

Breaking Bars: An investigation into how performance art as an intervention program inside prison may lead to a behavior change among male gang members in Cape Town, South Africa



Ingebjørg Lingaas
(LNGING004)

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Christopher J. Colvin

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of a
Masters Degree in Public Health
School of Public Health
University of Cape Town

January 2018

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATION

I, ...Ingebjørg.B.Lingaas..., hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation/thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

I empower the university to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

Date: 29 January 2018

Abstract

Violence has been declared a public health problem by the World Health Organisation (1996). Violence prevention strategies are actively used in efforts to rehabilitate offenders during their incarceration, and are intended to prepare them for reintegration into society and to prevent recidivism. Given the lack of research undertaken on violence prevention strategies in the gang-ridden context of Cape Town, South Africa, this dissertation looks at a prison intervention programme, *Help I am Free*, that uses performance arts as a case study to investigate the potential impacts of such intervention strategies. The paper does so by outlining the experiences of five male gang members before, during, and after their time in prison. Using a cross-sectional qualitative research design, the dissertation explores participants' life histories and seeks to shed light on the ways in (and degrees to) which such programmes may influence the men's attitudes towards themselves and others, and the likelihood of their successful reintegration into society. The theoretical frameworks used draw on applied theatre theories, social-cognitive theories, and theories of masculinities. The paper argues that programmes such as *Help I am Free* may impact participants' perceptions of self and others strongly, and may also lead to an increased sense of self-worth and motivation to change lifestyle. However, it also indicates the limitations of the programme to achieve sustained success, given the structural barriers which afflict South Africa. The paper outlines a number of challenges that the men face while on parole, and concludes that while prison intervention programmes, and art programmes specifically, may trigger a sense of healing and encourage more positive notions of self, there are more comprehensive strategies in post-release urgently needed in order to prevent recidivism and to achieve authentic social re-integration.

Acknowledgements

I want to offer my sincere gratitude to all participants of the Help I am Free program and especially, to the five men that have been so brave in sharing their stories with me. I have learned so much from all of you.

Furthermore, I want to point out the appreciation I have for my entourage of good friends in Cape Town and the support they always give me. A special appreciation goes to my sparring partner in crime, Leah Davina Junck, and my partner, Luyanda Mafiyana who makes sure I am happy every day.

Finally, I want to acknowledge my supervisor, Christopher J. Colvin. It has been a privilege to learn qualitative research from you. Your calmness and positivity have kept me confident and motivated.

Table of Content

Part 0: Preamble	i
Thesis Title	ii
Declaration	2
Thesis Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	4
Table of Contents	6
Part A: Protocol	
Background	2
Violence	2
Violence and gang violence Cape Town, Western Cape	5
Strategies and interventions for recidivism prevention	6
Significance, relevance and research questions	9
Conceptual framework	10
Methodology:	14
Study Design	14
Setting: contextual factors	15
Sampling	16
Characteristics of the study population	17
Recruitment and enrolment	17
Data collection methods	18
Data managing and analysis	20
Rigour	21
Partners	22
Ethics	22
Informed consent	23
Direct benefits	23
Indirect benefits	24
Risks	24
Researcher self-reflexivity	25
Reimbursement of participation	26
What happens at the end of the study	26
References:	27
Part B: Structured Literature Review	
Introduction	2
Literature search strategy	3
What drives men into gang violence	4

Early childhood development	5
Masculinities	5
Urbanization	6
Rehabilitation through performance arts programmes in prison	8
Applied, Social Theatre	8
The ‘Boalistic’ way of making theatre	10
Applying theatre to a prison context	10
Theatre in South African prisons	12
Performance art impacts on behaviour of individual	13
About CBT and social learning theory	14
Why CBT with prisoners	16
Drama and violence	17
Summary	19
References:	20
Part C: Journal “Ready” Manuscript	
Abstract	2
Background	2
The Help I am Free rehabilitation programme	8
Positioning myself in the field	11
Methods	14
Results	17
All Eyes On Me	18
I am a Gangster - I Will Die a Gangster	28
Forever Parole	35
Discussion	41
Limitations	47
Conclusion	48
References	49
References	32
Part D: Appendices	
Appendix 1 : Interview guide	1
Appendix 2 a + 2 b : Informed consent for participants and key informants	7
Appendix 3 : Letter of approval from Research Ethics Committee	13

Appendix 4 : Letter of confirmation of research from Pollsmoor Correctional Services	15
Appendix 5 : Instructions for authors of journal whose format has been used	16
Appendix 6 : Presentation of participants	26

Part A: Protocol

Background	2
Violence	2
Violence and gang violence Cape Town, Western Cape	5
Strategies and interventions for recidivism prevention	6
Significance, relevance and research questions	10
Conceptual framework	10
Methodology:	15
Study Design	15
Setting: contextual factors	16
Sampling	17
Characteristics of the study population	18
Recruitment and enrolment	19
Data collection methods	19
Data managing and analysis	21
Rigour	23
Partners	23
Ethics	24
Informed consent	24
Direct benefits	25
Indirect benefits	26
Risks	26
Researcher self-reflexivity	27
Reimbursement of participation	28
What happens at the end of the study	28
References	28

Background

Violence

In 1996, The World Health Assembly declared violence a growing global health problem, and argued that violence prevention should be a priority within the public health sector. The World Health Organization's report on violence and health (Krug et al. 2002) identifies gang warfare, also known as gang violence, as one of the manifestations of collective violence (Krug et al. 2002). Moreover, research has shown that exposure to violence in communities, including gang violence, may have a direct impact on the physical and mental well-being of community members, particularly children and youths (Shields et al 2008; Fowler et al 2009; Martinez et al 1993). Matzopoulos (2008) stresses that societal risk factors for violence and aggressive behaviour include early childhood development, as well as violence within communities.

Violence does not only affect people's physical well-being, it also has a significant impact on the various social dynamics, including demographic and socioeconomic inequalities, and has major effects on both health and health services (Krug et al 2002). A study conducted by Jonathan Jackson and Mai Stafford (2007) showed that societies have developed a fear of crime as a result of gang violence. This acts as a barrier to community engagement and participation in health promotion activities, leading to a lower quality of life. Research also suggests that cultural and environmental factors, social relations, childhood experiences and economic factors are all linked to violent behaviour (Krug et al. 2002; Matzopoulos et al. 2010). Lack of social support,

absence of suitable role models and the marginalization of communities tend to exacerbate violence (Makombe 2014; Wood 2005; Daniels and Adams 2010). In light of the far-reaching impact of gang violence on both individuals and communities, and the resultant increases in morbidity and mortality rates (Matzopoulos et al. 2007; Krug et al. 2002; McDaniel et al. 2014), prevention strategies are required that apply an interdisciplinary approach to this complex societal problem that stretches beyond public health (McDaniel et al. 2014).

Moreover, not everyone in society is equally affected by violence. Research has shown that men are more likely to be directly involved in violent acts as both perpetrators and victims of interpersonal violence, and that youth surrounded by violence are more likely to replicate violent behaviour (Matzopoulos et al. 2010). When it comes to explanations of male violence, including the high rate of sexual violence in South Africa, it is important to consider the long-standing marginalisation of working-class African men during colonialism and the apartheid era. To some degree, the emergence of male street gangs, consisting of men who rejected the repressive structures of the apartheid era by performing different types of violence, can be seen as a result of the oppression during that period (Wood 2005; Coovadia et al. 2009; Breetzke 2010). Thus, violence in South Africa has often been associated with the struggle for liberation. Kynoch (2008) explains that violence, and political violence in particular, is a direct consequence of colonialism. African people had to fight for their rights and their space on material, physical and psychological levels (Kynoch 2008).

Makombe (2014) uses postcolonial theories to argue that during Apartheid, marginalized groups developed new methods to ensure their survival, resulting in the formation of gangs. Many scholars argue that the currently increasing rate of youth violence is a result of demographic shifts, urbanisation, industrialisation and migration, and many community members themselves point to socioeconomic inequalities as the most influential contributor to violence (Altbeker 2008; in Matzopoulos et al. 2014). Existing public health approaches to violence take into consideration the changing environmental and social and behavioural factors that increase and trigger violence (Altbeker 2008; in Matzopoulos et al. 2014).

Looking at violence through a public health lens allows us to focus on the risk factors and the underlying causes of violence on both individual and community levels (Matzopoulos and Myers 2014). Primary public health prevention strategies to decrease gang violence aim to prevent the development of violent behaviour at a young age and involve children and youth (McDaniel et al. 2014). However, addressing issues of violence in adults, who are already part of violent environments such as gangs, might require a transformation of their mindset and behaviour in order to enable them to contribute as positive role models for children and youth. Programs aimed at individuals who are already impacted by violence tend to encourage positive behaviour and attitudes, and it is further argued that these efforts need to be closely tied to family and social interactions as they play a fundamental role in violent behaviour (Krug et al. 2002). This is why

in Cape Town, organizations such as National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) provide programmes for ex-offenders and parolees which include the development of entrepreneurship skills, life-skills and art programmes.

Violence and gang violence Cape Town, Western Cape

The World Health Organization estimates that at least 90,000 people in the Western Cape are engaged in gang-affiliated violence and criminal activity (WHO 2002:35). This high figure related to gangsterism may, to a certain extent, be attributed to the legacy of colonialism and the Apartheid regime in South Africa, which segregated and marginalized black and Coloured communities, both socially and economically (Breetzke 2010; Coovadia et al. 2009). This racial divide has shaped the social structures of communities and has impacted on their access to basic resources such as water supply, electricity and health services (Breetzke 2010; Coovadia et al. 2009). This legacy of Apartheid era marginalization has in turn resulted in community fragmentation and social disorganisation. Social disorganisation theory argues that disruptions in social and physical circumstances drive people into crime and that this may be the result of political structures and rapid urban growth, as well as fractures and conflicts in social relationships (Breetzke 2010; Emmett 2003). Some of the identified measures of social disorganisation include socio-economic deprivation, residential mobility and family disruption (Breetzke 2010). Don Pinnock (1982) identifies the social structures among families as one of the key downstream factors in gangsterism in Cape Town. Pinnock's seminal study from 1982

shows how breakdowns in relationships and the lack of family/social support due to forced removals consequently led to a breakdown of communal and family structures. This put young people in a vulnerable position in which becoming a gang member was a strategy for obtaining important forms of social support (Pinnock 1982). However, gang violence is a highly complex phenomena and it is important not to look at theories like social disorganisation as the complete and only reason.

Strategies and interventions for recidivism prevention

Violence will not decrease if the person committing the violence re-offends and maintains the same behavioural pattern. However, the foci of intervention programs are often aimed at domestic violence, as it poses a major problem in South Africa and internationally (Jewkes et al 2002). Prevention strategies and intervention programmes are common in educational sectors and usually involve work with children and youths. Furthermore, violence prevention strategies are also actively used in efforts to rehabilitate offenders during their incarceration and are meant to prepare them for their reintegration into society, and to prevent recidivism. The majority of offenders involved in gangsterism will return to society with a high risk of maintaining gang affiliations and are a concern for public safety. Hence, interventions to reduce gang violence are very much needed (Di Placido et al., 2006), especially in the context of South Africa where violence permeates various social spheres.

Cognitive-behavioural methods are among the most commonly used techniques in violence intervention programmes (Geffner et al 2001). Cognitive-behavioural methods of therapy look at how people respond to experiences through cognitive interpretations. Cognitive behavioural interventions can take many forms, including ones delivered in form of performance-based interventions (Kendall et al 1995). Cognitive behavioural therapy increases an understanding of how experiences influence behavioural reactions and emotions (Beck 2010). Some studies have shown that offenders going through cognitive-behavioral programmes in prison have a lower risk of re-offending compared to those who do not (Di Placido et al. 2006), yet it is not clear which specific cognitive-behavioural methods have been most successful.

Theatre has been a presence in the prison system for a long time (Balfour 2004) and has been used as part of rehabilitation and reintegration interventions for offenders in many countries around the globe since the early 1990s (Pensalfini 2016). Amongst organizations that work directly with prison theatre are The Geese Theatre Company, founded in 1980 by John Bergman in the U.S, Theatre in Prison and Probation (Tipp) founded in the U.K in 1992 by Paul Heritage and James Thompson, and Prison Creative Arts founded by Buzz Alexander in University of Michigan.

What these programmes have in common is their focus on the value of the process and cognitive behaviour aspects of theater, rather than the final performance itself (Pensalfini 2016). For

instance, through theatrical productions, participants work in groups which can contribute to positive changes in behaviour (Johnson 2008). An evaluation of several art intervention programs, including the Geese Theatre Program, illustrated a reduction in criminal behavioural attitudes among offenders. Examples of this reduced criminal attitude include rethinking crime as worthwhile, sympathy towards victims, reduced disciplinary infractions while in prison, as well as reduced recidivism among young people (Hughes 2005). Group work, self-awareness and self-esteem are important elements in prison rehabilitation work and its methodologies (Pensalfini 2016). In Jenny Hughes' (2005) review on arts rehabilitation in the criminal justice sector, her findings show that art intervention programs are associated with positive outcomes on an individual, social, and institutional level. Likewise, Balfour (2003) found an increase in anger control amongst offenders after a drama-based approach with adult male offenders.

A great deal of research has been done on rehabilitation through art and prison theatre (Johnson 2002; Balfour 2004; Blacker et al 2008). Common goals of these interventions include rehabilitation, crime prevention, a change in criminal behaviour and the strengthening of both individuals and communities. Despite the long use of theatre as a method for rehabilitation in the criminal justice sector, there has not been sufficient research on how theatre as an intervention strategy impacts violent behaviour and potentially prevents reoffending. Furthermore, most of the research is from the U.S. and the U.K., with little coming from low and middle income countries, many of which have significant problems with violence, as well as great contrasts in

social and cultural contexts (Blacker et al 2008). Generally, studies on theatre interventions are associated with positive results in individual behaviour and social change (Hughes 2005). This research will offer new insights into how theatre interventions in Cape Town prisons may or may not lead to a behavioural change amongst former male gang members.

This research will use the theatre rehabilitation intervention *Help I am Free* in Cape Town, South Africa, as a case study. *Help I am Free* is a prison rehabilitation project that has been running in the Western Cape since 2013, initiated by the Norwegian Vardeteateret in collaboration with South African National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO). Since 2013, *Help I am Free* sets up theatre performances at the Artscape Theatre Centre every September. The *Help I am Free* project is divided into two parts, one during the last year of sentence, and other in the first year of release/parole, in an attempt to maintain stability and support a smooth transition for participants back to society using the tools they may have learned during the programme. Participants are recruited inside the prison with the only requirement being that they are in their final year of incarceration and have demonstrated a motivation for personal change. Participants take part in a seven-month theatre training programme from inside prison ending in a week of performances at the Artscape Theatre Centre. After release, participants will be followed up by NICRO social workers and will take part in weekly voluntary theatre training.

Significance, relevance and research questions

Despite several initiatives that involve prison rehabilitation, research regarding the reintegration of offenders into society after release is minimal (Muntingh 2002), and most offenders finding themselves back in prison after a short period (2002). This demonstrates a gap in research which examines whether theatre intervention programmes lead to a positive reintegration into society and prevention of recidivism, particularly within in a South African context. This research will look at how the Vardeteateret/NICRO *Help I am Free* theatre intervention programme at the Pollsmoor Correctional Centre (Cape Town) may lead to changes in behaviour among four individual gang-affiliated men incarcerated due to violent behaviour. This research aims to contribute towards building knowledge on alternative strategies to prevent gang violence.

Conceptual framework

This study seeks to investigate how a theatre intervention programme may lead to behavioural change among male gang members inside prison before their release. The research is rooted in a social and behavioural sciences framework but is deployed within a public health perspective.

One critical factor in much of the violence practiced in South Africa is the role of patriarchal gender norms in social and sexual relationships. Considering the dominance of males in risk-taking behaviour and violence, this research will explore the link between masculinities and gang violence, drawing on the public health approach to gender and health. The approach to

gender and masculinity will look at how violent behaviour is linked to concepts of ‘hegemonic masculinities’ and what it means to ‘be a man’ in a particular context, while also addressing participants’ own perceptions of gender practices. Connell and Messerschmidt (1995) argue that a society's own ideology around what it means to 'be a man' will shape how and when men may turn to violence as a way to achieve power. Beynon (2002) argues that men who feel powerless and who perceive their masculinity to be under threat turn to violence as a way to protect their status of ‘being a man’. Thus, violence can be seen as a way of performing masculinity. In the context of South Africa, with its history of racial oppression, forced removals, and socio-economic marginalization (Wood 2005), gang structures came to be seen in some communities as a way for individuals to increase their power and to validate their own masculinity (Luyt and Foster 2001). For these men, criminal and violent behaviour came to be used as a ‘resource’ to defend a threatened masculinity. The study will consider notions of hegemonic masculinities, as well as the gender hierarchies that may be evident in the contexts in which participants spend their time.

This study will also use Albert Bandura’s (1989) social cognitive theory (SCT) to understand the *Help I Am Free* intervention. SCT emphasizes both cognitive and behavioural factors that motivate and drive behaviour. The theory is based on the belief that humans can control their behaviour through self-regulation, which includes self-judgement, self-response, and self-observation (Bandura, 1991). Bandura (1991) understood behaviour as a result of people's

agency and the ability to manage their lives through observing other people's behaviour, and gain new skills of self-awareness, new beliefs, and new degrees of self-efficacy. Bandura's theory is often applied in work related to violent and aggressive behaviour. The theory identifies what a person can do to change behaviour that is harmful to themselves and others. In this approach, violent behaviour is seen as a decision-making process. Bandura's theory (1991) also states that being attentive to the consequences linked to said observed behaviour will influence the decision-making process of a person's own behaviour.

Finally, this study will draw on ideas from the field of Applied Theater, an umbrella term for a great number of theatre practices. This thesis, will use theories and ideas from Augusto Boal's (1995) *Theatre of the Oppressed*, in considering how theater might be used to reduce violence. Theorists like O'Neill and Neelands have identified drama as a potential way to promote change in behaviour leading to social and personal transformation (Österlind, 2008). The celebrated Brazilian writer and director Augusto Boal developed *Theatre of the Oppressed* (TO) as a method to address social injustice and oppression and as a way to solve problems on both individual and social levels. *TO* was influential within the broader field of Applied Theatre, which is seen as an umbrella term for a range of applied practices within theatre. *TO* builds on the idea that if an oppressed person performs an action in a theatre setting, he/she will be able to replicate this performance in the same way in real life (Boal 1995). In this way, theatre is the intervention of obtaining practical skills and knowledge in enabling behavioural change. One of

the key objectives of TO was to help teach people how to act in more democratic and cooperative fashion.

There are also intriguing connections between the Boal's TO methodology and some models of behavior change in behavioural science. Bandura's social cognitive theory and TO share the idea that through observation, self-awareness and self-control can be increased, and that observed skills can be adapted to real-life situations, leading to possible changes in behaviour.

Theatre of the Oppressed has been used in prison programmes in the UK, the US, and Brazil (Boal 1995; Balfour 2004). Österlind (2008) points out that Boal's perspective and method are designed to address change on an individual and emotional level, as well as in social interactions and relationships. Moreover, Nicholson (2005) states that applied theatre more broadly is similarly motivated by the ambition to make a difference to others' lives. Taylor (2003) adds that the method can be utilized to build stronger communities in which new possibilities for society can be imagined.

These theories combined will create the foundation of the conceptual framework the study will draw on. By using the framework as a tool, data analysis will consider all three approaches: social cognitive theory, hegemonic masculinity theory and applied theatre, and consider how the *Help I Am Free* program might affect participants' experiences, beliefs, and attitudes. The

researcher will investigate the following research questions:

“How does a theatre intervention program used in prison lead to a behavioural change amongst male gang members in the Western Cape?”

Sub-question 1: How does the intervention programme influence the participants’ self-efficacy – i.e. participants’ own perception of their ability to change violent behaviour?

Sub-question 2: How do participants perceive the impacts of the intervention on their own gender perception and practices?

Sub-question 3: In what ways do participants manage to adopt skills from the programme and translate them into their own lives?

Methodology:

Data collection methods will include a combination of intensive life history interviews and a focus group discussion among the main interlocutors. In addition, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with four key informants.

Study Design

A great deal of research has already been done on rehabilitation programmes relating to ex-offenders. However, research often fails to include the perspectives of offenders themselves. This research will look at how a theatre intervention programme within prison may lead to a change in violent behaviour among male gang members. It will do this by looking at their own perceptions, beliefs and experiences through the programme, and how their circumstances influence their behaviour in their daily life. The research will employ a cross-sectional, qualitative study design, using life history research as a method that allows for exploring a particular phenomenon at a particular point in time. The study will conclude by reflecting on what participants' life stories can teach us about potential behavioural change through theatre intervention as a cognitive way of rehabilitation.

The motivation for choosing life history as a method is based on the idea that individual behaviour, attitudes and beliefs are results of lived experiences and upbringing, as well as the broader socioeconomic and cultural environment. According to Goodson et al (2001), the intention of life history research is to gain an understanding of how patterns of different life stories can be related to political, social and environmental contexts, and this has been linked to studies on people's perception of change (ibid). Looking at behavioural change through theatre offers an opportunity to explore a deeper understanding of how individual attitudes, decisions and thoughts emerge, develop and change over time, and thus offers a basis for further work on

violence prevention and the reintegration of offenders.

Setting: contextual factors

The research will take place in Cape Town, South Africa in the Western Cape Province. It is crucial to look at the problem of violence in this specific context. South Africa has one of the highest income inequalities in the world and this translates to inequalities in health outcomes and the distribution of health services, along with poverty and unemployment (Ataguba et al. 2015). South Africa faces social and structural challenges which include unequal levels of education, social capital and access to water and electricity (Matzopoulos et al. 2014). A common factor among interlocutors is that they have all been (or still are) incarcerated in the Pollsmoor Correctional Center. Pollsmoor is a maximum security prison located in Tokai, Western Cape. Pollsmoor is notorious for its long history of gang culture, and the severe overcrowding of inmates, which leads to inhumane living conditions and the high prevalence of violent behaviour among inmates (Cohen 2013; Sonke Gender Justice 2016). In addressing this, Pollsmoor hosts several sports and recreation initiatives for inmates on a weekly basis in an attempt at rehabilitation—they also use arts and theatre in the form of the *Help I am Free* project.

Kate Wood (2005) highlights the "crisis of masculinity" in the aftermath of Apartheid, which shows a shift in gender power relations. During the transition to democracy gender roles and the expectations of men were discussed and challenged, and new ideas of what it meant to 'be a

man' could be both confusing as well as liberating (Walker 2005). However, some of the responses from men have been radical and resulted in violent and ruthless behaviour, with gang involvement being a means of claiming power and creating identity and social status for marginalized groups. The choice of young men getting involved in gangsterism in the Western Cape reflects a constant search for stability, safety, belonging, identity and social status and is strongly linked to the social disorganisation of communities in low-income areas (Daniels et al. 2010; Fleisher et al. 2001).

Sampling

The researcher will use in-depth life-history interviews with four main interlocutors, while taking note that institutions like Pollsmoor Correctional Centre are not monolithic entities where all offenders share the same language, beliefs, interests, and characteristics. This research seeks to gain a rich and in-depth understanding of participants' lived experiences, thoughts, and opinions (Yin 2011). Considering the difference in analytical and statistical generalization, a qualitative study with a small sample size cannot be generalized to represent a larger population. Building on the relationships that the researcher has already built with the four main interlocutors, the researcher is likely to gather rich information through several interviews conducted over a period of four weeks. This will consist of in-depth interviews and focus group discussion. In addition, supporting interviews with key informants with expertise within their field, including working with offenders/ex-offenders, as well as performing arts, will strengthen information and present a

good representation of the subject of study. The small sample size can provide information that is both theoretical and/or empirical, and which gives a greater understanding of the phenomena, and problematizes its dominant understandings (Maxwell 2013). As the sample size includes a small number of life stories from participants, the study does not create generalizations. The small sample size does not necessarily block researchers from asking larger questions but is based on the judgment of the quality of the information retrieved (Sandelowski, 1995).

Characteristics of the study population

Studies have shown that males are more likely to be directly involved both as executors and victims in inter-personal violence, and that youths surrounded by violence are more likely to adopt violent behavior (Matzopoulos et al. 2010). This is why the study population is concentrated on male offenders with gang affiliations. The main interlocutors have all been to prison/or are still under correctional supervision on parole. They are males between 18 and 30 years of age, and have all been part of the *Help! I am Free* project since March 2016.

Recruitment and enrolment

It is important to recruit participants according to the research question. The recruitment of the four main interlocutors will, therefore, happen through purposive sampling, based on their common characteristics; namely, male gang members, who have been or are currently in Pollsmoor Prison and have taken part in the *Help I am Free* programme. The intention is to create rich descriptions by giving the individuals the space to share their personal experiences

and challenges. Participants will be recruited through the *Help I am Free* project, where the researcher is the project manager and has worked closely with the *Help I am Free* participants while in prison and on parole. All participants are aware of the researcher's agenda of writing a Masters dissertation on the presented topic. Taking part in the study is voluntary and the participants of the programme have shown interest in taking part in the interviews and sharing their life stories. In addition, the researcher will conduct interviews with a social worker, theatre trainer, official from Department of Correctional Services, as well as with Welcome Witbooi, a former gang leader and 28 general about his violent past and current work with gang extrication.

Data collection methods

This research will build on a series of in-depth interviews with the four main interlocutors. Two main interviews will be conducted among the main interlocutors in addition to a follow-up interview for clarification and raising questions. A focus group discussion including the same participants will be held after transcribing and analysing the in-depth interviews. In this way, discussions in the focus group will be based on possible patterns, themes and statements occurring in the individual in-depth interviews. Each interview will last for an estimated 1.5 hours, and will be conducted within a period of four weeks - one interview per interlocutor per week. In addition, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with four key informants after transcribing and analyzing the in-depth interviews. Interviews with other key informants (social worker, DCS, theatre trainer) will only take place after the individual in-depth interviews and

focus group discussion. Questions and topics for interviews with key informants will therefore be drawn from themes and statements from the individual in-depth interviews. In this way, the researcher will be able to further investigate statements and experiences shared by the main interlocutors.

By doing one interview per interlocutor per week, meaning four interviews a week, there will be sufficient time to transcribe and identify what needs to be clarified and further investigated. Several interviews with each participant are scheduled to create a safe space as well as trust in the relationship between interviewee and interviewer. Depending on the release date of interlocutors, interviews will take place at either NICRO's offices or inside Pollsmoor Correctional Centre. NICRO's offices are located on Long Street and in Mitchells Plain in Cape Town. Interviews with offenders who are still imprisoned will take place in a meeting room at the correctional centre. The chosen participants have a good understanding of the English language. All participants will be older than 18 years. The estimated time-frame for interviews of 1.5 hour will be flexible. Coding and analyzing of the data will be conducted the in the weeks following the interviews.

Topics that will be explored in the interviews include childhood experiences (including socio-economic and cultural factors), personal experiences of violence and gang violence, attitudes towards change, self-reflection and perceptions of being part of a prison programme

aimed to prevent violent/criminal behaviour while still being in a highly violent environment.

