

External Evaluation Of The Three Year Integrated Youth Offender Programme In Boksburg Correctional Centre South Africa

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Restorative **Justice** Centre



avp

alternatives to violence project
phaphama initiatives



south
africa

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AVP	Alternatives to Violence Project
CADS	Centre for Alcohol and Drug Studies
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DCS	Department of Correctional Services, South Africa
DARE	Drug Assessment Rehabilitation Education
FGC	Family Group Conference
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ITT	Interactive Themba Theatre
IYOP	Integrated Youth Offender Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders
RJC	Restorative Justice Centre
SANCA	South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependency
SSAIS-R	Senior South African Individual Scale - Revised
STD/STI	Sexually Transmitted Diseases / Sexually Transmitted Infections
TAT	Thematic Apperception Test
VOC	Victim Offender Conference

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Integrated Youth Offender Programme (IYOP), a coordinated series of programmes offered by a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), was implemented over a three year period (2004 to 2006) to 61 sentenced young male offenders at Boksburg Correctional Centre (prison) in Gauteng, South Africa. The aim of the IYOP was to deliver an integrated programme that tackled a critical range of risk and resilience issues, and factors associated with re-offending.

The IYOP recognised that the success of any Correctional Centre-based intervention depends on the attitudes of Correctional Centre staff and their treatment of offenders. Consequently, in the first year of the project, training was offered to selected Department of Correctional Service (DCS) staff at the Boksburg Correctional Centre. The impact of this training was documented in the 2005 report which offered a review of IYOP in year one.¹

The project was committed to developing an effective evidence-based integrated intervention for young offenders and correctional staff in South Africa. As a result, an annual review and evaluation process was incorporated into the implementation of the programme from the beginning. The overall purpose of the evaluation process was to determine if the Integrated Youth Offender approach was an appropriate and effective way of preventing re-offending in young offenders.

The purpose of this report is to present the findings of the evaluation of the three year Integrated Youth Offender Project at Boksburg Correctional Centre. The next section provides an overview of the programme over the three year period, followed by an overview of the programme interventions and the partners that facilitated the intervention, and the delivery of the programme over the three year period. This is followed by the evaluation methodology and limitations of the study. The findings are presented in three parts: a study of the impact of the programme on offender behaviour

¹ Roper, M. (2005). *A review of the Integrated Youth Offender Programme piloted in Boksburg Juvenile Correctional Centre with the "Inkanyezi yentathakusa"*. Research report written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg. Available at <http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/papiyop.htm>.

in the correctional centre; insights on the impact of the programme on offenders who change Correctional Centres during their sentence; and a study of the impact of the programme on post-release behaviour. The final sections assess the effectiveness of the IYOP in preventing re-offending in young offenders and provide recommendations for the future of the integrated programme.

The evaluation of the programme on post-release behaviour and impact is limited to participants who were traced and willing to participate in this study.

2. THE INTEGRATED YOUTH OFFENDER PROGRAMME

The Integrated Youth Offender Programme set out to offer a coordinated series of programmes oriented towards addressing key risk factors associated with criminal behaviour, and developing resilience factors that could buffer participants from re-engaging with such behaviour after release from the correctional environment. To this end, a range of programmes were included in IYOP and delivered by seven NGOs operating in the Gauteng Province. The programmes and service providers were (more detail is provided in Section 3 of this report):

- ❖ Vuka S'Hambe psychotherapeutic life skills programme offered by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR),
- ❖ Phaphama Initiatives Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP),
- ❖ National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) Family Reintegration Programme,
- ❖ An HIV and AIDS intervention by the Themba HIV/AIDS Organisation,
- ❖ A Substance abuse programme offered by the Centre for Alcohol and Drug Studies (CADS) in years one and two of the programme and Drug Assessment Rehabilitation Education (DARE) in year three,
- ❖ A business skills intervention offered by BEntrepreneurING (in year one) and Cathy Park & Associates (years two and three), and
- ❖ Restorative Justice processes offered by the Restorative Justice Centre and the Nigel Justice Centre.

The partners were all known to one another and experienced in working in the sector. The thread that weaved the programmes together was provided by the CSV. The Vuka S'Hambe facilitators were present throughout the process, providing a sense of continuity for the participants.

This series of programmes was offered to a total of 61 convicted young male offenders at Boksburg Correctional Centre (prison) in Gauteng, South Africa over the three year period 2004 to 2006, of whom 75% graduated. Unfortunately, the juvenile centre at Boksburg Correctional Centre was closed in 2007 and converted to a maximum security centre for juvenile offenders. Juvenile offenders who were not serving long sentences were transferred to other juvenile centres.

2.1 *Rationale for an integrated approach*

The Department of Correctional Service (DCS) is responsible for implementing sentences of the courts. In line with international protocols and the new policy approach towards child justice, the department has operationalised policy and defined strategic goals to effect positive outcomes in offenders during their sentences by focusing on the rehabilitation of offenders and the correction of offending behaviour. There has been public acknowledgement by DCS that it is unable to achieve this single-handedly.

The policy shift in 2003 resulted in an "Integrated Support System" for offenders, which focuses on delivering programmes with non-government and community-based organisations where there is joint responsibility for offender development and rehabilitation. The Department of Correctional Services' White Paper (2005) further calls for families and communities to take greater responsibility for providing for the destitute and finding employment for ex-offenders.

There are a limited number of correctional and therapeutic programmes currently available to offenders. These are offered by members of the Department of Correctional Services, as well as by non-government, faith-based and community-based organisations. At the time of conceptualisation of the Integrated Youth Offender

Programme, no integrated or holistic programme for offenders existed, nor did programmes specifically aim to target a critical range of aspects of individual behaviour change and rehabilitation. The Integrated Youth Offenders Programme (IYOP) aimed to pilot and assess an integrated approach to dealing with offending behaviour and re-offending amongst young offenders. It aimed to build resilience among young offenders to enable them to choose a non-criminal life, and to address the factors associated with re-offending.

A range of models, frameworks and research projects encouraged the adoption of an integrated stance towards rehabilitation interventions. The IYOP was built on the theory of risk and resilience,² and incorporates an understanding of socio-economic dynamics that impinge on a young person in South Africa and influence their offending behaviour.³ Known “protective factors”⁴ which influence effective reintegration of ex-offenders and prevent recidivism were also considered.

Each person faces many risk factors in their lives, and these include issues such as family instability, poverty, and the prevalence of crime and violence. The opposite of these are protective factors, those factors that support and protect one and prevent one from “doing wrong” or being victimised. These include family stability, employment, community support and having positive role models. The risk and protective factors do influence the choices people make and can push or pull an individual along a particular stream.

The research by Garbarino in the USA indicates that a person is more likely to go down the river towards “concerning behaviour” (such as offending, gang activity, being a bully) if they are overwhelmed by three or more risk factors; in other words they feel they cannot cope.

This model also acknowledges that not everyone commits crime, and that some people who face the same risk factors do not become violent or commit crime. This raises the

² Garbarino, J. (1999). *Lost Boys: why our sons turn violent and how we can save them*. Free Press: New York.

³ Secretariat for Safety and Security. (1999). *Joint Framework Document: Towards an intervention strategy to address youth violence in schools*. South Africa.

⁴ Social Exclusion Unit, United Kingdom (2004); Urban Institute, USA (2004).

importance of resilience or coping factors, skills and competencies in one's life that help one to keep afloat in the river and to swim along a river towards positive destinations. These resilience factors include communication skills, a sense of belonging to a community, a philosophical grounding (such as a religion) and problem solving skills.

The model suggests that programmes therefore need to target specific risk factors, build protective factors and help individuals to build the skills to cope. Ultimately, one is trying to shift the currents that negatively influence a person, and to help them to change streams by providing skills to help them swim.

Because the focus of the IYOP was on influencing behaviour change, the Transtheoretical Model⁵ (cycle of change process) was used to model the approach, methodologies and sequencing of programmes within the overall intervention. The model conceptualises change as a process which tends to move through a number of stages, namely pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, and maintenance or relapse (whereupon the process starts again). The model is useful in that it draws attention to the different types of processes that can be helpful at each stage in order to support the person through the process of change. Moving from pre-contemplation to contemplation, for example, is likely to require some shift in awareness about the need for change. In order to move from the preparation to action, part of the cycle is more likely to require the development of skills in order to start to break out of habitual ways of doing things and replace these actions or behaviours with a new set of more constructive behaviours or responses.

The integrated approach differs from programmes targeting single protective factors. The benefit is that an integrated approach allows for interventions within the complex co-existence of risk factors and therefore supports the young person to identify these factors in their own lives and to understand the impact of these on their lives and their behaviour and choices. The range of interventions provides knowledge to enable the offender to make informed choices about a number of areas of his life. The integrated

⁵ Prochaska J, Diclemente R & Norcross JC (1994). Transtheoretical Model. Development Vol 16 Issue 7. *Transtheoretical Transformation*. December 1996-January 1997. USA.
http://corp.aadac.com/services/developments_newsletter/dev_news_vol16_issue7.asp

approach also supportively challenges the offender to contemplate possible changes he could make, engage in dialogue about the benefits and obstacles to making such changes, and if the young person indicates a determination to change their behaviour, the programme supports the person in taking the necessary action within the Correctional Centre setting. Environmental factors within the correctional centre as well as within communities were taken into consideration at the various stages of the programme. In addition to understanding risk, resilience and protective factors as part of the process of youth offender transformation, the model considered issues of youth development and how this related to offending behaviour, rehabilitation, experience within the criminal justice system and post-release.

To understand the impact of the programme on behaviour change and the ability of an individual to change criminal behaviour, reintegration “scenarios”⁶ relevant to young people in South Africa were considered in the IYOP approach. The age of the offender entering and leaving incarceration (the “scenarios”) impact on developmental considerations such as levels of maturity, the formation of self-identity, mental health and cognitive capacity, educational levels and experience and openness to education, formation of family roles and relationships, experience and competence for employment and employability, ability to live independently, and individual ability to understand, experience and cope with the criminal justice system.

For example, the development of a juvenile offender may fall within one of these scenarios as detailed above:

- ⇒ Convicted as child and released as child (14-17 years)
- ⇒ Convicted as child and released as a juvenile (18-21)
- ⇒ Convicted as child and released as a young adult (21- 25)
- ⇒ Convicted as a juvenile and released as a juvenile (18 – 21)
- ⇒ Convicted as a juvenile and released as a young adult (22-25)
- ⇒ Convicted as a juvenile and released as an adult (25-30)

Consequently, the experience of incarceration may affect the young person’s development and may affect the ability of the young person to benefit from an

⁶ Based on the following work: Mears. P., & Travis. J. (eds). (2004). *The dimensions, pathways and consequences of youth reentry*. Urban Institute.

intervention in and out of prison, to shift from a life of crime and resume socially constructive and productive roles in society.⁷

Furthermore, the theoretical and practical approach of the IYOP was informed by national and international research and evaluations. The research highlights a range of critical practices that inform the focus of interventions, methodologies and approaches. The following findings on effective juvenile rehabilitation and reintegration programmes that informed the IYOP model are highlighted below.

Programme content:

1. Programmes which focus on behaviour (such as focusing on the way an offender thinks and positive techniques to avoid situations that led to offending), have been found to reduce reconviction rates by up to 14%;⁸
2. Reconviction rates were 11% lower for two-thirds of offenders who completed an alcohol and drug addiction recovery project;⁹
3. Various initiatives to find job placements and job-skills training programmes for offenders found that less than 6% were known to have re-offended.¹⁰

Programme approach and methodology:

4. Effective programmes were designed by a researcher or had research as an influential component of the treatment setting;¹¹
5. Customising services to offenders needs to be carefully designed and address specific needs, characteristics and problems of offenders, which take into account their strengths, limitations and learning styles. The specific factors that can be influenced need to be targeted¹²¹³ and services need to be comprehensive and address all risk and needs,¹⁴

⁷ For example Principle 1.2 of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules), Adopted by the General Assembly resolution 40133 of 29 November 1985.

⁸ Social Exclusion Unit (2002). *Reducing re-offending by ex-prisoners*. United Kingdom

⁹ op cit.

¹⁰ op cit.

¹¹ OJJDP (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention). *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: July 1999*. http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/jjbulletin/9907_3/treat.html

¹² D. M. Alschuler. (1998). *Research Preview: Reintegrating Juvenile Offenders into the community: OJJDP's Intensive Community-based aftercare demonstration programme*. National Institute for Justice.

¹³ Mears. P., & Travis. J.(eds) (2004). *The dimensions, pathways and consequences of youth reentry*. Urban Institute.

¹⁴ Op cit.

6. Accurate risk and needs assessments should be done;¹⁵
7. Programmes are more effective if they are implemented in a way that is appropriate for the participating offenders and that use therapeutic techniques known to work,¹⁶
8. Programmes that require offenders to spend a reasonable length of time and meaningful contact in the programme are more likely to bring about the desired changes¹⁷¹⁸. The Gottfredson and Barton ¹⁹ study on *What works What doesn't in Crime Prevention* suggests that the amount of treatment and quality of the intervention may be the important factor in reducing recidivism, regardless of whether the intervention is offered in an institution or in the community setting.
9. Programmes that use cognitive, skill-orientated and behavioural treatment methods and interventions,²⁰²¹ “based on theoretical models such as behaviourism, social learning, or cognitive behavioural theories of change that emphasise positive reinforcement contingencies for pro-social behaviour and are individualised as much as possible”,²²
10. Programmes that provide continuity of these services after release and involve community structures and resources.²³ In addition, the Urban Institute²⁴ process highlights the “critical importance of re-entry strategies that increase the psychosocial maturity, competencies, and resilience of youth so that they can successfully overcome diverse sets of challenges and go on to obtain employment, education, and close relationships with others”.

The specific objectives and outcomes of the programme, in relation to the identified resilience and protective factors are presented in Section 2.2 below.

¹⁵ Op cit.

¹⁶ OJJDP *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: July 1999*. http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/jjbulletin/9907_3/treat.html

¹⁷ OJJDP *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: July 1999*. http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/jjbulletin/9907_3/treat.html

¹⁸ OJJDP *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: July 1999*. http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/jjbulletin/9907_3/treat.html

¹⁹ Sherman LW, Gottfredson D, MacKenzie D, Eck J, Reuter P & Bushway S. (1996) *Preventing Crime: what works, what doesn't, what's promising*. A report to the United States Congress National Institute of Justice. Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland.

²⁰ Mears. P., & Travis. J.(eds) (2004). *The dimensions, pathways and consequences of youth reentry*. Urban Institute.

²¹ OJJDP *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: July 1999*. http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/jjbulletin/9907_3/treat.html

²² OJJDP *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: July 1999*. http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/jjbulletin/9907_3/treat.html

²³ op cit

²⁴ Mears. P., & Travis. J.(eds) (2004). *The dimensions, pathways and consequences of youth reentry*. Urban Institute.

2.2 Expected outcomes

The overall objective of the IYOP was to address individual attitudes and responses towards education, personal development and employment, and to assist in opening up prospects to access employment and other opportunities.

The expected outcomes of the integrated approach were developed from the understanding of resilience and coping skills gleaned from current successful rehabilitation and reintegration research available. These outcomes would intentionally address risk factors associated with an understanding of South African offending behaviour amongst male youth.

The specific outcomes that the programme aimed to achieve and the target risk factors were:

Expected outcome 1:

Improvement in cognitive skills, and demonstrates positive (open) attitudes towards education and learning opportunities.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Poor cognitive skills and learning challenges, school refusal or drop-out.

Expected outcome 2:

Demonstrate improved communication skills, assertiveness and self control.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Anti-social attitudes, poor impulse control and lack of emotional control; poor communication skills and poor interpersonal relationships.

Expected outcome 3:

The participant is open to opportunities to transform conflict and to see possibilities that problems can be solved. Demonstrate these skills in their life given the correctional centre context.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of problem solving skills and violent or aggressive behaviour.

Expected outcome 4:

Increased knowledge and ability to engage in dialogue to inform attitudes and possible behaviour changes in relation to substance use and healthy living

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Participation in risk behaviour (substance and alcohol use and abuse), inhibition and poor judgement as a result of substance use and abuse.

Expected outcome 5:

Develop greater understanding of HIV and AIDS, sexuality and sexual relationships to make informed decisions in their own lives.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Participation in risky behaviour (sexual relationships) and poor relationships, lack of self-care and/or disregard for the safety of sexual partners.

Expected outcome 6:

The offender acknowledges they can access and create employment opportunities away from crime.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of employment and vocational training, lack of financial independence away from a life of crime.

Expected outcome 7:

Improved relationships with the family while incarcerated and to develop plans for post release housing and family acceptance.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Family breakdown and disrupted family relationships and negative interaction with the community, weak social ties, lack of family stability and lack of support networks.

Expected outcome 8:

Understand the consequences of their actions on themselves, the victim, their family and community; and gain insights into restorative justice possibilities and processes.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Not taking responsibility for actions, maintaining negative and harmful cycles of violence with victims, family members and the community, extreme egocentrism, and anti-social attitudes.

