or other social groupings (Brendtro et al., 2002). It is necessary for people to have relationships with others that are based on mutual respect and understanding (Brendtro et al., 2002). The feeling of belonging comes from being able to identify with the other members of the group as well as receiving support from the other members of the group (Brendtro et al., 2002). This is necessary for young people to be able to develop trusting relationships with others in order to develop a positive perception of themselves (Brendtro et al., 2002). If a young person's sense of belonging is properly nurtured and able to develop normally, they will be trusting, intimate, friendly, loving and gregarious (Brendtro et al., 2002). If a person does not experience a sense of belonging, then this element of the circle will become distorted or absent (Brendtro et al., 2002). If it is distorted it may be expressed through anti-social or negative behaviour such as promiscuity, gang loyalty, craving acceptance and attention, or being overly dependent (Brendtro et al., 2002). If it is absent they will be unattached, guarded, lonely or isolate themselves (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order to mend this section of the Circle of Courage, a caregiver or educator should create an environment of acceptance and give positive encouragement (Brendtro et al., 2002). It is also important for young people to connect with other people who have shared interests and participate in group activities with other prosocial peers (Brendtro et al., 2002).

2.2.2.2 Mastery

The next element of the Circle of Courage is mastery (Brendtro et al., 2002). Mastery refers to the need for young people to be able to perform the same basic tasks as their peers as well as perform a particular task better than many of their peers (Brendtro et al., 2002). This refers to having life skills such as reading and writing, as well as specialised skills and abilities that will boost a person's sense of self-esteem (Brendtro et al., 2002). Without opportunities for success, young people may lack a sense of self-worth which will affect how they behave (Brendtro et al., 2002).

If a person has enough opportunities to develop competence in these skills, they will have a normal and healthy sense of mastery which will be displayed by being creative, competent, motivated, persistent and successful (Brendtro et al., 2002). If a person's sense of mastery is

distorted it can result in arrogance, over-achieving, cheating or developing delinquent skills (Brendtro et al., 2002). If it is absent, they will be prone to failure, unmotivated, fearful of challenges, and will avoid risks (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order to address a lack of mastery, a caregiver or educator should recognise an individual's talents, create opportunities for learning and encourage young people to take on challenging tasks and support them in completing them (Brendtro et al., 2002).

2.2.2.3 Independence

The next element of the Circle of Courage is independence which refers to the young person's need to have agency and make decisions about matters that affect their lives as well as be held accountable for their actions (Brendtro et al., 2002). This will ensure that young people learn to take responsibility as well as make decisions that have a positive impact on their lives (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order to develop a sense of independence, young people need to be given responsibility and treated with respect (Brendtro et al., 2002). If a person's sense of independence is well developed then they will be autonomous, confident and self-disciplined (Brendtro et al., 2002). If a person's sense of independence is distorted, they may be reckless, manipulative and rebellious (Brendtro et al., 2002). If it is absent, then a person will be submissive, lack confidence, easily misled and irresponsible (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order to mend this element of the circle, a caregiver or educator should model good decision making behaviour, allow young people to make decisions about their own lives, give them responsibilities within a group, encourage them to express their opinions and let young people face the consequences of their behaviour (Brendtro et al., 2002).

2.2.2.4 Generosity

The final element of the Circle of Courage is generosity which refers to the need for young people to give support to others as well as share their talents and skills with others (Brendtro et al., 2002). This is valuable in developing a healthy sense of respect and empathy with others as well as improve a young person's sense of their own self-worth (Brendtro et al., 2002). Without opportunities to share their talents, young people will not become caring and supportive adults (Brendtro et al., 2002). When a person has a well-developed sense of generosity then they will be altruistic, caring and empathetic with others (Brendtro et al., 2002).

If this element is distorted a person will be overly involved, co-dependent or play the martyr (Brendtro et al., 2002). If this element is absent, then a person will be selfish, narcissistic, hardened and exploitative (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order to address this, a caregiver or educator should encourage young people to support others, create opportunities for young people to volunteer their time and encourage young people to share their experiences as a way to motivate others (Brendtro et al, 2002).

2.2.2.5 Summary of Circle of Courage

The Circle of Courage proposes that these four elements need to be addressed in order to assist young people to have a more positive self-image, build good relationships with others and set healthy prosocial goals (Brendtro et al, 2002). These are very similar to the attitudes and behaviours that are associated with desistance from crime and therefore this model can be helpful in understanding how to encourage a shift in people's mindset to being more prosocial and thus improving the chance of desistance.

2.3 Prison post-release programmes

This section will discuss the issues that relate to programmes that are aimed at people who have recently been released from prison, in order to provide the context of the programme being looked at in this study. It will start with a brief history of prison post-release services in South Africa and then discuss the current legal framework within which these programmes operate. The impact of prison on a person as well as the purpose of post-release programmes will then be discussed to get an understanding of the reasons why these programmes are created as well as the possible mindset of the respondents, most of whom had just been released from prison. Finally, the factors that contribute to the effectiveness of these kind of programmes in changing people's attitudes and behaviour will be discussed.

2.3.1 History of post-release services in South Africa

The Salvation Army was the only organisation providing after-care services for people coming out of prison in South Africa at the start of the 20th Century, in the form of accommodation as well as religious instruction (NICRO, nd). In 1910, the South African Prisoners Aid Association (SPAA) was founded to provide support for people who were leaving prison as well as their

families (NICRO, nd). Probation officers were first appointed in 1918 and the first social worker was appointed to probation services in 1938 (NICRO, nd). In the 1970's the SPAA was renamed the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) and began to put more focus on a broader range of issues related to crime including programmes to divert young people from being sent to prison and advocating for prison reforms (NICRO, nd).

The South African prison system began reforming in the 1990s, in line with many of the progressive reforms at the advent of democracy. This saw a shift from a punitive approach to dealing with offenders in a more rehabilitative way, which included the recognition that reintegration back into the community is necessary after prison (Dissel, 2008). To this end, the prison service was separated from the Department of Justice and the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) was established in 1998 to promote human development within prisons (Dissel & Ellis, 2002). It is responsible for the monitoring of all awaiting trial and convicted adult offenders in South Africa, including incarceration when necessary as well as those who are serving their sentences in the community. Community corrections centres have been set up to oversee the sentences of offenders on probation and parole. The DCS derives its mandate from the Correctional Services Act (111 of 1998), the Criminal Procedure Act (51 of 1977) and the Child Justice Act (75 of 2008) (DCS, nd). However, with the introduction of the Child Justice Act in 2008, the responsibility for overseeing the care and rehabilitation for all offenders under the age of 18 shifted to the Department of Social Development (DSD). The DCS establishes relationships with a variety of service providers to whom it can refer ex-offenders, including Young in Prison, the organisation that was responsible for implementing the programme being explored in this research study.

2.3.2 Current legislative framework for post-release programmes

Most of the participants who were attending YiPSA's post-release programme were still on parole and completing their sentences under correctional supervision. Section 276A of the Criminal Procedures Act (51 of 1977) makes provision for "the imposition of correctional supervision and conversion of imprisonment to correctional supervision and vice versa." This section of the Criminal Procedures Act makes it possible for people who have been convicted

of a crime to complete their sentences under correctional supervision, while living at home or with another responsible adult, after an initial part of the sentence has been completed in prison.

Community corrections are discussed in detail in chapter six of the Correctional Services Act of (1998). This chapter focusses on all of the regulations that a person should follow when under the supervision of this section of the department, as well as the possible sanctions for not adhering to the rules. Paragraph 64 of Chapter 6 of the Correctional Services Act is titled 'programmes' which provides the regulations for people under the supervision of community corrections, including the powers of officials in the DCS to compel offenders to attend programmes. It does not address any of the matters related to the quality of the programmes or the various forms that these programmes can take.

Section 3 of the Probation Services Act (116 of 1991) makes provision for the establishment of programmes which are aimed at "the prevention and combating of crime" and providing "information to and the treatment of offenders and other persons". YiPSA's post-release programme was not established by the DCS, but nonetheless the staff at the Community Corrections centres referred a number of the participants to this programme.

The White Paper on Corrections (Department of Correctional Services, 2005: 88) gives an indication of the nature of the relationship between the DCS and non-governmental organisations such as YiPSA. Section 13 states that: "The relationships between the DCS and the community, community-based organisations, NGOs and faith-based organisations are inherent to the successful achievement of the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders." It also states that "An environment that encourages and promotes the participation of community-based service providers must be created. Entry into the Department for purposes of rendering services must be regulated yet facilitated and thus the structures necessary to accomplish this must be established."

In order for an organisation to render programmes to people who are under the supervision of the DCS, they are required to make an application and are subject to regular monitoring and evaluation processes in order to ensure that they are providing a service that is relevant and effective.

2.3.3 Effect of prison on attitude and behaviour

It is useful to understand how prison affects the attitudes and behaviour of the people who have endured it, as it gives a good indication of the state of mind of the participants who enter into post-release programmes. The experience of prison can have a very negative effect on a person's attitude and behaviour (Dissel, 2008; Khwela, 2015). Prisons can also damage a person's ability to think for themselves as prisoners are usually subjected to heavily structured regimes (Dissel, 2008). South African prisons are dominated by gang activities and therefore many young people are learning anti-social skills as members of gangs in order to survive (Khwela, 2015). Negative attitudes are often reinforced by other prisoners (Dissel, 2008). Prisoners usually gain respect by behaving in a negative manner and bad behaviour can have rewards (Gaum et al., 2006; Khwela 2015;). Others who do not choose to be part of the gang activities are often faced with abuse which can be traumatising and affect their self-esteem (Khwela, 2015).

Prison can also provide an opportunity for people to consider their life choices with many offenders leave prison motivated to change their lives (Dissel 2008; Gaum et al., 2006; Khwela, 2015; Uggen, 2004). However, they face many social challenges such as difficulty finding employment, social, medical and mental health problems, stigma and the attitudes and skills learnt in prison are not helpful in adjusting to a life outside of prison (Davis et al., 2012; Gaum et al., 2006). The stigma that they face on release can have a further negative impact on their self-esteem (Uggen, 2004).

2.3.4 Purpose of post-release programmes

One of the primary purposes of programmes for people that are leaving prison is usually to reduce the risk of reoffending, or to encourage desistance (Dissel, 2008; Wright, 2015). In order to do this, the programme must address the personal issues faced by prisoners as well as address the social risk factors that are still present in their lives (Davis et al., 2012; Dissel, 2008; McGuire, 2001). Programmes that support people coming out of prison are often referred to as re-entry programmes or community reintegration programmes as assimilation back into the community is often seen as one of the primary aims of this kind of programme (Davis et al., 2012). However, reintegration into the community should be a process that starts prior to the prisoner being released (Davis et al., 2012; Dissel, 2008; McGuire, 2001). Programmes of this

nature are also referred to as aftercare programmes and are often aimed at providing care and support for inmates when they have to transition from the prison environment back into society, which may have changed since they were last a part of it and may have trouble readjusting (Davis et al., 2012). This type of programme is likely also to provide social support along with the other interventions.

2.3.5 The factors that could contribute to changing people's attitudes and reduce reoffending behaviour

Multiple factors are necessary in order for an intervention to be effective at changing a person's attitude or behaviour (Davis et al., 2012; Ferrara, 1992; Raynor & Vanstone, 1994; Wright, 2013). It is necessary for the programme to combine elements that are aimed at addressing the personal issues of the participants as well as the social circumstances that can contribute to reoffending behaviour (Davis et al., 2012; Dissel, 2008; McGuire, 2001). Post-release programmes are effective at changing behaviour if they are "intensive, interactive, structured, long term, focus on skill building, use several different treatment modalities and offer inducements for participation" (Davis, et al., 2012: 465). The style and mode of treatment that is offered should be in line with the offender's needs and learning styles (Khwela, 2015; Wright, 2013). A programme is most effective at changing a person's attitude and behaviour if it is experiential, active and participatory (Dissel, 2008; McGuire, 2001). Learning in connection with others can be a more transformative experience than learning alone (Mendel, 2015). Therefore, group activities are very helpful. A positive and supportive learning environment is also necessary for a programme to have an impact on the participants' attitudes and behaviour (Mendel, 2015). The nature of the relationship between the staff and the participant is a significant factor in the effectiveness of a programme (Raynor et al., 1994). It is also important for the staff to be suitably trained to deliver the programme (Dissel, 2008; McGuire, 2001). These programmes should provide opportunities for young ex-offenders to develop supportive relationships with prosocial mentors as well as do work with the families of the offenders (Davis et al., 2012; Dissel, 2008). Programmes can reduce the risk of reoffending if they increase the person's opportunities to earn an income so that it is no longer necessary for them to consider criminal behaviour: this includes connecting them with educational and skills training opportunities as well as exposure to opportunities for employment (Gaum et al., 2006).

Therefore, in order for a programme to be effective in shifting a person's behaviour it should include the following criteria (Davis et al., 2012; Dissel, 2008; Gaum et al., 2006; Khwela, 2015; Mendel, 2015; McGuire, 2001; Raynor & Vanstone, 1994; Wright, 2013):

- It is participatory and experiential, using a variety of methods to engage participants.
- It takes place in a positive and supportive environment.
- There is sufficient time for change to occur.
- There is a bond between staff and participants.
- Staff are equipped with the necessary skills.
- Participants are able to learn new skills.
- Participants are exposed to opportunities outside the programme to earn an income.