Week 1	First in-depth interviews with main interlocutors	Transcribing
Week 2	Second in-depth interviews with main interlocutors	Transcribing
Week 3	Follow-up interviews with main interlocutors	Transcribing
Week 4	Focus group discussion with main interlocutors, Semi-structured interviews with key informants	Transcribing Analysis starts

Data managing and analysis

As the data will contain sensitive information about upbringing, family relationships, personal information and possibly criminal offenses and illegal behaviour, the researcher has a responsibility to manage the data and make sure it remains confidential. Collected data will be recorded with an audio recorder and further transcribed to Word documents. Both the documents and recordings will be stored on a external hard drive, and will only be accessed by the researcher. The researcher will attempt to create a safe space for the participants to feel comfortable opening up about their experiences, values and perspectives. This might be challenging amongst the imprisoned participants as a prison guard will be present during the interviews. Some prison guards have a friendlier relationship with inmates than others. Therefore, the researcher (based on the wishes of participants) will request a specific guard to be present during the interview rather than one the participant does not get along with. Participants

can contact me at any point during and after the research, and can withdraw from the research with no consequences. The researcher has a separate work phone to be available for participants.

In-depth life-history interviews will be conducted through a narrative analysis with the four main interlocutors. One hour will be set for writing field notes after each interview to reflect and document immediate thoughts and observations before transcription. Through follow-up interviews, the researcher has space to analyze information and clarify possible misunderstandings that may occur in the transcription. The analysis will be done through thematic coding analysis, looking at common themes and patterns across all interviews. Following the in-depth life-history interviews, focus group discussion will be conducted relating to topics drawn on patterns and themes that occur in the in-depth interviews. Finally, semi-structured interviews with key-informants will be conducted in an attempt to gain in-depth knowledge and collect additional data.

Rigour

The same researcher will conduct all interviews. Interviews will be conducted in English, which all four participants are comfortable speaking. Semi-structured interviews will include the same topics and themes of questions. The participants are able to review the analysis to ensure member checking. Reliability will depend on the relationship between participants and the researcher. It is therefore important to have trust between the researcher and participants. The relationship has

been built since March 2016 and the researcher has been working closely with the participants several days a week since then. This relationship may also be important in interpretation, trust, and analysis. Qualitative data collection and analysis depends on the interpretation of the researcher. Therefore, is it important to reflect on personal beliefs and values brought into the research and the possible influence on analysis and outcome of the study. Member checking will be used where informants will be presented with the data analysis, quotes and interpretations. In this way, a validation from the informants will be possible and this will ensure that interpretations are understood correctly and informants are presented in a way they can confirm.

Partners

In addition to the ethical approval from Human Research Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Cape Town, there are three other stakeholders the researcher will work closely with to conduct the research. The key stakeholders that will have a crucial role in this research process (in terms of access, knowledge, and safety) include:

- Department of Correctional Services (Area Commissioner & Head of Centre Pollsmoor Correctional Centre)
- NICRO, South Africa
- Help I am Free project

Ethics

In every research, ethical considerations are highly important. Taking into account that this research involves informants under corrections, either on parole or incarcerated, and as such are considered a vulnerable population, the ethics should be considered carefully (Pope et al 2007). The researcher will work in line with ethical principles such as do no harm, beneficence, respect and justice (Ehrlich, 2015).

Informed consent

For the privacy and confidentiality of participants, an informed consent form will be provided to all research participants prior to the data collection. The informed consent gives participants information on their rights and creates accountability for their participation. The informed consent will include the following points:

- Adequate information and description of research objectives and research interests
- Data managing and storage
- Participation in research is voluntary and the information is given voluntarily and can be withdrawn from the research at any time should the participant wish without any consequences
- Each participant will remain anonymous (on the published research) and the information will be confidential

- Where final findings and research may be used (publication/information/policymaking decision etc)
- Participants will have access and insight on collected data, their responses, as well as the right to ask questions and contact the researcher during and after research.

Direct benefits

Benefits of this research include being followed up on and gaining access to counseling from NICRO and the *Help! I am Free*, team. This also includes deep self-reflection and self-awareness on the ways in which the intervention programme may/or may not have changed the behaviour and/or attitudes of participants. This may affect the outcome of the intervention programme for the individual. The research will shed light on the effects of theatre programmes in prisons and hopefully create more interest in how to grasp the societal public health problem related to crime and violence through restorative justice.

Indirect benefits

People labelled as ‘criminals’ and ‘gangsters’ are often stigmatized and marginalized in their society and portrayed in a negative way. This might influence their self-esteem and self-worth. Furthermore, unemployment and being financially disadvantaged is commonly seen amongst the newly released prisoners/parolees the researcher has worked with in the past. By using a life-history research approach, the researcher will be able to express interest in the informants’

lives and their stories for research purposes. The interest in learning from peoples' life stories, telling them from a narrative 'bottom up' perspective may create a feeling for the informants that 'your life is important and people have something to learn from you' (see Lynd 1997). This can play a role in increasing the self-worth of participants and give them a voice.

Risks

Informants may be in conflict with people in their communities, thus the researcher will not reveal information that can lead to the identification of informants to alleviate any risk and harm to them. Even though there is minimal risk for participants who take part in the study, some interviews may trigger emotional trauma from childhood and previous experiences. The researcher is therefore responsible for recognizing and protecting informants' interests and rights in this regard. This is why the researcher and *Help I am Free* work closely with NICRO social workers and psychologists to ensure that participants will have access to counseling. Counseling is available for all participants of the *Help I am Free* programme while incarcerated. Furthermore, participants could be putting themselves at risk by possibly sharing information relating to criminal/violent behaviour and incidents. Therefore, the researcher will keep the identities anonymous by using fictive names and locations. Participants on parole are in a position to meet the researcher without people knowing, unless they share it themselves.

Researcher self-reflexivity

Power dynamics need to be addressed in research conducted in low-middle income countries by researchers from high-income countries (Molyneux et al., 2009). In this research, the researcher has already built an extensive relationship with the participants, based on trust, that spans 13 months of weekly interaction in the *Help I am Free* programme. The researcher has experience in qualitative data collection from previous studies conducted in South Africa. During her BA in sports science and health studies, the researcher investigated and interviewed male youths, examining how sports are used as an after-school alternative to gangsterism and drugs in the township of Mbekweni, Western Cape. Additionally, the researcher has an Honors degree in Social Anthropology, as well as 4 years of experience working with male substance abusers and ex-convicts within rehabilitation services in Oslo, Norway. Besides her studies at the University of Cape Town, the researcher has worked as a project manager for the *Help I am Free* project since January 2016 in Goodwood, Drakenstein and Pollsmoor Prisons. She has also worked with parolees. This experience will be helpful when considering the complicated social and political positioning of the researcher as a white female from Europe working with inmates of colour in the Western Cape. Having knowledge and experience in the field will offer space for greater reflection and self-reflexivity.

Reimbursement of participation

Participants will be reimbursed for expenses for transport and airtime. The amount for each

transport will be R50. This is based on the standard amount of transport fees participants receive for the *Help I am Free* parolee training. In addition, food and coffee will be provided for the interviewees, as well a hard copy of the written thesis.

What happens at the end of the study

Participants will build relationships with social workers at NICRO and get the opportunity to receive guidance in searching for employment outside prison. This research is being done with the goal of publication. The researcher believes that disseminating the information and experiences from the participants is important and can lead to important follow-up projects, research and programme planning used in violence prevention. There is a need to transform communities in the Western Cape into safer neighbourhoods, and to decrease violence and the crime rate in order to improve the peoples' quality of life.

References

Ataguba J. E.-O., Day C. and McIntyre D. (2015), 'Explaining the role of the social determinants of health on health inequality in South Africa', *Global Health Action*, 8: 28865

Atkinson A. (2002) The Life story interview *in* Handbook of interview research: Context and method. Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A *Sage Publications*. Chapter 6

Balfour, M. (2003). *The use of drama in the rehabilitation of violent male offenders* (Vol. 19). Edwin Mellen Pr.

Balfour, M. (2004) Ed. *Theatre in Prison. Theory and Practice*. Bristol: Intellect Books.

Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American psychologist*, 37(2), 122-147.

Bandura, A. (1989). Social cognitive theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development*. Vol. 6. Six theories of child development (pp. 1-60). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Bandura, A. (1991). Social cognitive theory of self-regulation. *Organizational behavior and human decision processes*, 50(2), 248-287.

Blacker, J., Watson, A., & Beech, A. R. (2008). A combined drama-based and CBT approach to working with self-reported anger aggression. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 18(2), 129-137.

Boal, A., (1995). *Theater of the Oppressed* p. 132-133. New York: Theatre Communications Group. ISBN 0-930452-49-6.

Breetzke, G. (2010). A socio-structural analysis of crime in the city of Tshwane, South Africa. *South African Journal of Science*, 106(11-12), 1-7.

Cilliers, C. (2008) The South African prison policy. University of South Africa, Pretoria. 533-548. Retrieved 22. December 2017
http://www.arasa.info/files/8514/2649/8310/27_Stavern_Report_South_Africa.pdf

Chu, C. M., Daffern, M., Thomas, S., & Lim, J. Y. (2012). Violence risk and gang affiliation in youth offenders: A recidivism study. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 18(3), 299-315.

Cohen, Mike (2013) The Cape of bad dope: Gang warfare in South Africa is out of control - and set to get worse as a key leader leaves prison. Online Newspaper Article; <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/the-cape-of-bad-dope-gang-warfare-in-south-africa-is-out-of-control-and-set-to-get-worse-as-a-key-8827661.html>

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19(6), 829-859.

Coovadia, H., Jewkes, R., Barron, P., Sanders, D., & McIntyre, D. (2009). The health and health

system of South Africa: historical roots of current public health challenges. *The Lancet*, 374(9692), 817-834. DOI: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(09\)60951-X](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(09)60951-X)

Daniels, D., & Adams, Q. (2010). Breaking with township gangsterism: The struggle for place and voice. *African Studies Quarterly*, 11(4), 45.

Di Placido, C., Simon, T. L., Witte, T. D., Gu, D., & Wong, S. C. (2006). Treatment of gang members can reduce recidivism and institutional misconduct. *Law and Human Behavior*, 30(1), 93-114.

Ehrlich R. (2015) Ethics in Health Research Lecture slides, Quantitative Research Methods, School of Public Health and Family Medicine, University of Cape Town. Retrieved from Vula 17. November 2015

Emmett, T. (2003). Social disorganisation, social capital and violence prevention in South Africa: original contribution. *African Safety Promotion*, 1(2), 4-18.

Fleisher, M. S., Decker, S. H., & Curry, G. D. (2001). Going home, staying home: Integrating prison gang members into the community. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, 5, 65-77.

Fowler, P. J., Tompsett, C. J., Braciszewski, J. M., Jacques-Tiura, A. J., & Baltes, B. B. (2009). Community violence: A meta-analysis on the effect of exposure and mental health outcomes of children and adolescents. *Development and psychopathology*, 21(01), 227-259.

Geffner, R. A., & Rosenbaum, A. (2001). Domestic violence offenders: treatment and intervention standards. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 5, 1-9.

Gilson, L. (2012). Introduction to health policy and systems research. Health policy and systems research: a methodology reader. Geneva: Alliance for Health Policy and System Research: World Health Organisation, 19-39

Goodson, I. & P. Sikes (2001). Life history research in educational settings: learning from lives. Open University Press, Buckingham

Jackson, J., & Stafford, M. (2009). Public health and fear of crime a prospective cohort study. *British Journal of Criminology*, azp033.

Jewkes, R., Levin, J., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002). Risk factors for domestic violence: Findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science and Medicine*, 55, 1603-1617.

Johnson, L. M. (2008). A place for art in prison: Art as a tool for rehabilitation and management. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, 5(2), 100-120.

Krug, E. G., Mercy, J. A., Dahlberg, L. L., & Zwi, A. B. (2002). The world report on violence and health. *The Lancet*, 360(9339), 1083-1088.

Kynoch, G. (2008). Urban violence in colonial Africa: a case for South African exceptionalism. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), 629-645.

Lynd, S. (1993) Oral History from below. *The Oral History* Vol. 21, No. 1 pp. 1-8 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3675042>

Luyt, R., & Foster, D. (2001). Hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in gang culture. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 31(3), 1-11.

Mann, C. J. (2003). Observational research methods. Research design II: cohort, cross sectional, and case-control studies. *Emergency Medicine Journal*, 20(1), 54-60.

Martinez, P., & Richters, J. E. (1993). The NIMH community violence project: II. Children's distress symptoms associated with violence exposure. *Psychiatry*, 56(1), 22-35.

Matzopoulos, R., Myers, J. E., Bowman, B., & Mathews, S. (2008). Interpersonal violence prevention: prioritising interventions. *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal*, 98(9), 682-690.

Matzopoulos RG, Bowman B, Butchart A. (2008) Violence, health, and development. In: *Violence Prevention in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: Finding a Place on the Global Agenda*. Workshop Summary, by *the Institute of Medicine*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 201-246.

Matzopoulos, R., & Myers, J. E. (2014). The Western Cape Government's new Integrated Provincial Violence Prevention Policy Framework: Successes and challenges. *Aggression and*

Violent Behavior, 19(6), 649-654.

Maxwell, J.A. (2013). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. London: Sage Publications

McDaniel, D. D., Logan, J. E., & Schneiderman, J. U. (2014). Supporting gang violence prevention efforts: A public health approach for nurses. *Online journal of issues in nursing*, 19(1). Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4703334/>

Molyneux C et al. (2009). Conducting health-related social science research in low-income settings: ethical dilemmas faced in Kenya and South Africa. *Journal of International Development*, 21(2):309–325.

Muntingh, L. (2002). Tackling recidivism: What is needed for successful offender reintegration. *Track Two: Constructive Approaches to Community and Political Conflict*, 11(2), 20-24 University of Cape Town. Retrieved from http://journals.co.za/docserver/fulltext/track2/11/2/track2_v11_n2_a5.pdf?expires=1516960153&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=8AC19B145B21DC38AF60FA985528BF60

Nicholson, H (2005) *Applied Drama The Gift of Theatre* Nova Iorque: Palgrave Macmillan

Pensalfini, R. (2016) *Prison Shakespeare: For These Deep Shames and Great Indignities* Palgrave Macmillan the UK

Peters, D. H., Adam, T., Alonge, O., Agyepong, I. A., & Tran, N. (2014). Republished research: Implementation research: what it is and how to do it Implementation research is a growing but not well understood field of health research that can contribute to more effective public health and clinical policies and programmes. This article provides a broad definition of implementation research and outlines key principles for how to do it. *British journal of sports medicine*, 48(8), 731-736.

Pope, A., Vanchieri, C., & Gostin, L. O. (Eds.). (2007). *Ethical considerations for research involving prisoners*. National Academies Press. Retrieved from <https://www.nap.edu/resource/11692/Prisoners.pdf>

Raine, A. (2002). Biosocial studies of antisocial and violent behavior in children and adults: A

review. *Journal of abnormal child psychology*, 30(4), 311-326.

Robson C (2002). *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*, 2nd ed. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in nursing & health*, 18(2), 179-183. DOI: 10.1002/nur.4770180211

Shields, N., Nadasen, K., & Pierce, L. (2008). The effects of community violence on children in Cape Town, South Africa. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32(5), 589-601

Sonke Gender Justice (2016) Detainees go to court over conditions in Pollsmoor. Article retrieved on April 4th 2017 from <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/news-item/detainees-go-to-court-over-conditions-in-pollsmoor/>

Stafford, M., Chandola, T., & Marmot, M. (2007). Association Between Fear of Crime and Mental Health and Physical Functioning. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(11), 2076–2081. <http://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2006.097154>

Taylor, P. (2003). *Applied theatre: Creating transformative encounters in the community*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Yin, R. K. 2011. *Qualitative research from start to finish*. 2 edition. New York: Guilford Press

World Health Assembly (1996). Prevention of violence: public health priority (WHA 49,25). Geneva: World Health Organization. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/42495/1/9241545615_eng.pdf

Österlind, E., (2008) Acting out of habits – can Theatre of the Oppressed promote change? Boal's theatre methods in relation to Bourdieu's concept of habitus, *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 13:1, 71-82, DOI: 10.1080/13569780701825328

Part B: Structured Literature Review

Introduction	2
Literature search strategy	3
What drives men into gang violence	3
Early childhood development	4
Masculinities	5
Urbanization	6
Rehabilitation through performance arts programmes in prison	8
Applied Theatre	8
Prison Theatre	9
Theatre in South African prisons	10
Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed	13
Performance art impacts on individual behaviour	16
About CBT and social learning theory	17
Why CBT with prisoners?	20
Drama, violence and masculinity	23
Summary	27
References	28

Introduction

Gang violence' is a serious social and public health problem which affects a significant portion of the South African population. Interventions to reduce gang violence are therefore crucial endeavours of public health. Preventative intervention strategies, often through the use of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) methods, are currently being used internationally, both inside and outside the prison system, with a view to preventing recidivism. This literature review reflects on existing research addressing the use of performance arts as a method of cognitive behavioural therapy intervention and how this approach can be employed to combat gang violence. The review also examines the evident causes of gang violence in order to provide a broader understanding of the ways in which cognitive behavioural interventions can be an effective strategy for addressing these behaviours. Furthermore, I aim to demonstrate why it is important to develop a better understanding of how the performance arts can be used as a method of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT), and as a feasible alternative to current violence prevention and prison rehabilitation programs among male gang members in Cape Town.

This literature review is organised around three different aspects related to performance arts in prison and its effect on gang-affiliated offenders. Firstly, I will provide a brief overview of the key factors believed to drive young men into gang-related violence. Secondly, I will discuss rehabilitation through performance arts programmes in prison. Lastly, I will examine how performance arts are linked to cognitive behavioural therapy.

Literature search strategy

As the topics in this research stretch over multiple disciplines, the search for literature was conducted in a multistep process, using both databases and books. I also retrieved recommended literature and research in various disciplines including Public Health, Criminology, Humanities and Drama studies. Selected literature was chosen by screening each abstract for relevance. The primary challenge in the literature search was to find material addressing the effects of performance arts interventions in prisons specifically within a South African context. There is a substantial assortment of literature addressing the uses of applied theatre in prisons in general, and an equally ample range of discussions around the impact and benefits of CBT methods on behaviour change among violent individuals. However, very few studies combine the two in order to consider applied theatre as a means of delivering some of the benefits of CBT. There is also minimal literature relating to programmes of this kind that work with adults already involved in gangsterism.

Keywords for online literature search included; *behaviour change, violence, gangs, offender rehabilitation, prison theatre, reintegration, South Africa, violence in South Africa, performance arts, theatre for social change, performance arts and public health, cognitive behaviour approach.*

What drives men into gang violence

South Africa is classified as a middle-income country; however, there are dramatic socioeconomic differences among the population and many communities face challenges with distribution of basic services like water sanitation (Bradshaw 2008). These socioeconomic disparities, on a national and

community level, have significant associations with gang violence (Bradshaw 2008; Krug et al. 2002; Kyriacou et al. 1999; Vigil 2003). Socioeconomic inequity, low-income, unemployment, poor health, disturbed family environments and low levels of education—each an effect of broader forms of racial exclusion and socioeconomic marginalization—all show notable associations with violence and the formation of gangs (Krug et al. 2002; Kyriacou. et al 1999; Matzopoulos et al 2006; Matzopoulos et al. 2010; Pinnock 1982/2016). Furthermore processes of urbanisation, demographic shifts, immigration, and modernisation show linkages with increased crime and violence among boys and young men (Krug et al. 2002; Matzopoulos et al 2006; Matzopoulos 2010; Vigil 2003)

It is also important to look at the phenomenon of gang violence within South Africa's particular political context, namely the country's history of colonisation and the Apartheid regime. (Kynoch 2008). Postcolonial theorists argue that these radical forms of oppression provoked the development of new methods to fight for rights and survival among marginalised people (Kynoch 2008; Makombe 2014). These methods included the formation of gangs in which marginalised men could find ways to reclaim their masculinity and fight for recognition and respect on psychological, physical and economic levels.

Early childhood development

Researchers have developed strong evidence that aggressive behaviours and violence in adulthood are often rooted in early childhood exposure to violence (Daniels and Adams 2010; Hill et al. 1999; Matzopoulos et al. 2008; Matzopoulos et al. 2015). Pinnock's seminal 1982 of gangsterism in Cape Town argues that the primary causes of gangsterism are the disjointed social relationships within and

among families in which children experienced being forcibly removed from their homes as a result of the Apartheid regime, leading to the serious strain in and sometimes collapse of supportive family and communal structures. The younger generation in particular is most vulnerable in the weakening of family support systems and consequently seek a replacement for this social support in the formation of a gang (Pinnock 2016). Children growing up without adequate social support contribute to the exacerbation of violence in society (Daniels and Adams 2010; Makombe 2014; Wood 2005). Another study supporting Pinnock's findings is Daniels and Adam's (2010) study on 'township gangsterism' in Cape Town where researchers concluded that men involved in gangsterism tended to re-evaluate their childhood wish to be in a gang after experiencing the brutal consequences of these decisions. Daniels and Adam point out that children lack the critical thinking skills to understand that their gang activities will have long-term consequences (Daniels and Adam 2010).

Masculinities

Various scholars argue that notions of masculinity which idolize toughness, control and power are a significant contributing factor to men's involvement in street-gangs (Beynon 2002; MacMaster 2007; Salo 2005; Wood 2005). Masculinities and gender are not fixed concepts but, rather, ongoing and constantly changing in cultural settings where different ideas are interpreted and experienced in various ways (Beynon 2002; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Luyt and Foster 2001; Morrell 2001). Connell's theory on hegemonic masculinities is one of the most influential theories in the field of masculinities studies. Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of

patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell 2005:77). Providing for one’s family is one of the social, and individual, expectations of men in South Africa which places men under economic pressure to provide sufficient income (MacMaster 2007). Looking at ‘Black’ and ‘Coloured’ communities on the outskirts of Cape Town in particular, economic exclusion and the low level of education in the aftermath of Apartheid have rendered access to employment a challenge (Daniels and Adam 2010; MacMaster 2007; Moolman 2004) and led to further challenges of accessing resources that would enable men to feel that they are managing to effectively perform expected forms of masculinity (MacMaster 2007; Wood 2005). Consequently some boys and young men in South Africa find alternative ways of performing and defending their ‘manhood’ through violent actions (MacMaster 2007; Pinnock and Douglas-Hamilton 1997; Vigil 2003). Luyt and Foster (2001) explored boys in secondary school’s attitudes towards concepts of hegemonic masculinities focusing on men’s toughness, control and success and the results revealed supporting attitudes amongst the boys from high gang-activity areas.

Urbanization

It is unavoidable to look at public health problems in a particular local context without looking at the local socio-economic and political factors. Demographic shifts are another relevant factor to consider which is also covered in existing public health approaches to violence, Modernisation, migration and urbanization impact on increased crime in society (Altbeker 2008 in Matzopoulos and Myers 2014). Gregory Breetzke (2010) emphasises that South Africa’s socio-political history is the explanation for the current social disorganization within communities. The Group Areas Act forced people of colour

to vacate their homes and move to new areas designated by their race. This regulation led to community fragmentation and the economic and social marginalisation of black and Coloured communities (Breetzke 2010; Matzopoulos et al. 2010). Makombe (2014) argues that the emergence of gangs in South Africa was an attempt by marginalised and oppressed men to repossess political, economic and social power.

Studies confirm that communities are shaped by socio-political structures and people are in turn shaped by their communities. Fragmented communities that tend to have higher incidences of crime and violence conditions citizens to adapt violent behaviours (Fraser et al 2009; Krug et al. 2002). Furthermore, studies have also revealed evidence of a relationship between increased violence and crime rates after high amounts of immigration from both rural areas in South Africa as well as neighbouring African countries (Breetzke 2010; Matzopoulos et al. 2010). The social and political changes that came with new rounds of immigration in economically marginalized communities have added to the social and economic challenges of the informal settlements on the outskirts of Cape Town where populations are growing and inequality, unemployment and lack of access to services is intensifying (Matzopoulos et al. 2010). So are the conflicts between extremes of the class spectrum. Samara (2005), for example, investigates the urban renewal of Cape Town and claims that city planners are making Cape Town into a 'world-class' business and tourist destination through the criminalisation of street children. In the process, Samara argues that there is a high risk of reproducing and deepening long-standing conflicts between class and race, where black and Coloured youths are seen instinctively as a threat by richer residents and outside visitors, perpetuating inequalities and the conditions in which gang formation thrives.

Rehabilitation through performance arts programmes in prison

Gang violence has had a shown severe impact on both communities and individuals in terms of mortality rates, and poor physical and mental well-being (Matzopoulos et al 2007; Krug et al 2002; McDaniel et al 2014). Prevention strategies that apply an interdisciplinary approach are required to address this complex societal problem that stretches beyond public health (McDaniel et al. 2014). This section takes a deeper look into the use of performance arts interventions in prisons or Prison Theatre practice, as it is popularly known under the field of Applied Theatre.

In this section, I give a brief introduction to the field of Applied Theatre, and a more in-depth discussion of the practice of Prison Theatre. This thesis is situated within the discipline of Public Health but it draws on behavioural science, social science, and the theater arts disciplines. The following section provides a brief introduction to the relevant literature from the field of Applied Theatre. It attempts to outline the reasoning for drawing a relationship between participatory theatre and Public Health within the framework of socio-behaviour science research and violence prevention.

Applied Theatre

Applied Theatre is an umbrella term for numerous practices that gained prominence in the 1990s (Nicholson, 2005). Helen Nicholson defines Applied Theatre as a "discursive practice motivated by the desire to make a difference to the lives of others" (Nicholson 2005:16). Ackroyd describes it as

"a belief in the power of theatre to address something beyond the form itself" (Ackroyd, 2000:1). Philip Taylor explains that Applied Theatre is theatre that can build "stronger communities" and "where new possibilities for mankind can be imagined" (Taylor 2003: xxi). The field of Applied Theatre consists of several practices, including drama therapy, drama education, theatre for development, community theatre, prison theatre among others (Nicholson, 2005). Nicholson states that the different practices have their own theories, specialized practices and debates; however, they all have a shared intention and purpose of using theater to advance social change (Ackroyd 2000; Nicholson 2005) Consequently the applied drama practitioner can be understood, to some extent, as a social (theatre) worker "full of psychological and/or sociological reference points", where the practitioner needs knowledge of psychology and sociology to effectively engage with social issues and vulnerable groups (Thompson & Schechner 2004:12).

Prison Theatre

Prison Theatre is one of the many practices that falls under the umbrella of applied theatre. It is the application of art forms in the criminal justice systems to fulfil a 'need for creativity that goes beyond the basic perception of arts as entertainment, leisure or even education' (Balfour, 2004: 2) to address the needs of at-risk populations for personal and social development (Shailor, 2011). Michael Balfour (2004) traces the history of using theatre in prisons to earlier periods of incarceration. His findings show evidence of artwork and performances done in ghettos, camps and communist Gulags during the Second World War. Furthermore, he found drawings by Plains Indians imprisoned in the United States. A staging of George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officers* in 1789, was even performed in the British colony of South Wales by prisoners.