Expected outcome 9:

Develop a sense of purpose and hope for the future and courage to face up to life challenges. This will be gained through increased understanding of how risk factors have impacted on their lives and greater understanding of the world in which they live.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of coping skills and networks, lack of sense of belonging (weak social ties) and philosophical grounding, demoralisation, despondency, passivity.

Expected outcome 10:

Develop the social, interpersonal and coping skills to enhance friendships and participate in meaningful self-development activities based on the strengths and skills of the individual. Demonstrate the growth by shifting away from criminal gang activity towards positive interaction with peers, and greater acceptance of others.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Identification with anti-social or criminal role models, weak social ties, and anti-social attitudes and feelings.

2.3 Method of programme delivery

To address the identified risk factors and meet the expected outcomes, a range of programmatic interventions were considered. These included a psychotherapeutic life skills intervention, conflict management, family reintegration, healthy living (HIV and substance abuse) restorative justice and business skills. These interventions were offered by seven non-government organisations based in the Gauteng Province. The lead-in period to the first programme being offered to offenders in the Correctional Centre was two years, which allowed the partners to develop the integrated programme, discuss and agree on the principles and practice for the programme, develop a 'team-approach' and receive funding for programme delivery.

The overview of the partners and the programmes is presented in Section 3.

The programmes were offered in a phased approach. The sequence of the programmes intended to build on the core protective factors known to prevent re-offending and to reinforce core messages and values to meet the programme outcomes as discussed previously. The programmes complemented each other for the range of targeted factors and links between the programmes were made as issues arose. The content or sections of some of the programmes was reviewed based on the annual evaluation and feedback. This review ensured the compatibility of the programmes, the strengthening of integration and the effectiveness of the intervention to build on achievements across the partners, and to address gaps in the approach.

Actual delivery is illustrated and discussed in Section 4.

2.4 Management

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) undertook the management of the programme. Monthly IYOP meetings were held with all partners to monitor delivery, report on progress, discuss hand-over issues and ensure the delivery of the programme. The hand-over process was important as it allowed the next facilitator team (or individual) to understand the emerging and current group dynamics,

successes to-date, issues and concerns about logistics and possible solutions found. Furthermore, it acted as a debriefing process for the team exiting the programme.

The project acknowledged the importance of sustaining the outcomes of the programme with the participants as well as in the juvenile section of the Correctional Centre. The original programme proposal stated that the participants would receive follow-up support on a monthly basis would be provided for at least an additional year. This support was intended to provide peer-support programmes to facilitate the practical use of what the participants had learnt within the Correctional Centre community, and enable them to run small interventions on their own. Strategies and commitment to take the process forward with the participants in the Correctional Centre were discussed during the team meetings (and are reflected in the minutes). Although a number of the partners maintained regular contact with the participants through ongoing visits, the follow-up work was not sustained as participants were transferred to other centres or released, and lack of funding did not enable the partners to maintain the contact.

2.5 Selection of participants

The juvenile and youth offenders who participated in the IYOP underwent a selection and assessment process prior to programme commencement. The process involved the identification of approximately 30 potential participants by the Boksburg Correctional Centre staff.

The selection criteria included the following:

- Length of sentence remaining, as those who were to be released prior to completion of the intervention were excluded;
- Type of offence, to ensure a range of offending behaviour (although those convicted of sexual offences were excluded as the programme was not aimed at addressing this offending behaviour);
- The completion of Grade 9 (although a few participants had an educational level below this but requested participation in the programme and met the rest of the criteria);

- Offenders who were identified (by the Correctional Centre psychologist and social workers) as having severe mental health problems were excluded as the programme did not set out to address these factors *per se*.

Those who were then selected were invited to participate on a voluntary basis. No remuneration or incentive (such as early release or parole) was given. Each year, 20 participants were selected and, if they agreed, participated in the programme.²⁵

In the first and second year of the programme, the identified offenders were invited to undergo the assessment process conducted by the CSVR.

The Senior South African Individual Scale - Revised (SSAIS-R) was used for assessment of the participants' cognitive ability. This intelligence test standardised for South African pupils between the ages of seven and sixteen years, measures verbal and non-verbal factors. It was administered in the participants' language of choice (isiZulu, SeSotho, English, and Afrikaans) and yielded valuable information about the participants' learning potential and thus their suitability for the programme. Participants were further assessed on their emotional and personality make-up using projective tests (Draw-A-Person), and Incomplete Sentences and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). Interpretation of these projective tests yielded information on each participant's interpersonal relatedness and ability to communicate, sense of self, personality traits, mood and anxiety states. A decision was then taken whether the individual would be suitable for a group intervention.

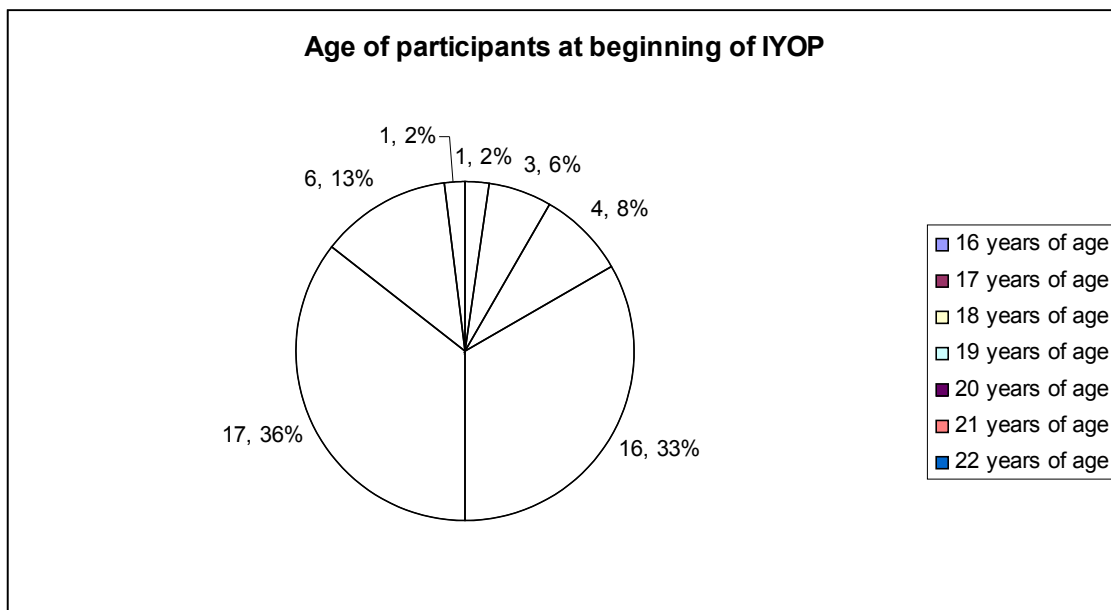
A team of psychologists undertook the two hour individual assessment process and prepared a report on each person in terms of each of the areas assessed in year one. This part of the assessment process was not conducted in years two and three due to resource constraints and the labour intensiveness and therefore costliness of the individual assessment process. This meant that baseline scores could not be compared to post-intervention results on these instruments. However, the information it yielded was a valuable diagnostic tool for decision-making regarding selection of participants, programme content and individual case management throughout programme delivery.

²⁵ In 2006, twenty-one participants were selected as previous experience indicated that offenders do drop-out of the programme as discussed further in this report

2.6 Participant profile over the three years

The IYOP reached 61 male juvenile offenders over the three years. Baseline data was collected from 48 participants, of whom, as is evident from Graph 1 below, approximately a third of the group (33.69%) were 19-20 year olds. Almost half of the group (44.6%) were between the ages of 18 and 21 years of age.

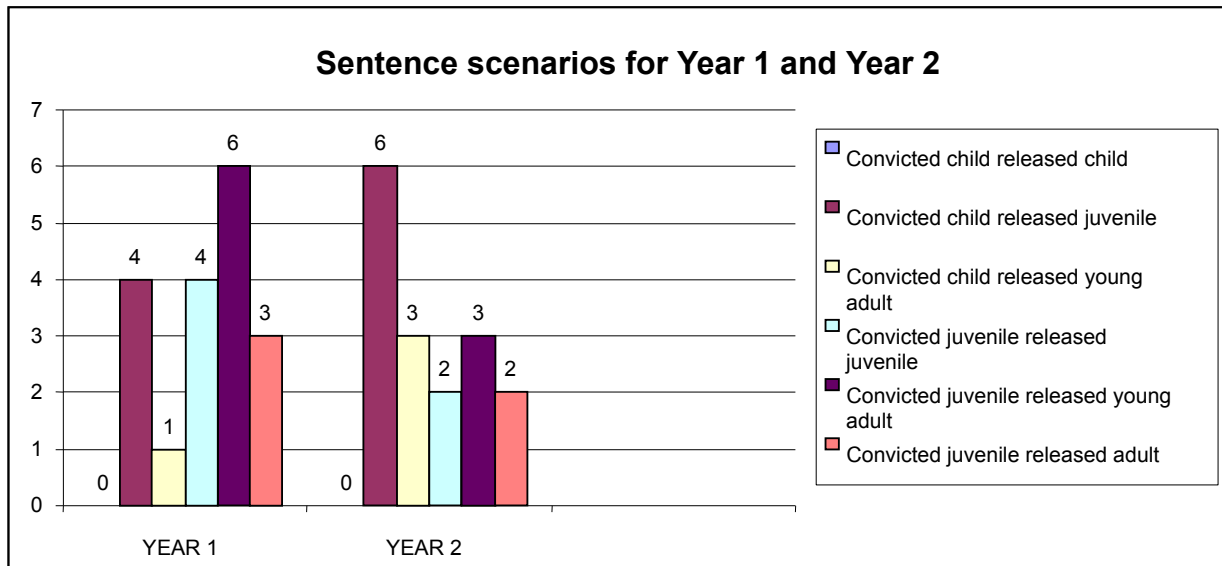
Graph 1: Ages of participants at start of IYOP participation



As is evident from Graph 2, a third of the group (33.3%) consisted of those convicted as juveniles and released as young adults. A further 44.4% of the group, consist of those who would exit the system as juveniles, either being juveniles or children at the point of conviction. For year two, the largest group (37.5%) consisted of those convicted as children exiting the system as juveniles. No participants were convicted as a child and later released as a child. Data for year three was not available.

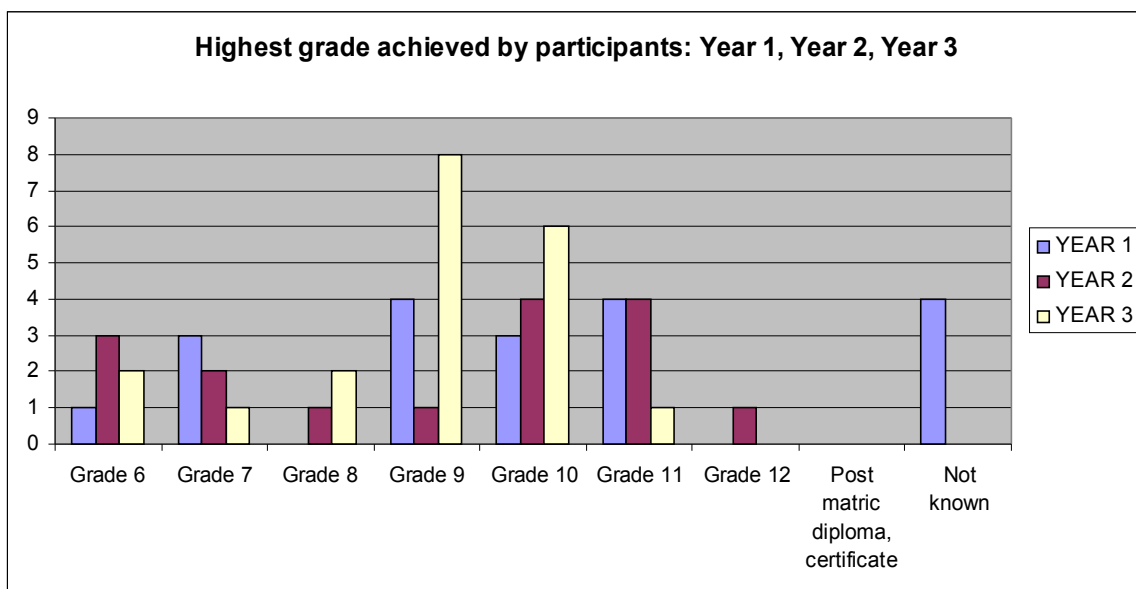
The relevance of this aspect might become more significant if experiences during incarceration were explored on this basis or on analysis of what happens during the reintegration phase. Unfortunately, due to financial constraints, the evaluation process was unable to explore this further.

Graph 2: Developmental Scenarios



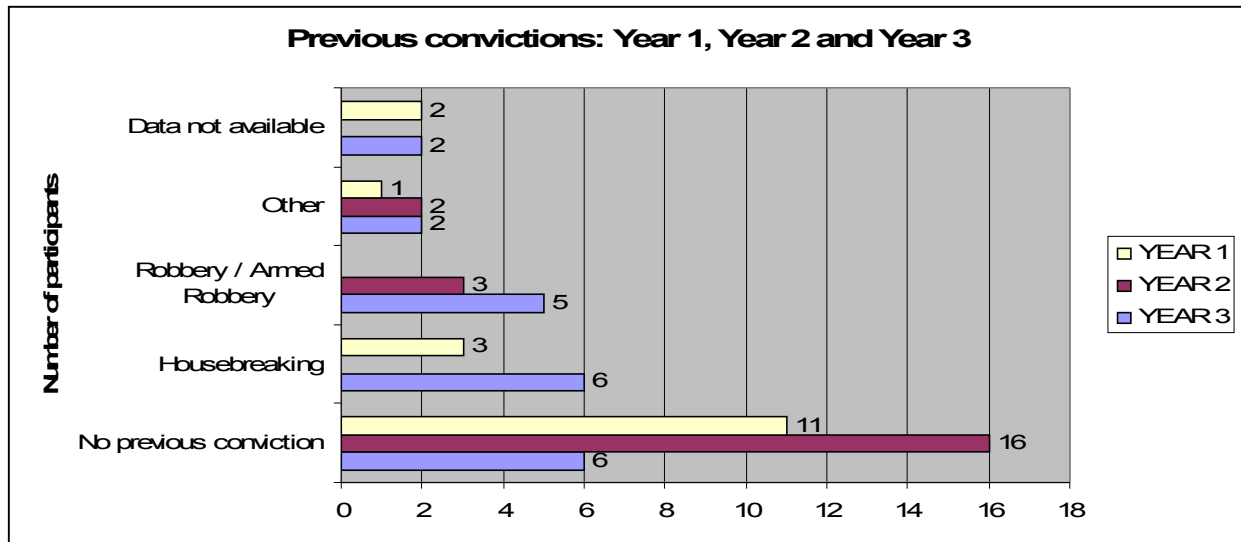
Approximately 70% of the participants complied with the stated selection criteria of a Grade 9 education level. There were however, participants with an education level as low as Grade 6. This is illustrated in Graph 3.

Graph 3: Educational Levels



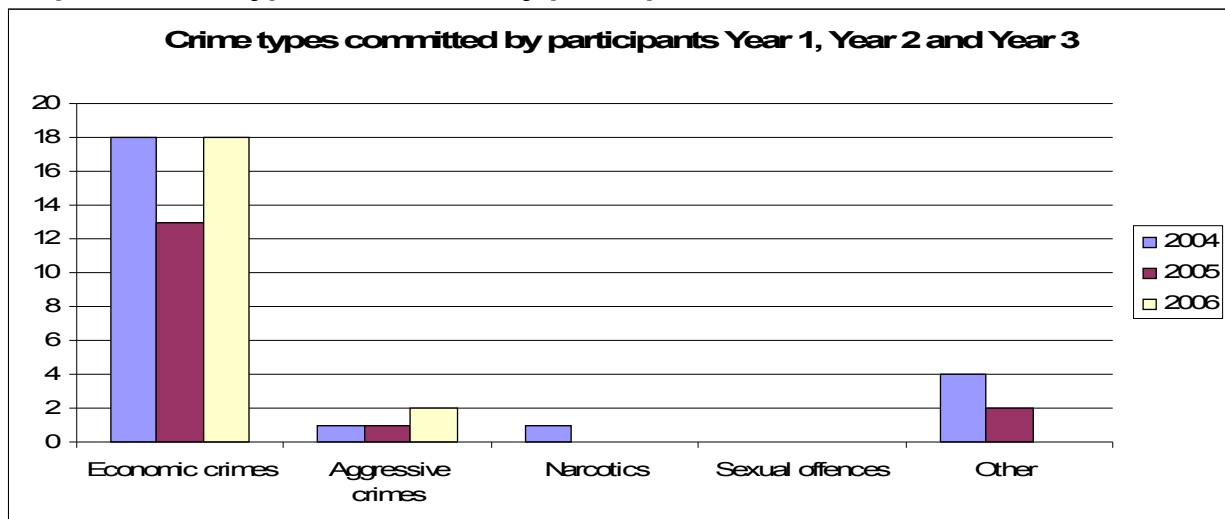
Just over a third of the group (37.3%) had one or more previous convictions. More than half of the group (55.9%) had no previous convictions. Therefore, the IYOP was addressing both first time (sentenced) offending and repeat offending behaviour.