It is noteworthy that many of these factors are similar to the factors that can encourage desistance as well as the elements of the Circle of Courage that should be considered when working with young people.

2. 4 Arts based programmes with offenders

The programme that is being evaluated in this study included a large amount of creative workshops and projects which were also complimented by other activities. This section looks at the findings of evaluations of other arts based programmes with offenders to see what other researchers have found, who have conducted similar studies. All of the programmes that were evaluated in these studies are situated in Europe or North America and therefore this research study will also be able to assess whether or not these findings also apply in the South African context, which is very different.

Many of the evaluations that have been conducted of arts based projects with offenders have been found to have similar outcomes regardless of whether they were facilitated by a professional arts therapist or a professional artist who is assisting the participants in making art (Albertson, 2015; Bilby, Caulfield, and Ridley, 2013; Caulfield, 2014; Gardner, Hagar & Hillman, 2014; Cheliotis & Jordanoska, 2014). These outcomes are further deliberated on in the section below in relation to the general themes focussed on in this study as they relate to

attitudes and behaviours associated with desistance. The following factors have been found to be encouraged by participating in arts-based programmes and can influence whether or not someone will desist from doing crime, as discussed above.

2.4.1 Improved sense of self-esteem

Working on arts projects has been found to improve the confidence and self-esteem of the people who participate in such programmes (Bilby et al., 2013; Caulfield, 2014; Gardner et al., 2014). This is related to getting acknowledgement for their work and from celebrating the strengths and capabilities of the participants (Bilby et al., 2013). Arts activities tend to focus on a person's strengths as opposed to their offending behaviour, which is relevant in improving their self-esteem as well as in how they see themselves (Albertson, 2015).

2.4.2 Redefining of identity

Arts-based programmes have been found to help people manage their sense of self and their identity (Bilby et al., 2013) and impacts on how people perceive themselves (Caulfield, 2014). The reflective nature of arts-based activities are a key factor in their ability to help someone redefine themselves, as this is an important step in the process. The artistic process is an effective way to self-reflect in a way that is not obstructed by either conscious or unconscious defences (Cheliotis & Jordanoska, 2014).

Participating in these kinds of projects can give the participants a fresh vision and a glimpse of a different life, contributing to their redefinition of themselves (Caulfield 2014; Bilby et al., 2013). As participants complete something new and develop a new skill this can impact how they see themselves and how they view their future potential (Bilby et al., 2013). The way in which a person sees themselves has a strong influence on whether or not they will permanently desist from committing crimes (Maruna, 2001).

2.4.3 Increased motivation

Arts projects also tend to engage the learners and motivate them (Bilby at al., 2013; Caulfield, 2014). A positive attitude to learning in general is created by the non-threatening environment and it is found that participants of arts projects tend to perform better in mainstream educational

environments (Cheliotis & Jordanoska, 2014). The experiential nature of the artistic process is well suited to people with low levels of education, as it boosts their confidence in terms of educational achievement and creates a positive attitude to learning (Cheliotis & Jordanoska, 2014).

2.4.4 Improved life skills

Gardner et al. (2014) found there to be an association between the participation in arts-based programmes and the improvement in a number of valuable life skills such as time management, intellectual flexibility, creative problem solving skills, dealing with stress and emotional control. Bilby (2013) also found that engagement in arts activities tends to increase self-control and lead to better problem-solving skills. Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2014) had similar findings and noted higher levels of self-efficacy and an increase in the participant's internal locus of control. Another valuable skill which participants develop during arts-based projects is the improved ability to communicate with others (Albertson, 2015). This is a very important aspect of improving relationships with other people and building social capital, another factor which contributes to desistance (Sampson & Laub, 1990).

2.4.5 The role of the facilitator or mentor

The role of the art teacher is also a significant factor in the shift in attitude and behaviour as the process tends to build a positive relationship between the participant and the staff (Bilby et al., 2013). The arts environment provides a platform for the provision of constructive criticism from a person who one trusts, which enables self-reflection and the emotional openness mentioned above (Cheliotis & Jordanoska, 2014). The quality of the relationship between the programme staff and the participants is a significant factor in effectively promoting desisting behaviour (Raynor et al., 1994).

2.4.6 Summary of arts based programmes with offenders

The value of arts based programmes with offenders can be seen from the findings that have been discussed above. Arts based programmes have been found to increase motivation, improve self-esteem and help people redefine their identities, which are all factors that are also part of the process of desistance (Giordano et al., 2002; Maruna, 2001). Therefore arts based

programmes may be able to play a valuable role when included in probation services and other post-release support programmes, by assisting former prisoners to reintegrate into society and by reducing recidivism.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theories and legislation that informed the research which informs this dissertation. The theories of desistance as well as the Circle of Courage model were discussed in order to give a better understanding of what attitudes and behaviours are usually associated with desistance from crime as well as how this can be affected by various factors including age, social bonds and the person's sense of belonging as well as mastering new skills. The history of post-release programmes in South Africa, the current legislative framework and the effects of prison on a person were also discussed to provide the context of the programme that is being evaluated in this research project. All of this information was summarised into a list of factors that often can contribute to programmes effectively changing people's attitudes and behaviours and promote desisting behaviour.

This chapter also discussed how arts-based programmes have been effective in encouraging attitudes and behaviours that are associated with desistance. The effectiveness of these programmes is related to the fact that arts activities can be useful in enabling people to learn new skills, think more creatively and conceptualise new identities. However, in order for programmes to be successful, certain factors related to the methods used, the learning environment and the development of social bonds need to be considered. The next chapter discusses the method that was used in conducting the research study.

Chapter Three: Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will give more details about the method that was used in conducting this research including the collection and analyses of the data. It is necessary that the method that has been chosen is relevant and the best possible way to find answers to the questions being asked in the research (Kumar, 2005). This chapter will explain why an evaluative case study approach was chosen. There will be a discussion of the profile of the population that was relevant to this research. The type of sampling will be discussed, explaining why a purposive sampling technique was used for this particular research, followed by a section on the size of the sample. The research tools and data collection strategy will be discussed, explaining how an interview schedule was used to guide in-depth interviews with the respondents. This will be followed by a discussion on how the data were captured and analysed using direct content analysis. The ethical considerations will also be outlined and discussed. The chapter will end by exploring the limitations of the choices that have been made with regards to the method that was used.

3.2 Research design

The research design refers to the manner in which the information is collected, analysed and interpreted in order to answer a specific research question (De Vos, Strydom, Fouce & Delpont, 2011; Kumar, 2005). Research is either quantitative or qualitative in nature. Quantitative research is usually more structured and often aims to measure some sort of variable, whereas qualitative research is usually less structured and aims to describe a phenomenon, situation or issue (Kumar, 2005).

This study sought to understand the subjective changes as experienced by the respondents, in which case a quantitative model of data collection would have been inappropriate (Albertson, 2015). Qualitative research is more useful in understanding perceptions, feelings and meanings and thus it is the most effective way of gaining a better understanding of how people experience interventions and services (Caulfield, 2014; Kumar, 2005), therefore the researcher chose a qualitative approach.

This research project is a case study of one particular programme and as it aims to understand the impact it had on the respondents, there is also an aspect of evaluation. A case study offers a description of a particular process, activity, event or programme (deVos et al, 2011). It should give the reader a sense of what was happening at the programme at that particular time (deVos et al, 2011). This study describes the YiPSA post-release programme between 2013 and 2015.

This case study also includes an element of evaluation as it seeks to understand if the programme had any impact on the respondents' attitudes and behaviours as well as which elements of the programme contributed to this impact, and is therefore also investigating the effectiveness of the programme (Donaldson, 2009; Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2004).

In this case study the researcher has sought to understand the respondents' perspectives of the programme in order to gain insight into their overall experience as well as describe what was happening at the programme. The researcher has also sought to understand their perception of the impact that the programme had on their attitudes and behaviour. It does not attempt to measure the impact in a quantitative way, nor can it provide direct evidence of the link between the programme and the shifts in their attitudes and behaviour. A key assumption, which is also a potential limitation, is that the respondents' perceptions of their experience is a credible indicator that certain aspects of the programme were contributing factors (Donaldson, 2009; Mark, 2009).

An evaluation is usually intended to provide feedback to the programme managers or funders in order for them to make decisions about the programme (Rossi et al, 2004). This type of research would usually form part of the evaluation process as the perspectives of the participants are a key aspect of a programme evaluation (Mark, 2009). It serves to identify the key issues and elements that need to be looked at. If the programme was still in operation, this research could be used to inform the development of the programme as part of a more in depth process that takes into account other perspectives as well as quantitative methods of measuring the impact (Rossi et al, 2004). In this case the findings can be useful for people who are planning or operating a similar programme as it can provide insight into what elements may have impact on the participants.

3.2.1 Profile of population

The population refers to all of the people who possess a particular characteristic or characteristics that are relevant to the research being done (de Vos et al., 2011). For this research project the author felt that any of the people who had participated in the programme for more than 6 months between 2013 and 2015 were suitable to provide the necessary information. There were only males who participated for this amount of time and were all aged between 16 and 25 at the time of participating in the programme.

The population of this research project is rather small as there were only approximately 20 participants who attended the programme for more than 6 months and participated in all of the elements described in section one.

3.2.2 Sampling technique

The sampling technique refers to the manner in which the respondents were chosen to participate in the study (Kumar, 2005). A purposive sampling technique was used, which means that the author selected candidates based on particular criteria (de Vos et al., 2011; Kumar, 2005). The following criteria was used to select the potential respondents:

- Attended the programme between 2013 and 2015 as this was the time period that the programme operated according to the model described in the first chapter;
- And attended for more than 3 months as they would have been more likely to have experienced all of the elements described.

This technique was selected as the researcher believes that these people are best suited to provide the information needed to be able to answer the questions addressed in this study.

3.2.3 Sample size

The sample size refers to the number of people that are contacted and agree to participate in the study (de Vos et al., 2011). A larger sample size gives more validity to the findings and the smaller the population, the larger the proportion of the population that can be sampled (de Vos et al., 2011; Kumar, 2005). In this case, since the population was small, the author attempted to contact all the people who had participated in the programme who meet the criteria outlined

above. The researcher was still in contact with some of the participants and also had contact with others through Facebook, which was utilised to get their contact numbers and invite them to participate in the interviews. The existing relationship is discussed as a limitation in the last chapter but as this is a group of people who are often wary of authority figures and people from academic institutions, this relationship was beneficial as it helped facilitate their involvement in the study.

The author tried to interview a wide cross section of participants, in terms of age and race, in order to get a diverse range of responses as this adds a richness to the data that is collected (de Vos et al, 2011). The researcher did not consider if they had already successfully changed their lives and attempted to contact as many people as possible. Contact was made with 12 of the programme participants in total, all who agreed to participate in the study.

3.2.4 Research instrument

The research instrument refers to the tool that is used to collect the data that will be used to answer the research questions (Kumar, 2005). This is the tool that will influence what data is collected and therefore is one of the most important elements of the research process (Kumar, 2005). As the study is concerned with the perspectives of the respondents, a research instrument was needed that would enable the researcher to better understand the respondents' thoughts and opinions about the programme. The researcher created an interview schedule with open-ended questions which relate to the objectives of this study to guide the interviews as well as ensure that the respondents were all asked similar questions in order to ensure some kind of uniformity (see Appendix A for the instrument). The questions related to any changes in the respondents behaviour as well as to their experience of the programme. The respondents were also asked to reflect on whether there was any connections between these things.

3.2.5 Data collection strategy

The data collection strategy refers to the manner in which the information was collected (de Vos et al., 2011; Kumar, 2005). The data were collected through in-depth individual interviews with each of the respondents. The interviews were conducted in English at various locations around Cape Town that were convenient for the respondents as well as allowed for the interviews to take place in privacy. Most of the interviews took place in the homes of the

respondents while others took place in other places such as the researcher's home, office and car.

Some of the respondents spoke easily and at length in response to the questions, while others answered with very short answers. Probing was used to gain additional information and to encourage the respondents to think more about the subjects being discussed. Active listening techniques were used to encourage the respondents to talk openly and freely (Louw, Watson Todd & Jimarkon, 2011). The interviews varied in length and lasted between thirty minutes to an hour.

The researcher did not ask questions that focussed on a particular aspect of the programme until it had been raised by the respondent and then the researcher would probe to understand more about how this aspect was significant. This enabled the researcher to understand what was most significant to the respondent without leading them to discuss a particular aspect or activity.

The respondents were asked to talk about their current lifestyle and reflect on how their attitudes and behaviour has changed since participating in the programme. They were asked to reflect on how valuable they found the experience of participating in the programme and reflect on any connections between the changes in their behaviour and their experience of the programme.

The researcher used simple, easy to understand language and did not discuss any of the theoretical concepts, such as desistance, by using academic language. Academic language can be confusing to people who have not engaged with the subject at that level and it is very unlikely that any of the respondents would have previously been exposed to these concepts. The researcher made sure that the respondents understood the questions by asking follow up questions or gave further explanation if it was necessary.

All of the interviews were recorded on a small, battery operated, digital voice recorder and then transcribed into a word document by the researcher.

3.3 Data analysis

Data analysis refers to the way in which the data is studied and interpreted, in order to find the answers to the research question (de Vos et al., 2011, Kumar, 2005). For this study, a template analysis approach was used. This approach is a form of thematic analysis that enables the researcher to gather and arrange information related to people's lived experience and therefore is very suitable for a case study of this nature (Clarke & Braun, 2016). This approach is flexible and can be modified and adapted for the needs of the particular study (Brooks, McCluskey, Turley & King, 2015; King, 2012). The flexibility of this approach allows it to be widely used for a variety of different kinds of research studies but it is most frequently used in organisational research (King, 2015).