The professionalization of the field was not recognized until the early 1990s (Balfour, 2004; Pensalfini 2016). Although, there were already at this time, several theatre companies established, providing theatrical training and productions inside of prisons, which included both therapeutic, artistic and vocational goals (Pensalfini, 2016:11) In more recent years, artists have been successful in getting the prison systems to legitimize and develop a more positive attitude towards creative activities such as theatre inside the prison facilities (Balfour, 2004). McAviney (2001) claims that the main reason for this shift in attitude towards artistic activity is a common understanding that the arts can have a positive impact on prisoners and the people who work in them.

Since the new positive attitudes towards the arts in prison, there have been a thousands of prison theatre projects around the world. McAviney (2001) points out that in more than half of the prisons in Italy, prison theatre is being practiced. Similarly, the UK has numerous active prison theatre programs, the most well-known ones including the Geese Theatre Company, Safe Ground, Clean Break, Theatre in Prison and Probation.

Theatre in South African prisons

There is a limited published scholarship concerning participatory arts in South African prisons. McAviney (2001) claims that from around the year 2000, there has been a notable increase in work on theatre in South African prisons (see Chinhanu Master thesis, 2017). Examples of organisations that practice theatre training in the country's prison include Young in Prison and the Bonfire Theatre

Company. Bonfire Theatre Company consists of a diverse team of performers and facilitators, such as musicians, drama therapists, music therapists and actors, with the goal of using storytelling as a form for rehabilitation. Bonfire Theatre Company uses techniques from Theatre of the Oppressed, psychodrama and traditional storytelling. Similarly, Young in Prison uses arts therapy to assist with psychosocial development and behaviour modification of young people in conflict with the law. Young in Prison further engages closely with the community, and policy makers in South Africa, aiming to influence policies around criminal justice.

Besides the work of organizations, there has been work inside prison by independent artists. One prominent scholar is Lisa Biggs (2016) who emphasizes the ongoing critique of performance arts in South African prisons. Scholars question whether prison management's appropriation of black and Coloured South African styles of performance benefit prisoners or if it just maintains forms of state power through cultural appropriation that presents an inordinately positive view of the Department of Correctional Services rehabilitation efforts (Biggs 2016:5; Gillespie 2008). Furthermore, Biggs (2016) states that the method does not address larger societal challenges such as political and economic aspects. Alexandra Sutherland (2013; 2015) explores the notions of the performance of gender and sexuality through theatre with male prisoners in a South African prison facility, where she concludes that theatre can enable the potential for new possibilities for how gender can be performed in multiple forms. She argues that alternative politics of recognition can be negotiated through theatre, and the process of negotiating alternative forms of recognition for black 'violent' men is achieved through the process of making the performance rather than the actual content of the performance (Sutherland, 2015). In prison, in particular, Sutherland (2013) claims that theatre can

give an understanding of how identities of gender can be navigated among male prisoners, both inside and outside prison, though there is still a need for research to be done on how the performed dynamics of gender identities translates into the real world (Sutherland 2013).

Young-Jahangeer (2014) looks at sexuality and sexual orientation in a female prison in Durban through a popular participatory theatre lens (PPT). Prisoners were encouraged to address social issues in the form of a performance. When a group of female prisoners chose to present a performance on lesbianism, the feedback from community leaders in the audience constituted a homophobic backlash, demonstrating that lesbianism is still not accepted in their communities. This response was contrary to Young-Jahangeer's intention to stimulate reflective discussions. The experience prompted her to question whether her own liberal ideals, and modes of discussion, reflected a value for the conservative lived realities of the respective prisoners. This sheds light on possible challenges and conflicts of interest, between prisoners and facilitator, in intervention programmes. It is important to consider local socio-cultural contexts, especially in situations where the facilitator is a 'cultural outsider'.

Both researchers and artists problematize prison theater practices within their own contexts. Most of the debates and arguments about theatre practices, mainly derive from the premise that Prison Theatre is largely focusing on rehabilitative and therapeutic agendas, including corrections and drama therapy (Pensalfini, 2016). In order to receive a sense of individual validation, the practice of Prison Theatre itself is constructed around therapy and psychology. Paul Heritage (2011, cited in Pensalfini 2016) stresses that the reason for a focus on drama therapy and psychodrama in prison

theatre was a result of criticism by drama therapists who questioned the practice of performance artists working in prisons without therapeutic qualifications. As a result, prison theatre practitioners felt bound to justify and defend their work through reference to therapeutic outcomes.

However, one danger of working with vulnerable individuals, whose misfortunes could be considered to be effects of greater social inequalities and injustices, in this manner is that all responsibility to cope with systemic oppression and undergo change is focused on the individual level. Moreover, life inside the prisons of South Africa is organised and structured within the pervasive ‘underworld’ of the Number Gangs, making change at the individual level even more difficult (Lötter 1988). As a result, Young-Jahangeer (2009) argues that in an African setting, where there are adversities of poverty and myriad social illnesses, there is a necessity to shift the objectives of prison theatre in South Africa from theatre focused purely on individual rehabilitation towards a theatre that additionally addresses the need for greater social change. This push to reshape the objectives of Prison Theatre invites the employment of Augusto Boal’s techniques, which allow us to reflect on the greater social structures that influence individual practice.

Augusto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed

It is imperative that I briefly discuss Augusto Boal’s work which was influential in the development of the field of Applied Theatre. Augusto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) focused largely on catalyzing broader social change by helping people understand the various ways in which they can act in more democratic, cooperative ways. This contrasts with some of the other approaches under the umbrella of Applied Theatre, which are often more focused on individual therapeutic outcomes.

Boal's theory and practices were strongly influenced by the Brazilian pedagogue, Paulo Freire, and his work 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (Khutan 2014; Singhal 2004), showing Boal's attention to the importance of learning. Freire's method included his philosophy of human consciousness of knowing; Freire called it "conscientization" (Freire, 1974). The key objectives of Boal's TO are to use theatre as a tool for liberation, to offer people the knowledge on how to act in more democratic and cooperative ways (Boal, 2013; Österlind, 2008) TO can therefore be seen as an example of critical performative pedagogy, a "practical enactment" of Freire's (1974) critical pedagogy (see Burleson PhD Thesis, 2003:6).

Boal was a political activist, and both his and Freire's theories and practices were developed in response to the Brazilian dictatorial regimes and oppression of lower class people, hence their clear statement on the use of terminology of oppression (Boal 2013; Burleson 2003). However, Burleson (2003) points out that Boal believed that all human beings experience oppression in different forms, both theoretical and material. Through Boal's practices, he wanted people to re-think unequal power relationships and reflect on their own position (Boal, 2013). Furthermore, he sought to examine social injustice and experiment with solving problems, both on individual and group level (Österlind, 2008). Boal believed, that, when vulnerable people are conscious about their position, they would be better equipped and empowered to take actions to overcome oppression (Boal 2000; Botha 2009). Boal created exercises involving dramatized images of reality, to make people engage and reflect on situations, both audience and performers becomes actors, and believed their empowerment would transfer into real-life situations. Summarising this, he stated that "theatre is a weapon, and it is the people who should wield it (Boal, 2000;122).

The theater project examined in this study, *Help I am Free*, mainly used Image Theatre and Forum theatre techniques, two of the most significant theatrical forms of Boal's method. In Boal's original Image Theatre (Boal 2013), participants explore a subject/word the whole group is interested in and everyone can relate to. Image Theatre is an effective way to work in a group, where language or cultural differences can be a barrier (Young-Jahangeer, 2009). In practice, a participant will shape an 'image' with his/her body, without speaking, representing the individual interpretation or/and feeling of the subject/theme (Boal 2000). Other participants are then able to introduce and incorporate their visions of the subject as well. The final image, called the "actual", should represent the groups' common belief, or experience/opinion of the chosen subject. The "actual image" is a conversation starter, and will create a discussion among participants on what they would want to change. A new process, again without speaking, starts with the "actual image", and physically changes into the "ideal image". The final stage of the process, is to create an "transitional image", representing the transition from one reality to another (Boal 2000). The whole process can therefore open up for new perspectives and reflections on change and transitions in various situations. . In the *Help I am Free* project, the method was facilitated to explore internal or external oppression, unconscious thoughts and feelings of the inmates.

In the Forum Theatre practice, the audiences are not only watching the performance but are also enabled and encouraged to act in the performance. Boal explained it as the spectators transforming into spect-actors (Boal, 2000). Furthermore, the application of these types of exercises derived from Boal's method, The *Help I am Free* project aims to encourage participants to form a critical

consciousness while taking action in the larger community they are a part of. In this project, the prison performers rehearsed scenarios of their prison life experiences and present them to each other for consideration, dissection and rewriting. Forum Theatre is used to create a strong dialogue between the performance and audience, to find solutions to subjects such as challenging scenarios and situations. The spectators are spect-actors and are able to interrupt the performance at any time, by saying "stop", then physically replace one of the performers, and include his/her input/solution to the situation. Through critical dialogue and discussion, participants will together reflect and come up with solution to the chosen subject. The participants (in this case, the prisoners, who were acting both as performing artists and audience), have to constantly and attentively engage in the challenge/subject derived from the performance.

The above presented literature, on theatre in prison, contextualizes some of the ways in which performance arts methodologies have been applied to work with prisoners. The *Help I am Free* project falls under the umbrella of Applied Theatre, where recovery, healing and rehabilitation stands as strong focus. It further explicitly builds on techniques inspired by Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, aiming to help participants to more actively engage with, and transform the social and political forces they will face outside of prison.

Performance art impacts on individual behaviour

While the previous section focused on situating applied theatre and provided a discussion of the relevant scholars/theories, this section will engage with the question of how participatory and performance arts have been shown to impact individual behaviour. The majority of offenders who

take part in gangsterism will go back to society with a high risk of remaining in gang affiliations and are therefore a concern for the health and safety of themselves and others. Interventions to reduce gang violence are very much needed (Di Placido et al. 2006). Research illustrates that cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT), including performance arts, in rehabilitation of offenders shows a positive effect on transforming criminal attitudes and decreasing recidivism (Di Placido et al. 2006; Hughes 2005; Balfour 2003; Lipsey et al. 2007; Johnson 2008). It is promising that individual changes, in attitudes and behaviours, is possible through the use of these methods. In this section, I take a closer look at performance arts and CBT. I will discuss the possible impact it has on individuals incarcerated for violent and gang-affiliated actions in terms of health, wellbeing, and behaviour.

About CBT and social learning theory

CBT is a combination of emotional, behavioural and cognitive concepts, where the *cognitive* element are looking at thinking skills, *emotional* elements are related to self-expression, self-awareness and self-control and the *behavioural* element examines the pro-social actions one needs in order to achieve goals. CBT thus aims to regulate self-expression, self-awareness, self-control and the skills to learn ways to achieve goals (Khutan 2014; Sheldon 2011). Hughes (et al. 2005) explains that social cognitive theory is designed to “address the complex relationships between thoughts, feelings and behaviour, which an individual learns to manage from experience and by example from significant people in their lives” (2005:57). The concepts of CBT are also actively used in performance arts approaches and programmes in prison such as physical theatre, movement and music (Nicholson 2005, Khutan 2014; Balfour 2004). Similar to Boal’s (2000) theories and

methodologies for Theatre of the Oppressed, presented above, Bandura's social cognitive theory, also known as social learning theory, shares the idea that through observation of others, self-awareness and self-control can be increased. Furthermore, the skills observed can be adapted to real-life situations, leading to a possible change in behaviour.

Khutan (2014) highlights how CBT and social learning theories overlap with the same approach in understanding others through observation, and the resultant "ability to play a social role, to understand and perform to expectations of others, as well as to develop and sustain personal style and identity" (Khutan 2014:74). Similarly Lasse Møller (2003) notes how social learning and CBT in theatre has an impact on preparing prisoners for their release since playing out the roles of other members of society allows them to see multiple perspectives, which gives them new understandings of behaviour.

Several aspects of CBT can be used in drama programmes in prisons, where the exercises the facilitator designs to the participants allow the drama programme participants to explore how they would respond to 'real world' situations, using newly acquired new skills through the programme (Hughes et al. 2005; Møller 2003). Hughes et al. (2005) point out that both a lack of empathy and poor thinking skills have been linked to offending behaviour and stress that self-control, assertiveness, perspective-taking and negotiation skills can be enhanced through a CBT approach. Arts programmes in prison that use CBT approach are therefore often geared towards increasing empathy and reflection. Goldstein et al. (2004) stresses that self-control, assertiveness, perspective-taking and negotiation skills can be enhanced through a CBT approach of psychological

skills training. This concept may also include preparation for decision making, problem-solving and engaging in various social interactions.

When looking at behaviour change or rehabilitation, it is crucial to employ a cognitive approach. Characteristics that are seen as related to offending behaviour include anti-social and temperamental behaviour, poor problem solving capacity, as well as anti-social values and attitudes (Hughes et al. 2005). Drama-based programmes designed and constructed towards developing pro-social behaviour can therefore be highly valuable when employed in rehabilitation initiatives. Looking at programmes aimed to support offenders who are in the transition of facing the 'real world' and challenges on the outside (i.e. who are soon to be released from prison), the skills conveyed in a CBT approach like self-efficacy, problem-solving skills and the ability to practice new social norms are especially needed. In the context of drama, role-playing can provide participants the chance to practice perspective taking, self-expression, inventiveness, as well as re-creating situations and how to look at them in different ways (Hewish, 2001).

Arvind Singhal et al. (2004) argues that, "Human adaptation and change are, of course, rooted in social systems. Therefore, personal agency operates within a broad network of social structural influences" (Singhal et al. 2004:76). By acknowledging larger complex issues impacting individual behaviour and actions, social cognitive theory also extends the concept of individual human agency to collective agency and social context (Bandura 2000 in Singhal et al. 2004). Hence social structures, families, institutions, and community agency on a larger scale contribute to and play an important role in the sense of collective efficacy, and lead to a shared belief in collective power and

social change (Singhal et al., 2004). It is therefore necessary to look at individual-level behaviour change in a larger context: in both the ability for an individual to change behaviour and the causes of that behaviour. Lisa Biggs (2016) argues that, although performance arts interventions can have a positive effect in terms of rehabilitation and personal ‘healing’, there is a danger that theatre artists committed to social or political change become complicit in reductionist or binary definitions of rehabilitation and change that are apolitical and individualistic (Biggs 2016; Snyder-Young 2013).

Why CBT with prisoners?

Incarcerated individuals live with restrictions that are often adverse to the fundamental human rights of freedom. Prisoners, as with any individual, are still entitled to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, without any form of discrimination (WHO 2000). Health in prison is a highly complex issue and individuals face various dimensions of health challenges (Durcan and Zwemstra 2014; Fraser et al., 2009; Rutherford & Duggan, 2009). Research has shown that imprisonment harms mental health based on harmful prison conditions such as overcrowding, lack of meaningful activities and different forms of violence (Durcan & Zwemstra 2014; Nurse et al. 2003; WHO/Europe 2014). Studies have shown that the prevalence of poor mental health is higher in prison than in the already destitute living conditions on the outside (Durcan & Zwemstra 2014; Rutherford et al. 2009). Although the effects of performance arts are not extensive enough to conquer the complex health and social issues prisoners are facing, it can contribute as part of a larger comprehensive strategy to increase their health and wellbeing (Hughes 2005; Lipsey et al. 2007).

In an attempt to provide a greater understanding of why CBT is an attractive method for working with offenders, I will present some examples of previous research on the phenomenon. Neilsen et al. (2015) concludes that most artistic activities promote mental health based on practicing values such as social connectedness self-efficacy/mastery, overcoming experiential avoidance and strengthening personal identity (Neilsen et al. 2015). Likewise, Douglas (2011) focuses on objectives such as self-discipline, creativity, self-presentation, risk-taking, self-confidence and team building based on theories and methods drawn from Bandura's social cognitive theory. What most performance art programmes in prison have in common is the focus on the value of the process and the cognitive behavioural aspects of theatre rather than the performance itself (Pensalfini 2016; Sutherland 2015; Buell 2010). Moreover, Hughes (2008) and Douglas (2011) both suggest that participating in a group and doing performance arts activities may promote self-esteem, problem solving abilities, self-confidence and interest in further learning.

Balfour (2004) stresses that in the 21st century, the role of prisons is also considered to be rehabilitative (in addition to controlling crime), hence the need to prepare offenders to be reintegrated effectively into the society. Despite the fact that successful reintegration with lower risk of offending would have significant social and economic benefits (Pensalfini 2016), research shows that attempts at this kind of rehabilitation do not always work in practice, and prisons remain facilities where offenders are not able to communicate emotionally, developing distressed individuals with a higher likelihood of carrying mental health problems (Balfour 2004; Nurse et al. 2003; WHO/Europe 2014)

Ranjit Khutan (2014) explains that rehabilitation of offenders is often assisted by public health workers through health promotion techniques, and outlines a number of health concerns among prisoners in England and Wales particularly, including a severe problem of drug use in prisons. This, among other, increases risks of mental health disorders, risky sexual practices and further sets prisoners in a vulnerable situation, with high need of healthcare and health information. Khutan stresses the importance of public health work in prisons, and the need for a holistic approach to health-promoting activities, highlighting in turn arts for health and Applied Theatre as useful strategies that can lead to new forms of self-expression and better communication with others. The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) recognizes that “the enforcement of court sentences alone is not enough to ensure an attitudinal, cognitive and behavioural change on the part of offenders (The White Paper on Corrections, South Africa 2005:48), and have increased the number of participatory activities in prison programs.

In the late 1990s, after a time of political changes, The South African prison services took on a new approach for the prison system, including a change of name to “correctional services”, as well as a stronger focus on the rehabilitation of offenders (White Paper on Corrections, 2005). Before this, the primary function of the prison service was to keep offenders incarcerated until release. In the White Paper on Corrections, released in 2005, attention to human treatment in order to provide rehabilitation and reintegration were explicitly pointed out. The Correctional Services objective is to protect the public from the incarcerated offender, while offender is being secured and rehabilitated to become a “healthy, and responsible community member” (South African Government 2017). After serving parts of their sentence in the prison, an offender will be offered a chance to finish his/her

sentence on parole, with correctional supervision in form of a parole board. The White Paper on Corrections (2005) in South Africa, claims to strive towards being “correctional centres of rehabilitation” in which offenders are given “new hope and encouragement to adopt a lifestyle that will result in a second chance towards becoming the ideal South African citizen”.

By engaging the concept of rehabilitation, the Department of Correctional Services can fulfill their obligation to provide rehabilitative services and ensure that offenders leave the correctional system and achieve the goal of becoming law-abiding, responsible and productive citizens (Cilliers 2008). In the development of the White Paper on Corrections (2005) in South Africa, rehabilitation was placed in the centre of all activities, as the Department of Correctional Services are entrusted with the responsibility of rehabilitate offending behavior among sentenced offenders. The policy was developed for programs to contribute to helping offenders achieve a productive life after serving their sentence (Cilliers 2008).

Drama, violence and masculinity

There is a wealth of literature demonstrating drama-based approaches to aggressive and violent behaviour (Khutan 2014; Balfour 2000; Blacker et al 2008; Bundy 2000; Hughes 2008). The selection of literature for this review was therefore limited to the most contemporary examples of the use of performance arts in work with male offenders and violence. Balfour (2000) looks at the *Pump, Challenging Violence* program in the UK, and its implications on violent offenders. The Pump program demonstrates significant changes in behaviour, and participants note that they are more aware of previous provoking factors that may have led to violent actions. Moreover, Balfour

addresses the positive value of adapting a pro-feminist approach as a factor in recognizing in what ways anger and violence can be related to a desire for control and power (2000). Balfour (2004) later criticized CBT approaches for not considering influencing factors from a larger context such as cultural and economic, social and political environments, and stresses that pro-feminist approaches are an influential factor to acknowledge in violence prevention programs. Lorraine Moller (2011) evaluates theatre for behaviour change at the Sing Sing Correctional Facility in New York and she observed a change in behaviour in anger among participants, measured by the fact that they spent less time locked up, and were able to play out and release their anger and emotions in the programme. Another programme working with violence prevention through performance arts in prison in the UK is *Insult to Injury*. Sixty two offenders participated and the purpose was for the participants to identify skills and strategies to work against their own violent behaviour when triggered (Blacker et al 2008). The programme showed a positive impact on participants in terms of victim sympathy, self-awareness, and the ability to imagine new ways to react in ‘high risk situations’.

Clark Baim et al. (2002), the founder of *Geese Theatre Company*, claims that drama-based programmes are more practical and personal ways for participants to express feelings, thoughts and behaviours in comparison to more traditional prison programmes addressing anger and violence. An arts-based programme enables participants to explore new sides of themselves through a creative process. As illustrated through Balfour’s Pump programme, a pro-feminist approach may contribute to a positive impact in drama-based programmes among violent participants. Bundy (2000), like Balfour (2000), argues that a pro-feminist approach recognises societal factors such as political,

economic and social influences where violence is used for control and power. Furthermore, Bundy (2000) indicates that through a drama-based approach, using a play-making process could open up unique ways for participants to explore new forms of leadership and acceptance. She further claims that a drama-based programme adapting a pro-feminist approach “offers opportunities to explore the attitudes which underpin behaviour rather than being designed to offer opportunities to [simply] practise new behaviours” (p. 265). By doing so, participants are able to explore belief systems, social interactions, and ways of viewing the world as well as their relationship to it. Khutan (2014) also points out that literature illustrates that drama-based programs for anger and violence control in prison have led to a reduced tension and violence as well as enhanced relationships between staff members and prisoners.

Seeing performance art programs in prison as a positive contribution to rehabilitation and behaviour change among prisoners does not negate the fact that such programs must also be interrogated for their possibly problematic focus on individualistic solutions to systemic problems. As previously discussed one of these problematic elements is the ethical challenges and the dichotomy in studies largely conducted in western contexts versus the South African prison context dominated by the Number gangs. Life inside the prisons of South Africa is organised and structured within the “underworld” of the Number Gangs (Lötter 1988). Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town has gained international notoriety as the home to the highest number of prison gangs in the country. As the *Help I am Free* programme works with rehabilitation in Pollsmoor prison, I need to recognise the social and structural factors in this particular context.

The history of the Number gangs started in the gold mines as a mythical figure named *Nongoloza* (Steinberg 2004). The Number is strongly driven by hierarchies and rituals where the form of currency are money, drugs, sex and valuables. The three different gangs—the 26, 27 and 28 gangs—perform different functions, where the 28s are the original Number and the largest, most feared gang (Gear and Ngubeni, 2002). The 28s are known to operate by ‘organizing’ themselves where some of their own members are instructed to be a ‘*wyfie*’ where the ‘*wyfie*’ must fulfill ‘her’ husband's sexual wishes in exchange for food and drugs (Steinberg 2004). The 27s operates on physical violence, while 26s operate with money, drugs and valuables (2004). Being in the Number is initially voluntarily. However, membership can come with certain alluring benefits such as security, food, sense of belonging, power and money (Young, 2005). The Number gangs has been active in South African prisons for estimated hundred years (John, 2013). Today, however, they operate both inside and outside prisons, all over South Africa, and the members are also commonly involved in neighbourhood gangs outside of prison. The Number Gangs are known for crime involving mainly drugs and money. The Number gangs, and its hierarchy, rules and structure affects participants of *Help I am Free* on a daily basis, including after release, and therefore has a significant impact on the effectiveness of any effort to provide rehabilitation.

An additional and important consideration is the possibility that prison systems may use rehabilitation interventions simply to keep prisoners obedient. Arts programmes can be co-opted and used as a convenient, therapeutic, and culturally acceptable intervention in an unpleasant environment (Snyder-Young 2013). Although art practitioners may want to work critically by questioning prison conditions and address influential factors that make rehabilitation processes

challenging for the individual, they risk getting denied access to the prison as it may not reflect information that the prison system wants to come out to the public (Snyder-Young 2013; Biggs 2016). James Thompson (2000) problematizes theatre for social change by emphasising larger societal problems that contribute to criminal behaviours. He highlights that ex-prisoners are facing significant challenges in their communities even with the strongest motivation to change their lives. He further stresses that theatre programmes in prison must refocus and engage both personal and community change as only with this method can there be hope for sustainable change for the individual (Thompson 2000).

Summary

The literature presented illustrates a common understanding that performance arts and CBT are effective methods used in rehabilitation and in changing the behaviour of offenders. Theatre and performance arts interventions that engage with marginalised and vulnerable people, including prisoners, have shown positive results in reducing recidivism among offenders worldwide. CBT and performance arts programmes can provide a positive influence, thereby facilitating recovery. This in turn helps to prepare the individual for one's transition back to society, which may lead to transformations of criminal and violent behaviour. However, the literature review shows a clear tension between structural factors and individual experience. It is therefore important to consider whether the potential of performance arts programmes are beneficial in South Africa's context, where structural issues are highly pronounced. Art interventions in prisons are mostly focused on making a change for the individual but literature shows that research fails to look at broader societal factors, such as the deep rooted gang culture in South Africa and how this affects the individual's

possibility to change. The long-term effects of using performance arts and behaviour theories towards prevention of gang violence in contexts like South Africa is yet to be determined.

References

Ackroyd, J. (2000) Applied theatre: Problems and possibilities. *Applied Theatre Researcher* (no. 1). Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.529.7589&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Balfour, M. (2003). *The use of drama in the rehabilitation of violent male offenders* (Vol. 19). Edwin Mellen Press Retrieved from Google Books

Balfour, M. (Ed.). (2004). *Theatre in prison: Theory and practice*. Intellect Books.

Baim C, Brookes S, Mountford A (2002) *The Geese Theatre Handbook*. Winchester: Waterside Press. Retrieved from Google Books

Bandura, A. (1965). Influence of models' reinforcement contingencies on the acquisition of imitative responses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1(6), 589-595

Bandura, A. (1974). Behavior theory and the models of man. *American Psychologist*, 29, 859-869

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. New York: General Learning Press.

Bandura, A. (1989). Social cognitive theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development. Vol. 6. Six theories of child development* (pp. 1-60). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Beynon, J. (2001). *Masculinities and culture*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Biggs, L. (2016). Serious Fun at Sun City: Theatre for Incarcerated Women in the “New” South Africa. *Theatre Survey*, 57(1), 4-36. *American Society for Theatre Research* doi:10.1017/S0040557415000538

Blacker, J., Watson, A., & Beech, A. R. (2008). A combined drama-based and CBT approach to working with self-reported anger aggression. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 18(2),

129-137.

Boal, A. (2000) *The Theatre of the Oppressed*. Transl Charles, A. & Lea McBride, A. London: Pluto

Boal, A. (2013) *The Rainbow of Desire, the Boal Method of Theatre and Therapy*. (Translated by Jackson, A) London and New York: *Routledge* Retrieved from Google Books

Bradshaw, D. (2008). Determinants of health and their trends: Primary health care: in context. *South African health review*, 2008(1), 51-69. <http://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC35512>

Breetzke, G. (2010). A socio-structural analysis of crime in the city of Tshwane, South Africa. *South African Journal of Science*, 106(11-12), 1-7.

Brecht, B (2014) *Brecht On Theatre*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 219-280

Buell, B. (2011) Rehabilitation Through The Arts At Sing Sing: Drama In The Big House. In Shailor, J. (Ed). *Performing New Lives: Prison Theatre*. London: *Jessica Kingsley*, 49-65.