Graph 4: Participant Conviction History



An effort was made as part of the selection process, to include a range of offences. As is evident from the Graph 5, the vast majority of participants were in fact convicted of an economic offence. Economic offences do not rule out aggression or violence, nor do they rule out the use of substance use. The substance abuse programme report for example, noted that all members of the group had used or abused substances at some point. No participants were selected who had been convicted of sexual offences, as the IYOP did not address this behaviour.

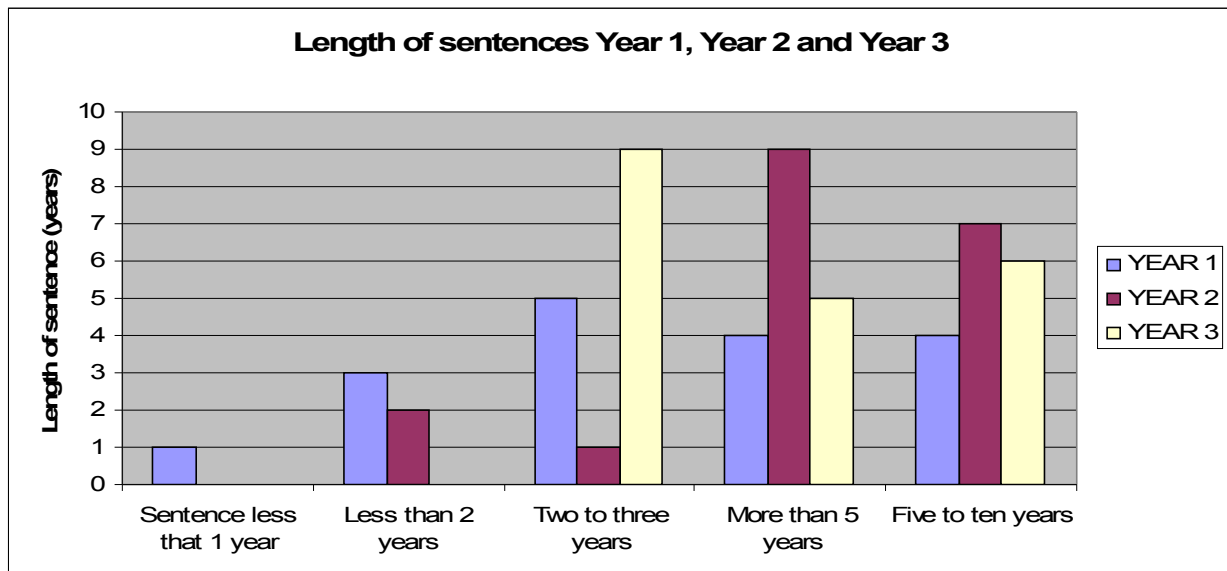
Graph 5: Crime types committed by participants



Sentences of between two to ten years were part of the selection criteria, in order for participants to complete the programme. However, due to parole conditions (and

extraordinary mass releases),²⁶ a number of participants were released earlier. Consequently, in year three the selection criteria were altered to ensure that all participants had sentences in excess of three years. As illustrated in Graph 6, the majority of sentences handed to participants by the Court were between three and ten years.

Graph 6: Length of Sentences of participants over the three years



3. OVERVIEW OF IYOP PROGRAMMES AND PARTNERS

As discussed in Section 2 of this report, the conceptual model for the Integrated Youth Offender Project (IYOP) was built on the theory of risk and resilience, and focused on addressing the factors associated with re-offending. The outcomes of each programme specifically targeted risk factors, and aimed to build the resilience and protective factors associated with preventing re-offending as highlighted in Section 2.2. The programme interventions are presented below to provide an understanding of the content and process of the IYOP. The profile of the intervention partners are discussed in this section. These review the programme content and process changes over the three years, and present issues raised by the facilitators and management team that were addressed or remain issues for consideration (which are addressed later in the report, particularly in the recommendations emerging from this summative evaluation).

²⁶ Between June and August 2005 over 30 000 sentenced prisoners were released following a special remission of sentence granted by the Minister of Correctional Services to alleviate overcrowding.

Programme Intervention: Psychotherapeutic life skills

The objective of this programme intervention was to develop the social, behavioural and socio-economic skills to enable the young person to develop resilience in the face of life difficulties. The programme was offered by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

The Vuka S'Hambe programme is a psychotherapeutic approach to life skills that promotes the development of self-knowledge, psychological well-being, and promotes authentic self-esteem. Expected programme aims included assisting young offenders with anger management, stress management, developing relationships with others, and developing decision-making skills. In year one, the programme included a restorative justice approach to encourage participants to take personal responsibility for their actions, and to create awareness of the impact of actions on the victim.

The methodology was based on an experiential process to engage participants in creative ways to reflect upon themselves and learn new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. Games and puzzles were used to promote thinking skills, the management of emotions, problem-solving, sharing, decision-making, the management of conflict and self-awareness.

Each session began with the lighting of a candle and placing it in the centre of the circle to provide continuity and safety. To promote self-knowledge, facilitators gave participants the opportunity to self-monitor changes in their behaviours, thought (attitudes) and feelings. They were encouraged to share their reactions and experiences in the group and encouraged to give and receive feedback.

The Vuka S'Hambe programme was a thread that weaved through IYOP. Even though other programmes came and went, the Vuka S'Hambe facilitators remained constant and gave a sense of continuity, assisting participants with emotional difficulties as they emerged, and provided debriefing opportunities when incidents arose such as fights in the sections.

The length of the intervention was 26 two-hour sessions in each year, providing 52 hours of engagement.

In year one, two sessions provided an overview of restorative justice and “set the scene for the participants to take responsibility for their crimes and to recognise how their actions impacted on the victims”.²⁷ The programme review in year one recognised that this topic was not addressed adequately. As a consequence, a Restorative Justice component was added to the programme for the following two years.

In years two and three, a trauma intervention was included to replace the two restorative justice and one self-esteem sessions. These sessions assisted participants to identify signs of trauma in themselves and others, and developed a supportive group for those experiencing trauma. In year two, one participant was severely affected by a previous trauma and individual counselling was provided to him after each of the sessions. The Correctional Officials reported to the facilitators that a number of participants were voluntarily requesting contact with the Centre’s Social Worker after the trauma sessions in order to seek support while incarcerated. This therapeutic support was provided by one of the facilitators of this programme who was a psychologist.

According to the programme staff, the challenges confronted included how best to sustain and deepen the changes brought about by the programme during the remaining time in the correctional centre and how to address the need for follow-up with offenders post-release.

Programme intervention: Conflict Management

The purpose of the conflict management intervention was to develop conflict management and problem solving skills to support successful interpersonal interactions.

²⁷ Vuka S’Hambe Report 2004

The Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), offered by Phaphama, is a series of workshops presenting pre-emptive conflict management skills enabling individuals to build successful interpersonal interactions, gain insights into themselves and find new and positive approaches to their lives. It provides experiences of respect for all, community building, co-operation and trust. Three workshop levels are offered:

AVP Basic This workshop deals with affirmation, communication methods, developing cooperative attitudes, developing a sense of community, and creative conflict resolution.

AVP Advanced The group selects a topic of concern for further exploration and to develop skills to transform conflicts non-violently. Typical themes include dealing with anger, fear, resentment, forgiveness, stereotyping, relationships between men and women and negative peer pressure.

AVP Training for Facilitators

Participants who wish to become AVP facilitators after completing the basic and advanced workshops are trained in group process skills, leadership skills and methods, and developing team building.

The methodology is an experiential learning process based on various activities which are used to illustrate and explore individual and group behaviour, engage participants in dialogue, and seek alternative acceptable behaviour. Each AVP programme was run over four hours over four consecutive days. The AVP basic was run at the beginning of the IYOP (as the first intervention), the AVP advanced one to two months later, and the AVP Training for Facilitators (T4F) towards the end of the programme.

At the beginning of a new session participants were able to reflect on their growth and challenges they had faced since the last workshop as assessment and evaluation processes were integrated into the programme.

Participants trained as facilitators were invited to join the AVP Facilitator team to undertake workshops while in prison and post-release. In year two, joint facilitation by the AVP team and trained IYOP facilitators resulted in three basic workshops being run in one of the cell-blocks, which meant that about 80% of the section experienced a basic workshop. All the facilitators noted the increased interest in the programme as was evident in increased numbers of offenders (across all races) voluntarily coming forward to participate.

The advanced workshop in 2005 provided an opportunity for the participants to reflect on their own behaviour in a conflict situation that had occurred in the Centre that week which involved a number of the participants.²⁸ The participants reflected that they had not applied the AVP principles of listening to each other, and that they had taken sides in the conflict, thereby increasing the tension. This highlighted a recurring challenge to the group - that of putting into practice what had been learnt during the training.

Programme intervention: Family reintegration

The objective of the family reintegration intervention was to reintegrate and rebuild family relationships and networks with the offender while in prison and post release.

The NICRO intervention focused on family relationships between the offender and the family. The objectives were to facilitate family involvement and contact with the offender, increase awareness of the rights and responsibilities of families during imprisonment and after release, and involve families in the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders.

The programme involved group discussions, contact with family members (by telephone or a personal visit), and one-on-one counselling with the offender. The intervention aimed to provide continuity between what happens inside the Correctional Centre and outside. Where necessary, action plans or further referrals were made.

²⁸ AVP Report 3 June 2005.

Given that the group sessions were offered in accordance with the needs of the group each year, the actual numbers of sessions varied across the years.

The first session explored the family as an institution in terms of who and what is a family, the role of a family and different roles within a family structure. Activities allowed participants to explore the differences between functional and dysfunctional families. The second session unpacked the participants' relationship with their family. This session tended to be difficult for some participants as they shared personal details with the group. This was very touching and brought out many emotions and issues in family relationships. The third session focused on identifying any issues or needs the participant might want to restore in their family relationships. This was based on the drawing the participants had done of their families between the second and third sessions. This provided insights into the nature and state of the relationships for the facilitator, and possible areas for intervention.

NICRO reported a positive group climate in that there was respect for one another and adherence to the group rules which had been agreed upon. Furthermore, NICRO reported that they received positive responses in the evaluations of the sessions from the offenders who participated.

The group sessions were followed by one-on-one sessions with each participant. In addition, the facilitator held telephonic conversations with family members to mediate relationships, convey concerns of participants, and restore family communication. Where it proved necessary, home visits were undertaken towards the end of the programme. The social worker experienced difficulty in trying to contact some family members and to re-establish connections with a few of the participants. Many family members did not have telephones, worked long hours or had moved and were difficult to trace. In one instance, the family members did not want to have anything to do with the offender. This highlights the challenges of the reintegration, a phase of great significance in buffering against recidivism.

The original proposal indicated that family group conferences would be held after the one-on-one sessions. However, this was dependent on the needs of the participants.

Programme intervention: Healthy Living

The objective of the healthy living component was to enable participants to make informed decisions about healthy living in relation to drug and alcohol use, HIV/AIDS and sexual relationships.

Two interventions were offered. One focused on HIV and AIDS and the other on substance abuse.

A. HIV and AIDS

The HIV and AIDS intervention was offered by the Themba HIV/AIDS Organisation. The organisation uses the “Interactive Themba Theatre” (ITT) methodology to help individuals explore ways of transforming their lives and giving them techniques to practice behaviour to keep themselves safe within the context of HIV and AIDS. The ITT methodology was developed specifically in South Africa, and includes aspects of drama therapy, psychodrama, theatre games, improvisation, formal teaching methods, forum theatre, play devising, play directing and performance.

The initial performance-workshop aimed to:

- Provide up-to-date accurate information about HIV and AIDS and related issues.
- Provide an opportunity for the audience to practice strategies for safe/safer sex.
- Promote and affirm “staying safe” through the role modelling of the actor-educators and the performance characters.
- Challenge stereotypes, discrimination, stigma and prejudice and address the South African context of HIV and AIDS.

The initial performance-workshop (given to a larger group of offenders at the prison) was followed by 14 action-based workshop sessions with the young people. These workshops developed participants’ practical skills, such as using a condom properly, articulating changes in attitudes towards HIV positive people, related health and social

skills, redefining relationships to others in terms of “there’s more to loving someone than just having sex”, and developing the ability to talk about intimate activities openly and to ask questions, participating in a public performance, sharing information with other offenders.

The sessions raised a number of issues about sexuality, sexual relationships, sexual development and masturbation. Programme staff highlighted the need to provide further workshops on issues such as pregnancy, birth, and the biological aspects of being human and “being alive”. In year three the number of sessions increased to fourteen. There remains a need to include the rehearsal time into the sessions in future correctional centre interventions.

The organisation planned to implement a peer support programme after the intervention in year three, which was supported by the officials. However, this was not successful as the participants were transferred to other Centres when the juvenile centre changed from a Medium to a Maximum security centre.

One of the challenges the programme faced was gaining the support of the DCS health department regarding HIV testing procedures within the custodial setting and gaining the support of healthcare staff in relation to communicating safer sexual practices.

The issue of confidentiality regarding HIV positive participants remains a priority concern in the correctional context, so to, is it essential that confidentiality is maintained regarding sensitive issues (including sodomy and sexual orientation) by all during the programme.

B. Substance abuse

The Centre for Alcohol and Drug Studies (CADS), a division within SANCA (Johannesburg) provided the substance use intervention in the first two years of the intervention. In the third year (2006) the intervention was provided by Drug Assessment Rehabilitation Education (DARE).

The CADS programme involved a prevention and awareness programme that dealt with addiction, information on drugs and alcohol, the impact of addiction on the physical, spiritual and psychological functioning, dealing with peer pressure, coping with relapse and high risk situations, and the links between drugs, HIV and STDs. The focus of the programme was to engage offenders in positive behaviour change through promoting healthy living and habits, and encouraging individuals to take responsibility for meaningful interpersonal relationships. Six sessions were held.

The CADS methodology incorporated providing information through the use of videos, brochures, guest speakers (for example a recovering alcoholic), handouts and activities, followed by discussion, feedback, group presentations, role plays and opportunities for questions and answers. The role-plays provided opportunities for offenders to experience being in different situations and to face the challenges of 'saying no' and changing their behaviour. Offenders were also given opportunities to be honest about their drug-related behaviour and the consequences of it. Individual high-risk situations were identified and participants developed original and realistic ideas and plans on how to overcome personal addictions.

The CADS facilitators were concerned that the offenders gave model answers, indicating their level of awareness of issues and 'correct attitudes'. However, it was not possible to detect their honesty especially as what was often written about did not correspond to the verbal response or experience.

CADS self reported that the programme had not been successful over the two years, and did not achieve the desired outcomes. The original programme sessions had not been followed, and the participant assessment indicated that they had not understood the content. There were discussions to re-run the programme as an intensive process at the end of the year however this did not happen. On review, the CADS programme offered an awareness programme which did not meet the needs of the offenders nor the purpose of the IYOP intervention. The intervention needed to move beyond awareness towards a more treatment-based intervention.

In the third year (2006) the substance use intervention was provided by DARE. The programme encompassed three stages. The first stage was general awareness and education around substance abuse and the addiction process. The second stage divided the participants into two groups according to whether they were in the process of recovery from addiction; or a second group with those who had already completed a period of sobriety and required a maintenance programme, or had no history of substance abuse. This stage included ongoing participation in either the recovery or the maintenance group. The final stage involved two follow-up sessions at a later date in the integrated programme to assess the progress of the group in terms of recovery, maintenance of sobriety and analysis of further needs.

After the initial sessions, it was established that all the participants in the year three programme had abused substances. Therefore, it was decided to keep the group together and work through the recovery programme. Small group discussions or a discussion in the whole group tended to work better than participants individually completing the activities.

The expected outcomes of the DARE programme were:

- Make informed choices about substance abuse after receiving information on addiction as well as the drugs.
- Develop self-awareness and identify own high risk factors for addiction and relapse.
- Develop psychological and social skills in order to maintain recovery from substance abuse and build meaningful relationships.

The training methodology used in the education programme included:

- Information sessions - to make sure that participants had the correct information about the effects of the drugs and to dispel any myths around certain drugs. Information on the types of addiction and the addiction process were also given.
- Question and answer sessions to reflect on information that had been shared and also check understanding.
- Brainstorming sessions were used to get the group to participate, share their own experiences and develop problem solving skills.

- Individual tasks and worksheets allowed for self-reflection and the development of self-awareness.
- A video was shown to emphasise the consequences of substance abuse and make the information sessions more "real".
- Group therapy sessions allowed participants to talk about the difficulties they experienced in giving up drugs and their fears of relapse.
- A training manual was provided to reinforce the information sessions and for future reference.