Central to this approach is the development of the coding structure or template that is used for data analysis (Brooks et al., 2015, King, 2012). With this approach, a tentative set of themes that are used to categorise and analyse the data, are initially identified from the literature and a small subset of data. They can then be redefined and modified as the process of analysis progresses (Brooks et al., 2015, King, 2012).

In this study the initial themes were identified from the literature on desistance, such as feelings of improved self-esteem, shifts in identity and their ability to perform particular life skills effectively. The researcher also considered the elements of the Circle of Courage, such as belonging and mastery, as this is the model which underpinned the development of the programme activities. The themes that were identified in the literature regarding the impact of arts based programmes were also considered.

Other interesting themes that arose out of the interviews were also noted to gain a better understanding of the respondents' experience, allowing their stories and words to contribute to the template. The template analysis approach does not create a distinction between themes that are descriptive and those that are interpretive, and within this research study the template included both (Brooks et al., 2015, King, 2012).

The respondents' answers to the questions in the interviews, were analysed and linked with particular themes. They were further grouped into various sub-themes and categories and

comparisons were made between the various experiences and opinions. Unlike other thematic analysis techniques, template analysis does not prescribe the hierarchical structure of the themes and the number of levels are not specified (King, 2012). For this research study, the researcher created three levels, though some of the themes only had one sub-theme, and thus only two levels. The flexibility of this approach for data analysis, allowed for this, which was in line with the needs of the study (Brooks et al., 2015, King, 2012). The template for analysis and the themes, sub-themes and categories that were determined can be found in table 4 in the following chapter.

In analysing the data that were collected, the researcher looked for similarities in the respondents' responses. When multiple respondents referred to similar shifts in behaviour or aspects of the programme that were significant that was an indicator that the data was relevant as all interviews were conducted in private and none of the respondents had any indication of what others had said. The template analysis approach allowed the researcher to see when many of the respondents shared similar views about specific elements of the programme, which was an indicator of the significance of those particular elements. This was useful with regards to the evaluative aspect of the study.

3.4 Data verification

As this study is exploring the experiences and perceptions of the respondents it is not necessary to be able to verify the data, as when trying to prove a hypothesis (de Vos et al., 2011). It is necessary to trust in the respondents' willingness and ability to express their point of view. The programme which they all attended included a lot of work on communication skills and encouraged the participants to voice their opinions openly and therefore all of the respondents have practice in doing so. A certain factor was only considered relevant when it was referred to by multiple respondents, which can indicate a level of significance as the respondents had very little contact with one another and there was no opportunity for them to discuss the answers or influence one another.

Member checking on one way of confirming the validity of the data by presenting the data back to the respondents and getting their opinion on its accuracy (Frey; 2018). This was

unfortunately not feasible due to the length of time that took place between the interviews and the finalisation of the analysis.

During the interviews, the respondents were asked to provide information about demographic details as well as criminal activities. This information was not verified with any external sources as the researcher did not have access to any other people who would be able to provide this information. All of these matters were probed during the interviews in order to assess if any information was being left out.

3.5 Main ethical considerations

It is important to consider the impact on the wellbeing of those who participate in research (de Vos et al., 2011; Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005; Maree, 2005). The researcher ensured that ethical standards were upheld while interviewing the participants as well as when analysing and writing up the findings. The researcher obtained ethical clearance from the department prior to conducting any of the interviews (see Appendix B). This section will explain the various ethical factors that were taken into account while doing this research.

3.5.1 No harm to the participants

It is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the respondents are not subjected to any emotional or physical harm during the research process (de Vos et al., 2011). There is seldom risk of physical harm during an interview (de Vos et al., 2011). The author ensured that the interviews took place in a safe environment. The risk of emotional harm was reduced by assessing whether or not they were comfortable answering the questions and not continuing with the interviews if any of the participants became distressed or too uncomfortable. This however did not happen and all of the respondents appeared very comfortable during the interviews and spoke about subjects that they feel comfortable discussing.

3.5.2 Informed consent

Informed consent implies that the participants were given all the necessary information with regards to the purpose of the research, how the research process will be undertaken and how the findings will be shared as well as any potential advantages or disadvantages to participating in the process so that they can make an informed decision about participating in the study (deVos et al., 2011). All of the participants were first informed about the nature and the purpose of the research when initial contact was made and they were requested to do an interview. All of them agreed the first time that they were asked and the arrangement was made through follow up calls and messages. The researcher verbally explained the purpose of the research again, before starting the interview and gave the respondents an opportunity to ask any questions or raise any concerns. None of the respondents had any concerns at this point either. They were then asked again if they agree to do the interview and all of the respondents agreed and were asked to sign an informed consent form (see appendix C).

3.5.3 Voluntary participation

Voluntary participation refers to the participants' right to choose whether or not they want to be involved in the research process (de Vos et al., 2011). They should also have the right to withdraw from the research process at any point if they wish (de Vos et al., 2011). The researcher made this clear to all of the respondents and did not coerce anyone into participating in the study nor offered any kind of reward for participating. All of the respondents participated voluntarily and without any remuneration. They were also informed of their right to withdraw at any point during the interview but none of the respondents felt it necessary.

3.5.4 Anonymity

Anonymity means that it will not be possible to identify the participants in the research report (de Vos et al., 2011). As the respondents shared information that is very personal as well as information about criminal activity, it is very important that it is not possible to identify them, therefore anonymity is necessary. This has been ensured by the use of numbers instead of names and by not divulging personal information about them that could be used to uncover their identity. This will also ensure that none of the information shared can be directly attributed to anyone in particular. It should be noted that when this was discussed with the respondents,

none of them felt it was necessary and all of them said that they would be happy to have their names shared. However, in order to maintain ethical standards, their anonymity has been maintained.

3.5.5 Confidentiality

Confidentiality refers to the way in which the information is handled, ensuring that it is not accessed by anyone other than the researcher (de Vos et al., 2011). In order to ensure confidentiality of the participants, the sound files and their transcriptions were not shared with anyone else. The transcriptions of the interviews are marked with the number that the researcher assigned to each respondent and do not contain anyone's name. These files are stored on a personal computer that is not accessed by anyone other than the researcher.

3.5.6 Debriefing

Debriefing is a process which gives the respondents an opportunity to share any feelings of discomfort or unhappiness about the process or the information that has been shared (de Vos et al., 2011). In order to avoid being left feeling emotionally unsettled, the respondents were given an opportunity to debrief with the researcher after the interview was completed. They were asked if they had any unresolved feelings about the interview process or the subjects that were discussed and whether or not they had any final questions. None of the respondents expressed any kind of discomfort and most of the respondents had no questions or concerns.

3.6 Conclusion

The researcher decided to conduct a case study with an aspect of evaluation for this research study as it was found to be the most suitable method for a study of this nature which aims to explore the respondents perceptions, experiences and opinions in order to describe a particular programme as well as evaluate its impact on them. The respondents were chosen using a purposive sampling technique and the information was gathered during 12 semi-structured in-depth interviews, one with each respondent, that followed an interview schedule. The data collected during the interviews were transcribed and analysed using a template analysis

approach, which aimed to identify significant information about the programme grouped according to themes. The researcher ensured that the research was conducted in an ethical manner and that no harm would come to the respondents as a result of this research process. The findings that came from the analysis of the research will be presented in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Presentation and Analysis of Research Findings

4.1 Introduction

This study was conducted in order to gain a better understanding of the respondents' perceptions of the programme under exploration, with a particular focus on how it may have promoted the attitudes and behaviour that are associated with desistance. In line with the overall aim of the study, the study explored the respondents' perceptions of how participating in the programme may have affected their behaviour and their attitude towards crime as well as their perceptions of themselves. The study also explored which aspects of the programme were most significant to the experience of the programme. First, a profile of the respondents will be presented. The research data will be presented thereafter, exploring the findings in relation to the themes and categories identified in the literature as well as the respondents answers.

4.2 Profile of the respondents

The first part of the profile will provide the demographic data of the respondents, and the second part of the profile will provide a profile of the respondents' criminal histories prior to entering the programme. Demographic data gives an indication of the socio-economic circumstances of the person. The criminal histories are provided to give an indication of the respondents' behaviour prior to entering the programme. Each factor will be discussed in relation to the themes and subthemes that arose in the study as well as how it can influence desisting behaviour, according to other scholars.

Table 2: Demographic data of the respondents

Respondent no	Respondent age	Education level of respondent	Employment status of respondents	Respondents' source of financial support	Respondents' places of residence	Regular consumption of intoxicating substances
1	26	Gr 10	none	Selling Marijuana	Langa	Alcohol and Marijuana
2	28	Gr 10	none	Art, hustling, petty crime	Delft	Alcohol, Marijuana. Madrax and Tik
3	24	Gr 10	none	Art, Mother	Lower Crossroads	Alcohol and Marijuana
4	24	Gr 10	none	Acting, Uncle	Delft	Alcohol and Marijuana
5	30	NCV 2 (Gr 10 equivalent)	none	Mother	Gugulethu	Marijuana
6	26	Gr 9	none	Grandmother	Langa	Alcohol
7	29	Abet 4 (Grade 9 equivalent)	Screen Printer	Job	Delft	Alcohol and Marijuana
8	26	Gr 11	none	Parents	Langa	Alcohol and Marijuana
9	25	Gr 10	none	Mother	Langa	Alcohol
10	21	Gr 10	none	Grandmother	Nyanga	Alcohol and Marijuana
11	22	Gr 7	none	Mother	Elsies River	Alcohol and Marijuana
12	28	Gr 10	none	Performance, Art, Uncle	Nyanga	Alcohol

4.2.1 Demographic data

The demographic data of the respondents is presented in Table 1, above. The categories that were selected as they can have an impact on their desisting behaviour, as will be discussed below. All of the respondents were male and none of them was married at the time of the interviews.

4.2.1.1 Respondents' age at time of research

The respondents were aged between 21 and 30 at the time of the interviews, and thus were considered youth according to the South African National Youth Policy (National Youth Development Agency, 2015). Most of the respondents were over 25 years of age and people of this age are usually working if they are not still studying or in a skills training programme. Many people tend to age out of crime as they become more mature and gain a new perspective on life (Davis et al., 2012; Sampson & Laub, 2005; Youssef et al., 2016). Most of the respondents were of the age when this is starting to occur, making desistance more likely.

4.2.1.2 Respondents' level of education and employment status

None of the respondents had completed high school. This can have an adverse effect on their self-esteem as well as limit their opportunities for employment, which are already limited because of their criminal record (duToit, 2003; Lam, Liebbrandt & Mlatsheni, 2008). The data presented above indicate that only one of the respondents was employed at the time of the research. Unemployment can result in reoffending behaviour when crime is considered as the most viable option if they are unable to find work (Davis et al., 2012; Lindegaard & Jacques, 2014). Unemployment can also have an adverse effect on a person's self-esteem as well as their ability to take responsibility (du Toit, 2003; Lam et al., 2008). This could make desistance more difficult as positive self-esteem as well as having a job have been found to increase desistance (Davis et al., 2012; Maruna, 2001).

4.2.1.3 The respondents' source of financial support

Most of the respondents rely on older, employed adults to support them, despite being of working age. This can increase a person's likeliness to reoffend for similar reasons discussed

in the previous section. People are more likely to consider criminal activities if they do not have a stable income (Davis et al., 2012; Lindegaard & Jacques, 2014). It is also notable that very few of the respondents had support from their fathers. A lack of a positive male role model can effect a young man's confidence as well as increase involvement in gang and criminal activities (Palitza, nd,). Therefore, desistance is less likely to occur with this group of respondents as very few of them have stable financial support or the support of positive male role moles.

4.2.1.4 The respondents' places of residence

All of the respondents lived in areas with high levels of criminal and gang activity, therefore it was likely that many of the respondents were still exposed to this lifestyle and socialised with people who were still involved in crime (SAPS, 2019a). Living in a socially disadvantaged community can increase the risk of reoffending (Wright, 2013), as young offenders can be influenced by their peers to join in on criminal activities (Lindegaard & Jacques, 2014). Therefore it is likely that the respondents were still around peers who did not support desisting behaviour making desistance more unlikely in this environment.

4.2.1.5 Consumption of intoxicating substances by the respondents

The profile shows that all of the respondents consumed intoxicating substances regularly which can affect their attitude to doing crime (Wright, 2013). Reoffending behaviour is often associated with drug use, however the researcher has observed that both alcohol and marijuana are also widely consumed by many people that are not doing crime. Only one of the respondents reported using crystal meth and mandrax which are more associated with criminals and gangsters. This indicates that most of the respondents' behaviour with regards to consuming intoxicating substances, was not necessarily inconsistent with desisting behaviour.

Table 3: Criminal histories of the respondents prior to participating in the programme

Respondent No	Age of first arrest	Number of arrests prior to participating in the programme	Crimes the respondent was convicted of prior to participating in the programme.	Time the respondent spent in prison
1	15	2	Hijacking	4 years
2	14	4	Common Robbery	2 years
3	18	3	Unsentenced	3 months in awaiting trial
4	16	>10*	Unsentenced	2 months awaiting trial.
5	12	>10*	Possession of firearm, possession of drugs, shoplifting, housebreaking, attempted murder, rape	9 years
6	18	2	Murder	3 years
7	19	1	Rape	2 years
8	17	4	Unsentenced	2 months
9	15	5	Armed robbery	2.5 years
10	16	2	Shoplifting	none
11	13	7	Robbery, murder, shoplifting	2 years in juvenile detention centre
12	15	>10*	Armed robbery, possession of stolen goods, possession of firearm	3 years

*Participant uncertain of exact number.

