Triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery: The perspective of offenders at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre

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I declare that this research proposal is my own original work. All secondary material used was carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with University requirements.

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University’s policy and its implications in this regard.

Julianna May                                                                                     June 2011
                                                                                               Date
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank everyone who contributed to this research study with special thanks to:

- Prof. A Lombard, my study leader, for being my mentor since undergraduate studies and for her continued involvement during my entire academic career and professional development. Thank you for setting an excellent role model with your academic perfection.
- The Department of Correctional Services, especially Mr T.T. Tana, for their support in completing the research study
- My colleagues for their support, interest and encouragement.
- The respondents that have enthusiastically participated and shared their experiences in the research study.
- The editor Ms Robyn Grimsley for her willingness to edit the thesis within a short time-frame.
- My family, Dion, Tylear and Jaydean, for their patience, understanding and continued support.
- My Heavenly Father who equipped me with strength, focus and enthusiasm to complete this degree.
ABSTRACT

Triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery: The perspective of offenders at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre.

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In South Africa all the major categories of violent crime (homicide, aggravated robbery, serious assault and rape) showed an increase during the early 2000s. More than half of the total offences that were committed in South Africa during 2005 were aggressive offences.

The goal of the study was to explore the perception of offenders regarding the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery with a view to inform rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for these offenders.

Within the context of the interrelatedness of socio-economic factors such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and human rights, developmental social welfare and its underpinning theory of social development was an appropriate theoretical framework for the study.

A qualitative research approach was utilised for the study and data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews. Respondents for the study included maximum-term offenders that were serving an imprisonment sentence for aggravated robbery.
The research findings indicate a reciprocal relationship between poverty, inequality, unemployment, intoxicating substances and intra- and interpersonal factors as possible triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery. Unemployment, which is exacerbated by a lack of education and skills development and linked to intra- and interpersonal factors, appears to be a dominant socio-economic factor that could contribute to or trigger aggravated robbery.

The study concluded that rehabilitation programmes still lack a holistic, integrated developmental approach and hence do not prepare ex-offenders for full integration into society. The Department of Correctional Services was pointed out as a significant role-player in facilitating rehabilitation programmes that include skills development for job creation in a holistic, integrated developmental manner. Recommendations include that the Department of Correctional Services should seek partnerships and closer working relations with external service providers, and develop and implement integrated developmental rehabilitation programmes that will facilitate the creation of productive economic opportunities for offenders while they are still incarcerated and once they have been released back into the community.
KEY CONCEPTS

Socio-economic factors
Aggravated robbery
Violent crime
Offender
Intrapersonal factors
Interpersonal factors
Developmental approach
Social development
Integrated development
Rehabilitation programmes
Department of Correctional Services
Community integration
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

The extent of poverty, inequality, unemployment and crime is widespread in the South African context (Department of Correctional Services [DCS] Policy on Poverty Alleviation, 2006a:1). That explains why the DCS regards poverty and underdevelopment as key factors in understanding increasing crime levels (DCS], White Paper on Corrections, 2005: 104.

Crime is any behaviour that comes into conflict with the rules of society and, as a result, is a violation of the judicial system of a particular society (Steyn, 2004 in Strydom, Van der Berg & Herbst, 2006:75). According to Interpol (2002, as quoted by Naudé 2005:125) South Africa is seen as the only country in the world where all the major categories of violent crime (homicide, aggravated robbery, serious assaults and rape) showed an increase during the early 2000s. The 1998 figures in Crime Statistics South African Police Service [SAPS] (2007:5) showed that South Africa had the second highest crime rate in the world. The statistics also revealed that in 2005 the DCS had a total of 122 154 sentenced offenders in correctional facilities, of which 67 254 offenders were serving a sentence for aggressive offences (DCS, 2006b:5). The number of aggressive offences consists of more than half of the total offences that were committed in South Africa during 2005.