Participants were concerned with the damage they may have done to their health through their use of substances, and tended to blame the risk factors associated with substance abuse rather than accepting responsibility for some of the choices they had made. Participants also found it difficult to understand and accept that addiction is a lifelong process, and this remained a discussion theme throughout the sessions.

Attendance was challenging due to correctional centre functioning (for example, officials not fetching participants from their cells and not allowing the facilitators to bring the material into the centre), the cold weather, and individual commitment to the programme (there was a core group of eight participants that regularly attended and wanted to address their own behaviour). The facilitators noted that there was a shift in the core group as individuals started to take responsibility for their own recovery.

Programme intervention: Business Skills

The business skills intervention aimed to address individuals' attitudes and responses towards education, development and employment, and assist in opening up opportunities to access employment and other opportunities. The programme was offered by BEntrepreneurING in year one, and by Cathy Park and Associates in the following two years.²⁹

²⁹ The facilitator from BEntrepreneurING moved to Cathy Park & Associates.

The programme aimed to develop participants' self-knowledge and self-management skills, help them re-frame their current context and the skills they have acquired in the business of crime so they are empowered and motivated to change, and to develop a future vision of themselves and a sense of purpose. In addition, the programme aimed to teach practical skills to start up and sustain a business that reinforced and developed their unique package of skills.

The programme in years one and two was 16 hours long, and in year three was extended to 24 hours. This allowed the facilitators time to develop relationships with the participants and gave the participants more time to integrate the learning and practical exercises.

The programme was offered as four modules. The first module explored the self in terms of meeting the expected outcomes of the programme, particularly in terms of a strengthened self-image; increased awareness of own skills and talents; drawing out positive aspect of self and the individuals past; and creating a sense of possibility and hope for their future. Module two was undertaken in a group discussion, whereby participants brainstormed business ideas based on the skills and resources available in the group. They were then taught to undertake a feasibility study. The outcomes were to look at the world with an entrepreneurial 'eye', develop a sense of various business opportunities outside, and to learn skills for testing business ideas.

Module three provided guidance on developing basic business plans, cash flow margin and profit, and provided an understanding and basic business vocabulary. A cartoon story book was used as a learning tool. The final module focused on marketing oneself and the business, and managing oneself as an entrepreneur.

The modelling of one of the course facilitators was powerful as being self-employed and an entrepreneur made it appear possible. Key outcomes included the recognition and valuing of existing experience and skills of the offenders; the exposure to the option of legal self-employment (the offenders were excited to know that they could make money legally); enhanced self-esteem; the gaining of practical skills and knowledge, and the exploration of a vision for themselves and their community.

The participants were given the contact number of the organisation for further support in being self-employed after release.

Programme intervention: Restorative Justice

The year one review indicated the need to include a restorative justice component, and this was subsequently included in years two and three. The objective of the restorative justice intervention was that, through the restorative justice process, participants would address the issues of taking personal responsibility and recognising the impact of their actions on themselves, the victims, their families and support people. This intervention was provided by the Restorative Justice Centre and the Nigel Justice Centre.

In year two, 11 participants were referred to the Restorative Justice Centre (RJC) for the Victim Offender Mediation (VOC) programme. Two participants from the group did not attend as they were involved in cultural activities, and one participant had been released. The first workshop provided an understanding of the RJC functions and how a restorative process could benefit the participants in restoring justice both in their lives and in the lives of their victims. The RJC facilitators undertook a session with the offenders to identify and assess the real needs of the participants. The process engaged participants in a dialogue to address fears and to understand the concept of forgiveness and how it can be achieved. The process was voluntary and not all participants indicated or were assessed as being ready for the process. Two of the participants were “about 90% ready” for the process, and the facilitator decided to begin the process with these two participants. The Nigel Justice Centre undertook the engagement with the victims as they lived in this geographical area. Follow-up sessions were held with the victims. One of the participants underwent a Family Group Conference (FGC), and two VOC processes with the two victim families were held.

Working contracts were drawn and signed by all VOC and FGC participants. The contract clearly indicated the task each person would do in the process. The RJC maintained responsibility to oversee the process and monitor progress.

The year three programme involved an initial orientation session with the nineteen participants. Eleven of these participants indicated an interest to participate in the Family Group Conference process where they could meet their victims and make peace with them by taking responsibility for their actions and asking for forgiveness. Seventeen of the participants were involved in the preparation session. Of those, eleven wrote letters to their victims as part of the process.³⁰ Ten of the youth offenders were assessed for the pre-Family Group Conference. Three victims were prepared for the process, and consequently three FGC's were held.

Through the restorative process, the participants began to see their criminal acts as a result of individual behaviour and choice, and to understand the extent to which their harmful behaviour affected people at different levels, including themselves, their victims and those around them. Furthermore, attention was drawn to negative influences such as friendships and the use of drugs and alcohol on their criminal activity.

Families and victims were given an opportunity to clarify issues pertaining to the crime committed and to voice their emotions. In one FGC, the parent and participants developed a strategy to improve the communication between them, and two other groups the participants agreed to take more responsibility at home. In addition, plans were made for the reintegration of the offender after release. Apologies were given by four participants by kneeling down in front of the victims and their families as a sign and token of shame and forgiveness.

The FGC and the restorative process improved the relationship with the participants' families as it provided a forum for open communication, sharing of emotional responses to behaviour, and provided the space for all parties to make agreements on the reintegration process. However, as the IYOP is limited in its duration, no follow-up was able to be made with the families to monitor adherence to the agreements, nor to determine the effectiveness of the FGC. The FGC's invited members of the community to participate in the process, and this included pastors, extended family members, and significant people in the participants' lives, such as a neighbour. The response from

³⁰ The letters were written but not all were sent to the victims as they could not be contacted or the victims did not want to engage in the restorative process.

these participants was positive as it altered stigmatising attitudes and opened the door for meaningful relationships post-release.

During year three, one of the RJC facilitators was attacked by three armed youths in an attempted car hijacking in the Nigel area. This had a profound affect on him and the restorative process as he shared his experience and his emotional response. It raised issues of the level of support the programme and process needs to give to victims. This is extremely important, given that it is essential that the victim be at the centre of restorative justice work. The majority of the victims displayed high levels of anger, and were not receptive to restorative initiatives from their side towards the offender unless it involved remuneration. This suggests the need for support for the victims, and the necessity of sustaining a long-term restorative process with the participants. The experience also speaks of the difficulty and highlights the need for caution in respect of perpetrator-initiated restorative justice processes.

4. IYOP PROGRAMME DELIVERY OVER THE THREE YEARS

In general, over the three years of the IYOP the sequencing of programmes occurred in a similar manner, with the therapeutic life skills component weaving through the interventions and providing the thread to assess change, mentor growth, address concerns, and facilitate co-ordination of the interventions. The general structure is cohesive and provides a logical framework for an integrated approach.

There were however a number of alterations to the programme as a whole over the three year period. The year one review³¹ indicated the need to include a restorative justice component to the programme. This was included in year two through the Restorative Justice Centre. However, the feedback from participants, and reflection by the partner organisation and the programme team indicated that the sessions needed to be included earlier in the programme. Consequently, the restorative justice sessions began earlier in the programme in year three. The year three evaluation indicated that

³¹ Roper, M. (2005). *A review of the Integrated Youth Offender Programme piloted in Boksburg Juvenile Correctional Centre with the "Inkanyezi yentathakusa"*. Research report written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg. Available at <http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/papiyop.htm>.

the restorative justice intervention needs to begin even earlier in the programme in order that it can be completed over the duration of IYOP. This is as a result of the time required to facilitate the process (meeting with families and victims, preparation of offenders), as well as the commitment of participants during the programme which wanes after release. This is an issue which requires a great deal of consideration, as it is quite likely that a fair amount of personal intervention and personal work is required to get the offender to a place of authentic readiness for the restorative justice process. This suggests that the total duration of the process needs to be extended.

The evaluation process in year two indicated that the substance abuse component was not having the desired impact, and the partner at the time indicated that they were not able to continue in year three of the programme. Therefore, Drug Assessment Rehabilitation Education (DARE) were approached and invited to participate. Based on the results of the year three programme, DARE recommend that the substance abuse intervention be condensed into a three week period to increase the intensity of the programme, which aims to increase the impact on the emotional level of change of participants. In addition, they recommend the explicit inclusion of substance abuse issues in activities of other programme interventions, such as the HIV component and the Vuka S'Hambe programme.

The level of intensity of participant and programme contact averaged 374 hours each year, excluding the one-on-one sessions with the NICRO social worker and the Restorative Justice facilitators. The table below indicates the level of intensity of the programme for each year:

Table 1: Number of hours of the intervention over the three years.

YEAR	Number of hours
2004	384
2005	372
2006	366

The number of hours of the programme decreased each year due to adapting programme sessions based on the feedback from participants and annual evaluations,

and due to timing issues, such as public holidays, availability of facilitators, maternity leave, etc. The NICRO family programme in year three had fewer sessions due to the facilitator being on maternity leave and an increase in the number of sessions allocated for the restorative justice intervention.

Not all participants attended all the sessions, or all the programmes, and consequently the level of participation varied. If participants attended more consistently then facilitators noted a firmer commitment towards change, and deeper change – not just surface change but genuine response and honesty in talking about the struggle to change and the struggle to put the new knowledge and attitudes into practice.

Challenges in delivery of the programme over the three years included:

- A lack of a fixed venue and space within the prison to conduct the training which disrupted the group process; the sense of group identity; the security of having a regular space; and the time that the group was then able to start.
- Participants who work in the centre were regularly called out and missed sessions.
- Participants were often ill and missed sessions.
- Some participants did not attend due to the weather: in winter it was too cold and they wanted to stay in bed, or they wanted to sit in the sunshine
- Early release of offenders.
- Prison activities that disrupted the schedule: However, a number of DCS officials in the Centre were extremely helpful in negotiating with other officials for longer sessions and ensuring that the participants still received food when the food times were changed or when sessions continued into the afternoon.
- Follow-up and support for the participants after the programme was completed.
- DCS officials getting the participants to the session.

Over all three years, the majority of participants indicated that they wanted to participate because they wanted to learn something, and they were “hungry for knowledge”. It was also evident that supportive relationships that were established with facilitators served as a motivation to be part of the programme. Offenders were aware of the commitment of facilitators and their constructive interaction with them, which contributed towards them attending the programme.

Across the three years, the participants consistently rated the programme high on overall satisfaction (93%, 100%, 100%);³² that it helped them to be more positive about their lives (93%, 100%, 100%), and that it helped them to cope with life in prison because of being part of a group (100%, 100%, 100%). All participants across the three years indicated that they felt that the programme had helped them to get on better with people in prison. Participants in general felt guided across all the interventions (87%, 91%, and 100%) and their feedback indicated that the sequencing of the interventions was correct and that each component followed on from the next. Participants in each year indicated the value of being part of a group that was supportive and caring, and one that contributed towards positive emotions while being incarcerated. Only one participant in 2005 indicated that he felt threatened in the group, but no further explanation was provided. One participant in 2005 also mentioned that the programme gave him a sense of 'family'.

The graduation ceremony was an important milestone in the development of each individual, and provided an opportunity for participants to demonstrate their achievements to their families, the correctional officials, and peer offenders. In addition, it provided an opportunity for the group to affirm each other in the progress they had made, and in publicly stating their hopes and dreams. The handing over of their certificates, the wearing of the t-shirts they had painted, and the sharing of their stories (through poems, song and drama) provided a symbol of the inward journey they had travelled.

The partners in IYOP continued to work together over the three years. Partners were able to be open in their concerns, successes, challenges faced over the duration, and shared lessons, experience and progress. The early establishment of the team approach, agreement of the common goal, development of shared principles and methodological approaches, the regular team meetings, the handover processes, and the shared assessment of individual participants' growth over each programme were important processes in maintaining the working relationships and ensuring the effectiveness, and efficiency of the three year programme. The regular attendance and

³² All figures provided in sequential order for 2004, 2005, 2006.

consistency of attendance by managers and facilitators increased over the three year period, and contributed further to the effectiveness of the programme.

The programme was supported over the three years by Irish Aid. Additional support was provided by the individual partners and their funders during the period.

TABLE 2: OVERVIEW OF THE INTEGRATED YOUTH OFFENDER PROGRAMME DELIVERY OVER THE THREE YEAR PERIOD

YOP SCHEDULE	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept	October	Nov	Dec	TOTAL NUMBER OF SESSIONS
YEAR 1: 2004													
Selection of participants													
AVP					Basic		Advanced			Facilitator			All levels: 12 days
Vuka S'Hambe					6 Sessions	5 Sessions		6 Sessions	2 Sessions	3 Sessions	4 Sessions		26 sessions
NICRO Family Prog						3 sessions	3 sessions	4 sessions	7 sessions	6 sessions	5 sessions		27 sessions
CADS substance abuse							6 sessions	8 sessions					14 sessions
Themba HIV/AIDS Org								3 Sessions	4 Sessions	3 Sessions	3 Sessions		13 sessions
BEntrepreneurING									4 sessions				4 sessions
Restorative Justice													Not in programme
Graduation											Graduation		
YEAR 2: 2005													
Selection of participants													
AVP				Basic		Advanced	Facilitator						All levels: 12 days
Vuka S'Hambe				4 sessions	8 sessions	4 sessions	5 sessions	5 sessions					26 sessions
NICRO Family Prog				6 sessions	4 sessions	3 sessions	4 sessions	4 sessions					21 sessions
CADS substance abuse					8 sessions			2 sessions					10 sessions
Themba HIV/AIDS Org						4 sessions	3 sessions	3 sessions	4 sessions				14 sessions
Cathy Park & Associates							6 sessions						6 sessions
Restorative Justice									4 sessions				4 sessions
Graduation									Graduation				
YEAR 3: 2006													
Selection of participants													
AVP				Basic	Advanced		Facilitator						All levels: 12 days
Vuka S'Hambe				5 sessions	7 sessions	8 sessions	1 session	3 sessions	2 session				26 sessions
NICRO Family Prog					2 sessions	2 sessions	5 sessions	4 sessions					13 sessions
DARE substance abuse					4 sessions	4 sessions	1 session	1 session					10 sessions
Themba HIV/AIDS Org							6 sessions	9 sessions					15 sessions
Cathy Park & Associates							3 sessions	2 sessions					5 sessions
Restorative Justice					2 sessions	8 sessions							10 sessions
Graduation									Graduation				

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5. EVALUATION PROCESS

5.1 *Evaluation methodology*

A review of evaluative and research material pertaining to evaluations and reviews with young offenders was undertaken to provide a sound methodological approach for the evaluation. In the commentary accompanying Article 30 of the UN Beijing Rules (1985), the following is stated: *“A constant appraisal of the needs of juveniles, as well as the trends and problems of delinquency, is a prerequisite for improving the methods of formulating appropriate policies and establishing adequate interventions, at both formal and informal levels. In this context, research by independent persons and bodies should be facilitated by responsible agencies, and it may be valuable to obtain and to take into account the views of juveniles themselves, not only those who come into contact with the system”*.

Key issues that emerged from the review were the rights of the juvenile and youth offenders, validity of responses from offenders, validity of data from a range of tools, the quality of the individual programme assessments, language and literacy levels, the time and limited resources available for the evaluation, and the range of factors being measured. These were taken into account in the planning and design of the IYOP evaluation process.

The monitoring and evaluation system was developed at the start of the programme and was incorporated into programme delivery over the three years. It was integrated into the management of the programme, informed the selection process of participants, monitored programme intervention delivery, and provided empirical evidence of impact during programme.

The summative evaluation therefore involved a desk-top review of the data collected, interviews with Correctional Officials and an evaluation process with participants still serving sentences and those that had been released.

The methodology used a participative action-reflection approach for the pre and post evaluation processes during the three year period, and in the instruments used in the summative evaluation.

The benefits of this approach are:

- Ownership rests within the Correctional Centre community of staff, juvenile offenders, community structures and civil society;
- Relevant findings emerge based on experience and practice that are relevant for the specific context within which correctional services and youth offending occur;
- Participation in the research process is more likely and programmes are more likely to be sustainable in the longer term;
- The needs of a diverse group are reflected and their opinions and perceptions are taken into account in the future design and implementation of the programme; and
- Both the immediate practical needs as well as the long-term interests of stakeholders and juveniles are acknowledged in terms of respect for rights and responsibilities.

5.2 *Participant consent and confidentiality*

Given the nature of undertaking evaluation assessments with juvenile offenders, a briefing was given to the selected participants on the role and purpose of the evaluation of the IYOP. The evaluator asked the offenders if they wished to participate voluntarily in the evaluation process and explained the nature of the confidentiality of the information they would share.