4.2.2 Profile of respondent's criminal histories

The criminal histories of the respondents (see Table 2, above) are discussed below in order to get a better understanding of the nature of the respondents' attitudes and behaviours prior to participating in the programme. When compared with the data presented in the following section about the respondent's criminal activity after participating in the programme it can be an indication of whether or not there has been a change in their criminal behaviour.

The data presented above shows that many of the respondents became involved in criminal activities during adolescence. Rates of recidivism are found to be higher amongst young offenders and thus secondary desistance would be less likely amongst people who started criminal behaviour at a young age (Khwela, 2015; Moffit, 1993). However most of the respondents would still fall into the category of 'adolescent-limited offenders' because not enough information is known about whether or not they were involved in criminal activity prior to being arrested (Moffit, 1993).

Most of the respondents reported being arrested multiple times prior to attending the programme, indicating that most of the respondents were repeat offenders prior to entering the programme. Repeat offending behaviour can be an indication that they were considering criminal careers. Young people who have already committed multiple offences are at greater risk of reoffending and therefore secondary desistance is much less likely (Khwela, 2015).

Some of the respondents had been convicted of multiple crimes, whereas others had not been convicted of any crimes but had been arrested and spent time in the awaiting trial section of a prison. Most of the crimes that they committed were contact crimes such as rape, murder, armed robbery and common robbery. Anti-social behaviour is often an indication that young people were facing challenges at home and within the community and that unless these challenges were addressed, this kind of behaviour would be likely to persist (Brendtro et al., 2002). Therefore they were unlikely to desist from crime without an intervention.

4.2.3 The amount of time the respondents spent in prison

Most of the respondents spent more than 2 years in prison. The negative effects of prison on an individual include low self-esteem as well as learning negative behaviours (Dissel, 2008;

Khwela, 2015). All of the respondents came to the programme after spending time in prison and therefore it is possible that this experience had impacted on their perceptions of themselves as well as their behaviour. Thus, it is likely that they entered the programme with issues around their self-esteem and with negative behaviour patterns which could indicate a lower chance of secondary desistance occurring.

4.2.4 The likeliness of secondary desistance amongst the respondents

Altogether, the respondents' criminal histories and life situations indicated that there was a low chance of secondary desistance occurring within this group, as many of the factors that would encourage on-going desistance, such as high levels of education, stable employment and positive male role models are not present in most of the respondents' lives (du Toit, 2003; Giordano et al., 2002; Lam et al., 2008; Maruna, 2001). Similarly, they were experiencing factors that could increase reoffending behaviour, such as living in communities with high levels of crime, starting crime at a young age, repeat offending and time spent in prison (Dissel, 2008; Khwela, 2015; Wright, 2013). The following section will explore whether desistance had in fact occurred as well as look at the role the programme may have played in encouraging desisting behaviour.

4.3 The analysis and discussion of the research data

This section will present the analysis and discussion of the research data according to the objectives of the study which are presented as the main themes of the study. Each of these themes will be broken down into sub themes and explored in detail. Quotes from the respondents will be provided to substantiate the findings. The author has used 'the programme' to replace whatever term the respondents used to refer to the programme within their statements, in order to have clarity in some cases. The analysis will also include a comparison with other scholar's findings in relation to these themes.

Table 4: Framework for analysis of the research data

Theme	Sub-theme	Categories
How the respondents' participation in the programme came about.	Age on entering	
	How the respondents came to know about the programme	Word of mouth
		Attended programme run by the same organisation while in prison
		Through a Community Corrections office
		Compelled by court order
	Motivation for joining	Gain more self-control
		Assistance in finding work or returning to school
		Appeal of creative activities
		Self-improvement
		Get out of gangsterism
Avoid stifling parole conditions		
Respondents' involvement in the programme	Amount of time spent in programme	
	Reason for remaining in programme	Creative projects
		Saw opportunities
		The engaging method

		Gaining skills
	Reasons for leaving the programme	Change in programme
		Continued with entrepreneurship programme
		Graduated from programme
	Whether or not their participation in the programme had any effect on their behaviour.	
Perceived effect of the programme on their attitudes and behaviours	Behaviour changes	Increased empathy
		Improved manners
		Socialising in a different way
		Motivating others
	Attitude towards criminal behaviour	Reduced offending
		No longer having criminal aspirations
	Improved life skills	Communication
		Self-control
Taking responsibility		
Effect of the programme on their perception of themselves	Self-esteem	Increased confidence
		Public speaking

		Supportive relationships
		Helping others
	Finding purpose	Creative Industries
		Entrepreneurship
	Identity	No longer identifying as criminal
		New aspirations
The significant aspects of the programme that affected the respondents' perceptions of themselves.	Sense of Belonging	Others seen as family
		Feeling at home
		Pro-social gang
		Non-judgemental environment
	Learning new skills	Creative skills
		Practical method
	New experiences	Cultural exchange
		Exposure to new spaces
		Opportunity to travel out of Cape Town.
	One on One support	Guidance
		Personal Development Plan

		Post release from prison
		Motivating factor
The activities that the respondents thought were most effective in the learning of new skills and practicing new behaviours?	Workshops	Creative workshops
		Life skills workshops
	Projects	Creating comic Books
		Art Collaboration
		Making a music video
	Exhibition	
	Combination of factors	

4.3.1 How the respondents came to participate in the programme

The researcher was interested in understanding how the respondents came to participate in the programme, which relates to how and why the respondents enrolled in the programme. This includes their age on entering the programme, how they were referred to the programme and their motivation for joining the programme. This information can give a better understanding of the context that lead to their participation as well as their motivation.

4.3.1.1 Age on entering the programme

The age on entering the programme refers to the respondents' ages at the time of enrolling in the programme. They were aged between 17 and 26 when first entering the programme, with an average age of 22 years old. Most of the respondents were thus in the emerging adulthood stage of development (Arnett, 2000). At this stage they would be open to exploring new identities through the relationships that they have with other people, as they transition from being an adolescent to being an adult (Arnett, 2000; Poole & Snarey, 2011). As a shift in identity is necessary for secondary desistance to occur (Maruna, 2001), the participants were all at a good time of their lives to be participating in a programme that aims to encourage desisting behaviour.

4.3.1.2 How the respondents came to know about the programme

The respondents came to know about the programme in four different ways; namely: through word of mouth, while attending a life skills programme that was run by the same organisation inside prisons, through community corrections offices or by court order.

Most of the respondents came into the contact with the programme through the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), either while still in prison, at the Community Corrections office or at Court. This is indicative of the positive relationship that the organisation had with DCS. This is in line with the White paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005) which states the importance of nurturing partnerships with NGO's as they are vital to the successful rehabilitation of offenders. This relationship is important considering the limited resources of DCS, as in order for desistance to occur, most offenders need on-going support (Gaum et al, 2006). Only one of the respondents was sent to the programme by a social worker employed at the court, as a

condition of his sentence for shoplifting. This was the only respondent that was compelled to attend the programme by an official of the court. Even though he was compelled to attend, his attendance continued after the stipulated time.

“The court sent me there at first, the second year I just decided I must just go back to the programme because it’s good for me to not roam around the streets.” (R10)

4.3.1.3 Motivation for joining the programme

The motivation for joining the programme refers to the reasons why the respondents decided to apply to participate the programme. The respondents were asked directly why they decided to apply to join the programme.

Assistance in finding work or returning to school

Many of the respondents said that they joined the programme to try and find opportunities and to have a better life. Some of the respondents expressed, more specifically, that they wanted assistance in finding work.

“I found that a lot of the activities that we were doing inside I found them they were interesting you see it was gonna be for me when I am outside it is gonna be a start maybe to look for a job.” (R9)

Some of the respondents said that they joined the programme in order to get help.

“I came there for help... because I knew that when I came out of prison, my mom, she didn’t have money to take me to school after that I was there in the township doing nothing, and so, and then I started working at this place ... it was tough for me there and I couldn’t see myself doing that at a young age because I saw myself doing big things... so that’s why I chose to stop working at that place and came to the programme.” (R1)

Appeal of creative activities

Many of the respondents referred to the appeal of the creative activities because they already had an interest in these things.

“It had things that I was interested in, you see things that most people did not take serious as me coming from the township come from my mother and my stepfather you see, art, I always had visions and dreams of creating something with pen and paper and poems and seeing my things come out of a magazine and when I met that programme, that programme was busy with those things creativity and everything. Creativity is what brought me to that programme.” (R2)

Self-improvement

Some of the respondents expressed that they came there to be a better person, one of them referred specifically to a desire to learn self-control.

“Self-control is the main thing that I wanted, you see there were certain things that I could control and certain things that I couldn't control for example peer pressure and stuff, so I got to manage myself and understand myself better than the life before.” (R8)

Another respondent referred to wanting to change for the better.

“The time I saw that poster and the time I realised I wanted to get better to change so I saw that poster and I decided then that this will help me go for it.” (R6)

Getting out of gangsterism

One of the respondents expressed that he came to the programme to get out of gangsterism.

“It seems like a good opportunity for me to get out of this gangsterism lifestyle hoping to find a way out of gangsterism was successful because even now I am not involved in gangsterism things.” (R11)

Avoiding stifling parole conditions

One of them admitted that he came to the programme because he saw it as an opportunity to get out of the place where he lived as he found the parole conditions stifling.

“I actually didn’t have a choice because my parole officer told me that’s the only way to get some free time to get out of the house.” (R7)

The findings above indicate that the respondents were already self-motivated when they entered the programme and they had particular expectations of what kind of assistance they needed. Some of them wanted assistance with very concrete matters such as finding work, while others were looking for opportunities for self-development. The motivation of some of the respondents was enhanced by the appeal of the arts-based nature of the programme, as they were interested in exploring their creativity further and saw this as an opportunity to do so. Motivation to change has been identified as an important element of desisting behaviour (Davis et al., 2012; Panuccio et al., 2012). Desistance starts with a cognitive openness to change and therefore all of the respondents had already taken an important step in this process (Giordano et al., 2002).

4.3.2 Respondents’ involvement in the programme

To further understand the general experience of the respondents’ participation in the programme, the researcher explored the nature of their involvement in the programme. This included looking at the amount of time the respondents remained in the programme, the reasons why they remained in the programme for the amount of time that they did, their reasons for leaving the programme and whether or not they felt that the programme had any effect on their behaviour. This section will discuss the findings related to these sub-themes.

4.3.2.1 Amount of time spent in programme

Most of the respondents spent more than two years participating in the programme, therefore there was a substantial amount of time in which the programme could have an effect on their attitudes and their behaviour. This is also an indication that it was able to meet some of their expectations and that they found it useful or felt like they gained some benefit from being there as they chose to remain participating consistently for a substantial amount of time. In order for

programmes to be effective, and have an impact on their desisting behaviour, a substantial amount of time is necessary (Davis et al., 2012).

4.3.2.2 The respondents' reasons for remaining in the programme for the amount of time that they did

The reasons why the respondents remained for the amount of time that they did was explored in order to get a better understanding of what benefits they experienced while attending the programme. They mentioned various reasons for staying in the programme for so long which included: creative activities, gaining skill, the opportunities that they received and the engaging method.

A third of the respondents said that they remained in the programme because they enjoyed participating in the creative workshops and projects.

"I stayed for so long because of the art workshops, because within the art workshops we started an art collective called KIF, that's the main reason that made me stay." (R3)

"I stayed because I enjoyed it there, it was the drawings you see." (R10)

Some of the respondents felt that they were gaining skills and that is why they remained there.

"I could say that I stayed there for so long because I saw the skills that I got from the programme." (R1)

Another respondent saw that the programme presented him with opportunities and referred to the challenges that young people coming out of prison face.

"I stayed for so long because I saw that there's a lot of opportunities for someone coming out of prison, it's hard to get a job and gain more experience and when I came to the programme I saw that there's opportunities for me." (R7)

Some of the respondents referred to the method that was used to engage the participants as well as the opportunities that he foresaw as reasons why they remained for so long.

“I remained there for so long because of the way that the facilitators and the programme was designed for young people it had the perfect structure, the perfect way of working with people without them feeling intimidated or them feeling as if they are there only to take information and not share information as much as I was there to get facilitated and to have but I was also made to feel that I am also giving out information, I was given opportunities, it wasn't actually given to me alone it was given to other participants as well, it would rotate every Tuesday each and every participant come with a workshop so it was sort of like a growing phase for me.” (R5)

“I stayed there because it kept me motivated, when I was there my mind was always on a positive mindset.” (R11)

The respondents had a variety of different reasons for remaining in the programme for so long. This indicates that they were finding the programme to be beneficial and that they were made to feel comfortable there. It is also an indication that the programme was operating in a manner that was in line with their needs and learning styles, this is necessary in order for a programme to be effective at impacting on their desisting behaviour (Khwela, 2015; Wright, 2013).

4.3.2.3 Reasons for leaving the programme

The reason for leaving the programme were explored in order to understand whether it was a ‘push’ factor on the part of the programme, or whether there were ‘pull’ factors outside of the programme. The participants stated changes in the programme, entering the entrepreneurship programme and graduating from the programme as reasons why they left.