Bundy, 2000: Bundy, P. (2000). Extending the possibilities: the use of drama in addressing problems of aggression. *Research in Drama Education*. 5(2), 263-266

Burleson, J. D. (2003) Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed in the Public Speaking and Interpersonal Communication Classrooms (PhD Thesis). *Louisiana State University Doctoral Dissertations*. 59. https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/59

Burton, P. (2006). Snapshot results of the 2005 national youth victimisation study. *Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention. Research bulletin, No 1*. http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/research_bulletin_1_-_snapshot_results_of_the_2005_youth_victimisation_study.pdf

Chinhanu, C. A., (2017) Prison A/R/Tography: the Aesthetic of 'Captive Masculinities'. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. *University of Cape Town*. Retrieved from OpenUCT 2. January 2018 <https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/397/browse>

Cilliers, C. (2008) The South African prison policy. University of South Africa, Pretoria. 533-548. Retrieved 22. December 2017 http://www.arasa.info/files/8514/2649/8310/27_Stavern_Report_South_Africa.pdf

Connell R. W., (2005). *Masculinities*. Second Edition. University of California Press.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19(6), 829-859. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>

Daniels, D., & Adams, Q. (2010). Breaking with township gangsterism: The struggle for place and voice. *African Studies Quarterly*, 11(4), 45.

Department of Correctional Services (2005) *White Paper on Corrections in South Africa*. Pretoria: Department of Correctional Services

Di Placido, C., Simon, T. L., Witte, T. D., Gu, D., & Wong, S. C. (2006). Treatment of gang members can reduce recidivism and institutional misconduct. *Law and Human Behavior*, 30(1), 93-114.

Douglas, D. (2011). *Self-esteem, Recovery and the Performing Arts: A Textbook and Guide for Mental Health Practitioners, Educators and Students*. Charles C Thomas Publisher.

Durcan, G., & Zwemstra, J. C. (2014). 11. Mental health in prison. *Prisons and Health*, 87.

Fraser, A., Gatherer, A., & Hayton, P. (2009). Mental health in prisons: great difficulties but are there opportunities?. *Public health*, 123(6), 410-414.

Freire, P (1974) Conscientisation, *CrossCurrent* Vol. 24, No. 1 pp. 23-31 retrieved from JSTOR http://www.jstor.org/stable/24457877?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents 12.1.2018

Gillespie, K., (2008) Moralizing Security: 'Corrections' and the Post-Apartheid Prison, *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 2.1 69–87.

Gear, S. & Ngubeni, K. 2002. *Daai Ding: Sex, sexual violence and coercion in men's prisons*. Braamfontein: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. <http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/correctional/daaidingsex.pdf>

Gillespie, K. (2008). Moralizing Security:'Corrections' and the Post-Apartheid Prison. *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, 2(1), 69-87.

Goldstein A, Glick B, Carthan W, Blancero DA (2004) 'The Prosocial Gang' in Balfour ed *Theatre in Prison: Theory and Practice* Intellect Books

Goleman D (1995) *Emotional Intelligence* NY Bantam Books, in Hughes, J., & McLewin, A. M. A. (2005). Doing the arts justice. *A review of Research Literature, Practice and Theory. The Unit for the Arts and Offenders. Centre for applied Theatre Research. Web publication <http://ccpr.designiscentral.net/record/286>.*

Heritage, P. (1998) Theatre in Brazilian Prisons: An Historical Footnote. In *Prison Theatre: Perspectives and Practices*. J. Thompson, Ed. London: Jessica Kingsley Publications. 231-238.

Hewish S (2001) 'Interactive Intervention Programmes for Sex, Violent and Persistent Offenders: Final Report' Acting Out Company and Stoke-on-Trent Youth Offending Team in *Doing the arts justice: A review of research literature, practice and theory*. Hughes, J. (2005). Canterbury, UK: *The Unit for the Arts and Offenders, Centre for Applied Theatre Research*.

Hill, K. G., Howell, J. C., Hawkins, J. D., & Battin-Pearson, S. R. (1999). Childhood risk factors for adolescent gang membership: Results from the Seattle Social Development Project. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 36(3), 300-322.

Hughes, J., (2005). Doing the arts justice. *A review of Research Literature, Practice and Theory. The Unit for the Arts and Offenders. Centre for applied Theatre Research*. The University of Manchester. Retrieved from University of Manchester eScholar.

Hughes, K., Hardcastle, K., & Perkins, C. (2015). The mental health needs of gang-affiliated young people, a briefing produced as part of the Ending Gang and Youth Violence programme. London: *Public Health England*.

John, C. (2013) 'Catharsis and Critical Reflection in IsiZulu Prison Theatre: A case study from Westville correctional facility in Durban', *Journal for African Culture & Society*, 44 (1), pp.85-96.

Johnson, L. M. (2008). A place for art in prison: Art as a tool for rehabilitation and management. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, 5(2), 100-120.

Khutan, R. (2014). *Demonstrating Effectiveness: Competing Discourses in the use and Evaluation of Applied Theatre that Contributes to Improved Health Outcomes for Prisoners* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester).

Krug, E. G., Mercy, J. A., Dahlberg, L. L., & Zwi, A. B. (2002). The world report on violence and health. Chapter 8. Collective violence. p 215-237 *The Lancet*, 360(9339), 1083-1088.

Kynoch, G. (2008). Urban violence in colonial Africa: A case for South African exceptionalism.

Journal of Southern African Studies, 34(3), 629-645.

Kyriacou, D. N., Hutson, H. R., Anglin, D., Peek-Asa, C., & Kraus, J. F. (1999). The relationship between socioeconomic factors and gang violence in the city of Los Angeles. *Journal of Trauma and Acute Care Surgery*, 46(2), 334-339.

Lipsey, M. W., Landenberger, N. A., & Wilson, S. J. (2007). Effects of cognitive-behavioral programs for criminal offenders. *Campbell systematic reviews*, 6(1), 27.

Luyt, R., & Foster, D. (2001). Hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in gang culture. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 31(3), 1-11.

Lötter, J. M. (1988). Prison Gangs in South Africa: A Description. *South African Journal of Sociology*, 19, 2.

MacMaster, L. L. (2007). Social and economic emasculation as contributing factors to gangsterism on the Cape Flats. *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa*, 95(1), 278-289.

Makombe, R. (2014). Gang Violence and Postcolonial Survival in Athol Fugard's *Tsotsi*. *English*, 63(240), 5-27. doi:10.1093/english/eft031

Matzopoulos, R., Myers, J. E., Bowman, B., & Mathews, S. (2006). Interpersonal violence prevention: prioritising interventions. *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal*, 98(9), 682-690.

Matzopoulos, R., Mathews, S., Bowman, B., & Myers, J. (2007). Decreasing the burden of injury from violence. Report. *Western Cape Burden of Disease Reduction Project Vol 5/7*

Matzopoulos, R., Bowman, B., Mathews, S., & Myers, J. (2010). Applying upstream interventions for interpersonal violence prevention: an uphill struggle in low-to middle-income contexts. *Health Policy*, 97(1), 62-70.

McAvinchey, C. (2011) *Theatre & Prison*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

McDaniel, D. D., Logan, J. E., & Schneiderman, J. U. (2014). Supporting gang violence prevention efforts: A public health approach for nurses. *Online journal of issues in nursing*, 19(1).

Mercy, J., Butchart, A., Farrington, D., Cerda, M. (2002) Youth violence. In: Krug, E.G., Dahlberg, L.L., Mercy, J.A., Zwi, A.B., Lozano, R. (Eds.), *World Report on Violence and Health*. World

Health Organization, Geneva.

Moller, L. (2011) Project Slam: Rehabilitation through theatre at Sing Sing Correctional Facility. *International Journal of the Arts in Society*, Vol. 5, No. 5, pp. 9–30.

Moolman, B. (2004). The reproduction of an ‘ideal’ masculinity through gang rape on the Cape Flats: understanding some issues and challenges for effective redress. *Agenda*, 18(60), 109-124.

Morrell, R. (2001). Times of change: men and masculinity in South Africa. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in South Africa* (pp.3-37). Scottsville: University of Natal Press.

Mountford, A., Farrall, M. (1998) The house of four rooms: Theatre, violence and the cycle of change. In J. Thompson (Ed.) *Prison theatre: Perspectives and practices* (pp 109 – 126). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Møller, L. (2003) A Day in the Life of a Prison Theatre Program. *The Drama Review*, 47(1), pp. 49-73.

Neilsen, P., King, R., & Baker, F. (Eds.). (2015). *Creative arts in counseling and mental health*. Book. SAGE Publications.

Nicholson, H. (2005). *Applied theatre: The gift of drama*. Nova Iorque: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nurse, J., Woodcock, P., & Ormsby, J. (2003). Influence of environmental factors on mental health within prisons: focus group study. *Bmj*, 327(7413), 480.

Pensalfini, R. (2016) *Prison Shakespeare: For These Deep Shames and Great Indignities* Palgrave Macmillan the UK

Pinnock, D. (1982). *State control and street gangs in Cape Town: towards an understanding of social and spatial development* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town).

Pinnock, D. (2016). *Gang Town*. Tafelberg. South Africa

Pinnock, D., & Douglas-Hamilton, D. (1997). *Gangs, Rituals & Rites of Passage*. Cape Town: African Sun Press with the Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.

Ritter, N., Simon, T. R., & Mahendra, R. R. (2014). Changing Course: Keeping Kids Out of Gangs. *NIJ Journal*, 273, 16-27.

- Rutherford, M. and Duggan, S. (2009) Meeting Complex Health Needs in Prisons. *Public Health*, 123(6), pp. 415-418.
- Salo, E. (2007). Mans is ma soe. *States of violence: Politics, youth, and memory in contemporary Africa*, 148.
- Samara, T. R. (2005). Youth, crime and urban renewal in the Western Cape. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(1), 209-227.
- Sheldon, B. (2011) *Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy: Research and Practice in Health and Social Care*. 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Singhal, A. (2004). Entertainment-education through participatory theater: Freirean strategies for empowering the oppressed. *Entertainment-education and social change: History, research, and practice*, 377-398.
- Snyder-Young, D. (2013). *Theatre of good intentions: challenges and hopes for theatre and social change*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan
- South African Government (2017) Correctional Services. Website Article Retrieved from South African Yearbook 2016/17. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.za/about-government/government-system/justice-system/correctional-services> 22. December 2017
- Sutherland, A. (2013). 'Now we are real women': playing with gender in a male prison theatre programme in South Africa. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 18(2), 120-132.
- Sutherland, A. (2015). Disturbing masculinity: gender, performance and violent men. *SATJ: South African Theatre Journal*, 28(1), 68-77.
- Steinberg, J. (2005). *The number: One man's search for identity in the Cape underworld and prison gangs*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Taylor, P. (2003) *Applied Theatre: Creating Transformative Encounters in the Community*, Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Taylor, J., Dworin, J., Buell, B., Sepinuck, T., Palidofsky, M., Tofteland, C., Trounstine, J. (2010). *Performing new lives: prison theatre*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Thompson, J. (2000). Critical citizenship: Boal, Brazil and theatre in prisons. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 2, 181-191.

Thompson, J., & Schechner, R. (2004). Why “social theatre”? *TDR The Drama Review* Volume 48, Number 3 (T 183), Fall 2004 pp. 11-16

Twani, Z (2011) Music behind bars: exploring the role of music as a tool for rehabilitation and empowerment of offenders at Mthatha Medium Correctional Centre. Ph.D., School of Music, Faculty of Humanities, *University of the Witwatersrand*.

Vigil, J. D. (2003) Urban violence and street gangs. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 32(1), 225-242.

Wood, K. (2005) Contextualizing group rape in post-apartheid South Africa. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(4), 303-317.

Young-Jahangeer, M. (2009) Working from the inside out: Participatory popular theatre in the negotiation of discursive power and patriarchy in Female Prisons: The example of Westville Female Correctional Centre, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa 2000 – 2004. Unpublished PhD. *University of KwaZulu-Natal*.

Part C: Manuscript

Breaking Bars: An investigation into how performance art as an intervention program inside prison may lead to a behavior change among male gang members in Cape Town, South Africa

Targeted Journal: Social Science & Medicine

Abstract	2
Background	2
The Help I am Free rehabilitation programme	8
Positioning myself in the field	11
Methods	14
Results	17
All Eyes On Me	18
I am a Gangster - I Will Die a Gangster	28
Forever Parole	35
Discussion	41
Limitations	47
Conclusion	48
References	49

Abstract

Gang violence is a major concern in South Africa as it has a negative impact on the general well-being and quality of life for a significant number of the country's citizens. This article explores *Help I am Free's* use of performance arts as a tool for empowerment, the impact the programme's activities has on the participants' attitudes towards violent behaviour, and the likelihood of their successful reintegration into society. This cross-sectional qualitative research draws on a life history research approach using a series of in-depth interviews and the researcher's observations while working for the *Help I am Free* project. The article argues that the use of performance arts as a tool for empowerment, is hindered from reaching its full potential due to powerful social structures and the patriarchal gender norm. More resources must be distributed to organisations working towards crime prevention and reintegration of offenders in order to develop more comprehensive strategies.

Background

Violence has been a priority within the arena of Public Health since the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared it a growing global health problem in 1996. In South Africa's Western Cape, at least 90 000 people are involved in gangs or violent criminal activities (Krug et al. 2002:35). Exposure to violence is shown to have a negative impact on community members' mental and physical health, among youth and children in particular (Shields et al 2008; Fowler et al 2009; Martinez et al 1993). It is further identified as a key risk factor for young boys to adopt aggressive and violent behaviour (Daniels and Adams 2010; Hill et al. 1999; Matzopoulos et al.

2008; Matzopoulos et al. 2015). The violent history of colonisation and *apartheid* has been acknowledged as a key reason for the significant levels of male-dominated violence, including street gangs, in the Western Cape (Wood 2005; Coovadia et al. 2009; Breetzke 2010). This thesis is paying attention to studies in the field of masculinities, as statistics illustrate that males between 15-29 years of age are the most likely to become victims of violence in the South African context (Pinnock 2016). I do acknowledge there are many forms of violence, however, this thesis is particularly looking at physical violence, performed in the context of gang related activities.

I also find it crucial to pay attention to policing practices and the criminal justice system in South Africa when doing research on gang violence and rehabilitation of offenders. Matzopoulos et al. (2006) identify effective policing systems and social protection from violence and crime as a key determinants when looking at levels of violence. The violent history of apartheid and the violent and aggressive ways of policing during the apartheid regime has led to a bad relationship between police and the public and has resulted in a lack of trust in the criminal justice system, still persisting today (Pinnock 2016). After 1994, the new government under President Mandela introduced new frameworks of policing, working within the new Constitution and Bill of Rights with one of the foci lying on demilitarizing actions and restoring the image of the police (Pinnock 2016). Despite the new democratic actions, crime rates remained high. In the first two decades of democracy, there was little alleviation of poverty. Additionally, insufficient social services were interpreted as one aspect contributing to higher crime rates (2016). Pinnock (2016) points out that blaming insufficient policing for high rates of crime and violence in South Africa

is a vast simplification issues surrounding the topic.

In the aftermath of apartheid, “Black” and “Coloured” communities¹ were left economically and socially marginalized, and under heavy state surveillance. This resulted in community fragmentation and limited access to basic resources such as electricity, water, sanitation, and health services (Breetzke 2010; Coovadia et al. 2009). A great deal of research finds that poverty and unequal social relationships can strongly be linked to the high prevalence of gangsterism in Cape Town (Fraser et al 2009; Krug et al. 2002; Matzopoulos et al 2007; Pinnock 1982/2016). Moreover, some researchers are using social disorganisation theories in arguing how social and physical circumstances drive people into crime and that this may be the result of restraining and exclusionary political structures and rapid urban growth, as well as breakdowns in supportive social relationships (Breetzke 2010). Refingo (2017) define social disorganization theory as a “theoretical perspective that explains ecological differences in levels of crime based on structural and cultural factors shaping the nature of the social order across communities” However, this statement has been challenged, and it is important to point out the lack of research conducted in post-apartheid South Africa, which investigate socio-structural factors beyond economic deprivation and social disorganisation, in order to stigmatization and associations of crime with notions of race.

Gregory Breetzke’s (2010) study on crime in the City of Tshwane, South Africa, argues that

¹ During apartheid, the Group Areas Act 1950 and Population Registration Act 1950 forcibly removed “black” and “Coloured” people to constructed racially-categorised areas, known as townships (MacMaster 2007; Swartz 2007). I choose to use inverted commas when using racial term in this article to underline that race is not biologically fixed, but was used in the racial classification system of the apartheid regime (Swartz 2007).

social disorganisation theories are not sufficiently supported to offer a complete explanation for crime and violence. He highlights socio-economic deprivation, unemployment and lack of education as factors more strongly linked to crime and violence (Breetzke 2010). Similarly, Pinnock (2016) identifies areas with high levels of economic inequalities as areas with higher levels of violent crimes. On the other hand, Emmett (2003) states that socially disorganized communities increasingly turn to social isolation in order to protect themselves against the high level of crime and further, argues that social disorganization has had a severe impact on how effective crime prevention initiatives have been at community level. It is impossible to combat violence and crime in South Africa without considering the underlying issues of inequalities and social processes potentially tied to them (Emmett 2003).

In South Africa, despite some progress in racial reconciliation and social inequalities after the change to democracy in 1994, Justine Burns (2006) argues that racial stereotypes, expectations and social meanings created by the apartheid regime still exist to a large extent. Burns (2006) highlights low levels of trust in social and political relationships, particularly involving Black Africans, who were the group most severely and systematically marginalized and criminalized by the brutal regime. In addition, Don Pinnock in 1982 identified family deprivation, a direct result of the apartheid regime social engineering, as a significant factor in the emergence of street gangs and the high level of crime. In his book *Gang Town*, Pinnock (2016) further points out the “failure of the current government to reduce poverty, or to prevent rapid squatter settlements(...)has resulted in massive social disorganisation of poorer neighbourhoods. Despite the turnover of residents through time, these conditions persist and residents in ‘those kinds of

places' continue to be seen as 'those kinds of people'" (Pinnock 2016;187). It is important to point out, however, that contrary to the white supremacist ideologies used to justify the apartheid regime, crime and violence are not simply linked to membership in a racialized or ethnic group or a socioeconomic category, but are rather the predictable effect of broader structures and processes of social, economic and political exclusion and marginalization that in turn produce the conditions for social disorder, material deprivation, individual and social forms of suffering, and ultimately, conflict and violence.

As a result of these persisting social forces behind the individual perpetration of violence, research shows a high prevalence of recidivism among offenders (Muntingh 2002). At the same time, research has also demonstrated that cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) methods, including participatory arts as a prison intervention programme, can reduce violent behaviour, recidivism, and criminal attitudes (Di Placido et al 2006; Hughes 2005; Balfour 2003; Lipsey et al 2007; Johnson 2008).

This research was undertaken in Cape Town, where the criminal organisation of the Number dominates the urban gang scene and the prison system. The Number Gangs have operated in South African prisons across the country for about one hundred years (John, 2013), and were originally seen as an opposition to colonial and Apartheid authority (John, 2013). In later years, the Number Gangs have evolved outside prison walls as well, and today, The Number operates both inside and outside prison and therefore, the extent of the impact they have on society has increased. However, statistics and formal information about the Number gangs are hard to

document. As the Number Gangs initially are prison gangs, members belongs to neighbourhood gangs on the outside and only first after a prison sentence they may become member of the Number Gang. The initiating practices also happens inside the prison, and do not necessary affect community members directly. On the other hand, gang members, and future gang members are also members of the community, and in that way victims of the structural and violent impact of gang violence. I want to highlight, that the participants in this particular research study can all be seen as victims in a system who has, because of its complex and brutal history, failed people in disadvantaged areas. A quick research in online newspapers on “Number Gangs” shows a large number of articles of gang violence. However, news regarding violence, and weapon -and drug possession, media identifies various neighbourhood gangs as sources, while articles on the Number gangs are mainly investigation/description of the phenomena the Number Gangs, often interviews with members or researchers (Maree, 2018; Payne, 2017). Membership in the Number involves adhering to certain ideologies and chains of command that include initiation processes requiring various acts of violence; including sexual violence and murder. (Lötter 1988; Pinnock 2016; Steinberg 2004). Participants in this research are all active in the Number Gangs, particularly in the 28s, which is known to be the largest and most feared gang. The 28s are entitled to assign gender roles to other offenders, and express power and dominance through sexual activity and violence (John, 2013; Steinberg, 2004). Although it is voluntary to become a member of the Number, the benefits include crucial tools of survival, particularly in a gang environment, including security, food, money, power and sense of belonging (Pinnock 2016/Young, 2005).

The *Help I am Free* rehabilitation programme

This research explores the *Help I am Free* programme: a rehabilitation programme using performance arts as a tool for empowerment. The programme equips participants with new skills to enable them to cope better with their life situations after their sentences. As *Help I am Free* consider themselves to be a rehabilitation programme, it is crucial to define how the term ‘rehabilitation’ will be used henceforth and what the term implies. Although rehabilitation has been defined in various contexts, this research specifically addresses rehabilitative initiatives in prison and on parole and I am discussing definitions used specifically in the health and criminology contexts. For instance, Mona Lynch (2000) in her ethnographic research on rehabilitation on contemporary parole discourse and practices, defines rehabilitation as “any discourses or practices that speak to transforming or normalizing the criminal into a socially defined non-deviant citizen, including psychological programs, drug treatment programs, educational and work training programs, work and housing placement assistance, and half-way houses” (Lynch 2000:45). Furthermore, the South African White Paper on Corrections states that through correctional centers, “offenders are given new hope and encouragement to adopt a lifestyle that will result in a second chance towards becoming the *ideal* South African citizen” and that “through delivery of appropriate programmes, that the people who leave correctional centres have appropriate attitudes and competencies enabling them to successfully integrate back into society as law-abiding and productive citizens” (White Papers on Corrections 2005:5/7). As this research investigates the programme in a South African context it is important to me to consider the White Paper’s explanation on rehabilitation. However, *Help I am Free* is originally

a Norwegian prison rehabilitation programme adapting the Norwegian Correctional Services' ideologies on rehabilitation in the criminal justice system. I am therefore also including the more nuanced Norwegian definition, as it pays attention to the individual's well-being and reintegration into society as an active member. The Norwegian Ministry of Health define rehabilitation as "a time-limited, planned processes with clear goals and tools, where several stakeholders collaborate to provide necessary assistance to the patient's and the user's individual effort to achieve the best possible ability to have functional -and coping ability, independence, feeling of achievement as well as participation socially in the society" (Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services 2011). The definition shows how rehabilitation is seen as something more complex in the criminal sector, not only to prevent recidivism, but rather emphasising the individual's future participation and achievements in the society.

The *Help I am Free* programme is performance focused and works towards an annual production by the offenders and parolees, assisted by *Help I am Free* facilitators. The facilitators consist of theatre and dance-educated adults from Norway and South Africa, none of them experienced in working in a prison environment when the programme started. The programme is a collaboration between Vardeteateret and National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO), funded by FK Norway² working in Pollsmoor Correctional Centre. NICRO South Africa took part in a prison rehabilitation conference in Norway in 2012, where they saw a performance by Norwegian inmates participating in *Help I am Free* Norway. This meeting led to a collaboration to create *Help I am Free South Africa*³ as one of NICRO's efforts to stop the cycle

² Norwegian Foreign Ministry

³ In this thesis, only referred to as *Help I am Free*

of crime and recidivism in the Western Cape. *Help I am Free* follows the Norwegian Correctional Services' political principles of humanity, legal justice and equal treatment⁴ as well as the strongest principle which is the principle of normality; “*During the serving of a sentence, life inside will resemble life outside as much as possible*”⁵. The Norwegian Correctional Services believes that the more institutionalized the prison facility is, the harder it is for the offender to reintegrate back to society.

As previously mentioned, in this thesis, the concept of rehabilitation is understood through the lens of principles from the Norwegian Correctional Services' objectives in rehabilitation of offenders. *Help I am Free* focuses on the humanity of participants, where each participant is entitled to make their own choices, both artistically and in terms of participation, and are therefore responsible for the consequences⁶. *Help I am Free* is a two-year programme, which aims to assist offenders in their reintegration process, more particularly during the last year of their sentence, and the first year of their parole. While *Help I am Free* tries to follow Norwegian Correctional Services principles, its staff and facilitators are also conscious of working under the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005), where principles of rehabilitation are listed as: positive and appropriate norms and value systems; alternative social interaction options; and to develop life-skills, and social and vocational skills, in order to assist the person to refrain from returning to crime (White Paper on Corrections 2005:61).

⁴ From Norwegian Correctional Services website <http://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/index.php> 22. December 2017

⁵ From Norwegian Correctional Services website <http://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/index.php> 22. December 2017

⁶ Principle of Norwegian Correctional Services, in rehabilitation and reintegration during sentence.

We (my co-workers and myself) worked inside the prison four hours a day, three days a week during seven months, from the beginning of training in March until the final production at the end of September. In addition, we facilitated a 3-hour workshop one day a week for the parolees. The requirements for participating in the *Help I am Free* programme are based on two main criteria; it must be their last year of sentence, and the potential candidate must demonstrate a motivation to “rehabilitate” (discussed above). The management at the Correctional Centre assisted with screening of potential candidates before recruitment interviews were conducted by myself and my two colleagues, the program facilitators. Interviews did not focus on offense or possible gang affiliation, but rather included questions such as “what role do you take in a group context?”, “how would you describe yourself?” and “what is your plan when you are released?”.

Positioning myself in the field

It is critical to state my own positioning in this research project. As mentioned earlier, I was the project manager for *Help I am Free* in South Africa, and as such, my role as a researcher was complicated. My position involved full overview of relationship with stakeholders, production process and follow-up of participants while on parole as well as day-to-day communication with Pollsmoor, marketing, fundraising and event-organising for the performance at Artscape. In addition, I developed and implemented the *Help I am Free Outreach Program* for parolees and at-risk youths. My interaction with the participants commenced in March 2016, and I have been interacting with them on a weekly basis over the past fifteen months. This interaction included participating in the workshops, having individual one-on-one conversations, and further being

available to assist with various inquiries while on parole (e.g. helping out with job applications and housing problems). My position meant that it was impossible to remain detached as a researcher and I needed to be aware of where my potential biases lied. This relationship can be problematized as a limitation, but I argue that it is also a strength. I know, and understand the programme well, with an insight into all different aspects of its content. I had easy access to research participants. On the other hand, the respondents may have told me what they believed I wanted to hear considering my position as project manager and wanted the best for the program. I do believe, though, that the relationship created a foundation of trust between the participants and myself.

My first day in Pollsmoor Correctional Centre was overwhelming. It was my first time to see the inside of prison walls in real life. Our contact person, Mr. Bennans (a pseudonym), led us (myself and my two colleagues) into a space surrounded by three bars leading into long corridors of cells. Mr. Bennans told us to wait while he fetched the potential participants for interviews. The room we were in were about 5 square metres, and behind each of the three bars leading into the corridors of cells, a hundreds of staring eyes and orange uniforms were looking at us. Many of the prisoners shouted sexualized language to get our attention, whistling and laughing. I could not help but notice scars, missing eyes and gangster tattoos. Mr. Bennans came back and whispered to me, “do you see how they eat your body with their eyes?” It felt uncomfortable and unprofessional, and immediately I knew I was not just the project manager in *Help I am Free*, I was also a young woman in a highly masculine context.