It was stressed that no incentives or benefits would be given to the offenders for their involvement in the programme or the evaluation, but the information would help the IYOP to strengthen its programme for other offenders and build our knowledge of reintegration, rehabilitation and preventing re-offending. Each participant was given the option to refrain from participating in the evaluation with no repercussions at any point in the process.

5.3 *Evaluation instruments*

Demographic surveys and baseline questionnaires were completed by the participants prior to the programme intervention in year one and year two. This survey provided information on the life history and unchangeable risk factors that the young offenders had experienced. This included information about housing, schooling, bereavement, experience of substance use, criminal activity, family criminal associations, family relationships, poverty and economic support. The demographic was not completed in year three due to resource constraints.

The assessments undertaken by each programme and implementation reports, as well as other documents of the process (such as the minutes of meetings and the annual evaluation reports), were collated to provide evidence for the summative evaluation over the three years.

The summative evaluation involved a focus group, with IYOP participants serving their sentence in Leeuwkop Correctional Centre, a post-intervention survey and projective drawings - the last mentioned being administered by a psychologist. Interviews were conducted with participants on parole and those who had completed their sentences to gain data on their post-release experiences and the impact of the IYOP on post-release experiences.

The summative evaluation further involved one-on-one interviews with four Correctional Officials in Boksburg Correctional Centre who worked in the juvenile centre at the time that the IYOP was being implemented.

5.4 *Sample*

In total, 14 participants were interviewed post the IYOP programme (in 2007), providing a 23% sample size. Only one participant (from the 2005 programme) was re-arrested post-release, and this was for a crime that was committed prior to his first sentence. He is currently serving an additional sentence in the adult section of the Boksburg Correctional Centre. One other participant (from 2004) was arrested for a crime (vehicle

hijacking) he committed after his release. It was not possible to conduct an evaluation interview with either of these participants.

Three participants from the 2006 IYOP were interviewed in Leeuwkop Correctional Centre, and four staff members from the Boksburg Juvenile Centre were interviewed for the summative evaluation. From available data on the whereabouts of the participants in June 2007, it is estimated that 20% are still serving their sentences in juvenile and adult centres.

In order to determine the impact of the IYOP on enabling youth offenders after release to choose a non-criminal life, efforts were made to trace the participants from the three programmes offered in Boksburg Correctional Centre. This involved requesting information from the Department of Correctional Services on where juveniles still incarcerated had been transferred to (as Boksburg juvenile centre had closed), the date of release of the participants, and information on those released under parole conditions. A focus group was undertaken with three participants who had been transferred to the juvenile centre in Leeuwkop, Gauteng. The process further involved requesting the Department to undertake a focus group and interviews with participants still under parole. Unfortunately, this was not possible. Therefore, the CSV R Vuka S'Hambe co-ordinator, made telephonic contact and undertook family visits to participants who had been released and that could be traced through the family reintegration intervention with NICRO using the contact details that were available from that programme. Participants were then invited to participate in this evaluation process on a voluntary basis.

Five participants from the 2005 programme were interviewed, and six participants from the 2006 programme. Unfortunately, no participants from the 2004 programme could be contacted.

5.5 Limitations

The evaluation instruments were only available in English. Their content was translated into isiZulu by facilitators during implementation and the responses of participants were

translated back into English. Some variance in the actual and translated meaning may be evident. The instruments were piloted in year one and refined based on the emerging findings and available resources.

The second limitation is that the post-evaluations were conducted immediately after the final sessions before the graduation ceremony during the three year programme.

Thirdly, the longitudinal study to determine the impact of the programme on post-release reintegration, behaviour change and accessing opportunities was hampered by the difficulty in tracing participants after release. In addition, the resources available for the summative evaluation did not allow for an in-depth longitudinal study.

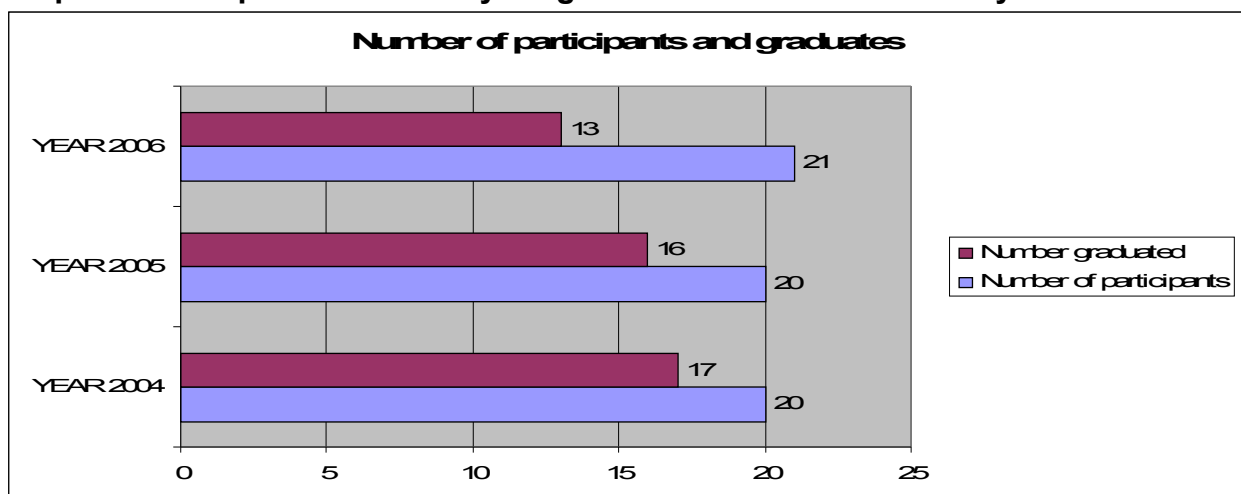
Finally, the external evaluator came in at periodic intervals to undertake the evaluation, and therefore this summative evaluation relies to a large extent on the level of reporting of each partner, and their observations.

6. IMPACT OF THE THREE YEAR IYOP

6.1 PARTICIPANT COMPLETION OF THE IYOP

A total of 61 offenders took up the offer to participate in the programme, of whom 46 (75%) graduated. Graph 7 below indicates the number of participants selected each year for participation and graduation levels.

Graph 7: Participation levels of young offenders across the three years



During the programme delivery, four participants (6.5%) were released from incarceration (of whom one in year two voluntarily returned to graduate). Three participants were transferred to Correctional Centres nearer their homes, and one to the adult section which made it difficult for him to complete the programme. Four participants did not complete the programme due to working in the Centre (and therefore not being able to attend regularly), three (4.9%) were not competent in the language (the IYOP was conducted in isiSotho), and one participant decided to play soccer instead of being part of the group.

Table 3: Reasons for participants not completing the IYOP over the three years

	2004	2005	2006
Number released	1	3	0
Number transferred	1	1	2
Number did not complete	1	1	6

6.2 IMPACT IN THE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

6.2.1 Impact on participants in the correctional centre

The impact of the programme on individuals and on the individual groups is documented in the annual evaluation reports. Based on the results of the annual evaluation instruments and the management reports, the impact of the programme is summarised below. The summative evaluation focus group with three of the 2006 group, confirmed the findings.

Expected outcome 1:

Improvement in cognitive skills, (problem-solving, decision-making etc) and demonstrates a positive attitudes towards education and learning opportunities.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Poor cognitive skills and learning challenges, school refusal or drop-out.

Results:

- Insight into risk and resilience factors, and their impact on their personal circumstances as a basis of the choices they made, and potential application in their own lives in and out of the correctional centre.
- Growth in writing skills as writing becomes more expressive, and improvement in language structure.
- Increased confidence to share own depth of understanding through speaking, reading poems and writing extracts.
- Increased openness and willingness to engage in school activities or participate in further study opportunities.
- For some participants, increased ability to comprehend evidenced by their ability to summarise and make links to what was learnt previously.

Expected outcome 2:

Demonstrate improved communication skills, assertiveness and self control.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Anti-social attitudes, poor impulse control and lack of emotional control; poor communication skills and poor interpersonal relationships.

Results:

- Increased ability to deal with own emotions positively and greater understanding of their emotions and individual reactions to emotions.
- Demonstration of improved communication skills which was observed in individual body language, improved self esteem, confidence in interacting with other people. This was specifically noted in increased eye contact during the sessions, displaying open rather than closed posture, and increased engagement with the activities.
- Increased confidence in sharing personal experience in a safe and supportive environment where people were respected and listened to.
- Improved verbal and listening skills.
- Increased ability to express feelings and reactions to situations.
- Improved communication with officials in the correctional centre.

Expected outcome 3:

The participant is open to opportunities to transform conflict and to see possibilities that problems can be solved. Demonstrate these skills in their life given the correctional context.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of problem solving skills and violent or aggressive behaviour.

Results:

- An increase in knowledge and skills of how to transform conflicts from negative incidents to more positive outcomes.
- An understanding of how emotions and inappropriate responses to the emotion had contributed to their negative behaviour.
- Honest and genuine reflection of own responses to conflict, and an understanding that there are different ways of responding to conflict.
- Acknowledgement of the difficulty in applying conflict resolution skills in the correctional context *per se*, but this was not preventing participants from applying the skills in their own lives and daily interactions with offenders and officials.
- Demonstrating the skills learnt in the IYOP sessions to resolve conflicts, violent incidents and seek forgiveness based on actual incidents experienced.

Expected outcome 4:

Increased knowledge and ability to engage in dialogue to inform attitudes and possible behaviour changes in relation to substance use and healthy living.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Participation in risk behaviour (substance and alcohol use and abuse), inhibition and poor judgement as a result of substance use and abuse.

Results:

- Increase in recognising the importance of living a healthy life after release from the correctional centre.
- An individual understanding and commitment towards living a better and healthier life style.

- Greater awareness of the harmful effects of alcohol and substance abuse on individual health and life style.
- Increased awareness of the impact of drugs and alcohol on their lives and recognition of how this contributed towards their criminal behaviour.
- Increased awareness of sexual health and its relationship to a healthy lifestyle and the role drugs and alcohol can play in risk taking behaviour.

Expected outcome 5:

Develop greater understanding of HIV and AIDS, sexuality and sexual relationships to make informed decisions regarding their sexual relationships and behaviour.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Participation in risk behaviour (sexual relationships), lack of self-care and/or disregard for the safety of sexual partners.

Results:

- Increase in knowledge about HIV and AIDS, sexual intercourse, sexuality and sexual relationships.
- A shift toward a more positive attitude towards taking care of oneself and others who are infected or affected by HIV and AIDS.
- Increased openness to raise issues and talk about health concerns.
- Increased awareness of risk-taking sexual behaviour that may have put them and their partners at risk (including the link with drugs and alcohol abuse).
- Increased contemplation of changing their own sexual practices and behaviour.
- Making judgements based on communication and trust rather than on stigmatisation.
- Increased confidence and commitment to negotiating sexual relationships and practicing safer sexual practices.
- Increased willingness to be tested for HIV and for some participants a commitment to be tested (in or out of the correctional centre).

Expected outcome 6:

The offender acknowledges they can access and create employment opportunities away from crime and has a sense of possibility of achieving this.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of employment and vocational training, lack of financial independence away from a life of crime.

Results:

- A greater commitment to living a positive life (being a “normal person”).
- Realisation by participants that they had skills from criminal acts that could be used in business.
- Awareness of individual capacities that motivated them to begin working on their own business skills while incarcerated.
- Developed an intention for post-release behaviour based on a feasible business plan.
- Acknowledgement that family members may be more willing to support them if they see a concrete road ahead for the participant.
- Sharing of past business experience to increase feasibility and reality of generating an income away from criminal activity.
- Increased possibilities of a range of legal economic activities participants could become engaged in after release.
- A commitment by participants not to return to a life of crime.
- Acknowledgement that a business could be started with very little economic backing or resources and can be built up over time.

Expected outcome 7:

Awareness of the importance of family and community support, improved relationships with the family while offender is in prison, and preparing for reintegration post-release (family acceptance).

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Family breakdown and disrupted family relationships, and negative interaction with the community, weak social ties, lack of family stability, and lack of support networks.

Results:

- The process of family reintegration was driven by individual needs and followed individual processes dependent on issues, personalities and family dynamics.
- Acknowledgement that pre-conviction lifestyles of the participants impacted on the family members and family unit. Family members were hurt emotionally by the actions of the child and the stigma this had placed on them. In some instances, the family 'punished' the participant by not visiting them.
- Family group conferences provided an opportunity for family members to dialogue issues in an open and honest manner and this benefited the family relationships.
- Increased awareness by participants of the role they can play in the family and mentor younger siblings towards a positive and healthy lifestyle.
- Participants gained a deeper insight into what it means to be part of a family and the roles, relationships and importance of caring, guidance, communication and accountability within the family network.
- Clarity on where they would live and support participants could expect post-release.
- Initial steps were planned between the offender and their family to heal the harm and build relationships.

Expected outcome 8:

Understand the consequences of their actions on themselves, the victim, their family and community; and gain insights into restorative justice possibilities and processes.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Not taking responsibility for actions; maintaining negative and harmful cycles of violence with victims, family members and the community; extreme egocentrism; and anti-social attitudes.

Results:

- Taking responsibility and acknowledgement of their criminal act and acknowledgement of the choices they made.
- Increased willingness to undertake restorative processes with the victim of their offence.

- Initial steps were taken by a number of the participants to ask for forgiveness from the victims and to begin the healing process for themselves.
- Increased empathy towards the victim and the consequences of their actions on family members and the broader community.
- Offender and family members were able to speak truthfully about the crime, the consequences of the offender's criminal activity and family relationships in the FGC's.
- Initial steps were planned between the offender and their family to heal the harm and build relationships.
- Individual participants began to detach themselves from wrongful influences, illustrated by participants standing up for themselves despite peer offenders laughing at them for committing to a new way of behaving.

Expected outcome 9:

Develop a sense of purpose and hope for the future and courage to face up to life challenges, through an increased understanding of how risk factors have impacted on their lives and a greater understanding of the world in which they live.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of coping skills and networks; lack of sense of belonging (weak social ties) and philosophical grounding; demoralisation; despondency; and passivity.

Results:

- Increase in feelings of hopefulness about individual futures.
- Greater acceptance of who they were and how their past had impacted on their actions and responses to situations.
- Recognition that the past will not stop them from achieving their goals in future.
- Initial steps can be taken while in the correctional centre to apply what they have learnt in their daily interactions with other people and how they react to situations.

Expected outcome 10:

Develop the social, interpersonal and coping skills to enhance friendships and participate in meaningful self-development activities based on the strengths and skills of the individual. Demonstrate the growth by shifting away from criminal gang activity towards positive interaction with peers, and greater acceptance of others.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Identification with anti-social or criminal role models; weak social ties; anti-social attitudes and feelings.

Results:

- Increased self-development and improved social skills towards each other, their families and the programme staff.
- A shift away from anti-social associations towards a 'more positive life' demonstrated by reflecting on positive and negative friendships.
- Greater awareness of the influence (positive and negative) of peers on individual actions.
- The formation of positive friendships through participation in the IYOP and the modelling of a new kind of friendship.
- Development of a sense of community in the group process and a shift away from individual isolation.
- Individual participants began to detach themselves from wrongful influences, illustrated by participants standing up for themselves despite peer offenders laughing at them for committing to a new way of behaving.

The following outcome was added as the results from the IYOP evaluation indicated the growth of individuals during the programme.

Outcome: self development

Risk factors: Poor or immature sense of self; lack of self insight; lack of self confidence; and lack of self esteem.

Results:

- Increased awareness and acknowledgement of internal strengths and needs.
- Improved sense of self-identity.
- Increased self-esteem and commitment to being true to oneself.
- Improved “self-talk” demonstrated in participants indicating that although the sexual health performance made them fearful, they “could do it”.
- A significant increase in participants’ ability to reflect on themselves, group processes and their involvement (positive and negatively) in the group.
- Acknowledgement by participants of their individual growth.

6.2.2. Psychological assessment

The difficulty of rehabilitation work is still apparent despite the positive impact of IYOP on participants. However, substantial positive impact was still evident from the results of the evaluation instruments, the perceptions by the participants themselves gathered through interviews and the qualitative data and the observations by the DCS officials and IYOP facilitators, the psychological assessment³³ of drawings made by three participants in the summative evaluation focus group in Leeuwkop.

The psychological assessment of the three offenders highlights some of the more entrenched and enduring aspects which could potentially impact on behaviour post-release.

A sense of self is something years in the making. Change at the level of self-concept can require substantial personal work. The projective tests results suggest that a certain level of immaturity remains in at least one of the offenders. Another participant remains very group conscious. These features could result in attempts to impress peers. In the case of one of the other offenders, there is evidence of personal insecurity particularly in social settings which could potentially result in withdrawal from the social context and social isolation.

The results also suggest that these offenders may return home with a sense of difference and even alienation from their social or familial contexts. Some of the potential differences noted include self-perception, perceived levels of sophistication,

³³ The clinical assessment was conducted by a registered intern psychologist and interpreted by a registered clinical psychologist.

values, or conformity with particular norms. Such discrepancies could make reintegration a challenging process as the person is faced with a social context at odds with who he now perceives himself to be, despite potentially being dependent on those around him for company, a sense of belonging and having material needs met.