Most of the respondents were still participating in the programme when it was replaced with an entrepreneurship programme at the end of 2015. Four of the respondents left the programme at that stage.

“What made me leave was the change of (the programme), there was a change at the end of the year 2015.... I thought that I cannot do this anymore man...Because most of the people that knew me were the ones that were told to look for another place and I just started my own thing and that was it.” (R1)

“I left because things changed and I lost interest, because there were no more art workshops and stuff like that, no more exhibitions.” (R3)

Two of the respondents continued to participate in the entrepreneurship programme which replaced the programme under exploration, and left once that course was completed.

“ The entrepreneurship course that they introduced into the programme. I finished that programme. They said the time that they introduced that course that if you do that course there might be a possibility that they can provide you something so that you can start the business idea that you have in mind so the time we were about to finish the course none of that happened.” (R6)

Some of the respondents left the programme because they had gained sufficient skills and went on to access other opportunities. Some of the respondents left because they had acquired all that the programme had to offer them. One of the respondents shared that he was initially upset when he was told to leave but now he is grateful as he has been working since then.

“I was told to leave and it was sad because we almost came like a family at YIP and I would've stayed but it's good that I left because now I have a job.” (R7)

One of the respondents decided to leave the programme because he felt that he had gained what he had come for.

“...actually, I got what I wanted but economically there was no balance so I needed to find work and stuff, you can't be part of a programme for more than 3 years and still be in the same place....what I wanted from the programme I got.” (R8)

Most of the respondents left because of changes that took place within the organisation. Very few of the respondents left the programme because they felt that they had gained sufficient skills and experiences and wanted to put them into practice. In order for desistance to be maintained, a sufficient amount of assistance and support is usually necessary (Sampson & Laub, 1990; Yousef et al., 2016). However, a young person should also be given a chance to take action for themselves, in order to encourage independence, (Brendtro et al., 2002). The next section will discuss whether or not the respondents felt that their attitudes and behaviour had shifted while participating in the programme.

4.3.2.4 Whether or not they have experienced any changes in their behaviour since participating in the programme

All of the respondents were asked whether or not their behaviour was affected by their participation in the programme. Only one respondent said that his behaviour had not changed since participating in the programme.

“No my behaviour has not changed, it has stayed the same.” (R6)

All of the other respondents were very adamant that it had affected the way they perceived themselves as well as how they related to others.

“I still use some of the information that I received (at the programme) to manage my life where I see that something is going wrong and I'm going back to criminal activities or drugs, when I lose balance in my life I think of the information that I got there and I used it, it was more about reflecting and finding yourself and your purpose in life what are you here for.” (R8)

“Nowadays there is many things I do differently, because before (I participated in the programme) I would always think about things that are negative but nowadays I think of things that are positive.” (R11)

“My behaviour has changed very much since (participating in the programme) because..., now I do have patience you see.” (R9)

The following sections will explore the nature of these changes, as well as the reasons for these changes in more detail.

4.3.3 Effect of the programme on the attitudes and behaviours of the respondents

This section presents the data on how the respondents' participation in the programme affected their attitudes towards criminal behaviour as well as their behaviour, with regards to how they engage with the people around them. The sub-themes that emerged in relation to this theme were: the perceived changes in their behaviour, how their attitude to doing crime has changed as well as the life skills that they learnt while attending the programme. The findings will be discussed in relation to the theories of desistance and the attitudes and behaviour that are associated with this process.

4.3.3.1. Perceived changes in the respondents' behaviour

The following factors were mentioned by many of the respondents and will be discussed below: empathy towards others improved manners, new ways of socialising. and motivating others.

The respondents shared that their empathy towards others improved since participating in the programme. Empathy relates to a person's ability to put themselves in someone else's shoes, and perceive things from their point of view (Brendtro et al., 2002). Some of the respondents expressed how their newfound sense of empathy made it difficult for them to commit crimes as they were able to perceive the incident from the other person's point of view.

"I'm not that guy I was (before I attended the programme). Me, every day, was robbery where I come from, I would rob and I didn't have that sympathy for someone else and if I was going to rob someone I have a feeling to start thinking about his family and everything ... all of those things have changed because I started to understand that people, everyone has it hard, everyone is just trying to make it in life, you only need to lift up yourself." (R2)

"Let me make an example, before (I attended the programme) I was robbing people and stuff I didn't think that if I robbed you how your parents would feel or someone close to you but since I done that workshop I think what will I do if someone rob my mother or someone rob my sister, how would I feel about it." (R11)

The respondents shared that their manners had improved since participating in the programme.

"...I'm not like that guy that I used to be like before you know like speaking rudely to people, you know those kinds of stuff, you know like causing nonsense." (R4)

"I have changed a lot, at first I was like angry at a lot of people and I just don't know and I didn't feel that good before I came to (the programme) but ever since I was there my attitude started changing and I learnt how to speak properly to people not to swear and still now I still sit and think about the programme." (R7)

"...because first I was talking back at my mother, you guys also told us not to, to pay respect yes, you learn manners, there in that programme." (R9)

The respondents also referred to how their social behaviour had changed. Some of the respondents referred to no longer hanging out on corners, a practice that is often associated with criminal behaviour.

“I grew because before I used to smoke on the corners and I no longer do that.”
(R3)

Some of the respondents shared that they no longer socialised with the same people that they used to.

“I think the programme taught me how to like, not entertain things that are not valuable in your life, chill with people that are not in line with what you are in line with, another way of pulling you back, you know you always have to be with people that you know are in the same mentality as you. So it helped me in that way because my friends are no longer my friends because I still see the things that they are doing...even the programme helped me like to direct my steps.” (R1)

“I don’t go and chill with friends that drinks and do negative things after that like walking around and shouting people, robbing people.” (R11)

“I’m no longer hanging out with lots of friends now because they don’t bring out the best in me, I’m old enough I don’t need them now...I just hang out with my girlfriend most of the time, because these other people just telling me that we should do bad stuff but my mind is no longer with that kind of stuff.. I don’t need that kind of things in my life anymore.” (R9)

Some of the respondents shared how they had become more helpful towards other people since participating in the programme. This mostly took the form of motivating others and sharing encouraging words.

“I can also encourage other guys in the township where I’m at they also see me as something that has made it. Judging from what I speak, I am ... that encourages people, I am that type now. (Since I participated in the programme) When I speak I speak words that encourage people. I like that.” (R2)

“My life has changed a lot (since I participated in the programme) it’s like I am an engine of the community where I am I don’t have any one age group that I don’t get

along with, I'm visited by youngsters, I'm visited by the elders, I'm visited by everyone, I'm like a light to many people, whenever I feel like giving up I think about how I am recognised by the community people.” (R5)

The findings that have been presented in this section indicate that most of the respondents reported that they have experienced a change in the way they interact with other people, since participating in the programme. The respondents reported many similarities in the way that their behaviour has changed, which included being more empathetic and well-mannered and also more supportive and motivating of other people. An increase in a person's ability to empathise with others is associated with desisting behaviour (Maruna, 2001). Developing new prosocial networks can support desistance as it can help the person focus on positive values and maintain these values over time (Davis et al., 2012). Motivating other people is another way that ex-offenders are able to maintain their own focus on these positive values, leading to on-going desistance (Lebel et al., 2015).

4.3.3.2 Attitude towards criminal behaviour

This section explores the respondents' attitudes towards criminal behaviour at the time of the study. It will discuss their criminal behaviour since participating in the programme in order to make a comparison with their criminal histories as presented in the profile. This section will discuss how their offending behaviour has reduced and how their criminal aspirations have changed since participating in the programme. The way that the programme influenced these changes will be explored in the following section. However, this study was not intended to measure the level of desistance within the group of respondents but rather to explore how programmes such as the YIPSA post-release programme can play a role in encouraging attitudes and behaviour which is often associated with desistance.

Table 5: Respondents' arrests and convictions since participating in the programme

Respondent	Arrests post participation in the programme	Reason for arrests post participation in the programme	Convictions post participation in the programme
1	yes	Possession of marijuana	none
2	yes	shoplifting	none
3	no	none	none
4	no	none	none
5	yes	fraud	none
6	yes	theft	none
7	no	none	none
8	no	none	none
9	no	none	none
10	no	none	none
11	yes	Possession of drugs	none
12	yes	Parole break	none

Reduced offending

The respondents' criminal activity since participating in the programme was explored in order to gain a better understanding of whether or not there has been any major change in their criminal behaviour, as this will indicate if they have desisted from crime.

The following information was shared by the respondents:

- Half of the respondents had been arrested since participating in the programme.

- They had been arrested for possession of drugs, shoplifting, credit card fraud and breaking the conditions of their parole.
- Only one respondent had been convicted of a crime since participating in the programme.

These findings indicate that there had been a change in the respondents criminal behaviour. Even though they have not all desisted from crime, only half of the respondents have been arrested since they participated in the programme, and out of those that were arrested only one of the respondents has received a further conviction. The respondents have also been arrested for much less aggressive crimes than those that they were convicted of prior to entering the programme. These charges included shoplifting and credit card fraud charges, none of which seemed to affect their parole status or result in further convictions. Brown (2011) notes that at least two thirds of offenders return to prison within three years of being released, and although more recent data could not be found this indicates that this group is probably doing significantly better at desisting from crime than other people coming out of prison in South Africa. Most researchers look at further convictions when measuring recidivism and the very low proportion, only 1 out of 12, for any further convictions is in contrast to the high rates of recidivism amongst people from a similar demographic (Khwela, 2015). It is also in contrast to their criminal histories prior to attending the programme. This indicates that both de-escalation, which is the reduction in the seriousness of the offence, as well as deceleration, which is a reduction in the frequency of the offending behaviour, had taken place (Pannucio, 2012). These are both considered important signs of desisting behaviour (Pannucio, 2012).

Change in criminal aspirations

The respondents were asked about their aspirations prior to entering the programme compared with their aspirations at the time of the interviews. Some of the respondents said that prior to entering the programme they saw themselves as becoming successful through gangsterism or selling drugs but no longer see these as appealing options.

“I grew up believing that crime is the way out, I don’t want to lie to you... but I’m not that guy I was... And these days (since participating in the programme) robbery is never in my options, to grab someone’s stuff on the road because that’s what we used to do.” (R2)

“I thought maybe that I was going back to gangsterism, be selling drugs or do what

I used to do, now I just want to get married to current girlfriend and have a family... because at (the programme) there used to come people that told me about the other side of life, the positive side, so I took their advice and I started to realise and I went home and I just looked at the people, at my friends and I see that they go back to prison and they come out and they go back and they sell drugs and they die and so I thought to myself, I gain experience and I know what can make me end up back in prison so I just decided to leave everything that is negative through the experience that I gained (at the programme).” (R7)

The findings indicate that the respondents’ attitudes to criminal behaviour had changed since they participated in the programme. This factor is supported by a decrease in criminal activity as well as a change in their criminal aspirations, from wanting to be successful as criminals to more prosocial aspirations such as starting a family or a business. A shift in a person’s attitude to crime is a significant part of the process of desistance (Davis et al., 2012; Maruna, 2001).

4.3.3.3 Improved life skills

Life skills are those needed for people to be able to live in harmony with others in a prosocial way (Jolley, 2017). Nearly all of the respondents referred to learning various life skills while participating in the programme. The respondents reported that the following life skills had improved: Communication, self-control and taking responsibility.

The most common life skill that the respondents referred to as having improved was their communication skills.

“Something that I will carry with me is that I have learnt how to speak with people, regardless business wise and what what and regardless how to convince people and like that’s why I say it’s like me I’ve been to UCT, being to (the programme).” (R2)

“I learnt things (at the programme) like speaking to people, that’s a skill, not everyone can do that or motivate other people, giving words that are motivational to a person, so I still do that even now.” (R5)

“I didn’t know how to communicate with people at first you see, every time I didn’t

know how to talk to people, I didn't know how to reach out to the person that I was seeing, I didn't know how to tell people how I feel, I would just act... but topics that we had at (the programme) we had to become comfortable with everything.” (R10)

*“I wasn't used to speak to a lot of people..., I struggled with that but O*** helped me to get over that problem. Now I can do it everywhere I go, actually it makes me a better person, because now I am not shy to talk to people I just use that experience.” (R7)*

The respondents talked about how they had learnt self-control, or related behaviours such as patience and dealing with peer pressure or being more disciplined. The following statement reflects how one of the respondent's self-control improved.

“I stayed there because I was gaining something at the programme... you see there were certain things that I could control and certain things that I couldn't control for example peer pressure and stuff, so I got to manage myself and understand myself better than the life before.” (R9)

Another respondent expressed that he felt that the programme helped him become more responsible.

“...for example we go to the bush and come back and say that you are a man and that time I was already coming from the bush but I didn't feel like a man, after that programme I felt like a man, seriously. I felt responsibility”. (R8)

In order for people to take more responsibility in their lives, it is necessary for them to develop the skills that we need to be productive and to live in harmony with others, these are known as life skills (Brendtro et al., 2002; Jolley, 2017). Life skills include communication skills, decision making, problem solving and self-control (Jolley, 2017). The respondents have indicated that some of these life skills have improved since they participated in the programme. An improvement in life skills is associated with desisting behaviour (Maruna, 2001).