The recruitment interviews for the programme took place in a small classroom. Mr. Bennans told one of the male prisoners to look after us, and left the room. One by one, the potential candidates came in, and we had a short, 5-minute conversation with each one of them about their motivation, interests and personality. It struck me that we had little to no plan of what type of questions, or guidelines to use in selecting participants besides our original criteria (explained above). This created a notable selection bias, as we as a team selected participants based on our own beliefs and judgements about which potential participants were “more motivated”, or/and in “greater need” of the programme. It felt problematic and uncomfortable “picking out” participants based on how we judged them, in a clear power position. We aimed to select a balance of outspoken and quiet participants, and ended up with a diverse group of ethnicities, backgrounds and sense of humour but all with a common interest - they all wanted to do drama.

As the project manager, my role in Pollsmoor was to organize and plan the day-to-day relationship and actions on a practical level. I did not facilitate theatre workshops. However, I participated and observed. This positioning gave me less authority towards the participants, and therefore I had a unique form of interaction with them on a less intimidating basis, compared to the workshop facilitators. Participants often came to me with concerns, requests and thoughts, often just to chat in the workshop breaks. My participation and observation of workshops also gave me the opportunity to acknowledge and observe participants’ behaviours, interactions and body language in a different way than what the facilitators, who were focused more intensely on setting up a good performance, did. I do acknowledge that these observations and interactions with the participants influenced how I interpreted and analysed my data as well as how I

developed their characters in the research. My daily interactions and observations with participants, along with interviews, gave me a broader picture of their character as a whole. However, these are my personal interpretations and observations, and bias may lay in what I bring into the research in terms of values, beliefs and prejudice.

Methods

This cross-sectional, qualitative research draws on semi-structured in-depth interviews exploring the life-histories of five gang-affiliated male participants (see Appendix 6 for a presentation of the participants). I had originally planned to include four interlocutors. However, as three of the four interlocutors were already released from Pollsmoor when my interviews were taking place, I decided to include a fifth person to get two voices of participants still awaiting their parole date. It aims to build a more nuanced description and a deeper understanding of the impact performance arts has on their own perception in terms of changing violent behaviour. Part of the data collection was ethnographic, based on observations through my work as a project manager at the Cape Town-based prison rehabilitation programme *Help I am Free*, as well as daily interactions with main respondents, who are referred to as participants in this research.

Participants were purposively sampled through the *Help I am Free* program, criteria of participation included being a male, affiliated with a gang and active participants of *Help I am Free*. I conducted three open-ended in-depth interviews with each participant including questions of childhood experiences, key social and demographics factors, personal experience with gang violence and reflections on the *Help I am Free* program. Each interview was approximately 90

minutes in length, and all interviews were held in English, without any translator present. Data collection took place over a period of two months: June and July 2017.

Through in-depth interviews with participants on their life-histories, I was able to understand better the connections between each individual, and the broader social and environmental contexts that they inhabit (Goodson et al. 2001). The research interviews involved participants who are currently directly involved in the *Help I am Free* program, both inside Pollsmoor Correctional Centre and on the parolee program. The interviews included a focus on the participants' reflections and experiences of the programme, among other topics. In addition to in-depth interviews, I conducted a focus group discussion with the three participants on parole. This discussion focused around themes that had emerged from the in-depth interviews. Furthermore, a semi-structured interview was held with three key informants: key managers from National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) and Department of Correctional Services, as well as a facilitator from *Help I am Free*. The key informants interview questions were drawn from the material from the in-depth interviews, and the focus group discussion.

Approval to conduct human research was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at University of Cape Town (HREC ref: 313/2017). For this research project, it is important to emphasise the difference between the official ethics guidelines from the Human Research Ethics Committee, and ethics in the field of social research (Posel and Ross 2015). The latter holds that ethical decisions cannot always be made in advance, but must follow common sense and the

ongoing process and relations during research between researcher and research participants. Pseudonyms are used to protect the safety of the interviewees, given that several shared sensitive information, including referring to illegal activities. All contributors to the research signed informed consent forms, which stated the objectives and scope of the research, as well as their rights as research participants (see appendix 2).

All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, with additional data from field notes and my personal observations and reflections from each interview. I applied Catherine R. Riessman's (2008) framework of thematic narrative approach when analysing my data. I was able, through a life history approach, to build up an understanding of 'the why' in participants' responses and actions. Thematic narrative approach focuses both on content, and how information is expressed, where "language is seen as a resource" (Riessman 2008:3). My decision to use a thematic narrative approach as a primary method was largely influenced by my experience working in the project. Through conversations and interactions with participants, I found the participants' involvement with gangsterism and criminal behavior to be highly complex. I often noticed how participants repeatedly told me about their upbringing and family situations. I, therefore, found it ethically difficult to conduct my research interviews by only examining their present life situation involved with crime and gangsterism without attending to their personal history and experiences. The semi-structured interviews, consisted of questions emerging from the personal history of participants as well as the context of their situation. The narrative method gave me a deeper insight of participants' important life events and experiences, enabling me to interpret participants' responses more critically in my analysis. Parallels can be draw between this

approach and grounded theory (Riessman 2008). Through the thematic analysis approach, I was able to discover several key common aspects between the research participants and the themes and experiences that they address. To ensure rigour, all data was collected by me, and member checking was undertaken through follow-up interviews, during which I confirmed respondents' statements and clarified possible misunderstandings in my analysis. This increased the credibility and validity of my findings. Engaging the participants in my analysis also allowed me to obtain follow-up questions with participants if something was unclear or misinterpreted.

My main objective was to investigate the ways in which a theatre intervention in prison programme potentially led to a behavioural change amongst male gang members in the Western Cape. I explored how the programme influences participants' self-efficacy, such as their own perceptions of their abilities to change their violent behaviour. I also explored how participants managed to adopt skills from the programme, and to translate them into their own lives. The research draws on social behavioural sciences in the discipline of Public Health. It will incorporate conceptual and theoretical tools from gender and masculinity studies, applied theatre, and social cognitive approaches to behavior change.

Results

This research reveals that the programme has had positive effects on the participants' lives: it affected how participants perceived both others and themselves. Furthermore, working in a group enhanced feelings of inclusion and importance which reflected on an improved sense of self-worth. However, the research also found that participants continued to experience great

challenges when attempting to improve perceptions of themselves, due to deeply-rooted notions of the 'gangster lifestyle' and the pressure this implies, as well the power of hegemonic masculinities, hindering participants to fundamentally change violent behaviour. Due to the limitations of the cross-sectional study design, which only investigated the phenomenon at a certain point in time, the measure of whether *Help I am Free* had successful outcomes on a long-term basis in terms of recidivism, resistance to violent behavior, and other aspects of rehabilitation is not possible. However, the results demonstrate an increased sense of self-worth among participants, and the ability to create and adjust to alternative norms and practices. The men expressed intentions and motivations to stay away from criminal activity after their release, but a lack of economic opportunities and fears of the consequences of breaking away from gang affiliations rendered this difficult in practice. The participants' involvements with gangs are rooted in particular notions of masculinity, in which they see themselves as obliged to provide for themselves and their families. Since the men usually return to live in the same area they lived in before going to prison, they are confronted with the same harsh realities that they are trying to leave behind.

All Eyes On Me

My biggest fear is to be rejected by the community.⁷ This is my opportunity to show them I am more than a gangster. - Silumko

⁷ Silumko referring to the community he grew up in and lives in outside prison

The topics I will cover in this section include participants' perception of themselves as part of a group, and their feeling of being seen. According to the theorist Albert Bandura (1999), new skills of self-awareness and self-efficacy are developed by observing the behaviour of others. The *Help I am Free* programme aims to provide participants with tools to influence positively their perceptions of themselves and others, with the overall goal of encouraging them to stop their violent behaviour. This section provides evidence of how working in a group towards a common goal may lead participants to experience feelings of inclusion and importance. Furthermore, empathy for others may in turn increase. Performing in front of an audience, including family and relatives, tends to contribute to increasing self-esteem (Pensalfini 2016).

Help I am Free involves exercises which encourage participants to translate their life experiences into movement, through participants creating and performing narratives which they have written. These narratives are built on the participants' own experiences and emotions, and so through the creation and performance of them, participants express important aspects of themselves. However, participants' attitudes towards their own masculinities together with societal structural problems inhibits the programme's capacity to alter fundamentally the participants' perceptions of themselves. This section argues that the group process of working towards a common goal of a performance is as important and effective as the personal gain that participants achieve. This provides participants with motivation and belief that a changed life is possible when their sentences are complete and they re-enter society.

A recurring theme in all interviews was that of participants developing different, more positive perceptions of themselves. Furthermore, they seemed surprised at shifts in their own attitudes towards other participants. Jesse said; *“when I talked with the guys [the group], I got to know them in a different way, because things we talked about, we wouldn’t normally talk about. It changed how I saw some of them. Good and bad”*. *Help I am Free*, as most prison-based performance art programmes, focuses on the value of the process of group work and training as much as the finalised product (Pensalfini 2016; Sutherland 2015; Buell 2011). My colleague and project facilitator, Åse Røseth, explained to me that the programme’s exercises she had chosen to use in the workshops intended to create an improved awareness of the body, as well as a better relationship to the self and to others. Røseth’s statement complements the mission statement from the founder of *Help I am Free*, Mr. Jo Skjønberg, who started the programme in 2007, in Ila prison, a maximum-security prison in Norway. He told me that the intention of *Help I am Free* was to create a programme which provided participants with *“a sense of achievement, [that] further prepared them for life on the outside”*.

Participants were also equipped with new skills in interacting with other people. These shifts and new skills are developed through exercises that require participants to use all senses, including concentration, to move across the room as "one organism", by interpreting each other’s body language and tempo of movement, and without communicating verbally. From my observations of the workshops, exercises such as moving slowly as “one organism” by using senses and cooperation with fellow participants were highly efficient in their process of change. The exercise were repeated weekly, from the frustration and impatience the first time, till the patient

and almost enjoyable experience of it towards the end of the programme was easy to notice. The workshop venue, is a noisy dining hall, where people, prison officials and other offenders, are constantly walking in and out. There are windows on every wall, giving full view for other prisoners from the outside yard. This was particularly challenging in concentration exercises, and in the beginning of the process of building trust for each other. During my time in Pollsmoor, officials repeatedly ensured me that I was safe, also stressing that the prison is there to keep people of the community safe for criminals.

Although I never felt that my personal safety was threatened at any point in Pollsmoor, I questioned if the participants felt safe, and what in practice was being done for their safety. Being seen or observed from outside the window of other prisoners, could potentially put them in humiliating and exploited position. It was therefore challenging in the beginning for participants to relax and feel safe. Despite challenges with venue, the time spent in the programme was often described as valuable by participants. The exercises used in the programme created a stronger bond between participants and the way they interacted. As previously indicated, Pollsmoor Prison is dominated by the Number gangs, which I learned that all *Help I am Free* participants are involved in. The Number hierarchy meant that some participants were hesitant to interact with others ranked lower in the hierarchy (Lötter 1987; Steinberg 2004). Johnny, a highly-ranked member of the 28 gang, stated, *“I don’t really speak to guys that I know [are] under me [in the Number]. I only speak with someone that is on my level, or higher. But this program actually helped me to realize that I need to accept people on who they are, they deserve respect too.”*

Similar to Johnny, Nate indicated that power dynamics in the group changed throughout the year, where the group in general became more accepting not only of different gang rankings, but also of diversity in gender and ethnicity. Nate stated that he did not speak to foreigners, but in the programme, he had become friends with two foreigners, and was questioning his previous perceptions, saying, *“I didn’t like foreigners to be honest with you. I never used to speak with foreigners and I didn’t want to either. But we have to foreigners in the group, from Cameroon and Malawi, and I liked them. It surprised me”*. This increased acceptance is largely linked to trust developing in the group both between participants, and also between participants and facilitators. Exercises like improvisation theatre pushed participants out of their comfort zone, and they sometimes expressed feelings of looking “silly” and “embarrassed” in front of each other, although myself and facilitators observed that participants became more relaxed with themselves, that it was *“ok to look stupid sometimes”*. Silumko stated, *“I trust people in the group. We are family now”*.

The programme in fact applied physical exercises designed to enhance trust in the group, and for participants to let go of their control somewhat. For example, one exercise involved participants being led across the room by other participants with closed eyes; in another exercise one was lifted up in the air by the rest of the group. Facilitator Åse Røseth told me she designed the exercises in teaching the group to work together, being responsible for someone else’s safety, and also to let go of control.

She has followed the programme for two cycles, from recruiting participants until their final performance.⁸ In each cycle, she has witnessed important transformations both within the group as a whole, and among individual participants. She describes that at the beginning of the programme cycles, some participants had “*trust issues*” with regards to each other and the facilitators. Male participants were also often skeptical towards the white foreign facilitators and questioned their motives. Some participants expressed concerns that facilitators would see them as “*only a black criminal.*” Silumko, for example, said, “*In my community, they just see me as a criminal. A gangster. Outside the community, if I go to town, you know, they only see me as a black criminal. So, I thought you did too.*” This is examples on events where participants realized a change in their own attitude.

Åse and I believe that this relationship of trust was grounded in a common goal of the performance and because mutual dependency between participants was needed to reach it. Åse said that she had felt the various tensions that had been present among the participants at the beginning of the programme cycles decrease over the course of the year, and interpreted this relaxation as an indication of their developing trust, saying, “*It was definitely a hierarchy outside our [facilitators’] control. It was clear who was allowed to speak, and when. Some of the guys took command while others were only in the background doing what they were told.*” From my personal experiences and observations, I can relate to Åse’s feeling. For instance, in the beginning of the year, Adrian was always in the back of the room, ‘staring at me’ while keeping his chin towards his chest. It was an intimidating look, especially consider his body language,

⁸ Performances are showed at Artscape Theatre Centre; the largest performing arts centre in the Western Cape region.

always holding his fists hard and shoulders wide. Throughout the year, I got to know Adrian well, and his body language towards me were also changed. I asked him about it at a later stage and he told me that, *“I did not trust you. I did not understand why a girl like you worked here with us”*..

Although working together in a group was not an unfamiliar activity for the participants given their involvement in organised gangs, the *Help I am Free* trainings introduced them to a new, more constructive way of interacting and working in a group. This process also challenged the participants’ concepts of manhood. For example, Johnny found that he enjoyed being listened to, and expressed surprise at his sharing of private emotions and tears with the group, as he believed a man should not *“cry like a girl”*. Similarly, Nate stated that *“as a man, I don’t talk about my feelings... I need to be strong.”* Silumko spoke about his struggle in trusting others, and a sense that he always had to be prepared to defend himself. He added, *“I have done a lot of bad things, with no heart for the person next to me. Being in this team shows me that I am not alone in this world. That we all take care of each other. That the person next to me is not an animal.”*

These words reflect how Silumko experiences people in his circles and suggests that he has generally felt alone and excluded in life. The group exercises became fundamental in the process of changing attitudes towards people around them. Similar to Silumko, Johnny talked about remembering the notion of caring for each other through participating in *Help I am Free*. He expressed a feeling of becoming *“insensitive”* and *“heartless”* as a way of surviving in prison. He said the drama group made him more empathetic, saying *“it makes me remember how it is to*

play and be with friends. How to laugh with people. To listen to other people's stories. I realized that people have worse stories than you, I felt for them." Jesse and Adrian both pointed out in the focus group discussion the importance of being a dependable group where no-one drops out along the way. It appears to have given them a sincere accomplishment in helping each other to reach a goal. This allowed for a feeling of inclusion and importance to develop among them. These kind of feeling and capacities are especially important for men in the Cape Flats, where the lack of support systems and societal exclusion often contributes to gang formations (Pinnock 1982; Steinberg 2004). Arts programmes within the criminal justice system are documented to lead to a better social inclusion (Hughes 2005; Khutan 2014).

Performing in front of an audience thus made the participants feel "seen", and gave them the opportunity to show a new side of themselves. Nate told me that *"I never tell family how I feel on parole. My scene where I tell people about the dark voices in my head, and the demon inside me, was a part of me they didn't know"*. Likewise, Adrian claimed that he *"shocked"* his family with his talent, saying, *"You know, they always just think I am full of shit, but now, through my poetry, they know that I have talent. They were shocked. Also where I say the best thing I know is cake. They did not know I like things like that"*.

The performances were based on participants' own experiences and stories. Theatre facilitators communicated with participants through group discussions and individual diary writing, and together, facilitator and participant chose which of the stories, dreams and memories the participant would perform on stage. These stories could include among others, childhood

memories, their offense, or dreams about the future. The participants were free to decide how open they wanted to be. And they had full control of the personal messages on stage. As a result, the audience were witnessing a broad variety of stories, personalities and lived experiences, good and bad.

I observed that positive feedback from fellow participants, facilitators, wardens, as well as family, friends and public audience made a major difference in participants confidence. During the week of performances at the Artscape Theatre Centre, an audience of almost 800 people was watching them. After each performance, the audience interacted with the participants, asking questions and giving feedback. This could be an emotionally loaded event, where family members stood up and shared their side of the story, and also opening up to their relative on stage how they have a better understanding of their feeling and actions. In a focus group discussion, we spoke about performing in front of an audience. Jesse said, *“people in the audience remembered my scene, and asked me questions directly about me”*, Nate responded to Jesse, *“they really paid attention to all of us, and remembered our stories after the show”*.

We also spoke about the impact of performing in front of an audience. Adrian, who explored his talent for poetry in the programme, stated that, *“it was incredible to see people’s reactions. After I read my poem, a girl was pulling her hair in excitement, and I realized... I wrote that.”* Nate confirmed *“it was an out-of-myself experience to tell my story, suddenly people was interested in me and who I am.”* Jesse reflected on the change in how people perceived him: having been begging for money on the street since childhood, he stated, *“I have always been ignored, you*

know when you beg on the street, almost no one see you. They look scared of you. But this time, people were standing up clapping their hands, and told me how great it was to watch me. They realised they shouldn't judge, because I am the same Jesse on stage as I am when I am hustling in the streets."

Johnny and Silumko were still incarcerated in Pollsmoor during the time of the interviews. When I interviewed Johnny, a prison official followed us into a quiet room, Johnny was wearing his orange uniform, and the prison official came and left the room frequently throughout the interviews. Johnny was told in front of me that he was strictly not allowed to talk about the Number, although, every time Johnny did mention the Number (as it seemed unavoidable not too in the stories he shared from his life), the prison official seemed intrigued and asked some questions as well, which Johnny seemed happy to answer. Johnny told me that before the programme *"all I had was the Number but now, people [other prisoners] see me as something more."* He said that it was a big moment for him to perform in front of his mother, and he suddenly felt proud of himself: *"I showed her that I can do something good in my life, something people can take serious. You will also see for yourself when I come out, the programme has made a big change for me."*

In addition to the positive impacts the interlocutors expressed of the programme, research has shown that participation in performance art-based programmes can arouse a genuine ambition to learn (Buell 2011; Hughes 2008). Silumko, who had not yet performed in front of an audience, said *"Really, Inga, I am just coming here because I'm really enjoying the class. I might not be*

educated, but I am not stupid. I am still willing to learn, and I want to learn.” Silumko grew up in Khayelitsha, a township 30 kilometres outside of Cape Town. Because of economic struggles in his childhood, he never attended school. He states that the programme is the closest he has had to an education.

This section has shown some of the positive impacts that *Help I am Free* had for the participants. In the next two sections, I will present findings which suggest why the programme's impact is not as great as it could be. The reasons for this mainly derive from structural challenges, and the participants' own notions of masculinities.

I am a Gangster - I Will Die a Gangster

I was always in front, refusing to leave without hurting someone. I wanted to be seen because you have to show that you have no fear. So, I get my respect. So, I get my money. So, I survive.

-Johnny

This section demonstrates the participants' heavy involvement in gangsterism, and elucidates why shifts in motivation and perspective may not be enough to stop their involvement in gang-related activity, both inside and outside of prison. This, and other responses, give a sense of how difficult it is to leave gang life. It is through the gangster lifestyle that participants achieve respect, status in the community, structure, their income, and social security: a survival strategy

that *Help I am Free* cannot replace. The complex structural issues that frame their social contexts offer a playground for gang-related activity. This section argues that participants are dependent on their gang both inside and outside prison. Their long history of involvement has desensitized them to violence, and dependency on their respective gang affiliation is often not a choice. The *Help I am Free* programme does not offer alternatives to these components of participants' lives. However, the programme *does* offer skills for participants to re-think their own self-perceptions, and seems to shift the participants' views on gang activity somewhat. Many participants expressed desires to use their newly-gained knowledge to educate younger men and boys to take decisions in life that are more conscious than becoming gangsters.

What struck me most throughout my interviews with the participants was the desensitization with which they spoke about interpersonal violence. During the breaks in the workshops, I socialized with the participants, talking about 'daily topics' such as sports, favorite food, family relationships, and whatever they had on their mind. During these conversations, the topic frequently turned to an experience or a story from inside or outside the prison. These stories often involved graphic, uncomfortable stories of observed or experienced physical violence. Although, it would seem from the outside that the men talked lightly about it, the frequently raised topic gave me the impression that they were in need to expressing inflicted trauma from previous life experiences.

I also observed participants using violence to attempt to prove themselves as "real men" to other men. Johnny, for instance, explained to me that if someone misbehaved in his cell, he could

decide the punishment, such as 20 “smacks” in front of the others to “humiliate him”. In Pollsmoor prison, which claims to be a “Correctional Centre”, I have seen a prison official showing participants a graphic video of a person being stabbed to death in an act of community mob justice.⁹ Prisoners were standing around the official, watching the video and laughing boisterously together. Noticing my shocked reaction, one of them attempted to reassure me, “*don’t worry, we see this all the time. Even here [in Pollsmoor]. It’s normal.*”¹⁰ They rarely showed any emotions while talking about physical violence, including murder, and various forms of punishment within the Number gang. Silumko told me that “*the real day starts when most wardens go home*”, and cheerfully told me stories about horrific violent actions when “*disciplining each other.*” Johnny told me casually: “*my first experience with violence on myself was very bad, there was a guy, hitting me here in the forehead. I got so angry, I actually stabbed him seventeen times as revenge. I was about 16 years old.*”

Brutal acts of violence underline the men's need to prove themselves to other men in an attempt to earn respect, and to be seen as “fearless.” Nate, in particular, drastically changed his demeanor when talking about violence or/and the Number gangs. He would suddenly sit up straight, and curl his eyebrows towards his nose, speaking straight forward like a soldier, constantly maintaining intense eye contact. For me, he came across more intimidating. These concepts and practices of what it means to be a man seemed to be strongly influenced by gang cultures, where the rituals involved in becoming a gang member included severe forms of violence, including

⁹A vigilante act when community members find the state hesitant or incompetent on policing and they end up taking justice into their own hands and punish the one accused (Buur and Jensen 2004).

¹⁰ From field notes: this might be an isolated event and does not represent all correctional officials I have observed in Pollsmoor prison.

savage killings. Both Nate and Johnny became harsher in their tone when talking about violence, on how they would react in certain settings with other gangsters, or how humiliated they could be if someone acted violently towards them. The pressure to perform their manhood in such a manner seem to be a profound force shaping their individual agency. Some may feel unable to act with less violence and criminality given the expectations on them.

Attempts to leave one's gang, however, come with difficult confrontations. Participants claim that the expectations and obligations that a gang has of its members cannot be ignored or forgotten. According to Johnny, the ease with which one can leave the Number depends on one's rank within it. Adrian stated in the focus group discussion that *"you need to do it in style. I have done my duties, I am free to do what I want, no one will bother me anymore."* Nate, on the other hand, was more hesitant, saying *"it sticks to you, like glue, you can't just leave it. It will leave you in danger. The last ritual is death. You need a proper excuse to leave. The very last thing you do to leave your gang is die."* A key manager from Department of Correctional Services confirmed that, once a member, the Number controls one's social worlds both inside and outside of prison, and claims that it is impossible to escape it. He further stated that some prison wardens are also involved, saying *"some [wardens] grew up with fathers in the Correctional Services [both as wardens and prisoners] and therefore adapted [to] the mindset and rules of the Number."*

A romanticized vision of the gangster life among young boys in communities often leads them to believe that living up to the gangster bosses' expectations is the only way to be considered a

“real man”. Bundy (2000) argues that drama-based programmes should focus on giving participants the opportunity to “explore ranges of ‘ways of being’ in the world” (Bundy 2000:265), rather than directly addressing violence and aggression. *Help I am Free* does not verbally encourage participants to leave their gangs, but it instead seeks to make participants aware of their own agency, also in line with the guiding principles for rehabilitation *Help I am Free* stand for. Yet, “*stop gangsterism*” is a phrase that participants raise frequently. Johnny said, “*the higher I am in the Number, the more respect I get from everyone. Now small boys want to be me. But I hope they don’t. I want to stop the gangsterism*”.

In the focus group discussion, Adrian and Nate told me about the gangster bosses who have money, power, fancy cars, and the “finest women” and thus become role models and idols for young boys. Adrian said, “*In my neighbourhood, everyone knows who the bosses are. They drive black cars, they are dressed in all black, and every boy wants to be like them. They own expensive houses in Rondebosch [a wealthy suburb], and many cars*”.

The absence of suitable role models or a father figure while growing up was also one of many reasons identified to explain why young boys tended to fall into gangsterism (Daniels and Adams 2010; Salo 2007). Nate had been involved in gangsterism since the age of fourteen, and grew up in a highly violent neighbourhood called the Cape Flats.¹¹ He told me that his area is run by gangster bosses who pay community members cash to gain their support if they get into trouble

¹¹ The Cape Flats are constructed areas from the *apartheid* regime, to which so-called “coloured” people were forcibly moved by the Group Areas Act 1950 and the Population Registration Act 1950 (MacMaster 2007). The Cape Flats are still facing significant social, political and economical problems today, and the extent of violence, gangsterism and crime in this area is exceptionally high (2007).

with the police. Nate further shared that the community members in his area depend on gangster bosses more than the police for protection and security for their safety, saying, *“the community doesn’t trust the police where I live (...)The bosses give money to the old people to prove that they are safe”*. Standing’s (2003) study on organised crime on the Cape Flats finds that gangsters are considered more reliable providers of some community services than government.

The factors stated above, as well the promises of gang life set forth by the gangster bosses, encourage young boys to pursue the same route. Nate explains that in his circles, it is when a boy becomes a member of the Number gang that they become a “real man”, *“just like the Xhosa guys go to the bush [for circumcision] and they come out as a man,¹² we go to prison and get our Number.”* Nate wished to go to prison to become a Number since he was a young boy and to show people in his community that he is *“fearless”* and *“strong.”* Participants all expressed real discomfort at the idea of saying no to a gang leader. Johnny said, *“if I said no to a gangster boss, I would almost feel like a girl.”* This assertion further demonstrates the power of participants’ ideas about what being “a real man” entails.

The above statements show that the difficulties of leaving a gang and the lack of alternative structures or means of making money make it hard for the participants to aspire genuinely to leave. And yet despite the dismissiveness with which they speak about violence, all participants expressed a desire to leave gangsterism, and to let young boys know that gangsterism is not a

¹² Traditional male circumcision is used as a ritual by the Xhosa people of South Africa as the rite of passage to manhood (Vincent 2008).

good life choice. Nate wants to use his status as a gangster to educate young boys that the gangster life is not something that they should aspire to.