The inner rehabilitation of the offender usually requires some support or enabling from the external environment once released. Besides those needs already mentioned, the projective assessments highlight the need for structure which could be provided by study or work, work aligned to personal competencies and styles, clear boundaries and limits being set by others, others helping the offender to reengage with important family and societal values and a family into which reintegration can occur. Whilst the results suggest that the offenders do have various coping skills, these are not so robust as to suggest that support from the social context will not be required. In the case of these offenders, it is also suggested that those around should ideally be able to detect when the offender is not coping and not simply be taken in by a façade of coping.

Whilst in no way suggesting that the IYOP programmes failed to have an impact on the emotional development of the offenders, the projective tests do caution against global assumptions that emotional issues have been fully worked through. At least one of the offender's results suggests angry and resentful feelings towards the social context. Another appears to require more assistance with working through lingering feelings of guilt. The third sits with disappointment and appears to be vulnerable to a lack of recognition. The fear of failure, of not achieving peer recognition and even fear of social situations was also noted in the analysis.

Anti-social attitudes can also be difficult to shift. At least one of the offenders appears to be resistant to personal change, though camouflaging this, whilst taking pleasure and pride in outwitting others and getting away with it.

CASE STUDY: JOSEPH ³⁴

³⁴ Name changed to ensure confidentiality

One of the offenders assessed displays a host of risk factors. These include possible anti-social personality features,³⁵ a resistance to personal change which is camouflaged by an apparent interest in such change, unresolved anger and resentment towards others, a devil-may-care attitude which in his eyes sets him apart from others in his family which he perceives as conformists, immaturity and an interest in “playing others” and getting away with things rather than taking responsibility for his actions. He is likely to search for peer recognition and potentially be open to challenges (even negative in nature) which could result in others fearing or respecting him.

Of interest was that this participant did not complete the IYOP as he requested a transfer to Leeuwkop Correctional Centre towards the end of the intervention. A review of his level of participation indicated that:

- he completed all three levels of the AVP intervention,
- his attendance was inconsistent in the Vuka S’Hambe programme although he did complete tasks,
- facilitators described his participation in the Themba programme as good and he performed in the HIV play and he was able to demonstrate use of male condom,
- he did not complete the business skills programme nor the restorative justice process although wrote a letter to his victim,
- NICRO were unable to trace his family, although his elder brother does regularly visit him.

This review of his participation and the psychological assessment suggest the importance of completing the range of interventions of IYOP. The evaluations conducted throughout the IYOP programme during 2006 indicate that he did benefit from the programme, and that much progress was made in terms of meeting the expected outcomes of the programme. However, there appears to be a huge gap in that the final stages of family reintegration and the restorative process were not completed - aspects which have the potential to establish the boundaries, to create the space for honesty and truth in the harm he has caused and in taking responsibility for his own actions. Furthermore, this case study highlights the more in-depth psychotherapeutic work that some offenders may require. Additional support would appear to be

³⁵ Though this would need to be substantiated by other assessment data.

warranted to avert a return to criminal behaviour. Tracking this particular individual would show in time if the continuing existence of these risk factors do culminate in recidivism.

In short, the projective tests on a limited sample of the participants of IYOP suggest that continued psychological, emotional and social support is called for. Such support would help to entrench the gains made during IYOP and confront some of the underlying psychological issues that remain.

6.2.3 Transfer of participants between Correctional Centres

Of interest was the feedback from these participants, who had been transferred from Boksburg to Leeuwkop Juvenile Centre three months previously, that the staff at Boksburg Centre treated them, and the other offenders “better”. They further indicated that the Boksburg staff knew who they were and they could talk to them. The IYOP programme was credited by these three participants as having a large role to play in how they were treated.

All three participants indicated that they had benefited from IYOP, and that it had helped them in the transition from one Centre to the next. They were open to attending programmes on offer, they were all working while in the Centre, and they felt they had better communication skills which were helping them to meet new offenders and adapt to the overcrowded cells. In addition, they felt they knew where they had come from and had a plan or goal of where they wanted to go. The participants stated that it was difficult to talk to the officials at Leeuwkop, as they did not know them and the officials were not open to getting to know them, nor were they very communicative beyond giving instructions to offenders.

Applying what they had learnt from the IYOP programme in 2006 within the correctional centre context was “not difficult” because the staff, co-participants and peer offenders knew about the programme and supported them in changing and in living as a role model. However, in Leeuwkop, they were surrounded by people that did not know about

the programme, did not know how they had changed, and consequently they found it more difficult to be themselves – the “new self”.

According to the participants, other offenders in the prison view the IYOP participants as “being better than them, and they keep trying to bring us down”. All three participants recommended that IYOP be established at Leeuwkop and work with the officials and offenders, because of the benefits to themselves, to officials’ interaction with offenders, and to the prison environment. All three further recommended that a weekly or monthly session be held to provide a forum where they can share their feelings, thoughts, and experiences to help overcome the challenges of being in a new centre.

The participants stated that relationships with their family members had improved, they were able to share “things and talk openly”. Their family had continued to support them after they had been transferred. One participant indicated that the family reintegration component had helped him to heal his relationship with his mother. All three participants reported that the restorative justice intervention was challenging even though it helped to heal themselves and relationships with their family. None of the three had participated in a victim-offender mediation conference.

6.2.4 Impact on correctional centre context and staff relationships

The IYOP facilitators noted a change in the attitude of the correctional officials at Boksburg Correctional Centre towards the IYOP participants over the three years. The officials were more open to the participants who regularly attended the sessions as this indicated to them that the offender acknowledged that they had “messed up” and were making efforts to change their behaviour. Because of this commitment, the officials gave responsibilities to the participants and tended to support them in their efforts to change. The first year of the programme (2004) was viewed by facilitators as “very difficult” because of the lack of trust between the officials and the service providers, and the benefit of the programme was not observed or known. Years two and three were easier because the benefit and outcomes had been observed in the participants and consequently these participants were “easier” to deal with and their work was therefore less stressful. The Centre over the three years became easier to manage because of

the role the participants played in role modelling and intervening appropriately in daily interactions between peers and between officials and offenders.

The IYOP facilitators noted that not all the officials were supportive, and over the three years, sessions had to be cancelled or participants did not arrive due to logistical problems or lack of support from a few officials. The initial staff training was important and staff who attended benefited from it. However, staff indicated that all of them needed to be involved in it. Despite this, the core group of officials who supported the programme influenced the section and contributed towards creating a more rehabilitative and “family orientated” context. Rehabilitation was viewed by the officials as being very broad, and that an integrated programme could address many aspects and that staff needed to look holistically at the offender and do what they could in their day-to-day interactions to support rehabilitation. The officials further indicated that it was difficult to keep the participants motivated to stay in the programme and attend regularly, particularly when participant had an “off day” or were struggling to come to terms with what they were experiencing. The t-shirts helped to build the group and to keep participants involved. The certificates were valued and participants were proud of their achievement, and in year one and two, participants who had been released near the end of the IYOP returned for the graduation ceremony.

Correctional officials indicated that the participants were more open than the other offenders to deal with their own problems and engage in changing their own behaviour. The officials indicated that they felt they could engage with these participants and were able to become rehabilitators. One of the most important benefits of the programme, according to the officials, was the impact the participants had on other offenders and on reducing levels of violence (explicit physical violence, verbal violence and implicit violent interactions) in the sections. This appears to have been dependent on the number of IYOP participants as when there were three or four per cell then they were able to have a positive influence and encouraged each other to participate, develop personally, and become positive role models. Even though at times this meant that their behaviour was questioned so that they could live up to being a role model. Unfortunately, the summative evaluation was not able to validate this as the Boksburg juvenile centre changed substantially in early 2007.

Correctional officials noted that the level of change as a result of IYOP varied in individuals and was dependent on individual openness and commitment to change, as well as peer influence within the cells. Some offenders were more open to learning and were supported by peers, while others were influenced by the negativity of peers. However, over the three years there was a significant change as more offenders came forward voluntarily requesting an opportunity to be involved in IYOP, and in particular to become AVP facilitators. Reasons for involvement cited by potential participants included wanting to change; wanting to become like those already involved in the programme; wanting to use their time constructively while incarcerated; a need to keep busy; and to positively benefit parole hearings.

The changes in participants were noted by the officials while they were incarcerated, but officials were concerned for the participants once they were released. Officials indicated that the difficulty would be what the participants would do with their lives after release, as they were going back to the same environment, same risks, same socio-economic situation but it was acknowledged that they now had a different attitude, better coping skills and a commitment to living a life away from crime.

Participants with lower educational levels struggled to complete the homework and engage in the programme on a cognitive level, which emphasises the importance of adhering to the selection criteria. Some found it difficult to cope with the emotional demands of the programme and therefore the selection criteria needs to include a psychological or sociological assessment (as was included in year one). There was also a call for a programme that could meet the needs and abilities of participants that were not selected for the IYOP.

The officials were disappointed and upset that one participant returned to the Centre, even though the crime had not been committed after the IYOP intervention and his release. They felt they had invested in him and he had let them down.

No feedback was available from DCS officials in the adult section pertaining to assessing IYOP participants' coping skills after transfer from a juvenile to an adult section.

DCS officials complimented the IYOP facilitators on their professionalism and indicated that they had “no problems” with them. Staff indicated that more male facilitators are needed to provide positive role models. English as a medium was difficult for participants, as they needed to talk in their home language. One participant was unable to continue, as he was not able to speak SeSotho and isiZulu. The officials were complimentary about the methodology used, and believed that the drama, music, discussions and questioning techniques were the right way to engage with offenders.

6.3 IMPACT POST RELEASE

The Integrated Youth Offenders Programme (IYOP) aimed to develop and pilot a holistic approach to dealing with the problem of offending and re-offending amongst young offenders. It aimed to build resilience among young offenders to enable them to choose a non-criminal life, and to address the factors associated with re-offending. The IYOP therefore delivered an integrated programme that tackled a critical range of risk and resilience issues and factors associated with re-offending.

In total, 11 participants who were released from Boksburg Correctional Centre were interviewed post the IYOP programme, providing an 18% sample size. Two participants were re-arrested post-release - one from 2004³⁶ and one from the 2005 group. The 2005 participant was arrested for a crime that was committed prior to his first sentence. He is currently serving an additional sentence in the adult section of the Boksburg Correctional Centre. The 2004 participant was arrested for car hijacking in 2005. It was not possible to undertake an evaluation interview with either of these participants.

CASE STUDY:

David³⁷ was arrested in 2002 at the age of 18 years for robbery and was sentenced to five years in prison, and was expected to be released in 2007 at the age of 23. Due to parole conditions, he was released in 2004 having served two years of his sentence. He participated in the IYOP programme in 2004.

³⁶ IYOP Minutes, 15 September 2006.

³⁷ Name changed to ensure confidentiality of the participant.

His self-reported behaviour prior to his arrest indicated that he had previously committed theft, robbery and housebreaking, but had not been caught for these crimes. He reported that he “always used” dagga, alcohol, and mandrax. He began using benzine at the age of 8, dagga at the age of 10, alcohol and mandrax at the age of 13. He had repeated three years of schooling, one of which was due to his family moving and he had to wait for the following year for a place at the nearest school. He was not involved in gang activity. The only family member to have been involved in crime was his uncle, who had been arrested for car hijacking.

He was living with his parents and siblings in Daveyton, a township in the East Rand of Johannesburg at the time of his arrest. On his release from Boksburg Correctional Centre, his family did not want to accept responsibility for him, and despite efforts by the IYOP family intervention programme, no family reconciliation occurred. The IYOP facilitators found a place for him in a half-way house and provided clothes for him on his release. He left the half-way house after a few months. He was arrested in 2005 for car hijacking, and returned to Boksburg Correctional Centre.

His participation in the IYOP programme was described by the facilitators as inconsistent in attendance and the level of engagement in the sessions varied according to what was going on in his life at the time. He had many fights with some of the offenders in the Centre, particularly with his friends who were not part of the programme. He frequently demonstrated a violent response to situations and on several occasions was taken to a single detention cell. One facilitator indicated that he was aware of his response and the changes he was undergoing, but he found it difficult to put into practice a new way of responding.

The five participants (interviewed post-release) from the 2005 programme completed the IYOP programme 21 months prior to the summative evaluation interviews (held in June 2007). Two had been released for seven months, one for thirteen months, the others for seventeen, eighteen and nineteen months.

The six participants from the 2006 programme completed the IYOP programme nine months previously, and had been released for between five (one participant), six (two participants) and nine months (three participants).

6.3.1 *Experience post-release*

All 11 participants' interviews experienced a period of adjustment immediately after release from the correctional centre. They indicated that the world had changed when they returned to it, their friends had moved on and made new friends and had lives of their own, and that through IYOP and their experience in "prison" they had changed.

The participants found the experience of parole extremely frustrating and debilitating in allowing them to move forward with their lives, and by building on from what they had gained from the IYOP experience while incarcerated. The fear of violating their parole conditions and being sent back to prison kept them at home and adhering to the conditions. The parole conditions prevented them from looking for employment or beginning to find a way of earning an income to support themselves and their family. This had a negative impact on the participants as they spoke of high levels of frustration, not being able to find a meaningful role in society, finding it extremely difficult to cope with their reality (they felt caught between two worlds: prison and reality), and being socially excluded from friends and the community.

In addition, there appears to be a lack of consistency in the monitoring and support of parole conditions by the DCS community corrections officials. Of those interviewed, 45% of the participants received regular visits and support from the officials, 9% had no contact or support from his parole officer during his six-month parole period. The evaluator was unable to follow-up with the other participants to determine the extent of parole support.

Reflection by one participant indicated that his 150 hours of community service at the local police station helped him to adapt to working conditions and helped to build his confidence in relating to the community. As he said:

"It was not easy, there were times when I felt like going back to crime but something stopped me: especially when I thought about things I have learnt from IYOP and life in prison. The community gradually accepted me and began trusting me".

The 2005 participants (who completed the IYOP 21 months before the summative evaluation) were more confident and able to share their experiences post-release with more honesty and a deeper understanding of themselves. The 2006 participants (who completed the IYOP nine months before the summative evaluation) expressed more anger and frustration in not being able to do something with their lives and take what they gained from the IYOP further. All of the 2005 participants were still serving their parole conditions. There was a far greater “push and pull factor” towards crime and a greater struggle to keep away from a life of crime, away from negative influences, to adhere to the parole conditions, and a struggle to move on with their lives.

As one participant said:

“At times because there is nothing to do at home I think about breaking the parole conditions by leaving with friends to watch soccer matches. But my grandmother reminds me all the time not too. She acts like a parole officer. I think IYOP has helped me in mending my relationship with my grandmother and mother.”

2006 participant

6.3.2 Increased opportunities to access employment and financial sustainability, vocational training

Expected outcome 6:

The offender acknowledges they can access and create employment opportunities away from crime and has a sense of possibility of achieving this.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of employment and vocational training, lack of financial independence away from a life of crime.

After release, all participants found it extremely challenging to find a pathway towards gaining financial sustainability. Many remained dependent on family members for basic resources such as food, shelter and “pocket money”. Three participants undertook piece jobs on an *ad hoc* basis, such as cleaning the neighbours’ yards. Two participants jointly started a car wash business and at the time of this evaluation were gradually building up the equipment needed. One other participant also planned to start a car wash business. Two participants gained employment - one through his uncle as a

garage attendant and one worked as a carpenter in Boksburg. This was a skill he learnt after the IYOP whilst still incarcerated. One participant had a temporary job fixing electronic equipment and the company would like to employ him full-time when the business has grown. Another participant was facilitating with AVP and this provided a source of income. One participant from the 2004 group was involved with Themba HIV AIDS Organisation, and was running an HIV group in Alexandra, Johannesburg. Two participants from the 2005 and 2006 programme were involved in a free arts training programme.

Having had a taste of employment and then being back to where he was before has been extremely difficult for the participant who gained temporary employment:

"The casual job was helping me with money for clothes and food, but now it's hard. I am struggling again but have told myself that I will not go back to crime even though at times there is temptation. When I see some of my friends driving cars and wearing nice clothes there is something inside me saying 'join them'. But again when I remember the things I have learnt in the programme I turn my back and what worries me is that I don't know how long will I hold out, unless I get a job and work. But no matter what I will not go back: I know the consequences of being involved in crime."

2006 participant

The participants stated that the business skills intervention was extremely beneficial after release and that it provided them with the knowledge and more confidence in seeking employment and in the possibility of starting their own business away from a life of crime.

On reflection, the participants indicated that they had not really valued the business skills intervention while incarcerated, as it did not have immediate benefit. However, on reflection, they stated that it gave them "different routes they could take" and the benefit of it has been very important after release. However, the participants called for support after release in writing business plans and in accessing seed funding (for example through the Umsobomvu Youth Fund) to buy basic equipment for their business ideas (such as brushes and a bucket for washing cars).