4.3.4. Effect of the programme on their perception of themselves

One of the objectives of the study was to explore how the programme affected the respondents' perception of themselves. Many of the respondents talked about how their perception of themselves has changed since they participated in the programme. This section will discuss

how the programme affected their self-esteem and motivated them to find purpose, and how their identity has changed.

4.3.4.1 Self-esteem

Self-esteem refers to our perception of our own value and importance as well as our belief in our own ability (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach and Rosenberg, 1995). Many of the respondents talked about how their self-esteem has improved since participating in the programme. This sub-theme will be discussed under the following categories: increased confidence, public speaking and how the supportive relationships and opportunities to help other people while participating in the programme effected their self-esteem.

The respondents shared how their confidence has increased since participating in the programme.

“I liked that programme because sometimes it made people become what they would never be without that programme because we didn't have confidence us, we didn't know that we were also people that were, so that programme made you see yourself in that level, because you would not underestimate yourself because you know that you are not educated but you know as a person you are important and you are a human being.” (R12)

One of the respondents shared how public speaking was a very difficult task at first but once he had been able to overcome it, he became more confident.

“When I did it first I was like taking a risk but I told myself let me just do this again and again and again because not only am I teaching people about my life but it helps me to feel better about myself because if I can stand in front of many more people then I can definitely face whatever person if that person is alone so it helped me a lot and when I was growing up I didn't have any confidence to look a man in the eye or any girl in the eye you see, if someone was talking I would look down and feel less of myself”. (R5)

One of the respondents shared how the lack of supportive relationships in his life impacted on his own self-esteem and how this changed when he was praised for something that he created by people at the programme. This appreciation of his work lead him to view it, and himself, in a different way and has contributed to him being more encouraging with his peers.

“Because there were people that encouraged people (at the programme) I was not used to people telling me it was good because my mother would take the stuff off the wall when I would draw you see, she would see it as satanic and what what, I dunno, so now meeting people that say yes, you can make it, people encouraging you. I saw that encouragement can change someone. Someone's words without doing anything just saying something can change someone else. That's when I saw it, I also started believing in myself, when someone says that I can do it then who am I to say that I cannot do it? That's how I saw it. As long as there are people that support your vision and show you the right direction eventually you will see the right direction and you will believe in yourself because there are people that are encouraging you.” (R2)

One of the respondents shared how much he enjoyed assisting less fortunate people while participating in the programme and how this gave him a greater sense of his own self-worth.

“ Another one was working with elderly people and working with disadvantaged people, those were the moments that I enjoyed because it made me feel that I'm not destroying the community, I'm helping and contributing, even if what I am doing is little in someone's eyes but at least I'm not killing anything I'm giving life to the community.” (R5)

In the findings that are reported above, we can see that the respondents shared how their self-esteem has improved since they participated in the programme. This was a result of the public speaking workshops, encouragement and support from others and given opportunities to assist others. When a person's self-esteem improves this can bring about a change in their behaviour to being more prosocial (Brendtro et al., 2002). A healthy self-esteem is necessary for desistance to be sustained (Davis et al., 2012).

4.3.4.2 Finding purpose

The respondents shared how they have a newfound sense of purpose since they participated in the programme. Most of them shared how they have found this purpose in the creative industries as well as being motivated to be entrepreneurs.

A number of the participants have found purpose in the creative industries. This is not unusual considering the skills they learnt as well as the projects they were exposed to while attending the programme were focussed around various creative activities. This has led to many of them pursuing paths within the creative industries.

“...now I depend on art my bru, because I've managed to get a few people that somehow can support my art and my ideas, sometimes I sell them because that's why I say I am thankful for the things that I know now I can create something and I can go to other people and sell it and make money out of it so these days art my bru but its not like money that you can call money. I can eat sometimes because of art.” (R2)

“...to do music its easier for me now, I do my own music and stuff but the hard part now is the music video part, I always wanted to do a song and that was the first song that I ever did it inspired me to go on with it now.” (R1)

“When I managed to get the platform I decided that I would hold tight here and so far I think I am good at what I do and I like it, my dream now to be a successful actor, yes, that is what I want now.” (R4)

Another respondent shared how he has used the skills that they developed in the art workshops to earn an income since participating in the programme and this has motivated him to pursue this as a viable way to make a living.

“I started drawing in primary school and I used to make money back then but I never thought that I can make a living out of drawing I know I can.” (R3)

One of the respondents shared how he has become motivated to start his own businesses since participating in the programme.

“I thought that I would be in hard labour so it shifted my mind and how I saw life

and how do I see myself now. I am positive about starting my own business to do my own things, I think that I have been lead enough to a point where I want to do a thing, but I admit that I still have to work because money to start a business is not going to come from the sky.” (R5)

The findings indicate that some of the respondents were able to discover a new purpose while participating in the programme, either within the creative industries or as entrepreneurs. Muruna (2001) found that when a person is able to find purpose in their lives, they are more likely to desist from criminal behaviour. Finding purpose can sustain desisting behaviour beyond the initial motivation to stop doing crime (Maruna, 2001). Finding a purpose in life can also contribute to the envisioning of a new identity, which is key to refraining from crime for a prolonged period of time (Giordano et al, 2002; Maruna, 2001).

4.3.4.3 Change in identity

Many of the respondents shared how they had a different concept of who they were and what they were capable of, after participating in the programme. This will be discussed under the following categories: no longer identifying as criminals and change in aspirations.

Some of the respondents shared how they previously had aspirations of being successful criminals, as discussed above, but now this perception has changed.

“Before I even came to the programme I saw myself as a drug lord, now I see myself having my own workshop, my own company and stuff.” (R11)

“I grew up believing that crime is the way out, I don’t want to lie to you, even people that see me now in Delft, some say I have gone soft, some say I’m scared now, they say a lot of things because I’m not that guy I was.” (R2)

One of the respondents shared how his limited perception of himself changed when he learnt new skills and was exposed to new opportunities.

“I knew that I didn’t have education so chances of getting a great job for me were so small but when I came there in the programme I got other skills and I saw myself different and it didn’t limit my thought because of the lack of education and because of all of those things that had been in my mind and then I went into the course and I saw that I could achieve greater things.” (R5)

These findings indicate that many of the respondents had experienced a shift in their identities, since participating in the programme. A shift in a person's identity from identifying as a criminal to realising a new ambition, is a necessary factor in continued desisting behaviour, also known as secondary desistance (Maruna, 2001). In order for desistance to be sustained it is necessary to be able to conceptualise a new and appealing replacement self (Giordano et al., 2002). Many of the respondents expressed that they have experienced a change in how they perceive themselves, which is associated with secondary desistance. The next section will explore which aspects of the programme the respondents considered significant in contributing to this change.

4.3.5 The aspects of the programme that the respondents felt had a significant effect on their perceptions of themselves

One of the objectives of this study was to explore which aspects of the programme the respondents thought were most significant in changing their perceptions of themselves. Some of these aspects have already been touched on in the previous sections. This section will highlight and further discuss the various aspects of the programme that the respondents considered the most significant in contributing to these changes. Feeling a sense of belonging, learning new skills, being exposed to new experiences and one on one support all emerged as significant sub-themes in relation to this objective. The findings will also be discussed with regards to how they relate to the Circle of Courage model.

4.3.5.1 Sense of belonging

Many of the respondents talked about how the sense of belonging that they felt while attending the programme was significant. This was the most common factor that was referred to as being a significant part of their experience. It was referred to in various ways such as the experience of being part of a family, feeling at home and even compared with being in a gang. The non-judgmental atmosphere at the programme was also referred to as contributing to these feelings.

Many of the respondents described the staff and the other programme participants as a family.

“For me the best thing was that I had been welcomed there as part of a family that is the best thing for me.” (R12)

“Yho I can’t say just one thing but the best thing for me was when we went on a camp to Millers point, just being outdoors and spend time with the YIP family, it was enjoyable and I learnt that no matter what you go through in life there’s always a time that you will be happy again.” (R7)

Some of the respondents also referred to feeling at home when attending the programme.

“I could say that I stayed there for so long because I saw the skills that I got from the programme, somehow I felt at home there.” (R1)

One of the respondents discussed how he felt like part of a team and how it reminded him of when he belonged to a gang:

“There were times we would get together and go think and take our mind off the township and see the better side, and getting together around something good, not gangsterism, being a gang but doing something good.” (R2)

The respondents also discussed how they did not feel judged when they were attending the programme.

“(The people at the programme) accepted me, they didn’t judge me, they accept me for the way I am and they tell me that they will take a journey with me they will where they can assist that was the best thing for me.” (R12)

Most of the respondents had displayed criminal behaviour that is associated with an absent or distorted sense of belonging in the past. When a young person has opportunities to experience trust and intimacy within a group of people it can shift their behaviour to being more friendly, cooperative and empathetic (Brendtro et al., 2002). The respondents talked about how their behaviour had changed in this way since participating in the programme, as discussed above. In this section they explained how the positive environment and sense of belonging that they experienced while participating in the programme contributed to this shift.

4.3.5.2 Learning new skills

The respondents expressed that they had learnt new skills that have been useful since attending the programme. Many of the respondents felt the creative skills that they learnt there were still useful to them and discussed how the practical method was helpful in learning new skills.

Some of them had also used these skills to earn an income since participating in the programme.

“I learnt how to make a comic book, I knew how to draw but I didn’t know that I could make a book, tell a story with pictures. it was useful and it still is useful...I just need to work on myself properly and get proper connections within the art industry and get recognised, I am recognised but I need to be more.” (R3)

“Now I depend on art my bru, I know now I can create something and I can go to other people and sell it and make money out of it so these days I rely on art... It’s not like money that you can call money. I can eat sometimes because of art.” (R2)

One of the respondents shared how he found it to be very experiential, and that the learning came from participating in the running of the programme as well as relating it to real life experiences.

“I learnt financial management skills in prison so when I was given an opportunity to manage the junior finances it also gave me an opportunity to practice the skills that I was taught in prison, so the programme was basically they teach us and everything is practiced for instance the Rhodes must fall thing, we knew that it was in the headlines, and we knew that it was speaking about this statue all the time so there was a course about it and information was gathered about who Rhodes was and what he was doing and what’s his role and where he was living and where did he come from and all of those things and so all of the participants were given information about Rhodes and it was new to me even though I was facilitating that course and what was more powerful was that we went there and we witnessed when the statue was falling so it wasn’t just about information it was about living.” (R5)

Learning new skills can improve a person’s sense of self-worth as it allows for people to develop their sense of mastery (Brendtro et al., 2002). In order for young people to be creative, solve problems, be persistent and motivated they need to develop a normal sense of mastery (Brendtro et al., 2002). The learning of new skills can shift a person’s perception of how they see themselves, thus encouraging desisting behaviour.

4.3.5.3 New experiences

The respondents shared how being exposed to new experiences also influenced their perception of themselves. The new experiences were referred to under the following categories: cultural exchange; exposure to new spaces within Cape Town that they had never been to as well as the opportunity to travel outside of Cape Town.

While attending the programme the respondents were exposed to many different people, including a lot of foreign exchange students, some of whom they developed friendships with. Many of them referred to the cultural exchange with other people as being significant.

“The best thing about the programme was interacting with foreigners...changing traditions and getting to know how people live on the other side of the world. I learnt that life is not what you think it is.” (R8)

“What I liked (at the programme) we got to do things that we never thought of doing like meeting other new people from other countries, the interns everything, those stuff are also interesting being most of every day around white people that was something was very rare... so you think about the world in a different way because our people where I come from don't think or see things the way I do because they are normally stuck there.” (R4)

Other respondents shared how they went to places that they had never to been before attending the programme.

“I enjoyed just going out to town, going to Table Mountain, going to galleries at night in Cape Town, doing things with others, because its experience and you go to places you've never been before, meet people whose never been to prison who look up to you like you a hero or something.” (R7)

“It was my first time I went like the mountains, it was a great experience and even though I had never been to a camp that's why it was learning about myself... it just taught me like that I can change who I am and I can be this person I wanna be.” (R9)

Some of the respondents had opportunities to travel to Johannesburg and one of them travelled to the Netherlands while attending the programme. He shared how this experience impacted his mindset.

“I never flew before, it changed me and how I looked at myself because some of the things we don’t dream that it would happen. The only message that is always preached to you when you have a criminal record you won’t ever fly so that became a reality and I was told I was going to go to Holland I knew it wouldn’t happen I thought there was less chances that it would happen. But it did happen and those experiences pushed the way I see life up and not down.” (R5)

The respondents discussed how these new experiences contributed to a shift in their perspectives, bringing about changes in their attitudes that enabled them to envision new identities. The ability to envision a new identity is a part of the process of desistance (Giordano et al., 2002; Maruna, 2001). Therefore, gaining new experiences can support desisting behaviour.

4.3.5.4 One on one support

The respondents all received one on one support from the programme staff, youth leaders and volunteers in the form of counselling or assistance with practical and emotional matters. The themes that arose with regards to one on one support were: The guidance received from programme staff was considered significant, the personal development plan, the need for support post release from prison and how the relationships were a motivating factor for remaining in the programme.

The respondents referred to the guidance and encouragement that they received from the staff as being a significant part of their experience at the programme.