What struck me most about Jesse and Adrian was the change I observed in their body language once they were released from prison. Jesse, who most often expressed energy and happiness through a somewhat 'bouncy' body language in the workshops, gesticulating while speaking, smiling, telling stories and laughing, after prison now faced the ground while walking. He seemed low in energy in our conversations, and his urge to tell 'everyday stories' was gone. Adrian on the other hand, who, at the end of the performance period in Artscape carried his body with confidence, looking up, making eye contact and smiling to people he passed, seemed to show a more frustrated attitude after he came out. He often expressed frustration through body language by waving his arm in the air, spitting while we spoke as well, ending sentences with "ah...whatever". Despite my observation of more physical anger, Adrian explained that since he has participated in the *Help I Am Free* programme, his relationship to using violence in challenging situations has changed:

I found my girlfriend in bed with another man last week. This was my woman, understand? She's the one I love with all my heart, the one that keeps me strong and motivated through seven years in prison (...) I shouted a lot of bad things before I left. I left angry, my body was shaking. But I didn't touch them. I didn't want to kill anyone, this was [to] prove to myself that I am a new man, if this had

happened before, even a year ago, my girl and the guy would both be dead by now.

But I left. Without even touching any of them.

The participants' responses suggest that participating in *Help I am Free* has led them to develop greater reflectiveness on the impacts of gangsterism on their lives, a change in their use of violence in some cases, and a general wish to encourage boys not to become gangsters. However, I must acknowledge the possibility that the participants may have shared these positive reflections about the impact of the programme because that is what they believe I want to hear. Despite this possibility, I believe that their responses are largely sincere, given that the topics of changing lifestyles and "*quitting gangsterism*" were initiated frequently by them, rather than by me, during interviews. I also acknowledge my observations of change in body language after release, which leaves me to question whether their descriptions were expressions of how they wish their lives to be, rather than how they see their own life situation.

Forever Parole

The hardest part is not being in prison, the hardest part is facing reality – Nate

In this section, I outline the challenges participants faced after their release. Although they tended to express high expectations and hope for the future, the reality was that participants faced a long and difficult journey to successful social reintegration. This journey was also likely

to knock their newly-enhanced sense of self-esteem, and their motivation. The Department of Correctional Services states that the main goal of the parole system is to decrease the number of incarcerated people, and also to give offenders a chance to use the final part of their sentences to adjust to society. In this research, participants do not consider parole as freedom, but rather as a quick way back to jail since they are likely to offend again.

However, I question the term “success” when it comes to rehabilitation and reintegration. I argue here that although the theatre programme provided participants with useful skills and tools to accompany their journey back into society, when they re-enter the outside world, they are confronted by a harsh reality in which the challenges extend beyond what theatre can help them conquer.

During my fieldwork, I observed the mental and physical challenges that ex-offenders face in their transition back to society. As previously demonstrated, participants tend to become strongly motivated to make better lives for themselves through the programme, and their self-esteem is significantly enhanced through their participation. However, the spaces that they return to after having served their time may confront them with a reality very different from what they had hoped for. The management of parole time also depends greatly on the individual. *Help I am Free* could be considered as a programme that “sows a seed” which enabled the participants to re-think their behaviour, and the mechanisms through which they cope with reality. In some, the seed grows, and in others, it does not.

During my interaction with the participants in Pollsmoor prison, I had only seen them wearing the distinct orange prison uniform, which visually strips the men of their individuality, and to some degree dehumanizes them and impose collective identities (Craik, 2005; Fokwang, 2011). Apart from the personal touches participants had applied to their uniform, such as drawings of brands, various cuts of pants and tops making them look slightly different from each other, the uniforms were a confronting element of who they were and where I was working.

When I first met Jesse after his release, the reality of the life he was living struck me. He somewhat looked younger. He looked to me, like a child. One of his teeth was missing and his forehead was covered by a big bruise. The sweatpants reached to just above his ankles, and his flip flops were way too small. His body language seemed shy, or hesitant, shifting between looking at the ground to the sky, to look at the buildings around us, seemingly not wanting to look me in my eyes. I questioned what kind of “freedom” he was released out to? What was the program *Help I am Free* doing? The problem seemed so much bigger than what a small theatre intervention could ever bring a difference to.

Jesse deliberately did not return to his registered address because he was “scared” that there was “*too much gangsterism*” in his area. He had experienced revenge violence after only three days out on parole. Two other gangsters assaulted him in a public family park, and stabbed his chest with a glass bottle. The injury was so severe that Jesse drifted between life and death and needed several blood transfusions. A few weeks after the incident, Jesse contacted me. He was suffering from serious pain after the stabbing, and I took him to a hospital. He was at this point

living illegally in an informal settlement in central Cape Town. While we were waiting for the doctor, Jesse told me that he had been experienced strong feelings of sadness and hopelessness since he came out on parole. He was ready to give up, as he felt hopeless and unsatisfied with his life at this point. I did not hear from Jesse again for three weeks, until one Friday night he called me from Pollsmoor prison. He had turned himself in and chosen to finish his full sentence till 2019, rather than facing the challenges on the outside.

A prison official confirmed that one of the main requirements to qualify for parole is an approved address by the Department of Correctional Services. Many of the inmates have no choice but to give the address of family or relatives. Very often, these homes are in the very area that offenders lived in before being arrested. The prison official further explains that *“broken family relationships and neighbourhoods heavily dominated by crime forces them back into old habits and lifestyles to survive.”* Exemplifying this dynamic is Silumko, who shared with me his fear of rival gangs in his area: *“I am very scared to be honest, I know there are some guys that [are] waiting for me. Guys I did stuff to. A lot of people know who I am, they will find me and use me again. I don’t want to go back to the same area, because as soon as I go back, I am in it again.”* Geographical and socio-cultural surroundings clearly form a major obstacle to participants’ attempts to make a new life for themselves on the outside.

However, not all individuals on parole were registered at problematic addresses. Adrian had been on parole for four months, living in the Cape Flats with his mother. He said their relationship is close, although *“she does not trust me yet.”* Adrian chose to not have his mother in the audience

in his performance since *“I didn’t want to stand on a stage and make her think that now everything is different, I wanted to show her in real life.”* For my last interview with Adrian, I came home with him to his house. Adrian’s mother, Maria, told me that her son is now *“a calmer version of himself”* and *“avoids being outside with the gangsters.”* Adrian said he has been employing the skills he learned from the drama classes during the training in prison and on parole, in his everyday life. Some of the exercises push participants to the limit both physically and mentally: the latter in terms of using highly emotional content and requiring participants to constantly repeat routines and text. The participants can at times feel frustrated and angered by this process, but they also learn to be patient, and to support the ones that need more time. *“All the repetition and giving space to the others [participants], I learned how to be patient. I think that has saved my relationship with my mother,”* said Adrian.

All three participants on parole have difficulties adapting to what they refer to as a *“normal”* lifestyle.¹³ In a focus group, Adrian said *“you are free, but you are not free, you have no idea of how difficult it is to try to live a normal life after you are used to the underworld”*. Nate agreed: *“the underworld in Cape Town is big. It’s like a lonely universe with secret rules. I used to earn more money in a night than what I would make in a month working. But the lifestyle is shit, [a] lot of money doesn’t always make you happy.”* A *Help I am Free* facilitator confirmed the challenges ex-offenders are facing on parole, saying, *“Many are in prison because of parole breaks. They tell us stories of how challenging it is to follow the strict parole regime, and how the protocol does not fit every one’s life situation,”* she reported.

¹³ By “normal”, they mean having a proper job and a family.

What is more, social workers at NICRO observed similar challenges for ex-offenders where the main challenge was obtaining sufficient income to provide for oneself and one's family. "*When honest options of earning money are not available, desperation drives the person into alternative ways of surviving,*" she added. Participants feel pressured not only to have an income to support themselves, but also to support their mothers, wives, and children, as the "*man in the family.*" Silumko gives voice to this concern, "*I am scared for my mother. That I can't help her.*" Adrian expresses worries on being a good father, saying "*How can I be a good father, when I don't even know how? I didn't have a father to teach me.*"

The participants assured me that *Help I am Free* has made a big impact on their lives. I have noticed in each of them a greater self-confidence and a broader understanding of society through the interviews and observation of them throughout the program. The tools they have developed may lead them to cope with conflicts and challenges more effectively. An incident from Adrian's life exemplifies this. After I had finished conducting the interviews for this research, he called me one early morning. The previous night, his cousin had murdered his aunt, her daughter, and his niece. Adrian told me that he could not promise me how he would react, and that he wants to see his cousin dead. He said, "*I don't want nothing else than to see him dead. I will not sit and watch and I will never forgive or forget.*" I was surprised to see him at the *Help I am Free* parole training later that afternoon. He told me it was an achievement to be there, saying "*I have come this far. I am not going to let someone else's mistakes take me down.*"

Funding for the programme is a serious issue. The support and assistance available to the participants from NICRO are limited. A key manager at NICRO stated that this is not due to a lack of willingness from NICRO, but rather insufficient resources and sponsors: *“it is not sexy for companies to sponsor crime prevention organisations, it looks better for a company to donate money for children, health, and education. They simply do not see the benefits the society will receive if there are more resources put into [stopping] crime,”* Notwithstanding, the *Help I am Free* programme is a two-year programme to assist participants with the process of reintegration. Support with reintegration is critical for participants, and more resources for this are crucial.

Discussion

By using performance arts as a tool for empowerment, *Help I am Free* tried to help participants to prepare for life after serving their sentence, and to help prevent re-offending. The research reveals positive outcomes for participants in terms of an increased sense of self-esteem and awareness, as well as a strong motivations to stop criminal behaviour. However, a recurring theme of this research was the tension between the wishes of the individual, and larger-scale social and structural problems. Using cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) approaches has been criticised for ignoring crucial influential factors that play an important role in why people may break the law, such as political, economical and biological determinants (Balfour 2004). This is a particularly significant problem in South Africa, given the country’s infamous levels of racial, gender and economic inequality. The structural and socio-economic challenges in the home neighbourhoods of participants are immense, and the prevalence of violence remain tremendously high. Gender conditioning presents another challenge. In participants’ notions of

manhood, joining a gang structure was seen as one of the few available ways of proving one's masculinity.

A great deal of literature argues for the positive benefits of social cognitive approaches in individual behaviour change, and its impact on self-esteem and motivation (Balfour 2003; Douglas 2010; Hughes 2008). The men in my research each expressed a strong sense of motivation towards changing their lifestyles. Working in a group towards the common goal of creating a performance in front of an audience significantly affected their perceptions of themselves and others. As previously mentioned, Bandura's *social learning theory* are based on the belief that people can change behaviour and attitudes through the observation of others. The participants of *Help I am Free*, changed perceptions for people around them, through interactions of various exercises and settings. CBT approaches focus on three elements; cognitive elements which focuses on thinking, behavioural elements who focuses on achieving goals and social interaction, and the emotional element which focuses on self-control, self-awareness and self-expression (Khutan 2014). My findings illustrate that through a CBT approach, participants experienced positive outcomes on each of the three elements. For example, after performing on stage, Johnny felt proud to show his mother that he could do something positive with his life, and Jesse, who had felt unseen since his childhood on the streets, suddenly felt visible after receiving the applause, and direct attention from the audience.

The group process also increased empathy for other participants, and provided self-reflective moments for the participants. For example, as earlier noted, Silumko began to see people around

him as humans and not “animals”, and dropped the perception that he constantly needed to defend himself. Silumko’s statement, can also be interpreted as an increased sense of belonging by seeing people around him as humans, like himself. Applied theatre often intends to work towards social change (Nicholson 2005). And yet the surrounding socioeconomic, political and cultural factors must also be considered when assessing how much change it can produce (Singhal et al. 2004). Lisa Biggs (2016) points out that performance arts as a method do not focus on larger socio-economic challenges. For example, in this particular research project, participants emerged from prison facing severe difficulties in obtaining employment or income. Despite the positive experiences of the programme that they shared, the research findings detailed larger structural problems that kept the participants from fully avoiding further violence.

Help I am Free’s laudable intentions to contribute towards a positive change for their participants are based on a somewhat idealistic methodology of changing one person at a time, and the impacts are limited by larger structural problems such as inequality, prevailing violence, and consequent endemic gangsterism. Although my findings demonstrate the ineffective outcomes of the programme with regards to specific objectives of decreasing recidivism, as well as changing criminal and violent behaviour, I question whether *Help I am Free* was successful in other areas. Scholars are actively debating the mechanisms of change in these circumstances, and whether focus on the measurements of successful outcomes in theatre practices and interventions is an effective approach to complex problems (Khutan 2014). Programs highly focused on measuring success or providing evidence of effective approaches may in turn have less focus on

the delivery and quality of the service. Furthermore, they may miss the ways in which their program contributes in other ways to participants' needs and goals (2014).

However, the phenomenon of gang violence and crime is far too complex to easily measure levels of success of the programme. As previously stated, rehabilitation in prison applies to more than preventing individuals from reoffending after release, and For *Help I am Free*, the vision was one of giving participants a sense of achievement and preparing them for a life outside. This paper has illustrated positive outcomes in terms of increased self-worth, ability to emotionally communicate, as well as new perspectives on self and others among the five participants. The definition of rehabilitation used in this thesis illustrates highlights not just the absence of re-offence, but also being reintegrated into society, and being able to cope with difficult situations. The Correctional Services are acknowledge their responsibility of preparing the offender to become a productive and healthy citizen (Cilliers 2008). However, participants commonly find themselves in a situation of being released from prison back to a violent community that continues to bear the severe impacts of South Africa's socio-economic disparities. While obtaining employment and income is the main challenge, participants are often based in highly violent living environments in which pressure from gang leaders is unavoidable. In this research, participants encountered extremely traumatic incidents while on parole, such as murders of family members and revenge violence. One wonders how an individual is expected to change their attitudes to violent behaviour and crime when it is their everyday reality. Until the larger socio-economic issues in South Africa are addressed more effectively, individual change under the described circumstances is incredibly difficult to achieve.

Using participants' personal narratives and life situations in this research gives the "violent man" a face, and shows why violent behaviour in this context is so challenging to change. As argued by Pinnock (1982/2016) and Daniels and Adams (2007), the men's normalisation of violence can be traced back to childhoods growing up in violent neighbourhoods, with weakened forms of family and social support and powerful violent gang leaders as role models. From a young age, the participants were driven towards a gang lifestyle, with a romanticized belief of what life in a gang implies.

A theme that stood out prominently when conducting the research and analysing findings is the men's notions of masculinities and how these have shaped their life situations and decisions. The *Help I am Free* project intends to change how people see themselves and others, and although it plays a crucial role in helping participants to re-shape their sense of self, the curriculum is missing a gender lens. With Morrell's (2001) statement in mind that masculinities are a fluid concepts, within which a variety of versions of masculinities exist, the findings show that for many, becoming a member of the Number is a rite of passage and equivalent to becoming a man. Even though it is not a part of *Help I am Free's* objectives to transform potentially harmful notions of masculinities, this research has found that it is crucial for the programme to explore understandings of masculinities amongst the participants. I argue that the participants' behaviour is unlikely to change fundamentally without doing so, as their notion of being a "real man" is entangled with the idea that manhood involves performing violence. Understandings of such ideas of masculinities may lead to the men feeling pressured to adhere to certain expectations

regarding their gender role. By ignoring gender concepts, opportunities are missed for the participants to widen their perceptions of themselves and to change violent behaviour. While manhood is not a fixed but nuanced and layered concept, and this research contribution is calling for an avoidance of stereotyping men as simply "violent and aggressive" (Beynon 2002), it ought to be taken into consideration that violent actions play a crucial role in becoming a part of a gang (Luyt and Foster's 2001) and that these actions are tied to ideas of manhood..

Later critiques of theatre as a method for social change argue that theatre has the capacity only to change a person's attitude, not behaviour, for it cannot alone dismantle years of systematic oppression. Young-Jahangeer (2013) distinguishes between micro and macro approaches when approaching societal change: individuals' coping mechanisms and resilience may improve; yet the real change should be addressed at macro level. The structural problems that participants face when coming out of prison are clearly evident in Jesse's story: Jesse chose to finish his sentence in Pollsmoor prison, rather than to continue coping with the hardship he experienced on parole. The lack of resources in organisations mandated to improve the reintegration of ex-offenders urgently requires addressing. Snyder-Young (2013) argues that there is a need for a different approach from theatre programmes working towards social change, in which the focus on small marginalised groups extends to include the powerful at decision-making tables, which is where policies can actually change. As this research has demonstrated, performance arts as a social intervention approach may have positive effects on an individual level, but it is important to remember the limitations of theatre and to simultaneously focus on macro strategies. In an attempt to strengthen the impact that performance arts can have on an individual's behaviour, I

suggest implementing an explicit focus on gender and masculinities. A space should be created in which participants are encouraged to explore how their own gender conditioning affects who they are, and how they negotiate their life decisions. In addition, I suggest that future programming emphasises coping mechanisms and resilience in relation to structural factors that participants face when released.

Limitations

This research carries a few limitations. The research is not able to show any long-term effects on participants' possible changes in violent behaviour, because it is a cross-sectional case study approach involving only five research participants. As the project manager for *Help I am Free*, and having developed a trusting relationship with participants over the past fifteen months, obtaining access to interview participants and key informants has been straightforward. However, as a white Scandinavian female, I must acknowledge my position as a cultural and national outsider in this research. Scholars are questioning the ethical appropriateness of writing across culture and race (Spivak, 1988), and who benefits from the research (Colvin 2015). I often question whether it was ethical of me to share stories of men from underprivileged backgrounds, considering my privileged position. Using life history research as a method was a means of letting participants know that I was interested in hearing their stories in a context in which their complete lives are important, and not just few aspects of them for research purposes. This approach does not remove all ethical considerations, but it gave the men a stage to share their stories directly, and it helped me to become better equipped to present their life stories with sensitivity and care.

Conclusion

Based on the findings presented, I have argued that in spite of the programme's positive effects on participants, various structural barriers render their reintegration into society a significant challenge. Dominant masculinities and other structural factors hinder them from breaking out of gang environments. According to the informants, gang environments encourage violence and crime even when participants have expressed their wish to exit them. The narratives in my research reveal a context in which men achieve income, security, and respect through their gang affiliation. However, after release, participants often find themselves in the same precarious contexts that they inhabited before going to prison. Family, and a social support system was identified as one of the causes of gang membership, the *Help I am Free* outreach programme has given the participants to find a common ground and strengthen their social capital outside the gang sphere. *Help I am Free* has given the participants realizations of agency on their own lives. A lack of alternative survival strategies upon their release often entices participants back into old habits. Feeling unable to perform the cultural standards for manhood, such as being the family breadwinner, drives the participants to search for alternative routes. These often require criminal and violent actions. Based on these factors, I suggest that future programmes should provide greater opportunities for participants to explore gender identities and perceptions of masculinities, including a nonviolent notion of being a man. Furthermore, there is a significant need to focus on coping mechanisms when managing the challenges on the outside. Research on programmes such as *Help I am Free* are important as the intention is to challenge mindset, attitudes and behaviour through a cognitive method. 'Help I am Free' does not require skills or

literacy in being able to participate, it is, therefore, an example on an inclusive programme who reaches out to the people in need for it.

This research has attempted to shed light on the necessity of further research within the field of social reintegration of former prison inmates, and the benefits of an interdisciplinary approach in this regard in South Africa. I want to emphasize the crucial need for resources for organisations actively working towards crime prevention and reintegration of offenders. The positive outcomes of employing an empowering method such as performance arts, as a part of a larger comprehensive approach, is not yet reaching its potential, due to the barriers described earlier.

References

Balfour, M. (2003). *The use of drama in the rehabilitation of violent male offenders* (Vol. 19). Edwin Mellen Press.

Bandura, A. (1989). Social cognitive theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development*. Vol. 6. Six theories of child development (pp. 1-60). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Beynon, J. (2002). *Masculinities and culture*. Buckingham Philadelphia. *Open University Press* ISBN 0 335 19988 7 (pb) 0 335 19989 5 (hb) retrieved from <https://www.mheducation.co.uk/openup/chapters/0335199887.pdf>

Biggs, L. (2016). Serious Fun at Sun City: Theatre for Incarcerated Women in the “New” South Africa. *Theatre Survey*, 57(1), 4-36.

Breetzke, G. (2010). A socio-structural analysis of crime in the city of Tshwane, South Africa. *South African Journal of Science*, 106(11-12), 1-7.

Buell, B. (2011) Rehabilitation Through The Arts At Sing Sing: Drama In The Big House. In Shailor, J. (Ed). *Performing New Lives: Prison Theatre*. London: Jessica Kingsley, Pp.49-65.

Buur, L., & Jensen, S. (2004). Introduction: vigilantism and the policing of everyday life in South Africa. *African Studies*, 63(2), 139-152.

Bundy, P., (2000). Extending the possibilities: the use of drama in addressing problems of aggression. Research in Drama Education: *The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 5 (2), 263–266.

Colvin, C. J., (2015). Who benefits from research? Ethical dilemmas in compensation in anthropology and public health. In Posel, D and Ross, F. (Eds) *Ethical quandaries in social research*. Cape Town: HSRC Press

Coovadia, H., Jewkes, R., Barron, P., Sanders, D., & McIntyre, D. (2009). The health and health system of South Africa: historical roots of current public health challenges. *The Lancet*, 374(9692), 817-834.

Craik, J., (2005) Uniforms Exposed from conformity to transgression. In Mentges et al (2007) *Uniformierungen in Bewegung* Waxmann Münster/New York/München/Berlin Retrieved from Google Books

Daniels, D., & Adams, Q. (2010). Breaking with township gangsterism: The struggle for place and voice. *African Studies Quarterly*, 11(4), 45.

Di Placido, C., Simon, T. L., Witte, T. D., Gu, D., & Wong, S. C. (2006). Treatment of gang members can reduce recidivism and institutional misconduct. *Law and Human Behavior*, 30(1), 93-114.

Douglas, D. (2011). Self-esteem, Recovery and the Performing Arts: A Textbook and Guide for Mental Health Practitioners, Educators and Students. *Canadian Art Therapy Association Journal* Charles C Thomas Publisher.

Emmett, T. (2003). Social disorganisation, social capital and violence prevention in South Africa: original contribution. *African Safety Promotion*, 1(2), 4-18.

Fokwang, J. (2011) Fabrics of identity: gender, uniforms and associational life in the Cameroon Grassfields. *CAAS Annual Conference*, North America, feb. Available at: <http://ocs.sfu.ca/caas/index.php/caas/caas2011/paper/view/107>

Fowler, P. J., Tompsett, C. J., Braciszewski, J. M., Jacques-Tiura, A. J., & Baltes, B. B. (2009).

Community violence: A meta-analysis on the effect of exposure and mental health outcomes of children and adolescents. *Development and psychopathology*, 21(01), 227-259. doi: 10.1017/S0954579409000145

Fraser, A., Gatherer, A., & Hayton, P. (2009). Mental health in prisons: great difficulties but are there opportunities? *Public health*, 123(6), 410-414. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2009.04.005>

Gilligan, C., Spencer, R., Weinberg, M. K., & Bertsch, T. (2003). On the listening guide: A voice-centred relational method. In P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes, & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design* (pp. 157–172). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association

Goodson, I. & P. Sikes (2001). Life history research in educational settings: learning from lives. Open University Press, Buckingham

Hill, K. G., Howell, J. C., Hawkins, J. D., & Battin-Pearson, S. R. (1999). Childhood risk factors for adolescent gang membership: Results from the Seattle Social Development Project. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 36(3), 300-322.

Hughes, J. (200). Doing the arts justice: A review of research literature, practice and theory. The Unit for the Arts and Offenders, *Centre for Applied Theatre Research*. Retrieved from <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.culture.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/D4B445EE-4BCC-4F6C-A87A-C55A0D45D205/0/Doingartsjusticefinal.pdf>

John, C. (2013) ‘Catharsis and Critical Reflection in IsiZulu Prison Theatre: A case study from Westville correctional facility in Durban’, *Journal for African Culture & Society*, 44 (1), pp.85-96.

Joseph, N. & Alex, N. (1972) The uniform: a sociological perspective. *American Journal of Sociology*. 77(4): 719-730. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2776756>.

Khutan, R. (2014). Demonstrating Effectiveness: Competing Discourses in the use and Evaluation of Applied Theatre that Contributes to Improved Health Outcomes for Prisoners (Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester). Retrieved from Manchester University, Open Access Student Theses

Krug, E. G., Mercy, J. A., Dahlberg, L. L., & Zwi, A. B. (2002). The world report on violence and health. Chapter 8. Collective violence. p 215-237 *The Lancet*, 360(9339), 1083-1088.

Lipsey, M. W., Landenberger, N. A., & Wilson, S. J. (2007). Effects of cognitive-behavioral programs for criminal offenders. *Campbell systematic reviews*, 6(1), 27.

Luyt, R., & Foster, D. (2001). Hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in gang culture. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 31(3), 1-11.

Lynch, Mona (2000) "Rehabilitation as Rhetoric: The Ideal of Reformation in Contemporary Parole Discourse and Practices," 2 *Punishment & Society* 40–65

Lötter, J. M. (1988). Prison Gangs in South Africa: A Description. *South African Journal of Sociology*, 19, 2

Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services (2011) Forskrift om habilitering og rehabilitering. Legal sources, *Norwegian Government* Vol 13, Chapter 2, paragraph 3 Oslo, Norway

MacMaster, L. L. (2007). Social and economic emasculation as contributing factors to gangsterism on the Cape Flats. *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa*, 95(1), 278-289.

Marshall, W. L., & Barbaree, H. E. (1990). Outcome of comprehensive cognitive-behavioral treatment programs. In *Handbook of sexual assault* (pp. 363-385). Springer US.

Martinez, P., & Richters, J. E. (1993). The NIMH community violence project: II. Children's distress symptoms associated with violence exposure. *Psychiatry*, 56(1), 22-35.

Maree, T (2018) *The General who Left the Number and Lived to tell the thale through Film*, Daily Maverick 18.3.2018
<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-03-13-meet-the-28s-general-who-left-the-number-and-lived-to-tell-the-tale-through-film/>

Matzopoulos, R., Mathews, S., Bowman, B., & Myers, J. (2007). Decreasing the burden of injury from violence. Vol. 5. Western Cape Burden of Disease Reduction Project.

Matzopoulos, R., & Myers, J. E. (2014). The Western Cape Government's new Integrated Provincial Violence Prevention Policy Framework: Successes and challenges. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 19(6), 649-654.

Morrell, R. (2001). *Times of change: men and masculinity in South Africa*. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in South Africa* (pp.3-37). Scottsville: University of Natal Press.

Muntingh, L. (2002). Tackling recidivism: What is needed for successful offender reintegration. *Track Two: Constructive Approaches to Community and Political Conflict*, 11(2), 20-24 University of Cape Town. Retrieved from http://journals.co.za/docserver/fulltext/track2/11/2/track2_v11_n2_a5.pdf?expires=1516960153&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=8AC19B145B21DC38AF60FA985528BF60

Nicholson, H. (2005). *Applied theatre: The gift of drama*. Nova Iorque: Palgrave Macmillan.