The White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005:103) states that after the first decade of democracy, South Africa has one of the world’s highest ratios in terms of offender population in relation to the total population. Four out of every 1 000 South Africans are in correctional centres. In two-thirds of the world’s countries, there are less than 1.5 persons per 1 000 in correctional centres (DCS, 2005:103). Terblanché (1999:27-34) asserts that no one can reasonably argue that the levels of crime in South Africa are acceptable.
From the abovementioned statistics it appears that violent crimes became more visible after South Africa’s transition to a democratic government. The police’s preoccupation with political unrest in the last few years of apartheid gave the criminal element the opportunity to take advantage of the likelihood of not getting caught and increasing their criminal involvement, which became more visible in the new democracy. Before 1994, underreporting of crime was extensive within the African communities. During this time many people took the law into their own hands and operated so-called “bush courts”. Terblanché (1999:27) argues that now that the government has been democratically elected, the trust in the police service should be increasing, and, in time, more people should report crime more readily. Speculations on the reasons behind crime range from criminal elements to socio-economic and political conditions.

One of the reasons for the increasing crime levels in South Africa is stipulated by the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005:103-104) as the high and unrealistic expectations that were created by government in order to gain political power. These high, and often unrealistic, expectations associated with political transitions have contributed to the justification of crime. This explains why there was an increase in aggravated robbery, because some individuals of the disadvantaged majority justify their criminal behaviour through political ideologies and therefore take from the wealthy that which they believe should belong to them. The Macro social trends in South Africa (RSA, 2006:68) agrees that there was an increase in aggravated robbery between 2002 and 2004. There was a high number of street robberies and muggings recorded by the police in socio-economically deprived areas, as well as the dynamics pertaining to cell phone-related crimes and claims. The White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005:104) notes that although poverty and underdevelopment are key factors in understanding increasing crime levels, they are not necessarily directly responsible for higher crime levels. Together with a range of other social, economic, political and cultural factors, and the social wealth differential, poverty
contributes to conditions conducive to an increase in crime and the growth of criminal syndicates and gangs (DCS, 2005:104).

The *White Paper for Social Welfare* (RSA, 1997:15) emphasises that poverty is the combination of economic, social and emotional deprivation that heightens the vulnerability of poor families and individuals. When basic income is not sufficient to meet basic needs, social exclusion is inevitable, where a certain living standard cannot be met (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2005:38). Smith (2005:12) argues that these circumstances result in the financial influence and control of the rich being exerted to keep the poor in poverty traps such as child labour, illiteracy, debt bondage, low skills, low working capital for their microenterprises, lack of access to information, malnutrition, high fertility traps, environmental deterioration, and powerlessness and criminal traps. Motloung and Mears (2002:531) state that poverty cannot be attacked directly without knowledge of its location, extent and characteristics. Inequality is a core characteristic of poverty and refers to the unequal appropriation of wealth (income and assets) by individuals or social groups (Castells, 1998:9). Inequalities lead to unemployment and make the problem of poverty more pronounced (Motloung & Mears, 2002:531). The post-1994 socio-economic and political transition in South Africa clearly did not bring about radical change to improve the situation since the rate of aggravated robbery is escalating (SAPS, Crime Statistics, 2007:5).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was promulgated in 1994 as a people-centred approach to address structural problems and promote equal redistribution of resources in the country. In order for the government to reach their redistributive objectives, the social development approach was accepted as an agenda of all the sectors of national government (Department of Social Development, 2006:19). Gray (1996:53) asserts that social development is a theory and approach to social welfare that posits a macro-policy framework for poverty alleviation that combines social and economic goals. According to Patel (2005:154), the developmental model is embedded in the RDP. The themes of
the developmental model of social welfare are as follows: a rights-based approach, economic and social participation, welfare pluralism and bridging the micro/macro-divide in the conceptualisation of social problems and social service practice (Patel, 2005:205). Gray (1996:55) further argues that development rather than social service provision were seen as the main means of dealing with poverty. The biggest challenge for the Department of Social Development is to demonstrate that the integration of social and economic development has a positive impact on the poor (Lombard, 2006:8).

The South African Government has shown its commitment to eradicating poverty through initiatives and programmes such as the Copenhagen Consensus, the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (AsgiSA), the RDP, the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), the Urban Renewal Programme (URP), the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Program (ISRD), the Government Programme of Action and the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), to name but a few. The challenge, however, lies in the implementation of these policies, strategies and programmes.