“When I came to the programme I realised that now I want to be a better person but I need a support, people that will push me from behind and say you must go this way and when I’m telling them about what I’m looking for like I wasn’t to do in my life, they’ll be there to push me and be guiding me.” (R6)

“Because there were people that encouraged people there... I didn’t know what was a mentor... I was not used to people telling me it was good because my mother

would take the stuff off the wall, so now meeting people that say yes, you can make it...I saw what encouragement can change someone, without doing anything just saying something can change someone else.” (R2)

While attending the programme, the respondents worked on a personal development plan with a mentor, who was either a staff member, a youth leader or a social work intern from abroad. Some of them referred to this process as being helpful, but one of them also shared how it was not sustainable using mentors from abroad as they did not stay for long enough to see the process through.

“My best thing in general was the workshop with the mentor, the PDP, with A, I was expressing everything and looking forward and everything was about to be like in the right way but then my mentor went back home.” (R6)

Another respondent referred to the difficulties that many young people coming out of prison face and how valuable it was for him to get support during this time.

“Coming from prison you don't feel like there's anything left for you in life you just see one lifestyle when you going back to home but the people that I met along the way that's the people that motivate me and change me to stay the way I am now, cool, calm.” (R7)

The respondents also made the connection between self-motivation and the encouragement of others.

“What I've realised also from that programme and what they taught me is that if you push yourself there will always be people that want to push you.” (R7)

The respondents have indicated that the one on one support that they received while attending the programme was a significant factor in affecting their perception of themselves. Support from others can encourage a person to make the decision to stop doing crime (Maruna, 2001; McNeil, 2009) as well as help maintain positive values over an extended period of time and support on going desistance (Davis et al, 2012).

4.3.6 The activities that the respondents thought were most effective in the learning of new skills and practicing new behaviours

This section will explore which of the activities were the most effective in learning new skills and practicing new behaviours. The programme consisted of a variety of different activities such as workshops and projects as well as other activities, as discussed in the first chapter. The respondents referred to a variety of specific workshops, projects and activities as being the most effective in learning new skills as well practicing new behaviours. The workshops that involved creative activities and the life skills workshops were considered as being effective by many of the respondents. Creating a comic book, shooting a music video, collaborating on an arts project and having an exhibition were the projects that they referred to as being effective. The findings of this section will be compared and contrasted with the findings of the evaluations of other arts based projects with offenders.

4.3.6.1 Workshops

The creative workshops were referred to by many of the respondents as being effective in learning new skills. They discussed how these workshops had helped them reflect on issues, boosted their self-esteem and discovered a new way to pass the time.

*“ I liked everything creative, like writing stuff and the programmes, we were doing Poetry with J***, I love things that make someone think, you write your own stuff, they call it self-expression.” (R2)*

“What they did they did bring the art thing to us and to my side it did help a lot because I didn't know I've got such a talent on theatre but what (the programme) have done for me and I was so happy to know that I can act on a stage and I continue with it.” (R12)

“I enjoyed the art, because when I was doing something that I liked, even though sometimes it was hard to complete the drawings I was doing what I wanna and I learnt a lot of skills in art and sometimes when I'm bored at home I just draw ... now it's just for passing the time.” (R9)

Even though life skills were often taught using creative processes, there were also more traditional workshops that covered particular issues more directly. Some of the participants shared how they had learnt something valuable in some of these workshops.

“In the workshop where we would do self-awareness, we learned about empathy...”

before when I was robbing people and stuff I didn't think that if I robbed you how your parents would feel or someone close to you but since I done that workshop I think what will I do if someone rob my mother or someone rob my sister, how would I feel about it.” (R8)

“My behaviour has changed a lot since I have been in that programme for instance.. my girl disclosed she was HIV positive and I was negative a lot of information what I got about this thing was through the programme even in prison I had an HIV and AIDS course, but the HIV and AIDS course at that time wasn't advanced as the HIV course that we have at the time I was released, I learnt how to deal with many things. I learnt also to independently seek information if I am in a situation and not act out of emotions and be angry and stress.” (R5)

Workshops need to be in line with the person's needs and learning style in order to be effective (Khwela, 2015). The respondents referred to a number of workshops that were effective and this suggests that they were conducted in a manner that was in line with their needs and learning ability. The creative workshops were referred to by many respondents as being effective, research on arts based programmes with offenders in Europe and North America also found that they are more accessible to people who do not have high levels of education and can improve self-esteem, help in redefining one's identity, increase motivation and facilitate the learning of life skills (Bilby 2013; Cheliotis & Jordanksa, 2014; Gardner et al., 2014).

4.3.6.2 Projects

The respondents worked on various projects while participating in the programme. Many of these projects were referred to as being useful in boosting their self-esteem and learning life skills, which have already been identified as two of the changes that the respondents experienced since participating in the programme. The programme focussed on various creative projects and making the comic books, working on an art collaboration and creating a music video were all mentioned as being significant.

Most of the respondents were involved in the creation of comic books while attending the programme as this project happened continuously. Many of the respondents referred to making comic books as being a very significant project. One respondent shared how it helped him decide on what to do with his life.

“I started drawing and drawing and drawing and I started making comic book and I thought it’s my talent you see and ... I first made money with the first comic book I knew that drawing was a gift from the day I was born because I used to make money from drawing in primary school and now that I’m older I knew that it was meant to be.” (R3)

Another respondent shared how making a comic book helped him to reflect on his circumstances and the decisions he has made.

“Making the comic book was interesting and I would like to do it again and again and again to me it was challenging, because for me to do drawing it expresses how I feel so through the comic books I would talk about things that are happening here in the ghetto or things that I have done in the past and I was touched by this.” (R10)

The respondents also participated in art collaborations with other more established artists. Some of them shared how this had boosted their self-esteem and also increased their social networks.

“I love the thing we did... The Justice/ Ubulungiswa. I like things that connect to us and relate to us and the people. Sometimes I can say that they studied for that thing because they know how to make people be confident about something that they did not know.” (R2)

Another respondent shared how he felt the exposure he received from this project was useful.

“The things that I found was useful, you see this collaboration with (Ubulungiswa/Justice) I was expecting more of that could come to the programme, more opportunities like that so we can get exposure to somewhere.” (R6)

Another short project was to record a song and then shoot a music video for the song. One of the respondents shared that making a music video was inspiring.

“..when we did the music video thing, and I could say that’s what gave me something to do... to do music its easier for me now, I do my own music and stuff but the hard part now is the music video part, I always wanted to do a song and that was the first song that I ever did, it inspired me to go on with it now.” (R1)

Another respondent shared how the entire process that included recording a song and then making a music video helped him gain a better understanding of team work.

“The best memory I can remember, besides the exhibitions and stuff was when we were practicing the no more trouble song... because I used to sing at school and I used to sing at church then I started smoking and stopped singing and so within the programme I started singing again, and so I learnt new things and I learnt that it’s important to work as a group and listen to each other that’s the most important thing.” (R3)

Some of the respondents were involved in showing their art work at exhibitions that were organised by the programme staff. Some of them referred to the exhibitions as being significant.

“When we had the exhibition was my best memory of the programme, seeing my work put up there and people buying it you see that motivated me a lot because I never thought like that of myself, I felt important people were asking me about my work those kind of stuff.” (R4)

Learning takes place in connection with other people as well as through new experiences (Mendel, 2015). Participating in projects can provide the opportunities for connecting with others as well as practicing new skills. People’s social networks are also expanded when working with other people, particularly if they are people from a more professional environment. Participating in these projects gave the respondents opportunities to practice behaviours that are associated with desistance, such as improved life skills, in an engaging manner and supportive environment.

4.3.6.3 A combination of factors

Even though most of the respondents expressed very certainly that the programme had changed their behaviour, they struggled to identify which particular aspect of the programme contributed the most to that change. The changes that people experienced in their perception of themselves was perceived as a result of the combination of many of the factors mentioned above. The way they were treated by the programme staff, mastering new skills, being exposed to things that they had never experienced before and learning better communication skills can all contribute to someone realising that they could be much more than a criminal. One of the

respondents was clear that it was a combination of the various aspects of the programme that contributed to this change.

“It helped me a lot, and when I was growing up I didn't have any confidence to look a man in the eye or any girl in the eye you see, if someone was talking I would look down and feel less of myself but all of the little activities that were happening, I won't say which one is best or which one is less, but all of those things contributed to the person that I am.” (R5)

4.4 Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore the perceived effects of the prison post-release programme that was attended by the respondents, particularly looking at whether or not it was able to encourage attitudes and behaviour that is associated with desistance, as well as how it did so.

Despite the fact that many of the demographic factors and the experiences of the respondents were not conducive to promoting desistance, nearly all of them reported that their behaviour had changed since participating in the programme. They expressed that they had become better mannered, more empathetic and had improved life skills, which are all behaviours that are associated with on-going desistance (Maruna, 2001). This was substantiated by their decreased involvement in crime. They also reported that they no longer had criminal aspirations and many of them now had aspirations related to the creative industries, which is likely due to the high level of involvement in creative activities while participating in the programme.

The length of time that they spent in the programme as well as the supportive environment and positive relationships that they built while attending were reported as being conducive to building a sense of belonging, which is noted as being very important in the Circle of Courage model. They also reported that exposure to new experiences and learning new skills contributed to these shifts in their attitude and behaviour, which are both contributing to a sense of mastery as discussed in the Circle of Courage model. It is likely that it was a combination of all the factors that have been mentioned above that resulted in the programme having an effect on their attitudes and behaviour.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of this study with regards to the overall aims and objectives of this study. The main objective of this study was to explore whether the YiPSA post-release programme had any impact on the participants, with a particular focus on how participating in this programme encouraged attitudes and behaviour that is associated with desistance. The researcher was also exploring whether the theories of desistance, the Circle of Courage model and the findings of other similar arts-based programmes with offenders are applicable in the context of Cape Town, South Africa.

The study used in depth interviews with respondents to explore how their attitudes and behaviour has changed since participating in the YiPSA post-release programme, as well as how that experience may have affected their perception of themselves. The study also explored their perceptions of how participation in the programme contributed to these changes by looking at which aspects of the programme were most significant in effecting their perception of themselves as well as which activities were the most effective in learning new skills and practicing new behaviours. The findings were analysed and arranged according to the themes and categories that arose from the literature related to the various subjects.

This chapter will discuss the conclusions that can be made from the findings with regards to the objectives of the research. It will discuss how effective the programme was in encouraging attitudes and behaviour that is associated with desistance as well as explore why it had the effects that were described by the respondents. The findings will also be discussed in relation to whether or not they support the literature that is already available on the subjects of post-release programmes, desistance and arts based programmes with offenders.

The limitations of the study will also be discussed to highlight some of the factors which may have affected the collection of the data as well as impact on how the findings can be generalised. This is followed by a section on reflexivity where the author reflects on how his own position could have influenced the study.

Despite these limitations there are still many valuable recommendations that can be made based on the findings of this study. An evaluation of this nature would usually be used to make recommendations about the programme being evaluated. However, this programme no longer exists and therefore the findings will be used to present some recommendations for social service professionals, NGOs that are operating programmes that are aimed at a similar target group as well as DCS, which is responsible for the supervision of people who are coming out of prison and are still on parole.

5.2 The effect of the programme on the respondents' attitudes and behaviours

The findings of this study showed that the respondents' attitudes with regards to crime as well as their general outlook on life has changed and their behaviour had also changed since participating in the programme. Nearly all of the respondents, except one, said that this was as a result of their participation in the programme. This study found that the respondents were more empathetic towards others, their interpersonal skills had improved, they socialised in a different way and they were more motivating of others. Their attitude to crime had also changed with a reduction in their criminal activities as well as a shift in the type of crimes that they were committing, towards less violent offences. This indicates that the YiPSA post-release programme played a role in encouraging attitudes and behaviour that is associated with desistance and thus is a valuable model to derive lessons from.

5.3 The effect of the programme on the respondents' perception of themselves

The way that young people in conflict with the law perceive themselves is very significant as it can affect whether or not they desist from crime (Maruna, 2001). The findings of this study show that the respondents' perceptions of themselves had changed since participating in the programme. Their self-esteem had improved, they had found purpose in the creative industries, and they no longer had aspirations of being career criminals. These are all factors that are associated with desisting behaviour (Maruna, 2001). This indicates that people's perception of themselves can be affected by programmes such as the YiPSA post-release programme.

5.4 Aspects of the programme participants viewed as most significant in effecting their perception of themselves

The study explored which aspects of the programme the respondents perceived had the most effect on the way that they perceived themselves. They reported that their perception of themselves was affected by the sense of belonging that they felt while attending the programme, the new skills that they learnt while attending the programme, the new experiences that they had while attending the programme, and the support they received from the programme staff.

The respondents reported that a sense of belonging was created by the supportive relationships that they experienced while attending the programme and a sense of mastery was encouraged by learning new skills. The respondents also reported that they were encouraged to take responsibility which helped develop a sense of independence and their self-esteem was boosted when given opportunities to express their generosity. These findings confirm the value of using the Circle of Courage model when working with young people.

Many of these aspects were only possible because of the small number of participants, which meant that the programme staff were able to give enough time and attention to each of the participants. The small number was also conducive to developing bonds with each other.

5.5 Which of the activities the respondents perceived as most effective in the learning of new skills and practicing new behaviours

The respondents indicated that the workshops which taught creative skills and life skills as well as participation in various creative projects provided them with opportunities to learn new skills and practice new behaviours. Working on projects with other people who had more experience and were therefore more skilled in particular areas was a very useful and interesting way for these young people, who do not have high levels of education, to learn and practice new skills. It may also have enhanced life skills as it placed young people in situations where they were interacting with people who they would otherwise not usually encounter. Creative projects appeared to be a valuable way of doing so. Participating in these projects also made them feel important and boosted their self-esteem.