Payne, Sune (2017) *Police lack plan for stopping gangs* Ground Up 17. August 2017. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/police-lack-plan-stopping-gangs/>

Pinnock, D. (1982). *State control and street gangs in Cape Town: towards an understanding of social and spatial development* (Doctoral dissertation) University of Cape Town

Posel, D and Ross, F. (2015) Opening up the quandaries of research ethics: beyond the formalities of institutional ethical review. In Posel, D and Ross, F. (Eds) *Ethical quandaries in social research*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Salo, E. 2006. 'Mans is ma soe: Ganging practises in Manenberg, South Africa and the ideologies of masculinity, gender, and generational relations,' (p148- 178) in Bay, E. & Donham, D. (eds), *States of violence: politics, youth, and memory in contemporary Africa*. USA, University of Virginia Press.

Shields, N., Nadasen, K., & Pierce, L. (2008). The effects of community violence on children in Cape Town, South Africa. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32(5), 589-601

Singhal, A. (2004). Entertainment-education through participatory theater: Freirean strategies for empowering the oppressed. *Entertainment-education and social change: History, research, and practice*, 377-398.

Snyder-Young, D. (2013). *Theatre of good intentions: challenges and hopes for theatre and social change*. Springer.

Sutherland, A. (2015). Disturbing masculinity: gender, performance and 'violent men'. *SATJ: South African Theatre Journal*, 28(1), 68-77.

Spivak, G. (1988) Can the subaltern speak (pp 271 – 313). In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.) *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Standing, A. (2003). The social contradictions of organised crime on the Cape Flats. *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, 2003(74), 16.

Steinberg, J. (2005). *The number: One man's search for identity in the Cape underworld and prison gangs*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Swartz, S. G., (2007) The Moral Ecology of South Africa's Township Youth. (Unpublished PhD dissertation), University of Cambridge, Cambridge.

Timmons, S. & East, L. (2011) Uniforms, status and professional boundaries in hospital. *Sociology of Health & Illness*. 33(7): 1035-1049. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9566.2011.01357.x[2014, April 12].

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative Method for the Human Science*. SAGE Publications, Inc. Boston University.

Vincent, L. (2008). 'Boys will be boys': traditional Xhosa male circumcision, HIV and sexual socialisation in contemporary South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 10(5), 431-446.

Wood, K. (2005). Contextualizing group rape in post-apartheid South Africa. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(4), 303-317.

Young-Jahangeer, M. (2009) Working from the inside/out: Participatory popular theatre in the negotiation of discursive power and patriarchy in Female Prisons: The example of Westville Female Correctional Centre (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa 2000 – 2004

Part D: Appendices

Appendix 1 : Interview guide	1
Appendix 2 a + 2 b : Informed consent for participants and key informants	7
Appendix 3 : Letter of approval from Research Ethics Committee	13
Appendix 4 : Letter of confirmation of research from Pollsmoor Correctional Services	15
Appendix 5 : Instructions for authors of journal whose format has been used	16
Appendix 6 : Presentation of participants	26

Appendix 1

Interview guide

Interview with main subjects of interest:

- introduction of myself and project
- informed consent form / informing about recording device
- ask if they have any more questions before I start

(some themes and questions may not follow the following order, but will evolve and come up during interview session where the topic feels natural)

Life now and then

- Please tell me a little about who you are? (introduce yourself)
 - ❖ - *when and where were you born?*
 - ❖ - *where did you grow up?*
- Can you tell me about your upbringing and childhood?
 - ❖ - *family situation*
 - ❖ - *neighbourhood*
 - ❖ - *School and friends - did you attend/not-attend school? Level of education?*
 - ❖ - *After school activities*
- If you think back at your childhood, what is the strongest memory that comes to your mind?
- Did you have any role models/people you looked up to when you grew up?
 - ❖ *Who was it? Why this person? What in particular did you admire with this person?*
- How is your life situation today?
 - ❖ - *married/children/family relations?*
 - ❖ - *financial stand?*
 - ❖ - *drug/alcohol abuse?*
 - ❖ - *job/career? Now and/or, before/after prison?*
 - ❖ - *interests/hobbies?*

Violence and gangsterism

- Do you remember your first experience of violence?
 - ❖ *If yes, can you share this story? (who was involved, what happened, what was your reaction?)*
- What is violent behavior to you?
 - ❖ *What is your definition of violence?*
 - ❖ *Do you believe there are any "right" or "wrongs" in violence?*
- Can you tell me about your experience with violence?
 - ❖ *In your community, in your everyday life, personal experiences?*
- What do you think are the common reasons people act violent?
 - ❖ *What made you act /or behave violent?*
- Do you think violence and gangsterism is a typical 'male/masculine' phenomena?
 - ❖ *Why/why not?*
 - ❖ *What does it mean to you to be a man?*
 - ❖ *Why do you think men are "higher risk" of developing aggressive/violent behaviour?*

- ❖ *Do you have any immediate thoughts on women and gangsterism? What is the man's role? What is the women's role? Any difference?*
- How would you explain a gang and/or gangsterism to a person on the 'outside'/what is your definition of a gang?
 - ❖ *Who are the "typical" gang-members?*
 - ❖ *(hopefully lead into discussion why men and questioning masculinity)*
- Can you tell me about your experiences with gangsterism?
 - ❖ *When, how and why did you get into gangsterism?*
 - ❖ *What role do you have in your gang/previous gang?*
 - ❖ *Are you active/non-active at the moment? If yes; are you motivated/want to get out of it? Why/why not? If no; what made you leave your gang and what consequences (if any) have that given you?*
 - ❖ *From your perspective, is it difference in gangsterism inside vs outside prison? If yes; Can you give me some examples? If no; why do you think that is?*
- **TO NATE ONLY:** You told me once your story of how you became good friend with a guy after you almost stabbed him to death with a knife and said "we became friends through violence". In what way do you think this affect your friendship? *Why do you think you became friends?*
- **TO JESSE ONLY:** We have had many conversations the past year where you have told me about your challenges in growing up living on the streets, and have you have never been able to learn how to read or write. Further, you have told me about severe violent actions both of you and on you, how do you believe violence have affected your life and upbringing?
 - ❖ *In terms of survival/respect/power?*

On participating in the Help I am Free programme inside Pollsmoor prison

- When did you start the Help I am Free programme?
- Why did you choose to sign up for the programme?
- Can you tell me what expectations and thoughts you had starting in the programme?
 - ❖ *Personal expectations? Expectations to facilitators?*
- Do you have an experience of theatre or performance before the Help I am Free programme?
- How did it feel to tell your story to a group?
 - ❖ *How did it feel to be listened to?*
- Can you tell me about your participation and contribution to the group in the Help I am Free programme?
 - ❖ *What did you do? What was your role?*
 - ❖ *How did it feel to work as a team/a part of a group?*
- What did the Help I am Free programme give to you (if anything) as an individual for your personal growth? (if nothing, why do you think that is?)
 - ❖ *Do you look at yourself differently than before you took part in the programme?*
- What was the most important part of the programme for you?
- Are there any particular aspects/things in the programme you remember better?
- What did you/do you find as the challenging part of the programme for you?
 - ❖ *Did you conquer the challenge?*
- Did you experience anything new about yourself during the programme? If yes, please elaborate
- How did it feel for you to stand in front of an audience?
 - ❖ *How did it feel to have your relatives in the audience?*
 - ❖ *Did you get any feedback/comments after? If yes, what did you hear? How did that make you feel?*
- What are your thoughts around participating in programmes while incarcerated?

- ❖ *Is it useful? What does it give you? Does it make any change for you in prison/for the future?*
- ❖ *What is your thoughts on “rehabilitation” and violence prevention while still being inside a violent -and gang dominated environment like Pollsmoor prison?*
- Have you been participating in prison programmes before? If yes, can you tell me more about this?
 - ❖ *In what way (if at all) was the previous programmes different compared to Help I am Free programme?*

On behaviour change

- How do you think your experience of being imprisoned affect you as a person?
 - ❖ *Do you look at yourself differently?*
 - ❖ *Do you feel any judgements/discrimination from others? If yes, please give examples*
- How did your participating in the Help I am Free programme affect you as a person?
 - ❖ *Did the participation live up to your expectations?*
 - ❖ *Have you seen a change in your own behavior/attitude? If yes; in what ways? If no; why do you think it did not affect you?*
- In what way do you think theatre can influence people changing their life/behaviour?
- What do you think you can implement from the skills learned through theatre and performance to your daily life outside prison?
- Considering you have been active in the number gangs inside prison while taking part of the programme, have being in the programme made you re-think your affiliation with the number?
 - ❖ *In what way?*
 - ❖ *What do you believe would happen (if anything) to you if you quit the number while in prison?*
- Do you have any concerns or fears of leaving your gang?
 - ❖ *If yes: where do you think these fears come from?*
 - ❖ *What do you believe is going to take you to conquer them?*
- If you look at yourself before participating in Help I am Free programme and after, do you see any change? If yes; please elaborate
- **TO ADRIAN ONLY:** A few weeks ago you opened up to me about the incident where you found your girlfriend with another man, you told me that you were surprised about your own reaction on not hurting neither of them physical - can you please elaborate on this? *Why do you think you reacted different now than what you expected of yourself?*
- **TO JHONNY ONLY:** You have explained to me that the only thing you are good at is to “be a gangster, kill and hurt people”, can you please explain this statement further? *Do you believe this is who you are today? Why do you say this about yourself? In what way can you be better at other things?*
- **TO JOHNNY ONLY:** I know that you are a acknowledged gangster and highly ranked in the 28s inside Pollsmoor, in what way do you believe your status affects your ability to change your lifestyle and violent behaviour? *Do you have any fears of losing status? What do you think it will take to keep your dignity/respect (if believe in losing it) after walking away from gang activity?*

Life post-release (for informants on parole)

- Can you tell me about your life since you got out on parole?
 - ❖ *Everyday routines*
 - ❖ *Living and working situation*
 - ❖ *Friends/social life?*

- Have you met any challenges since you got out? Please elaborate on this
 - ❖ *Do these possible challenges affect your decision to change?*
 - ❖ *Are there any challenges you have not mentioned you fear?*
- What do you think the Help I am Free programme has given you (if any) in terms of preparing for release and your reintegration?
- What type of support do you have on your release?
 - ❖ *Family/social worker/friends/social life*
- What do you believe is needed for a person being released and not go back to previous lifestyle of violence and gangs?
- What is your thoughts/plans for the future?
 - ❖ *Do you think these plans has changed since being in the Help I am Free programme?*
- What do you consider most important in your life today?

Pre-release (for informants before release)

- When are you getting released on your parole?
- Can you tell me about the life that you are expecting when you get out?
- What are your expectations for your release?
 - ❖ *Do you have any fears? If yes, can you elaborate? Why do you think you have these particular fears?*
- I know this is not your first time in prison, do you have any plans to avoid recidivism?
 - ❖ *What is different this time than before?*
- What do you see as the most important factors for you for a successful reintegration?
- Are there any skills you have learned from the Help I am Free programme that will prepare you for the life outside?
- What do you consider most important in your life today?
- What is your thoughts/plans for the future?
 - ❖ *Do you think these plans has changed since being in the Help I am Free programme?*

Final questions

- Any final questions to me?
- Are there any information or something you want to express that you feel has not been covered through this interview? For instance..
 - *Yourself*
 - *Experiences of Help I am Free programme*
 - *Reintegration*
 - *Life in general?*

Focus group discussions with parolees from the Help I am Free programme

The focus group discussion (FGD) will take part after all individual interviews, as questions will be based on observed patterns/themes during individual interviews to create discussion..

- Give a brief introduction to the group about the themes we will discuss, informed consent and recorder device. Go through rules I have used together with the participants in discussion throughout the 'Help I am Free' programme, which includes:
 - *Listen to each other - active listening*
 - *Respect other people's opinion and beliefs*

- *No violence*
- *Confidentiality - what is said in the room, stays in the room*

- Can you all give a brief presentation of who you are, and why you are taking part of the focus group discussion?

Example on other themes apart from what comes up during in-depth interviews that will be addressed in the focus group discussion:

- In what way do you believe theatre training and performance can prevent violent behavior/gang violence?
- Do you think theatre can contribute in changing people's life/behavior?
- Did you observe any changes among your fellow participants?
 - *If yes, what? Can you give examples?*
- What support do you have when you get out of prison? Expectations from fellow gang members/family?
 - ❖ *What support do you need when you get out?*

Interview with key informants

Interviews with key informants (social worker, DCS, theatre trainer) will only take place after in-depth interviews and focus group discussion. Questions and topics for interviews with key informants will therefore be drawn on themes and statements from in-depth interviews. In this way researcher are able to investigate further statements and experiences said by main intercalators. Other questions and topics that will be addressed in key informant interviews includes:

Social worker:

- Can you start with introducing yourself
 - *Where do you work? How long have you been working as a social worker in this field?*
- Can you tell me about your work?
 - *What is a 'normal' week as a social worker for NICRO?*
 - *What do you do?*
 - *What are the steps that is followed for a person coming out from prison/to parole*
- From your experience as a social worker with reintegration of ex-offenders, what would you say are the main challenges are within reintegration?
- What do you think is crucial for a person to stop violent behavior
- What problems do you see in terms of staying away from trouble/prevent recidivism

DCS official. Key manager from DCS

- Can you start with introducing yourself?
 - *How long have you been working at Pollsmoor Prison?*
- Can you tell me about your work?
- From your experience working with inmates, do you believe behaviour change is possible while being incarcerated?
- You have followed the Help I am Free project for four years, and followed four groups of participants on their way to Artscape, can you please tell me of your observed experiences through the process?
 - ❖ *Have you observed any repeated patterns between the groups?*

- ❖ *What is your impression on behaviour change among the participants? How? Can you give any examples?*
- Have you as a warden experienced any difference within inmates taking part of the Help I am Free programme compared to those who are not?
 - ❖ *If yes, in which ways?*
- What do you believe are the most common reason for recidivism?
- Can you tell me about your observations and experiences of violence in Pollsmoor?
- What support can you as an official do to prevent violence from happening?
- Can you tell me about the gang structure in prison
 - ❖ *What do you believe are the main challenges?*
 - ❖ *Do you have any thoughts on the best ways to prevent continuation of gang violence?*

Theatre and movement trainer from Help I am Free

- Can you start with introducing yourself?
 - *How long have you been working as a theatre and movement trainer?*
 - *Is it your first time working with prisoners?*
- Can you tell me about your work in Help I am Free?
- What are the ideology behind working with theatre and performance art for behaviour change?
 - ❖ *What do you believe participants can gain from being part of the programme?*
- What is your experiences and observations on (if any) behaviour change in the group through the process?
 - ❖ *What do you believe are the main challenges participants are meeting during the process?*
- What do you believe performance art give to the participant as an individual?
- Have you observed any positive change of participants throughout the process?
 - ❖ *If yes, can you give examples?*

Appendix 2a

Consent to Participate in Research:

How does theatre as an intervention inside prison lead to a behaviour change among male gang members in Cape Town, South Africa

University of Cape Town

1. WHO IS DOING THIS STUDY AND WHY?

You are being asked to participate in a research project by Ingebjørg Lingaas from the School of Public Health and Family Medicine at the University of Cape Town.

The project is a study of the experiences of how taking part of a prison theatre intervention programme have influenced participants to change violent behaviour, decrease risk of re-offending as well as building self-awareness. Specifically, it focuses on the participant's own perception on the impact the intervention have done for them.

As part of the study, researcher will conduct in-depth life history interviews with four participants of the theatre intervention programme, additionally, researcher will have supporting interviews with key informants such as social worker, theatre trainer, department of correctional services official, and previous gang member and now activist. These interviews are conducted to gather varied perspectives and input from stakeholders involved at different stages of the topic. If you agree to participate in this project, you will be asked to speak with researcher, Ingebjørg Lingaas.

2. WHAT IS YOUR ROLE IN THIS STUDY?

If you volunteer to participate in this study, I will ask you to answer questions and talk about your experiences in the process of participating in the *Help I am Free* project. Additionally, I will ask you and in-depth questions about your life and upbringing. This is to incorporate qualitative evidence on the topic of behaviour change. I will also be asking specific questions about your experience with gangsterism and violence.

If you feel uncomfortable responding to any of the questions, you are not obliged not to answer the particular question. I will ask you for permission to voice-record these interviews. You have the choice to say no to the recording of your interview. If you do not wish to be recorded, the researcher will take notes about your conversation.

3. ARE THERE ANY RISKS INVOLVED IN TAKING PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

If you are feeling uncomfortable with any of the questions, please let the researcher know as your participation is voluntarily you are not obliged to answer. If you feel upset during or after the interview, please tell the researcher. You can stop the interview or withdraw participation at any time and without any further consequences.

4. ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING FOR ME?

There are no direct benefits of participating in this study.

5. WILL I BE PAID TO PARTICIPATE?

You will receive a compensation for participating in the form of transport money and a meal.

6. WILL MY NAME BE SHARED WITH ANYONE?

Your name will not be shared with anyone outside the research. In the analysis of interview material and the final Master’s dissertation, your name will be changed to a pseudonym. All the information from this project will be safely kept by the principal investigator (Ingebjørg Lingaas). No one beside me (as the researcher) will have access to your personal information and responses in the interviews. Extracts from your interviews may be published in research reports but any direct information that could identify who you are will be removed.

7. WHO IS THE RESEARCHER?

The Principle Investigator is Ingebjørg Lingaas from the School of Public Health and Family Medicine at the University of Cape Town. Ingebjørg is writing her master dissertation on gang violence and how changing violent behaviour can happen through prison theatre intervention programs, under the sub-discipline of social and behavioural sciences. Ingebjørg has background in sports science and health, social anthropology, as well as four years of experience working with physical activity and rehabilitation of people with substance abuse as well as ex-offenders both in Norway and South Africa.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Ingebjørg Lingaas
Tel and whatsapp: 062-236-2113
E-mail: ilingaas@gmail.com

8. WHAT ARE MY RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT?

You may withdraw your consent to participate in this study at any time and stop participating without any penalty. When you participate in this study, you are not giving up any legal claims, rights or remedies that you may have.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Cape Town at 021 406 6338.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

The information above was described to me by _____ . I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the participant*].
[He] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix 2b

Consent to Participate in Research: Key informants

How does theatre as a prison intervention lead to a behaviour change among male gang members in Cape Town, South Africa?

University of Cape Town

1. WHO IS DOING THIS STUDY AND WHY?

You are being asked to participate in a research project by Ingebjørg Lingaas from the School of Public Health and Family Medicine at the University of Cape Town.

The project is a study on how taking part in a prison theatre intervention programme may lead to changes in violent behaviour, decrease the risk of re-offending as well as building self-awareness amongst the participants of the study. Specifically, it focuses on the participants' own perception on the impacts the intervention may or may not have had for them.

As part of the study, the researcher will conduct in-depth life-history interviews with four participants of the theatre intervention programme. Additionally, the researcher will conduct interviews with key informants such as social workers, theatre trainers, officials from department of correctional services, and a previous gang member who is now identifying as an activist. These interviews are conducted to gather various perspectives from the different stakeholders involved in the programme. . If you agree to participate in this project, you will be asked to speak with the researcher, Ingebjørg Lingaas.

2. WHAT IS YOUR ROLE IN THIS STUDY?

You are selected as a key informant, on the basis of your involvement in the *Help I am Free* programme and the participants. If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer questions and talk about your experiences as part of the *Help I am Free* project and in working with offenders and ex-offenders. The questions will be concerned with your professional opinions and experiences regarding your work with offenders and ex-offenders. These questions involve your observations on possible behaviour change through the *Help I am Free* programme, challenges offenders may encounter in the process of reintegration as well as your thoughts on recidivism (reasons etc).

If you find any of the questions uncomfortable you are entitled to say no to answering them. You will also be asked for permission to voice-record these interviews. If you do not want to have it recorded, the researcher will take notes..

3. ARE THERE ANY RISKS INVOLVED IN TAKING PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

There are no direct risks involved in participating in this research. You are not obliged to answer any questions you are uncomfortable with or speak about subjects that you do not want to discuss. You can also stop interview or withdraw from the research at any time without any further consequences.

4. ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING FOR ME?

There are no direct benefits of participating in this study.

5. WILL I BE PAID TO PARTICIPATE?

You will receive a compensation for participating in the form of transport money and a meal.

6. WILL MY NAME BE SHARED WITH ANYONE?

Your name will not be shared with anyone outside the research, however, your profession (*Help I am Free* facilitator, social worker or DCS official) will be highlighted in your response. All the information from this project will be safely kept by the principal investigator, Ingebjørg Lingaas. None outside the research team will have access to your information and responses in the interviews. Extracts from your interviews may be published in research reports but any direct information that could identify who you are will be removed.

7. WHO IS THE RESEARCHER?

The Principle Investigator is Ingebjørg Lingaas from the School of Public Health and Family Medicine at the University of Cape Town. Under the sub-discipline of social and behavioural sciences, Ingebjørg is writing her master dissertation on gang violence and the potential impacts of prison theatre intervention programmes on violent behaviour. Ingebjørg has a background in Sports Science and Health, Social Anthropology, as well as four years of experience in working in the rehabilitation of people affected by substance abuse as well as ex-offenders in both Norway and South Africa.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Ingebjørg Lingaas
Tel and Whatsapp: 062-236-2113
E-mail: ilingaas@gmail.com

8. WHAT ARE MY RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH PARTICIPANT?

As mentioned above, you may withdraw your consent to participate in this study at any time and discontinue participation without any penalty.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Cape Town at 021 406 6338.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

The information above was described to me by _____. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the participant*].
[He] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix 3



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Faculty of Health Sciences
Human Research Ethics Committee



Room E53-46 Old Main Building
Groote Schuur Hospital
Observatory 7925
Telephone [021] 406 6492
Email: sumayah.arietdien@uct.ac.za
Website: www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms

09 June 2017

HREC REF: 313/2017

A/Prof C Colvin
Division of Public Health & Family Medicine
Falmouth Building-FHS

Dear A/Prof Colvin

PROJECT TITLE: BREAKING BARS: HOW PERFORMANCE ART AS AN INTERVENTION PROGRAM INSIDE PRISON LEADS TO A BEHAVIOR CHANGE AMONG MALE GANG MEMBERS IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA (Master's candidate-I Lingaas)

Thank you for your response letter, addressing the issues raised by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC).

It is a pleasure to inform you that the HREC has **formally approved** the above-mentioned study.

Approval is granted for one year until the 30 June 2018.

Please submit a progress form, using the standardised Annual Report Form if the study continues beyond the approval period. Please submit a Standard Closure form if the study is completed within the approval period.

(Forms can be found on our website: www.health.uct.ac.za/fhs/research/humanethics/forms)

We acknowledge that the student, I Lingaas will also be involved in this study.

Please quote the HREC REF in all your correspondence.

Please note that the ongoing ethical conduct of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

Please note that for all studies approved by the HREC, the principal investigator **must** obtain appropriate institutional approval before the research may occur.

Yours sincerely

PROFESSOR M. BLOCKMAN
CHAIRPERSON, FHS HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Federal Wide Assurance Number: FWA00001637.
Institutional Review Board (IRB) number: IRB00001938

HREC 313/2017

This serves to confirm that the University of Cape Town Human Research Ethics Committee complies to the Ethics Standards for Clinical Research with a new drug in patients, based on the Medical Research Council (MRC-SA), Food and Drug Administration (FDA-USA), International Convention on Harmonisation Good Clinical Practice (ICH GCP), South African Good Clinical Practice Guidelines (DoH 2006), based on the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry Guidelines (ABPI), and Declaration of Helsinki (2013) guidelines.

The Human Research Ethics Committee granting this approval is in compliance with the ICH Harmonised Tripartite Guidelines E6: Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice (CPMP/ICH/135/95) and FDA Code Federal Regulation Part 50, 56 and 312.

Appendix 4



POLLSMOOR MEDIUM-B (*PRIVATE BAG X4 – TOKAI – 7966*)
OFFICE FOR DEVELOPMENT: Tel. 021 7007718. Mob: 0839403199

<u>To:</u> To whom it might concern	<u>From:</u> Mr. Verrooi. BZ Office for Development <u>Date</u> 5 June 2017
--	--

This letter confirms that Ingebjørg Lingaas has been granted permission by the Department of Correctional Service to conduct interviews with participants of the Help I am Free programme at Pollsmoor Management Area. The interviews will be used to assist Ms Lingaas' master dissertation at the University of Cape Town, School of Public Health. The interviews will be assisted and supervised by Mr Brandon Verrooi and one additional official from Pollsmoor Management Area, Department of Correctional Service. The selected research participants are required to sign an additional indemnity form for Pollsmoor Management Area.

Mr. Brandon Verrooi
Area Coordinator:
Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture
Pollsmoor Management Area

GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

Your Paper Your Way

We now differentiate between the requirements for new and revised submissions. You may choose to submit your manuscript as a single Word or PDF file to be used in the refereeing process. Only when your paper is at the revision stage, will you be requested to put your paper in to a 'correct format' for acceptance and provide the items required for the publication of your article.

To find out more, please visit the Preparation section below.

INTRODUCTION

Click [here](#) for guidelines on Special Issues.

Click [here](#) for guidelines on Qualitative methods.

Social Science & Medicine provides an international and interdisciplinary forum for the dissemination of social science research on health. We publish original research articles (both empirical and theoretical), reviews, position papers and commentaries on health issues, to inform current research, policy and practice in all areas of common interest to social scientists, health practitioners, and policy makers. The journal publishes material relevant to any aspect of health and healthcare from a wide range of social science disciplines (anthropology, economics, epidemiology, geography, policy, psychology, and sociology), and material relevant to the social sciences from any of the professions concerned with physical and mental health, health care, clinical practice, and health policy and the organization of healthcare. We encourage material which is of general interest to an international readership.

Journal Policies

The journal publishes the following types of contribution:

- 1) Peer-reviewed original research articles and critical analytical reviews in any area of social science research relevant to health and healthcare. These papers may be up to 8000 words including abstract, tables, figures, references and (printed) appendices as well as the main text. Papers below this limit are preferred.
- 2) Peer-reviewed short communications of findings on topical issues or published articles of between 2000 and 4000 words.
- 3) Submitted or invited commentaries and responses debating, and published alongside, selected articles (please select the article type 'Discussion' when submitting a Commentary).
- 4) Special Issues bringing together collections of papers on a particular theme, and usually [guest edited](#).

Due to the high number of submissions received by *Social Science & Medicine*, Editorial Offices are not able to respond to questions regarding the appropriateness of new papers for the journal. If you are unsure whether or not your paper is within scope, please take some time to review previous issues of the journal and the Aims and Scope at <https://www.journals.elsevier.com/social-science-and-medicine/>.

Submission checklist

You can use this list to carry out a final check of your submission before you send it to the journal for review. Please check the relevant section in this Guide for Authors for more details.