The support received from family members in supporting them financially appears to be a critical factor in opening opportunities for them (for example the carpentry work, the job as a garage attendant, and working in neighbour's yards). These participants all spoke about having to overcome the stigma of being a "criminal", of communicating openly with their families about their plans and their feelings, of having to build trusting relationships and the need to prove that they have changed through being at work, working hard and being role models to others.

"My uncle has helped me to put my past behind me and has told me that everybody makes a mistake and some learn from the mistake. IYOP programme has helped me about my self-esteem and has made me realise my potential. Today I am working and my uncle believes in me. When I was arrested he turned his back on me, but today he has turned back to me and has seen the changes in my life".

Participant 2005

Participants stated that being able to show family their certificates from IYOP and other skills-based courses attended while incarcerated helped enormously as it indicated that they were serious about changing their lives and that they had not wasted their time while incarcerated. One participant acknowledged that if it was not for the IYOP, he would not be working today.

"My mother has framed my certificate from IYOP and now it is hanging in my room."

2006 Participant

Working in businesses was not easy, as if anything went missing, they were immediately blamed for the loss. Participants stated that it took enormous courage to stand up for themselves and to continue working in that environment.

The period while under parole hampered the participants in following up on employment opportunities and in being able to pursue business ideas linked to skills gained while in prison and decisions made while in prison.

6.3.3 Mental, emotional and physical health post release

The participants' stories of adjusting to life outside of prison suggest a high level of vulnerability. The first six months are particularly difficult and participants spoke of how difficult it was, and often still is, not to go back to crime. They see their friends doing well, yet they are not employed, and are kept under strict parole conditions. They are often near to "breaking down" and rely on each other or a family member for emotional support.

The benefit of being part of the IYOP group allowed participants to form strong friendships that last when they leave the correctional centre, as they are able to provide emotional support to each other. The shared experience of both the IYOP group and prison provides a common understanding on which empathy, tolerance, trust and honesty is shared.

"I no longer keep things to myself, if there is something inside me that eats me I talk with my sister and after that I feel good. It's like overload has been lifted off my shoulders. My mother and my sister have become my friends now."

2006 participant

Dealing with the stigmatisation and labelling of being a "criminal" is important within themselves, their families and at a community level.

"My friends are making a joke about me that I went to prison and were expecting me to come back stronger and clever to face life: But I came back a softy and scared."

2006 participant

The participant who facilitates on the AVP programme indicated that this intervention has provided him with leadership skills and has given him the skills to build a better support system at home through good communication, building trust, and being cooperative with family members. He further spoke about how this has contributed to him taking responsibility for himself and his family.

The IYOP programme included a therapeutic intervention, which was an essential element of facilitating the emotional and behavioural development of the participants. After release, there appears to have been a 'vacuum' between the intensity of the therapeutic intervention and the need to express deep emotions and to continue to deal with internal trauma, identity and making sense of their world. Some participants found the support through friends (particularly co-IYOP participants) or through their mothers. However, the participants acknowledge that they do not know if they are getting the right answers. A few indicated that they "wished [the facilitator] was here", suggesting the need for post-release support through the Vuka S'Hambe intervention or by linking participants to community structures. This suggestion was also made by the DCS officials at Boksburg Correctional Centre.

*"I can simply say that IYOP has shown me that there is a way out of crime
and I am not going back."*

2006 participant

6.3.4 Social attitudes, self control and developing a sense of purpose

Expected outcome 9:

Develop a sense of purpose and hope for the future and courage to face up to life challenge. This will be gained through increased understanding of how risk factors have impact on their lives and greater understanding of the world in which they live.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of coping skills and networks, lack of sense of belonging (weak social ties) and philosophical grounding, demoralisation, despondency, passivity.

There appears to be a greater awareness of social attitudes, social interactions and the need to be part of a social setting. One participant indicated that the IYOP made him realise that he could not be "an island" and that he needed to learn to socialise with

people, to learn as much from them as possible and that they could also learn from him. One participant (2005 group, released 2006) joined a youth group in his area:

“When I left prison I struggled to cope, I was withdrawn, stayed indoors and did not want to see my friends. It was because they were far ahead of me and I realised the time I had wasted in prison. As time progressed I started thinking about what I had learnt in IYOP, that the power to change my life lies within me, and with my mother giving me emotional support and telling me to forget about what your friends have achieved, take one step at a time and I will achieve my goals in life.”

2005 Participant

Prayer and a sense of connection with the world were recurring themes from the interviews and much comfort, encouragement and support was gained from individual, family and church prayer.

Patience and learning to gain control over oneself is important in the process of staying away from a life of crime and negative influences. A participant indicated how he had to learn patience: patience in directing his own life as well as patience in taking one step at a time. Another spoke about having to move away from thinking of getting things quickly, that one had to work towards one's goals.

All participants spoke about having goals, dreams and a sense of purpose. The clearer the goals the more directed the participants appear to be in taking the path towards the goal. Participants know the path will take time, and they clearly articulate that they cannot achieve their goals if they keep committing crime.

“My attitude towards life has changed. When I was arrested, I thought my life was over and the programme gave me a new beginning, a new start in life. Attending IYOP has made me believe in myself, that I have something to offer.”

2006 participant

6.3.5 Conflict resolution and problem solving skills

Expected outcome 3:

The participant is open to opportunities to transform conflict and to see possibilities that problems can be solved. Demonstrate these skills in their life given the Correctional Centre context.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Lack of problem solving skills; violent or aggressive behaviour.

The conflict resolution intervention and the focus on problem solving skills throughout the programme have provided skills that the participants can use after release. Participants noted that communication and listening skills are important in solving conflicts peacefully. In addition, one participant stated that he has not taken responsibility for his own actions and if he fails, he owns up to it and is able to take corrective action.

"I have learnt how to deal with my situation from the advice of [the facilitator] that there will be ups and downs in life, all what I need is to be tough and face life as it comes. I have realised that doing crime will not solve my problems as there are consequences."

Participant 2005

6.3.6 Family reintegration and relationships

a) Family reintegration

Expected outcome 7:

Improved relationships with the family while incarcerated and to develop plans for post-release housing and family acceptance.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Family breakdown and disrupted family relationships; negative interaction with the community; weak social ties; lack of family stability; and lack of support networks.

The family reintegration intervention was viewed by all participants as a very important step in healing their relationships with their families. They noted the change from before being sentenced (families had “dropped” them and they did not relate to them); during prison (a shift from not getting visits to receiving visits after the NICRO social worker facilitated dialogue between them) and after release.

The participants felt after their release that someone was supporting them emotionally and financially, and that they had “come home”. They acknowledged the importance of this support as it provided a foundation or basis on which they could rebuild their lives. One uncle provided a participant with a job after seeing his certificate, another’s aunt provided money to start a car wash business, and one grandmother undertakes to support her grandson after his parole to start a vegetable selling business. Many mothers and siblings provide emotional support. Two of the participants and their siblings rely entirely on their grandmother’s pension grant.

The reintegration and acceptance has taken time: “Slower and slower they accepted me and started inviting me to gatherings and celebrations in their homes”. Families need to provide continued support, as one participant indicated that he got the support he needed after release and this continues, but it became harder as time went by and he was still dependent on them financially and emotionally. Being able to make a financial contribution to the family is beneficial in strengthening family relationships and developing a legitimate role in the family.

The case study of the participant who committed a crime after his release and was arrested highlights the importance of family and community support in the reintegration process, reiterating that after release, not having this support becomes a risk factor, increasing the possibility of returning to a life of crime.

b) Friendships

Expected outcome 10:

Develop the social, interpersonal and coping skills to enhance friendships and participate in meaningful self-development activities based on the strengths and skills of the individual. Demonstrate the growth by shifting away from

criminal gang activity towards positive interaction with peers, and greater acceptance of others.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Identification with anti-social or criminal role models; weak social ties; anti-social attitudes and feelings; and high impulsivity.

Relationships with friends had changed while they were incarcerated. Many of their friends had not visited them while they were in prison, and all had moved on with their lives. Friends had girlfriends, were married, were providing for their families and had more possessions. There was therefore a tendency to draw unfavourable social comparisons between self and others which caused personal distress and frustration.

Making new friends was seen to be challenging and difficult. It was difficult to find a 'fit' with a new group because they had changed while in prison but were struggling to adapt and live their "new life" after release. The individual stories indicated that the participants judged themselves and think others see them, as a "criminal". Sense of self is therefore often rather precarious being fed either by negative social comparisons as generated by themselves or as a result of having to tolerate the negative appraisals by others.

Peer pressure remains a challenge. One 2005 participant indicated that it was easy to be accepted back by his friends: the challenge was to turn away from crime and encourage his friends to do so as well. He continued by saying: "I was responsible for my actions. That is the reason I was in prison and regardless of what my friends did, I should have refused to be involved in the act of committing crime".

6.3.7 Living a healthy life

Expected outcome 4:

Increased knowledge and ability to engage in dialogue to inform attitudes and possible behaviour changes in relation to substance use and healthy living.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Participation in risk behaviour (substance and alcohol use and abuse); inhibition and poor judgement as a result of substance use and abuse.

Three of the participants mentioned substance abuse in the interviews post-release. Two indicated that they avoided illegal substances, and friends and places that would put them more at risk of using them, because of the harm it caused to their body and their lifestyle. One participant stated that IYOP helped him to stop smoking dagga, and that his friends now know that he does not want them to come to his house to smoke.

Expected outcome 5:

Develop greater understanding of HIV and AIDS, sexuality and sexual relationships to make informed decisions in their own lives.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Participation in risk behaviour (sexual relationships) and poor relationships; lack of self-care and/or disregard for the safety of sexual partners.

There appears to have been a deepening of understanding of their own sexual behaviour and an increased ability to talk about and negotiate positive intimate relationships. The HIV and AIDS intervention gave participants the courage to speak to partners about sexual health, as well as to share with friends the need to negotiate relationships. The participants were often asked for advice on sexual matters from their friends and siblings. One participant shared that he had told his friends how to use a condom properly. Another indicated that he is able to use a condom when he has sexual intercourse, that he respects women and only has one girlfriend (2005 participant).

Three participants indicated that the anger management course helped them to control their anger, and coupled with the conflict resolution intervention, provided skills for participants to manage their own reactions and conflictual situations (either by avoiding such situations or through communication).

6.3.8 Positive interactions with community

Expected outcome 8:

Understand the consequences of their actions on themselves, the victim, their family and community; and gain insights into restorative justice possibilities and processes.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Not taking responsibility for actions; maintaining negative and harmful cycles of violence with victims, family members and the community; extreme egocentrism; and anti-social attitudes.

It was noted from the interviews that released participants did not feel part of the community and that the community is still very wary of them as they are still “criminals”. The community service undertaken as part of their parole conditions was seen as doing manual labour, rather than as a service to the community or part of reparation. Issues of trust, forgiveness and acceptance still need to be dealt with.

The restorative justice intervention opened the opportunity for victim-offender mediation and for the participants to accept responsibility for their actions. They see themselves as a different person and family members have commented on this to them. They want to meet with the victim but acknowledge that it is a two-way process and that they cannot do anything unless the victim is ready. None of those interviewed for the summative evaluation had undergone victim-offender mediation or a family group conference.

The inclusion of the restorative justice intervention earlier in Year 3 increased the impact of it by allowing the process to meet the growth of the participants as the entire programme evolved. However, the process takes time and could not meet the needs of all participants. DCS officials indicated that a number of participants became frustrated with this process because they could not complete it. It is therefore suggested that the restorative justice component continues after release through establishing relationships with local restorative justice initiatives.

“The community initially was sceptical thinking that I was going to continue where I had left off before going to prison, but they were surprised to see that I have changed. I was no longer hanging at the corner and ill-treating other kids.”

Participant 2005

6.3.9 Communication skills and cognitive development

Expected outcome 2:

Demonstrate improved communication skills and, assertiveness and self control.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Anti-social attitudes and feelings.

All participants spoke about their increased skills in communication. Listening skills were seen as being particularly beneficial in family relationships, conflict resolution, seeking employment and in changing friendships into more positive directions. Most of the participants spoke about giving advice and sharing the knowledge they had learnt from the IYOP and about being more open in taking advice from somebody close to them.

Expected outcome 1:

Improvement in cognitive skills, and demonstrates a positive attitude towards education and learning opportunities.

Risk factors associated with this outcome: Poor cognitive skills and learning challenges.

Participants spoke of the knowledge they had gained from the IYOP, and indicated a positive attitude towards what they had learnt. The post release interviews indicate that the knowledge gained has influenced their decision making process and the choices they make.

Although this was an outcome, the IYOP did not directly address opening opportunities towards further learning, both in and out of the Centre. One of the participants indicated that after the IYOP programme he went on to undertake training in carpentry while still incarcerated, and after release had been employed for a month in a company using these skills. The company would like to employ him full-time once the business has grown.

Another participant indicated that he spent much of his time in the local library reading, and his new circle of friends often met to discuss films, music and books. This suggests that he is more open to intellectual stimulation.

The emerging hypothesis from this evaluation suggests that after release, the participants need to prove that they have changed. This is demonstrated in both what they do and what they say. One way to experience self in a positive light, given that they do not have material possessions or girlfriends, is through demonstrating their knowledge, and this therefore becomes a commodity - one that they can share with others (for example about drugs, condom use, a new outlook of themselves and their behaviour) and that demonstrates their internal and cognitive growth. This is illustrated in the following quotes from a few of the participants:

"IYOP played a role in helping me to deal with new friends as old ones walked out of my life when they realised that I have changed..."

I was able to give direction and advise them at the same time take control of my life."

2005 participant

"A lot has changed in whatever I do; it is based on my interest rather than that of my friends."

2005 participant

In addition, there appears to be a shift in their understanding of being a street-wise criminal towards a well-informed member of their community.

"I wouldn't be working today if it wasn't for IYOP and my friends are now respecting me and listening to me not because I am from prison, but because when I talk about the danger of unprotected sex. They listen to me when I tell them how I control my anger."

2005 participant

7. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE IYOP

The Integrated Youth Offender Project was developed to pilot an integrated approach towards addressing offender behaviour. This section provides an understanding, based on the evidence detailed in this summative evaluation report, of the effectiveness of the IYOP model as an approach towards addressing a critical range of risk and resilience factors, and factors associated with re-offending.

It is important to understand the effectiveness of the IYOP as a phased approach, one which supports and facilitates the journey of change of each participant. The evidence provided in this evaluation confirms that each participant benefited from the programme: each participant took something away with him from the individual interventions. What they took and the level of change varies amongst the participants, as illustrated in the range of results over the three years amongst the offenders while incarcerated or after release. This review suggests that the level of change is directly linked to individual development, levels of emotional maturity, previous experiences and psycho-social maturity. Although this evaluation was unable to determine the correlations,³⁸ it is likely (given the research review in Section 2 and the case study on the participant who did not complete the programme), that the level of change is influenced by programme intensity, the group process, the quality of individual and collective interventions, and the ability of the integrated approach to comprehensively address the risk factors, needs and strengths of the individuals.

The primary work of rehabilitation, as illustrated by the findings of the IYOP, is about shifting outlooks, attitudes and aspirations and providing offenders with a different vision of themselves and their lives, and the world in which they live.

The critical aspect of this rehabilitation programme is that it provides offenders with support, and a community that starts dialoguing and imagining a different lifestyle. Each year, the IYOP group as a whole played a critical role in providing this support, and in

³⁸ The data was collected over the three year period. However the available budget for this evaluation prevented this level of analysis.

creating a space for individuals to dialogue, imagine and start behaving in a different manner. As a result, a new sense of self started to emerge. Participants further demonstrated a shift of moving from a victim mentality and the blaming of others, to taking responsibility for the choices they made and their individual actions on themselves and others.

The participants spoke of the new knowledge they had gained and new attitudes towards themselves and the world, and a range of skills were evident in their reflection on their interpersonal relationships with each other, peer offenders, their families and correctional officials. For a large proportion of the participants, the knowledge and attitudes influenced their actions both in and out of the Centre. However, as suggested by the psychological assessment, there will be some offenders that will use the IYOP, restorative justice initiatives and even the language of rehabilitation provided for in rehabilitation programmes to manipulate others. It can be hard to distinguish between those who are simply “talking the talk” and those who have truly internalised what has been addressed in programmes. The fruits of rehabilitation are borne during the reintegration period. The vast majority of IYOP participants appear, however, to have bought into this vision of self as rehabilitated, and both in and out of the Centre require tangible evidence (for themselves) that they have changed. Their choices, decisions and actions once released will provide the incontestable proof that rehabilitation has indeed been achieved.

The IYOP as a rehabilitation intervention is developing personal competencies and capacity in a critical range of resilience and coping skills as detailed in Section 6 of this report. The model addresses a range of risk factors, and specific coping skills that address a holistic scope of development needs. These appear to be critical skills to cope in the prison context (and in the moving from one centre to the next), and the post- release evaluation confirms the relevance of these factors out of prison.