Evaluations of other arts based projects with offenders in the US and UK found that they were effective in improving self-esteem and life skills as well as redefining identity and increasing motivation. These were all elements that were also picked up in this study, which indicates that arts based programmes are also an effective way to encourage behaviour associated with desistance in the context of Cape Town, South Africa.

5.6 Factors that made the programme effective

There are a number of factors that were found to be effective in shifting behaviour when creating programmes with young offenders (Davis et al, 2012, Dissel, 2008, Gaum et al., 2006, Khwela, 2015, Mendel, 2015, McGuire, 2001, Raynor et al, 1994, 2015; Wright, 2013). The programme appeared to include a number of these factors :

- It was participatory and experiential, using a variety of methods to engage participants.
- It took place in a positive and supportive environment.
- There was sufficient time for change to occur.
- There was a bond between staff and participants.
- Participants were able to learn new skills.

However, the programme lacked in the following elements:

- Staff were not always equipped with the necessary skills, as some elements of the programme were implemented by volunteers who were students that were on study abroad programme. They lacked skills or experience in working with offenders and sometimes were not reliable if they were not required to be there as part of their programme.
- Participants were not exposed to opportunities outside of the programme to earn an income and this may have been why only one of the respondents was employed at the time of the research.

5.7 Limitations

De Vos et al. (2011) suggests that when we are thinking about the limitations of the study that we must consider the validity and reliability of data collection instruments, whether or not the sample can be generalised to the entire population and the access to data. This section will discuss the limitations that the researcher identified as well as explain what was done to reduce these limitations.

5.7.1 Data collection instrument

The data collection instrument was a semi-structured interview schedule and therefore the respondents were able to introduce subjects which the researcher may not have already considered. This method is a useful way of gaining a detailed picture of a person's perception of a particular topic (de Vos et al., 2011). However, the author had to rely on the participant's ability to express themselves about subjects which they may not necessarily have the vocabulary to do so as none of the respondents are first language English speakers and the interviews were conducted in English. The researcher limited this by using simple language and giving the participants time to explain what they think about the matters being discussed.

5.7.2 Size of the sample

Even though the sample of the population is only 12 it is a large proportion of all the people that met the requirements of being respondents. The requirements were that the respondent had attended the programme for more than 3 months between 2013 and 2015, as this was the time period that the programme operated in the format that was discussed in chapter one, and there are approximately only 20 people who met these requirement. As this study aims to explore the effects of the programme through the experiences of the respondents, a sample size of 12 is sufficient to gain a good understanding and find similarities between the experiences in order to understand the significance of the various aspects of the programme.

5.7.3 Accuracy of information

The accuracy of the information is dependent on the honesty of the respondents. The researcher explained the importance and the value of their honest opinion at the beginning of the interview. The positive relationship that the researcher developed with the respondents while they were participating in the programme meant that they were already comfortable in sharing details about their lives with him. A particular activity or aspect of the programme was only considered significant if it was raised by a number of respondents, therefore the findings that are reported in the following chapter should give an accurate account of the respondents experiences. The accuracy of the data could have been affected by the absence of any triangulation or member-checking.

5.7.4 Generalisation of the data

As this is a research project that is exploring the subjective experiences of the participants it may be difficult to generalise these findings to the broader population of ex-offenders. De Vos et al. (2011) however warns that we should not underestimate the perceptions of individuals as they can give us very valuable insight into a programme of this nature, which is aimed at effecting the individual. The unique experiences of individuals can give insights about the programme that can be applied to other similar programmes that are working with a similar demographic. The findings do not necessarily need to be generalised in order to still be valuable to a broader sector.

5.7.5 The pre-existing relationship between the researcher and the respondents

The person who was conducting the interviews as well as all other aspects of the research process was also the person who created the programme and delivered some aspects of it. This could cause the respondents to give the answers that were expected by the interviewer. However as the respondents did not have any knowledge of what factors were being looked for it was unlikely that they would have been able to do so. This may, in fact, have been a positive thing as its important for the researcher to have a good relationship with the respondent and a certain level of trust should exist in order for the respondent to answer openly and honestly (de Vos et al., 2011, Tietze, 2015). The pre-existing relationship that the researcher had with the respondents meant that this was already in place at the time of the interviews. However, the

pre-existing relationship between the researcher and respondents could have caused there to be some bias in the way the respondents answered the questions as well as in the analysis of the data.

5.8 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the position of the researcher within the research and brings awareness to how this position may influence the research process and the outcomes (Haynes 2015). The author of this research study is also the person who designed and co-ordinated the implementation of the YiPSA post-release programme from 2013 to 2015, which was the time period that was explored in this study. This position may present some ethical issues, but it can also be of benefit in the research process (Tietze, 2015).

At the time of starting this Masters degree he was still working on this programme and his intention was to gain new knowledge and insights that could be used to improve the programme. However, by the time this research project was started, he was no longer working for YiPSA. Therefore, his intention in undertaking this study shifted to rather reflect on his past practice and see what lessons could be drawn from it and applied to the development of new programmes with ex-offenders. As the organisation no longer exists there was no need to try prove the effectiveness of the programme and therefore this study is merely a reflective practice as well as an opportunity to record and share some of the learnings from this programme.

It is also worthwhile to note the values and political position of the researcher as this can have an influence of how the research is undertaken and interpreted (Haynes, 2015; Tietze, 2015). The researcher had already spent many years working within prisons as well as with people who have left prison. Over this time, he has been able to develop many close relationships with people from this environment, despite being raised in very different circumstances. He was raised in a middle class white family in a small mining town. He has had a lot more access to resources and opportunities than any of the respondents and has tried to use this privilege to assist others to also have access to some of these opportunities.

He still has contact with some of the respondents, some of whom he occasionally works with on artistic projects and others who may be in contact, just catch up or share something that they need help with. These relationships can add complication to the research process but can also be of benefit (Tietze, 2015). Trust, understanding and a degree of openness is necessary for the

engagement to be meaningful (Tietze, 2015). The researcher believes that these pre-existing relationships allowed for a deeper reflection to take place with many of the respondents, as they felt comfortable being open and honest with him as well as discussing subjects of a personal nature. Therefore, these pre-existing relationships helped the process of getting the data that were needed for this study and the respondents' willingness to share details of criminal behaviour with the researcher is an indication of this.

5.9 Recommendations

This section will discuss the recommendations for social workers, probation officers and social service organisations that are operating similar programmes with young offenders as well as recommendations for the Department of Correctional Services, based on the findings of this research.

5.9.1 Recommendations for social workers and probation officers

The researcher recommends that social service professionals that are working with young people coming out of prison should consider the following, in order to encourage the attitudes and behaviours that are associated with desistance:

- Doing referrals to organisations that are similar to YiPSA, can have a positive impact on young people who have been in prison.
- By developing a trusting and supportive relationship with a young person who has been in prison, a social service professional can encourage attitudes and behaviour that is associated with desistance.
- These attitudes and behaviour can also be encouraged by working on a personal development plan with a person who they trust. Social service professionals can use this as one of the tools when working with young people who have been in prison.
- Arts based activities and creative projects are an effective way of facilitating the learning of life skills and creating a shift in a person's identity, as well as other attitudes and behaviour that are associated with desistance. These could be found within a programme that is aimed at this target group, but could also be found in community

programmes for youth in general. Social service professionals should also be finding out what arts programmes are available and connecting young people with such programmes in their communities.

5.9.2 Recommendations for programmes with a similar target group.

The researcher recommends that when planning and operating programmes for young people who are coming from prison, the following should be considered:

- The success of the programme could be related to the fact that it was targeted at people aged between 18 and 25, which is an age group when, developmentally, identities are still being explored; other programmes should similarly consider the developmental aspects of their target group.
- Programmes that are aimed at assisting people that are coming out of prison should include activities that appeal to young people's interests (Khwela, 2015; Wright, 2013). In this case it appealed to young people who are interested in arts but it could also be sports or other activities.
- Programmes that are aimed at young people that are coming out of prison should use a variety of methods to engage them. These approaches should be interactive and participatory (Dissel, 2008; McGuire, 2001).
- Programmes that are aimed at people who are leaving prison should ensure that the participants are treated in a respectful manner and made to feel welcome (Mendel, 2015; Raynor et al., 1994). This can be achieved by the programme staff always communicating with the participants in a respectful way and being mindful of not judging them.
- In order to encourage a sense of belonging amongst the participants, the programme should include activities that encourage participants to bond with one another such as camps and outings.
- Participants of programmes that are aimed at people leaving prison should be given opportunities to learn and practice new skills and behaviours (Davis, et al., 2012). Creative activities are a useful way of doing this (Cheliotis et al., 2014).

- Programmes that support young people that are coming from prison should enable participants to learn skills that could be useful in finding employment and expose the participants to opportunities to find employment.

5.9.3 Recommendations for the Department of Correctional Services.

The researcher recommends that DCS should consider the following with regards to prison post-release programmes:

- The Department of Correctional Services should continue to engage NGOs that offer programmes to this target group and continue to refer people to them when they leave prison.
- These programmes should be supported by the government, through the department of Correctional Services, so that they have all the resources needed to operate.

5.10 Conclusion

Respondents reported that the programme was effective in supporting attitudes that encourage desisting behaviour which in turn had an effect on the recidivism rate, resulting in a relatively low level of reoffending within the target group. This may have been partly due to the participants being at the age when they would likely be naturally ageing out of crime, as well as the nature of the programme and the length of time that respondents spent in the programme. When young people are released from prison back into the same environment that they were living in prior to their arrest and incarceration, they are likely to be exposed to many of the same social and economic factors that influenced their behaviour previously. This can make it challenging to desist from crime and therefore additional support is necessary to encourage the attitudes and behaviour associated with desistance. A prison post-release programme can be an effective environment to achieve this. A programme can be particularly effective when young people feel comfortable attending and when it appeals to their interests. Arts based programmes are one way of addressing these factors. Social service professionals that work with young people that are coming out of prison should therefore ensure that these young people know about and have access to programmes that offer this kind of support.

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APPENDIX A: Interview Schedule

1. Profile of participants

Participants will be asked to share the following information:

Personal Details:

- Age
- Level of education
- Who do they live with
- Where do they live.
- Employment
- Marital status
- Family situation

Criminal History:

- Age when first arrested
- No of times arrested
- Reasons for arrest(s)
- No of times sentenced
- Reasons for sentence(s)
- Length of sentence(s)

Drug Use:

Age begun

Usage when arrested

Usage during programme

Usage now

2. Involvement in the programme

Each of the following questions will be followed by probing questions (some potential probing questions in brackets):

- How did you find out about the post-release programme?
- Why did you decide to join the programme?

- How long did you participate in the programme? (what were your reasons for remaining in the programme for that amount of time?; what were your reasons for leaving the programme?)

3. Reflection on the Programme

Each of the following questions will be followed by probing questions (some potential probing questions in brackets):

- What is your fondest memory of when you were participating in the programme?
- What did you enjoy most about the programme? (Why did you enjoy it the most? Did you learn anything from participating in this activity? What did you learn?)
- What did you enjoy the least about the programme? (Do you think it was a waste of your time to do this?)
- Did you find anything challenging about participating in the programme? (Why was it challenging? Did you learn anything from this experience?)
- What do you think would have made the programme better? (Do you have any ideas on how this could have been implemented?)

4. Exploring if they gained anything from participating the programme:

- Has your behaviour changed since you joined the programme? If yes, how did it change? What contributed to this change?
- What was your dreams for the future before joining the programme? What is it now? If its different, what made you change your mind?
- Is there anything else that you learnt while participating in the programme that you apply in your life right now? How did you learn this?
- Do you think it was valuable for you to participate in the programme? Why do you think so?

Additional Comments

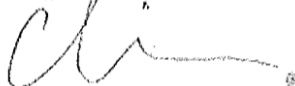
- Would you like to add anything else about the programme?

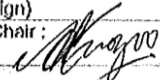
APPENDIX B: Ethics clearance

SUPERVISOR : I have carefully considered all the ethical issues pertaining to this study as reflected in the proposal and at this stage cannot see any ethical obstacles

Signed: 
15 August 2017.

STUDENT: I have discussed the ethical issues with my supervisor and am forwarding this review form to the department's ethics committee for further consideration

Signed: 
16 August 2017

DSD ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS (to sign)	Individually reviewed Time spent on review	Combined review meeting: Time spent	Date of completion of review
Chair: 	23/08/2017	2hrs	20/08/2017

Departmentally approved (YES/NO) ~~NO~~

If yes then passed on to Faculty [date].....

If NO then returned to supervisor [date].....

OR sent to Faculty Ethics Committee for further assessment. (date)

Appendix C: Example of the consent form signed by respondents

Consent Form

I, _____, agree to speak to Clinton Osbourn about my involvement in the YiPSA post-release programme and I understand that he will use this information in his thesis for his Masters degree at U.C.T. in the Department of Social Development.

I am participating in this interview out of my own free will. I was not coerced into doing it and I understand that I will not receive any reward for participating.

I understand that I do not need to answer any questions if I am not comfortable and I can stop my participation in the interview at any point if I like.

I agree that I will answer the questions to the best of my ability and share my opinions accurately and honestly. I understand that my name will not appear in the document and none of these statements will be able to be connected to me at a later stage.

Signed

Date

Location