Ensure that the following items are present:

One author has been designated as the corresponding author with contact details:

- E-mail address
- Full postal address

All necessary files have been uploaded:

Manuscript:

- Include keywords
- All figures (include relevant captions)
- All tables (including titles, description, footnotes)
- Ensure all figure and table citations in the text match the files provided
- Indicate clearly if color should be used for any figures in print
Graphical Abstracts / Highlights files (where applicable)
Supplemental files (where applicable)

Further considerations

- Manuscript has been 'spell checked' and 'grammar checked'
- All references mentioned in the Reference List are cited in the text, and vice versa
- Manuscript does not exceed the word limit
- All identifying information has been removed from the manuscript, including the file name itself
- Permission has been obtained for use of copyrighted material from other sources (including the Internet)
- Relevant declarations of interest have been made
- Journal policies detailed in this guide have been reviewed
- Referee suggestions and contact details provided, based on journal requirements

For further information, visit our [Support Center](#).

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

Ethics in Publishing

For information on Ethics in publishing and Ethical guidelines for journal publication see <http://www.elsevier.com/publishingethics> and <http://www.elsevier.com/ethicalguidelines>.

Please note that any submission that has data collected from human subjects requires ethics approval. If your manuscript does not include ethics approval, your paper will not be sent out for review.

Declaration of interest

All authors must disclose any financial and personal relationships with other people or organizations that could inappropriately influence (bias) their work. Examples of potential conflicts of interest include employment, consultancies, stock ownership, honoraria, paid expert testimony, patent applications/registrations, and grants or other funding. If there are no conflicts of interest then please state this: 'Conflicts of interest: none'. [More information](#).

Submission declaration and verification

Submission of an article implies that the work described has not been published previously (except in the form of a conference abstract or as part of a published lecture or thesis for an academic qualification), that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere, that its publication is approved by all authors and tacitly or explicitly by the responsible authorities where the work was carried out, and that, if accepted, it will not be published elsewhere in the same form, in English or in any other language, including electronically without the written consent of the copyright-holder. To verify originality, your article may be checked by the originality detection software iThenticate. See also <http://www.elsevier.com/editors/plagdetect>.

Changes to authorship

Authors are expected to consider carefully the list and order of authors **before** submitting their manuscript and provide the definitive list of authors at the time of the original submission. Any addition, deletion or rearrangement of author names in the authorship list should be made only **before** the manuscript has been accepted and only if approved by the journal Editor. To request such a change, the Editor must receive the following from the **corresponding author**: (a) the reason for the change in author list and (b) written confirmation (e-mail, letter) from all authors that they agree with the addition, removal or rearrangement. In the case of addition or removal of authors, this includes confirmation from the author being added or removed.

Only in exceptional circumstances will the Editor consider the addition, deletion or rearrangement of authors **after** the manuscript has been accepted. While the Editor considers the request, publication of the manuscript will be suspended. If the manuscript has already been published in an online issue, any requests approved by the Editor will result in a corrigendum.

Article transfer service

This journal is part of our Article Transfer Service. This means that if the Editor feels your article is more suitable in one of our other participating journals, then you may be asked to consider transferring the article to one of those. If you agree, your article will be transferred automatically on your behalf with no need to reformat. Please note that your article will be reviewed again by the new journal. [More information](#).

Copyright

Upon acceptance of an article, authors will be asked to complete a 'Journal Publishing Agreement' (see [more information](#) on this). An e-mail will be sent to the corresponding author confirming receipt of the manuscript together with a 'Journal Publishing Agreement' form or a link to the online version of this agreement.

Subscribers may reproduce tables of contents or prepare lists of articles including abstracts for internal circulation within their institutions. [Permission](#) of the Publisher is required for resale or distribution outside the institution and for all other derivative works, including compilations and translations. If excerpts from other copyrighted works are included, the author(s) must obtain written permission from the copyright owners and credit the source(s) in the article. Elsevier has [preprinted forms](#) for use by authors in these cases.

For open access articles: Upon acceptance of an article, authors will be asked to complete an 'Exclusive License Agreement' ([more information](#)). Permitted third party reuse of open access articles is determined by the author's choice of [user license](#).

Author rights

As an author you (or your employer or institution) have certain rights to reuse your work. [More information](#).

Elsevier supports responsible sharing

Find out how you can [share your research](#) published in Elsevier journals.

Role of the funding source

You are requested to identify who provided financial support for the conduct of the research and/or preparation of the article and to briefly describe the role of the sponsor(s), if any, in study design; in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data; in the writing of the articles; and in the decision to submit it for publication. If the funding source(s) had no such involvement then this should be stated. Please see <http://www.elsevier.com/funding>.

Funding body agreements and policies

Elsevier has established a number of agreements with funding bodies which allow authors to comply with their funder's open access policies. Some funding bodies will reimburse the author for the Open Access Publication Fee. Details of [existing agreements](#) are available online.

Open access

This journal offers authors a choice in publishing their research:

Open access

- Articles are freely available to both subscribers and the wider public with permitted reuse.
- An open access publication fee is payable by authors or on their behalf, e.g. by their research funder or institution.

Subscription

- Articles are made available to subscribers as well as developing countries and patient groups through our [universal access programs](#).
- No open access publication fee payable by authors.

Regardless of how you choose to publish your article, the journal will apply the same peer review criteria and acceptance standards.

For open access articles, permitted third party (re)use is defined by the following [Creative Commons user licenses](#):

Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY)

Lets others distribute and copy the article, create extracts, abstracts, and other revised versions, adaptations or derivative works of or from an article (such as a translation), include in a collective work (such as an anthology), text or data mine the article, even for commercial purposes, as long as they credit the author(s), do not represent the author as endorsing their adaptation of the article, and do not modify the article in such a way as to damage the author's honor or reputation.

Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs (CC BY-NC-ND)

For non-commercial purposes, lets others distribute and copy the article, and to include in a collective work (such as an anthology), as long as they credit the author(s) and provided they do not alter or modify the article.

The open access publication fee for this journal is **USD 3200**, excluding taxes. Learn more about Elsevier's pricing policy: <https://www.elsevier.com/openaccesspricing>.

Green open access

Authors can share their research in a variety of different ways and Elsevier has a number of green open access options available. We recommend authors see our [green open access page](#) for further information. Authors can also self-archive their manuscripts immediately and enable public access from their institution's repository after an embargo period. This is the version that has been accepted for publication and which typically includes author-incorporated changes suggested during submission, peer review and in editor-author communications. Embargo period: For subscription articles, an appropriate amount of time is needed for journals to deliver value to subscribing customers before an article becomes freely available to the public. This is the embargo period and it begins from the date the article is formally published online in its final and fully citable form. [Find out more](#).

This journal has an embargo period of 36 months.

Elsevier Publishing Campus

The Elsevier Publishing Campus (www.publishingcampus.com) is an online platform offering free lectures, interactive training and professional advice to support you in publishing your research. The College of Skills training offers modules on how to prepare, write and structure your article and explains how editors will look at your paper when it is submitted for publication. Use these resources, and more, to ensure that your submission will be the best that you can make it.

Language (usage and editing services)

Please write your text in good English (American or British usage is accepted, but not a mixture of these). Authors who feel their English language manuscript may require editing to eliminate possible grammatical or spelling errors and to conform to correct scientific English may wish to use the [English Language Editing service](#) available from Elsevier's WebShop.

Submission

Submission to this journal occurs online and you will be guided step by step through the creation and uploading of your files. Please submit your article via <http://ees.elsevier.com/ssm>. The system automatically converts source files to a single PDF file of the article, which is used in the peer-review process. Please note that even though manuscript source files are converted to PDF files at submission for the review process, these source files are needed for further processing after acceptance. All correspondence, including notification of the Editor's decision and requests for revision, takes place by e-mail.

Reviewers

Please provide the names and email addresses of 3 potential reviewers and state the reason for each suggestion. Colleagues within the same institution and co-authors within the last 5 years should not be included in the suggestions. Note that the editor retains the sole right to decide whether or not the suggested reviewers are used.

Additional information

Please note author information is entered into the online editorial system (EES) during submission and must *not* be included in the manuscript itself.

Social Science & Medicine does not normally list more than six authors to a paper, and special justification must be provided for doing so. Further information on criteria for authorship can be found in *Social Science & Medicine*, 2007, 64(1), 1-4.

Authors should approach the Editors in Chief if they wish to submit companion articles.

Information about our peer-review policy can be found [here](#) .

Please note that we may suggest accepted papers for legal review if it is deemed necessary.

PREPARATION

NEW SUBMISSIONS

Submission to this journal proceeds totally online and you will be guided stepwise through the creation and uploading of your files. The system automatically converts your files to a single PDF file, which is used in the peer-review process.

As part of the Your Paper Your Way service, you may choose to submit your manuscript as a single file to be used in the refereeing process. This can be a PDF file or a Word document, in any format or layout that can be used by referees to evaluate your manuscript. It should contain high enough quality figures for refereeing. If you prefer to do so, you may still provide all or some of the source files at the initial submission. Please note that individual figure files larger than 10 MB must be uploaded separately.

References

There are no strict requirements on reference formatting at submission. References can be in any style or format as long as the style is consistent. Where applicable, author(s) name(s), journal title/book title, chapter title/article title, year of publication, volume number/book chapter and the pagination must be present. Use of DOI is highly encouraged. The reference style used by the journal will be applied to the accepted article by Elsevier at the proof stage. Note that missing data will be highlighted at proof stage for the author to correct.

Formatting Requirements

The journal operates a double blind peer review policy. For guidelines on how to prepare your paper to meet these criteria please see the [attached guidelines](#). The journal requires that your manuscript is submitted with double spacing applied. There are no other strict formatting requirements but all manuscripts must contain the essential elements needed to convey your manuscript, for example Abstract, Keywords, Introduction, Materials and Methods, Results, Conclusions, Artwork and Tables with Captions.

If your article includes any Videos and/or other Supplementary material, this should be included in your initial submission for peer review purposes.

Divide the article into clearly defined sections.

Peer review

This journal operates a double blind review process. All contributions will be initially assessed by the editor for suitability for the journal. Papers deemed suitable are then typically sent to a minimum of two independent expert reviewers to assess the scientific quality of the paper. The Editor is responsible for the final decision regarding acceptance or rejection of articles. The Editor's decision is final. [More information on types of peer review](#).

REVISED SUBMISSIONS

Use of word processing software

Regardless of the file format of the original submission, at revision you must provide us with an editable file of the entire article. Keep the layout of the text as simple as possible. Most formatting codes will be removed and replaced on processing the article. The electronic text should be prepared in a way very similar to that of conventional manuscripts (see also the [Guide to Publishing with Elsevier](#)). See also the section on Electronic artwork.

To avoid unnecessary errors you are strongly advised to use the 'spell-check' and 'grammar-check' functions of your word processor.

Essential cover page information

The Cover Page should **only** include the following information:

- **Title.** Concise and informative. Titles are often used in information-retrieval systems. Avoid abbreviations and formulae where possible and make clear the article's aim and health relevance.
- **Author names and affiliations in the correct order.** Where the family name may be ambiguous (e.g., a double name), please indicate this clearly. Present the authors' affiliation addresses (where the actual work was done) below the names. Indicate all affiliations with a lower-case superscript

letter immediately after the author's name and in front of the appropriate address. Provide the full postal address of each affiliation, including the country name and, if available, the e-mail address of each author.

• **Corresponding author.** Clearly indicate who will handle correspondence at all stages of refereeing and publication, also post-publication. **Ensure that telephone and fax numbers (with country and area code) are provided in addition to the e-mail address and the complete postal address. Contact details must be kept up to date by the corresponding author.**

• **Present/permanent address.** If an author has moved since the work described in the article was done, or was visiting at the time, a 'Present address' (or 'Permanent address') may be indicated as a footnote to that author's name. The address at which the author actually did the work must be retained as the main, affiliation address. Superscript Arabic numerals are used for such footnotes.

Text

In the main body of the submitted manuscript this order should be followed: abstract, main text, references, appendix, figure captions, tables and figures. Author details, keywords and acknowledgements are entered separately during the online submission process, as is the abstract, though this is to be included in the manuscript as well. During submission authors are asked to provide a word count; this is to include ALL text, including that in tables, figures, references etc.

Title

Please consider the title very carefully, as these are often used in information-retrieval systems. Please use a concise and informative title (avoiding abbreviations where possible). Make sure that the health or healthcare focus is clear.

Abstract

An abstract of up to 300 words must be included in the submitted manuscript. An abstract is often presented separately from the article, so it must be able to stand alone. It should state briefly and clearly the purpose and setting of the research, the principal findings and major conclusions, and the paper's contribution to knowledge. For empirical papers the country/countries/locations of the study should be clearly stated, as should the methods and nature of the sample, the dates, and a summary of the findings/conclusion. Please note that excessive statistical details should be avoided, abbreviations/acronyms used only if essential or firmly established, and that the abstract should not be structured into subsections. Any references cited in the abstract must be given in full at the end of the abstract.

Research highlights

Research highlights are a short collection of 3 to 5 bullet points that convey an article's **unique contribution to knowledge** and are placed online with the final article. We allow 85 characters per bullet point including spaces. They should be supplied as a separate file in the online submission system (further instructions will be provided there). You should pay very close attention to the formulation of the Research Highlights for your article. Make sure that they are **clear, concise and capture the reader's attention**. If your research highlights do not meet these criteria we may need to return your article to you leading to a delay in the review process.

Keywords

Up to 8 keywords are entered separately into the online editorial system during submission, and should accurately reflect the content of the article. Again abbreviations/acronyms should be used only if essential or firmly established. For empirical papers the country/countries/locations of the research should be included. The keywords will be used for indexing purposes.

Methods

Authors of empirical papers are expected to provide full details of the research methods used, including study location(s), sampling procedures, the date(s) when data were collected, research instruments, and techniques of data analysis. Specific guidance on the reporting of qualitative studies are provided [here](#).

Systematic reviews and meta-analyses must be reported according to [PRISMA](#) guidelines.

Footnotes

There should be no footnotes or endnotes in the manuscript.

Artwork

Electronic artwork

General points

- Make sure you use uniform lettering and sizing of your original artwork.
- Preferred fonts: Arial (or Helvetica), Times New Roman (or Times), Symbol, Courier.
- Number the illustrations according to their sequence in the text.
- Use a logical naming convention for your artwork files.
- Indicate per figure if it is a single, 1.5 or 2-column fitting image.
- For Word submissions only, you may still provide figures and their captions, and tables within a single file at the revision stage.
- Please note that individual figure files larger than 10 MB must be provided in separate source files. A detailed [guide on electronic artwork](#) is available.

You are urged to visit this site; some excerpts from the detailed information are given here.

Formats

Regardless of the application used, when your electronic artwork is finalized, please 'save as' or convert the images to one of the following formats (note the resolution requirements for line drawings, halftones, and line/halftone combinations given below):

EPS (or PDF): Vector drawings. Embed the font or save the text as 'graphics'.

TIFF (or JPG): Color or grayscale photographs (halftones): always use a minimum of 300 dpi.

TIFF (or JPG): Bitmapped line drawings: use a minimum of 1000 dpi.

TIFF (or JPG): Combinations bitmapped line/half-tone (color or grayscale): a minimum of 500 dpi is required.

Please do not:

- Supply files that are optimized for screen use (e.g., GIF, BMP, PICT, WPG); the resolution is too low.
- Supply files that are too low in resolution.
- Submit graphics that are disproportionately large for the content.

Color artwork

Please make sure that artwork files are in an acceptable format (TIFF (or JPEG), EPS (or PDF), or MS Office files) and with the correct resolution. If, together with your accepted article, you submit usable color figures then Elsevier will ensure, at no additional charge, that these figures will appear in color online (e.g., ScienceDirect and other sites) regardless of whether or not these illustrations are reproduced in color in the printed version. **For color reproduction in print, you will receive information regarding the costs from Elsevier after receipt of your accepted article.** Please indicate your preference for color: in print or online only. [Further information on the preparation of electronic artwork.](#)

Figure captions

Ensure that each illustration has a caption. A caption should comprise a brief title (**not** on the figure itself) and a description of the illustration. Keep text in the illustrations themselves to a minimum but explain all symbols and abbreviations used.

Tables

Please submit tables as editable text and not as images. Tables can be placed either next to the relevant text in the article, or on separate page(s) at the end. Number tables consecutively in accordance with their appearance in the text and place any table notes below the table body. Be sparing in the use of tables and ensure that the data presented in them do not duplicate results described elsewhere in the article. Please avoid using vertical rules and shading in table cells.

References

Citation in text

Please ensure that every reference cited in the text is also present in the reference list (and vice versa). Any references cited in the abstract must be given in full at the end of the abstract. Unpublished results and personal communications are not recommended in the reference list, but may be mentioned in the text. If these references are included in the reference list they should follow the standard reference style of the journal (see below) and should include a substitution of the publication date with either "Unpublished results" or "Personal communication" Citation of a reference as "in press" implies that the item has been accepted for publication.

Web references

As a minimum, the full URL should be given and the date when the reference was last accessed. Any further information, if known (DOI, author names, dates, reference to a source publication, etc.), should also be given. Web references can be listed separately (e.g., after the reference list) under a different heading if desired, or can be included in the reference list.

Data references

This journal encourages you to cite underlying or relevant datasets in your manuscript by citing them in your text and including a data reference in your Reference List. Data references should include the following elements: author name(s), dataset title, data repository, version (where available), year, and global persistent identifier. Add [dataset] immediately before the reference so we can properly identify it as a data reference. The [dataset] identifier will not appear in your published article.

References in special issue articles, commentaries and responses to commentaries

Please ensure that the words 'this issue' are added to any references in the reference list (and any citations in the text) to other articles which are referred to in the same issue.

Reference management software

Most Elsevier journals have their reference template available in many of the most popular reference management software products. These include all products that support [Citation Style Language styles](#), such as [Mendeley](#) and [Zotero](#), as well as [EndNote](#). Using the word processor plug-ins from these products, authors only need to select the appropriate journal template when preparing their article, after which citations and bibliographies will be automatically formatted in the journal's style. If no template is yet available for this journal, please follow the format of the sample references and citations as shown in this Guide.

The current *Social Science & Medicine* EndNote file can be directly accessed by clicking [here](#).

Users of Mendeley Desktop can easily install the reference style for this journal by clicking the following link:

<http://open.mendeley.com/use-citation-style/social-science-and-medicine>

When preparing your manuscript, you will then be able to select this style using the Mendeley plug-ins for Microsoft Word or LibreOffice.

Reference formatting

There are no strict requirements on reference formatting at submission. References can be in any style or format as long as the style is consistent. Where applicable, author(s) name(s), journal title/book title, chapter title/article title, year of publication, volume number/book chapter and the pagination must be present. Use of DOI is highly encouraged. The reference style used by the journal will be applied to the accepted article by Elsevier at the proof stage. Note that missing data will be highlighted at proof stage for the author to correct. If you do wish to format the references yourself they should be arranged according to the following examples:

Reference style

Text: All citations in the text should refer to:

1. *Single author:* the author's name (without initials, unless there is ambiguity) and the year of publication;
2. *Two authors:* both authors' names and the year of publication;
3. *Three or more authors:* first author's name followed by 'et al.' and the year of publication.

Citations may be made directly (or parenthetically). Groups of references should be listed first alphabetically, then chronologically.

Examples: 'as demonstrated (Allan, 2000a, 2000b, 1999; Allan and Jones, 1999). Kramer et al. (2010) have recently shown'

List: References should be arranged first alphabetically and then further sorted chronologically if necessary. More than one reference from the same author(s) in the same year must be identified by the letters 'a', 'b', 'c', etc., placed after the year of publication.

Examples:

Reference to a journal publication:

Van der Geer, J., Hanraads, J.A.J., Lupton, R.A., 2010. The art of writing a scientific article. *J. Sci. Commun.* 163, 51–59.

Reference to a book:

Strunk Jr, W., White, E.B., 2000. *The Elements of Style*, fourth ed. Longman, New York.

Reference to a chapter in an edited book:

Mettam, G.R., Adams, L.B., 2009. How to prepare an electronic version of your article, in: Jones, B.S., Smith, R.Z. (Eds.), *Introduction to the Electronic Age*. E-Publishing Inc., New York, pp. 281–304.

Reference to a website:

Cancer Research UK, 1975. *Cancer statistics reports for the UK*. <http://www.cancerresearchuk.org/aboutcancer/statistics/cancerstatsreport/> (accessed 13.03.03).

Reference to a dataset:

[dataset] Oguro, M., Imahiro, S., Saito, S., Nakashizuka, T., 2015. Mortality data for Japanese oak wilt disease and surrounding forest compositions. Mendeley Data, v1. <https://doi.org/10.17632/xwj98nb39r.1>.

Video data

Elsevier accepts video material and animation sequences to support and enhance your scientific research. Authors who have video or animation files that they wish to submit with their article may do so during online submission. Where relevant, authors are strongly encouraged to include a video still within the body of the article. This can be done in the same way as a figure or table by referring to the video or animation content and noting in the body text where it should be placed. These will be used instead of standard icons and will personalize the link to your video data. All submitted files should be properly labeled so that they directly relate to the video file's content. In order to ensure that your video or animation material is directly usable, please provide the files in one of our recommended file formats with a maximum size of 10 MB. Video and animation files supplied will be published online in the electronic version of your article in Elsevier Web products, including ScienceDirect: <http://www.sciencedirect.com>. For more detailed instructions please visit our video instruction pages at <http://www.elsevier.com/artworkinstructions>. Note: since video and animation cannot be embedded in the print version of the journal, please provide text for both the electronic and the print version for the portions of the article that refer to this content.

Supplementary data

Elsevier accepts electronic supplementary material to support and enhance your research. Supplementary files offer the author additional possibilities to publish supporting applications, accompanying videos describing the research, more detailed tables, background datasets, sound clips and more. Supplementary files supplied will be published online alongside the electronic version of your article in Elsevier Web products, including ScienceDirect: <http://www.sciencedirect.com>. In order to ensure that your submitted material is directly usable, please provide the data in one of our recommended file formats. Authors should submit the material in electronic format together with the article and supply a concise and descriptive caption for each file. For more detailed instructions please visit our artwork instruction pages at <http://www.elsevier.com/artworkinstructions>.

Data linking

If you have made your research data available in a data repository, you can link your article directly to the dataset. Elsevier collaborates with a number of repositories to link articles on ScienceDirect with relevant repositories, giving readers access to underlying data that give them a better understanding of the research described.

There are different ways to link your datasets to your article. When available, you can directly link your dataset to your article by providing the relevant information in the submission system. For more information, visit the [database linking page](#).

For [supported data repositories](#) a repository banner will automatically appear next to your published article on ScienceDirect.

In addition, you can link to relevant data or entities through identifiers within the text of your manuscript, using the following format: Database: xxxx (e.g., TAIR: AT1G01020; CCDC: 734053; PDB: 1XFN).

AudioSlides

The journal encourages authors to create an AudioSlides presentation with their published article. AudioSlides are brief, webinar-style presentations that are shown next to the online article on ScienceDirect. This gives authors the opportunity to summarize their research in their own words and to help readers understand what the paper is about. [More information and examples are available](#). Authors of this journal will automatically receive an invitation e-mail to create an AudioSlides presentation after acceptance of their paper.

Interactive plots

This journal enables you to show an Interactive Plot with your article by simply submitting a data file. [Full instructions](#).

AFTER ACCEPTANCE

Online proof correction

Corresponding authors will receive an e-mail with a link to our online proofing system, allowing annotation and correction of proofs online. The environment is similar to MS Word: in addition to editing text, you can also comment on figures/tables and answer questions from the Copy Editor. Web-based proofing provides a faster and less error-prone process by allowing you to directly type your corrections, eliminating the potential introduction of errors.

If preferred, you can still choose to annotate and upload your edits on the PDF version. All instructions for proofing will be given in the e-mail we send to authors, including alternative methods to the online version and PDF.

We will do everything possible to get your article published quickly and accurately. Please use this proof only for checking the typesetting, editing, completeness and correctness of the text, tables and figures. Significant changes to the article as accepted for publication will only be considered at this stage with permission from the Editor. It is important to ensure that all corrections are sent back to us in one communication. Please check carefully before replying, as inclusion of any subsequent corrections cannot be guaranteed. Proofreading is solely your responsibility.

Offprints

The corresponding author will, at no cost, receive a customized [Share Link](#) providing 50 days free access to the final published version of the article on [ScienceDirect](#). The Share Link can be used for sharing the article via any communication channel, including email and social media. For an extra charge, paper offprints can be ordered via the offprint order form which is sent once the article is accepted for publication. Both corresponding and co-authors may order offprints at any time via Elsevier's [Webshop](#). Corresponding authors who have published their article open access do not receive a Share Link as their final published version of the article is available open access on ScienceDirect and can be shared through the article DOI link.

AUTHOR INQUIRIES

Visit the [Elsevier Support Center](#) to find the answers you need. Here you will find everything from Frequently Asked Questions to ways to get in touch.

You can also [check the status of your submitted article](#) or find out [when your accepted article will be published](#).

© Copyright 2014 Elsevier | <http://www.elsevier.com>

Appendix 6

Presentation of participants	
<i>Jesse</i>	Jesse’s father was shot by rival gangsters, and his mother was brutally murdered in front of him as a child. Jesse was on his own from an early age and survived by begging for money in the streets of Cape Town. He started using drugs at the age of nine: marijuana, glue, and mandrax. Jesse was not affiliated with a gang before he ended up in prison, where he became a member of the 28s.
<i>Adrian</i>	Adrian has been on parole since February 2017, and a participant of the <i>Help I am Free</i> parolee project. Adrian claims that he is rarely active in gangs outside prison, where he belongs to the 28s. He lives with his mother in the same house he grew up in on the Cape Flats. He has never met his father. While battling the challenge of finding a job, he uses his time to rebuild his relationship with his son. The mother of Adrian’s son was murdered by her new boyfriend while Adrian was in prison, so Adrian is striving to be the best father possible for his son.
<i>Nate</i>	Nate has been on parole since March 2017. He lives with his mother, grandmother, and sister in the Cape Flats. Nate is the only member of his family with a criminal record. His mother left Nate’s father at an early age, due to his substance abuse. As a child, Nate wished to become a gangster. He formed a gang with other children in his street, and started smoking “dagga and tik.” ¹ Nate believed that he had to become a member of the 28s to be considered a man in his community. By the age of twenty, most of the members of his childhood gang had been shot and killed by rival gangs.
<i>Silumko</i>	Silumko is currently waiting for his parole date. After his release, he is going to live with his mother in Khayelitsha, where he also stayed before going to prison. Silumko admitted to having a long history of perpetrating violence, but was uncomfortable sharing it further. Although he

¹ Dagga is slang for marijuana commonly used in Cape Town. Tik is slang for crystal meth, commonly used in Cape Town.

	<p>is excited about his release, he is also realistic about how life will be, expressing anxiousness about rival gangsters and the hard life of having to provide for himself.</p>
<p><i>Johnny</i></p>	<p>Johnny has been in and out of prison since he was fourteen years old. Despite his resourceful family in an urban part of Cape Town, with a father as a firefighter, Johnny found himself in the wrong circles, and started smoking heroin at the age of eleven. During his years in prison he climbed the ranks of the Number, and is now considered a high-ranked member of the 28s. Johnny describes himself as someone that the gangster bosses could depend on. Johnny's biggest fear currently is that he will be unable to resist the pressure from the gangster bosses to continue in the Number. Johnny was released from Pollsmoor during the weeks that I conducted research interviews.</p>