The IYOP offers a range of interventions that address core risk factors; and as a result, it is unlikely that a participant will leave the programme without taking some aspect out of it. The interview, evaluation assessment and psychological assessment with the participant still in a Correctional Centre who did not complete the programme, noted

that he had benefited from the programme. However, the change was not at the same level as those who completed the programme.

The range of interventions offered in the Correctional Centre, based on this evaluation, appears to meet a critical range of needs of the offenders, and provides opportunities for individuals to demonstrate their strengths, and begin the process of behaviour change. The substance abuse and HIV and AIDS interventions had a huge impact on offenders in the correctional centre and were critical in the early stages of rehabilitation and building initial skills in resilience. These skills and changes in thinking and behaviour were successfully carried across into knowledge and practice while incarcerated and after release. The AVP and Vuka S'Hambe interventions clearly demonstrate that participants experienced a sense of emotional support, to such an extent that the participants called for this after graduation both in and out of the correctional context. AVP demonstrated a powerful opportunity in opening up interpersonal pathways in and after prison. These interventions provided opportunities for individuals to reflect on their own behaviour and to understand the consequences of their actions. They also assisted them in planning and practicing for a new way of interacting with others. The business skills, family reintegration and restorative justice interventions appear to come to the fore and have a critical role to play in the post-release phases of reintegration.

The outcomes have been met within the prison context, but as highlighted by the psychological assessment, there is a need to continue with further support after graduation. This may however not be a role for the IYOP *per se*. The support requires a closer partnership with professional staff in the Correctional Centre that can provide ongoing therapeutic work and for the gains made to be carried forward by all staff (in how they interact with the offenders, encouraging them to undertake vocational training, and in providing meaningful support while on parole). The ongoing support in prison suggests the need to clarify how individual interventions can be sustained, such as through AVP peer facilitation, becoming drug peer-educators, ongoing peer education in HIV and sexual health, or through monthly Vuka S'Hambe support group meetings. The evaluation findings indicate that support is also required post-release, to monitor and mentor family reintegration (provided by NICRO), follow through on restorative processes (provided by the Restorative Justice Centre and the Nigel Justice Centre),

provide emotional support post-release, and guide participants in accessing economic and learning opportunities (linked to the business skills intervention provided by Cathy Park and Associates).

In the prison environment there are a host of negative influences - in fact people potentially become even more socialised into anti-social patterns. By the end of their time in a Correctional Centre, there is an excitement and interest in what they have learnt, in showing others that they have changed, in making a success of their lives. But reintegration asks that they can do this in a fairly hostile social context. Offenders are not always welcomed back into the family or the community with open arms and hearts. Stigma and labelling can continue to throw a shadow over the ex-offender. The whole reintegration process is fraught with challenges, obstacles and experiences that can demoralise. It calls for extreme resilience and robustness, not only to resist negative influences, but also to continue to believe in everything that they have started to stand for in the correctional centre.

The offender, on release from the Correctional Centre, walks out of prison wanting to demonstrate how he has changed. What he often encounters is stigma, discrimination, and family and community members who doubt his intentions and even the possibility that a "leopard can change his spots". An array of negative stories about his past life, and identities that developed as a result of his criminal activity potentially hounds the offender post-release. The way he can show he has changed is in what he says, what he knows, but most importantly, in what he does. At an initial level, this is illustrated in showing the certificate and t-shirt, and then resisting drugs and using condoms. However, the change is at a deeper level, because through the group process, and the treatment of the facilitators and staff, the participants begin to see how others see them in a different light. At this point, there is a shift towards using the knowledge they have gained to impress people, to play a new role as an advisor, and a shift towards respect based on knowledge rather than fear. The next level is if the participant is actually able to prove to people that he has been able to put the knowledge and skills into practice. The focus is therefore on being able to demonstrate this change through a job or starting a business, or studying, or earning money legitimately. Consequently, as demonstrated in the post-release interviews, there is a huge emphasis on finding a job, making money legitimately, developing new friendships, and becoming respected in the

family and neighbourhood. The relevance of the entrepreneurship training therefore hits home post-release. It is this final level of achievement that can finally prove to the offender himself and others that a life away from crime has truly begun.

The outcome, dream or expectation for the offenders is this “new life”, where they earn money at the same level as their peers, are able to live independently, and be part of socially acceptable groups and networks. Their ability to achieve this appears to be linked not only to the impact of the programme on building their coping and resilience skills, but also to the extent to which risk factors and reintegration factors continue to impact on individuals post-release. On release under parole conditions, the threat of returning to prison drives the locus of control, and in moments of self-doubt or frustration at not being able to take what they have learnt forward, they turn to friends and family for support who can play a pivotal role at this stage in either supporting or buckling successful reintegration. It is hypothesized that support from significant others, success in resisting early temptations to return to a life of crime, recommitment to success in life away from crime, the clarity of this life vision and clear plans about how to go about making it a reality, making gains financially, and being able to help support their families economically, all provide the ingredients for the development of more of an internal locus of control. At some point each of the participants indicated that they had to make the decision, and often more than once, to stay away from a life of crime.

And, as illustrated by the individual stories of the participants post-release, this is difficult to do on one's own. After release, there are temptations to go back to crime, to use substances, to be part of the gang, to take risks in not adhering to parole conditions, and, encouraging for the IYOP, all those interviewed post-release resisted them. All of these participants spoke of the internal dialogue between immediate gratification and their new found sense of integrity. This suggests that the IYOP introduced cognitive dissonance, whereby if they went back to their old behaviour, it did not sit comfortably with their new and more desirable image of themselves. The role of friends and mentors, particularly peers from the IYOP programme, is an important factor in determining their behaviour post-release. This further became a forum for them to consider and negotiate new forms of behaviour, without them actually having to take the risk to determine the consequences of their actions.

Incredible support is needed financially, socially, emotionally, spiritually and psychologically to support the rehabilitation gains made. Offenders look to families, their community and society to provide this support. The change in behaviour may be driven internally, but it is supported and enabled socially.

The case study of the participant who was arrested for a crime committed after the programme and release, illustrates the complexity of the impact of risk factors on changing offending behaviour in and out of the Correctional Centre. It further illustrates how the individual context or domains post-release can negatively or positively affect the explicit and implicit choices made. The domains of re-entry as indicated by the research in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, appear to be as relevant to released offenders in those countries as to those in South Africa. For example, in the case study, the family support and living arrangements, a history of substance use, experience and attitudes towards learning and financial independence, influence from peer groups and friends, personality features and philosophical grounding (or lack thereof) all buffeted this participant and despite the gains made in IYOP, the participant was unable to shift away from criminal activity.

The analysis suggests that the following strategies to improve reintegration and shifting individuals away from a life of crime need to be sustained beyond the IYOP. Firstly, the development of self-insight and a new sense of direction; secondly the need to strengthen interpersonal relationships and develop support networks (amongst family, friends and in the community, suggesting an important role for the IYOP partners); and thirdly to engage in meaningful activities that demonstrate and affirm individual strengths and enable self-actualisation (for example in generating an income away from crime, or being a role model to others). The IYOP partnership provided a critical element in demonstrating a new set of values, gender interactions, sense of community, respect and dignity, and a depth of care that needs to be carried through into the reintegration process. Recommendations pertaining to this are provided in the final section.

It is also critical to note that no one partner could have provided the range of services nor facilitated the depth of impact achieved in the IYOP, and the value of the integrated approach is apparent not only on the offenders, but in the support and care offered to

individual facilitators, the team of facilitators, the management team and the independent organisations.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The findings from the summative evaluation suggest the following recommendations to strengthen the effectiveness, efficiency, impact and relevance of the IYOP as a model towards addressing offending behaviour of juvenile male offenders and reducing recidivism.

8.1 *Recommendations: Impact on offenders*

The results in relation to the outcomes as detailed in this report provide evidence for actual change in the participants during the IYOP programme in Boksburg Correctional Centre. It is recommended that the outcomes and indicators are reviewed based on these findings, as these can be consolidated and targeted as indicators for different levels of change specific to individual interventions, phases of the programme implementation and to highlight specific levels of change demonstrated by the participants. It was difficult to “fit” the findings under each outcome due to the interconnectedness of the interventions and outcomes: the interventions built on from one another across the interventions to address the core resilience factors. The IYOP model could potentially now be clearer about how this process works.

The evaluation was limited in the extent to which the correlations between the selection criteria, demographics, pre and post assessments, psychological and educational/ cognitive assessments, actual experience of prison and levels of maturity, and post-release behaviour are significant. The data for this level of analysis was collected during the three year intervention, and it is recommended that a research process be undertaken to provide results of the impact of the IYOP. The analysis would require post-release data to be collated, such as through a self-reported behavioural study, longer-term tracking and a post-programme psychological assessment.

8.2 Recommendations: Strengthening the integrated approach

The observations and reflection by the IYOP partners who delivered the integrated interventions to the participants, recommend the following programme level changes to strengthen the effectiveness and efficiency of the integrated approach:

- a) The restorative justice intervention begins earlier and continues after the programme. This would entail the programme working while participants are still incarcerated (in the juvenile and adult sections), and while on parole. Healing and the follow-through on restorative events (such as VOC or FGC) requires a process and this takes time. It also cannot necessarily be constrained to fit within a programme time frame. It is also necessary to monitor the implementation of the agreements reached during FGC's, and to determine the impact of the restorative process in the longer term. In addition, it is necessary to determine the extent and process of confidentiality, as a number of participants indicated that they had committed other crimes but had not been arrested for them, however they would like to seek forgiveness for these incidents as they still haunt them.
- b) There also appears to be a need for greater collaboration between the family reintegration and restorative justice interventions. Both provide a valuable process to achieve specific outcomes. However, of interest is that the interpersonal relationship between the facilitator and a participant appears to be a critical factor in the success of the restoring of family relationships. For example, one participant indicated that he felt an affinity to the restorative justice facilitator and therefore was able to engage with his family through this intervention, rather than through the family reintegration process. He said he had no problems with the other facilitator, but he felt more comfortable and more trust with the restorative justice facilitator.
- c) The Themba HIV/AIDS Organisation need to include the rehearsal time into their allocated sessions.

- d) The substance abuse component includes urine testing as part of the selection criteria and during the substance abuse intervention to confirm the use of substances and to monitor participants' maintenance programme.
- e) The participants require support post-IYOP (refer to the recommendation below for further details on this).

The findings further support the recommendation that the IYOP is linked to individual sentence plans, and therefore has clear developmental goals (or outcomes) along the way to monitor the growth of participants and further support (through referrals to DCS officials). This will require working closely with the officials in the Correctional Centre. It is likely that such an approach will help in ironing out logistical problems of programme delivery as highlighted in section 4 of this report, as the officials will understand how the IYOP works as an integral part of offender rehabilitation.

In terms of programme management, it is recommended that:

- a) The facilitators have the support of the organisation and their involvement is not only dependent on one person. This will provide sustainability across the duration of a programme, enable people to step in when necessary, and provide a forum for debriefing and sharing what has been gained.
- b) There is a need for an integrated database and case management system to be incorporated into the management of the programme. This will enable all facilitators to access amongst other aspects: core demographic data, levels of participation, assessments, monitor change over time and build on the strengths and weaknesses of the participant. This could be an electronic web-based system that allows facilitators and managers to access data with an access code.
- c) Evaluation and research was built into the IYOP from its inception for data gathering, annual reviews and the summative evaluation. However, there is a need for the monitoring and evaluation to be continuous. For example, there was a gap in the evaluation process of determining the impact of the restorative justice and family processes, as this was not documented from a research and evaluation perspective, and this was a

missed opportunity of increasing our collective knowledge about such an intervention on rehabilitation and reintegration effectiveness.

8.3 *Recommendations: Strengthening partnership between the Correctional Centre and the service providers*

The findings of this evaluation clearly indicate that the IYOP has an impact on the offenders who participate in the programme, and participants and staff believe that the IYOP has an impact on the culture and interpersonal relationships (however, confirmation of this was beyond the scope of this evaluation). The programme had an impact on the staff, both through the training they received as well as through the changes they noted in their interactions with the participants (as discussed in section 6.2.4). Staff called for, and participants and facilitators also proposed, that staff require training in all aspects of the IYOP interventions. This will build staff capacity to engage with the participants and potentially address the challenges participants face in implementing what they have learnt in the correctional centre. Staff further indicated that this would support them in addressing their own development and provide support for them working in the correctional centre. The IYOP management team will need to decide on the extent to which they can fulfil this role or to work closely with DCS training units to meet this need.

It is further recommended that in developing a closer working relationship with the staff at the Correctional Centre, agreement is reached on the reporting of illegal activity, the development of referrals and protocols, and approaches towards sustaining both the programme and the impact of the interventions on the participants.

8.4 *Recommendations: Strengthening post-programme support*

The findings indicate the need for post-programme support for participants both within the Correctional Centre, on parole and once they have completed serving their sentence. The recommendation acknowledges that this may not be within the scope of the IYOP, however the impact of the programme on the offenders need to be sustained

and the role may therefore be to link and integrate the IYOP with other services. The following possible approaches are presented for the IYOP to consider in taking this recommendation forward.

- 8.4.1 The competency of DCS officials to engage in the rehabilitation to reintegration process required strengthening through ongoing training, but also through IYOP facilitators engaging with officials to share observations and assessments about personal change, strengths and ways of supporting individuals, providing links to their sentence plan and achievements within a programme of this nature. This would require clear guidelines on issues of confidentiality. This approach is particularly important in referring participants to further services within the Centre, and in encouraging participants to seek further support.
- 8.4.2 The findings also call for parole boards to make meaningful and relevant decisions on the parole conditions. The parole conditions increase levels of frustration of participants and appear to hamper the meaningful application of the competencies developed during the IYOP. If the IYOP was integrated into the sentence plans and the final assessment linked progress made to potential areas of support the participant will require in the reintegration process, the parole board could facilitate a more effective reintegration process.
- 8.4.3 Support could be provided by individual IYOP partners while the participant is still incarcerated through ongoing and sustainable work being undertaken in the Centre. For example, participants can co-facilitate the AVP programme or become drug or HIV peer educators. It is recommended that a monthly support group is held for a period of three to six months after graduation to provide a supportive group for individual reflection, and to monitor the appropriate application of the competencies gained. This would further support the process of shifting the application of skills from rehabilitation and coping within the Centre, to coping and reintegration after release. In other words to specifically engage the participant in thinking through and role playing how they would react in different situations once released. This could perhaps become an IYOP pre-release intervention which develops a reintegration plan to be taken forward to the parole board and involves the DCS community corrections officials.

- 8.4.4 After-care and post-release support must be linked to the family support, to developing pathways to financial sustainability and community involvement. This could involve continuing connections with the partners that run community programmes (such as AVP, Themba HIV/AIDS Organisations, NICRO), the sustaining or implementation of agreements reached during the IYOP (for example substance abuse treatment or maintenance, contracts agreed to in the FGC, or following through on VOC), or giving details of community support structures (such as youth groups, church structures, etc.) that the participant takes responsibility to contact. One of the participants suggested that they be given a card or a poster that they can refer to, to remind them of what they have learnt and that gives them the feeling that they are not alone.
- 8.4.5 One of the critical pathways to successful reintegration is that participants find a way of being financially sustainable away from a life of crime and develop a sense of living independently. Once again, this may not be the core role of IYOP, and their role may be to refer participants to possible seed funding organisations, organisations that support entrepreneurship, or link participants to learnerships and other youth structures.

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is the view of the evaluator that the Integrated Youth Offender Project had a significant impact on all the juvenile male offenders who participated in the programme while incarcerated in Boksburg Correctional Centre. Each participant has taken specific knowledge, skills, attitudes and self-awareness with them, even if they did not complete the programme or levels of participation and engagement varied. These gains have clearly made an impact on their lives while they are serving their sentences in the Centre, on parole, and afterwards. The participants are provided with the opportunity to take what they can from the programme, to make decisions based on sound information, to reflect on their own values and choices made, and to develop a new sense of self and vision for an alternative future. The programme provides an effective and efficient integrated approach towards rehabilitation and reintegration, and

provides programme content and methodology that is relevant to the lives of the participants. The programme goes beyond only providing correctional programmes; it begins to facilitate a therapeutic intervention that raises awareness of deep seated psycho-social issues. Furthermore, the programme not only supports participants through a meaningful mentorship and group process, it also directly confronts and attempts to support the participant in dealing with factors that are known to increase recidivism post release, such as poor family support and lack of financial sustainability.

The recommendations provided in this report are presented to guide the IYOP in strengthening the impact, effectiveness, efficiency and relevance of the integrated approach. It is hoped that the IYOP and the findings of this report will inform further rehabilitation and reintegration approach for juvenile offenders, and that the IYOP will become an essential part of sentence plans in South Africa.

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