With the Government Programme of Action, national government departments were requested to implement poverty alleviation strategies targeting the most deprived communities. Kotzé and Strydom (2007:102) observe that the government’s involvement with poverty issues over the short- and medium-terms includes the implementation of an integrated poverty eradication strategy, which provides direct benefits to those who are in greatest need, within a sustainable development approach. Despite all attempts from government to eradicate poverty, unemployment remains a problem. In 2008, former President Mbeki announced in the State of the Nation Address (RSA, 2008) that the number of employed people had increased by half a million a year for the three previous years. More employment opportunities, however, have not impacted on the high level of unemployment and poverty, and hence cannot be seen in isolation from the increasing levels of aggravated robbery.
The researcher is an employee at the Department of Correctional Services based at Zonderwater Maximum Correctional Centre in Gauteng. The decision to do research at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre followed the strong recommendation of the DCS Research Committee. The researcher knows the area and could rely on internal resources to make the research investigation feasible. There are only male offenders at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre and hence the study included male respondents only. The nature and scope of the researcher’s professional duties is to work with maximum offenders at the DCS.

During social work interviews and assessments of the offenders it was observed that various reasons emerged for aggravated robbery – to meet personal needs; for chemical dependency, such as to buy drugs; to buy clothes; peer pressure and because it was an easier way to obtain money than working for a low salary. Although the offenders gave different reasons for committing crime during these assessment interviews, as a collective they took the stance that the crime(s) was/were not committed for primary need satisfaction (e.g. to obtain food). Despite the fact that these offenders all originate from socio-economically deprived areas, they indicated that it was not poverty, per sé, that encouraged them to commit the crime. There is thus a knowledge gap with regard to the role that poverty plays in criminal behaviour, despite research findings indicating that there is a link between poverty and crime (cf. Bradshaw, 2007:10; Castells, 1998:18; Kotzé & Strydom, 2007:113; Motloung & Mears, 2002:536; Naudé, 2000:20; Strydom et al., 2006:80; and DCS, 2005:104). If poverty, inequality and unemployment play a role in crime, but are not necessarily indicators to commit crime, what then are the underlying reasons for aggravated robbery? The researcher aimed to explore these reasons through this study.

It is envisaged that the results of the study will inform the DCS with regard to a clear direction on how to address socio-economic factors that trigger aggravated robbery through a programme that uniquely emphasises how socio-economic
factors and aggravated robbery can be addressed within a developmental social welfare paradigm. Such a programme will promote offender rehabilitation and will assist offenders with their successful reintegration in the community.

1.2. Problem formulation

Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:29, 48) indicate that the problem formulation, or statement of the problem, “gives a more accurate approach to the issue and clarifies the purpose of the study” and is usually formulated as a question (cf. Mouton, 2005: 53).

According to Crime Statistics South Africa (SAPS Crime Statistics, 2007:1), the Macro social trends in South Africa (RSA, 2006b:68) and DCS statistics (2006b:5), there has been an increase in aggravated robbery over the last few years. Naudé (2000:7) indicates that high levels of crime are more prevalent in countries where there is a high proportion of people who feel economically deprived.

Several research studies (Strydom et al., 2006:74; Kotzé and Strydom, 2005:104; Naudé, 2005:126; Mehlum, Moene and Torvik, 2004:1; Haines and Wood, 2002:25) have been conducted in poverty-stricken communities where the views of society about crime were investigated. Research findings of these studies revealed that socio-economic factors are conducive to committing crime. Strydom et al. (2006:80) point to the likeliness of the link between poverty, joblessness and crime. Naudé (1997, as quoted by Strydom et al., 2006:80) noted that it is not fair to say that poverty will in all cases cause crime, because many poor people live an honest life by working and making the best of their circumstances. The White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005: 104) is clear about the fact that poverty alone does not directly lead to higher crime levels (cf. Naudé, 2000:2). If poverty is a contributing factor to crime, it is certainly not the primary variable in the equation, as Croucamp (2002:4) states. In addition to
poverty, a range of other social, political and cultural factors, as well as the social wealth differential, contribute to conditions conducive to crime and criminal syndicates and gangs.

As already indicated, the researcher observed from assessment interviews that offenders do not necessarily regard socio-economic conditions such as poverty as contributing factors to commit aggravated robbery. Given the high number of offenders that are incarcerated because of aggravated robbery, it is of critical importance to determine what the triggering factors are for this type of robbery. Although studies, as indicated above, point to a link between socio-economic factors and crime, there is no clear indication as to how these factors trigger or contribute towards aggravated robbery. It is thus not clear to what extent poverty, inequality and unemployment can drive an individual to take from others in such an aggressive manner. It is, however, also not clear whether offenders incarcerated for aggravated robbery are necessarily aggressive people.

At present there is no existing social work programme that specifically targets offenders incarcerated for aggravated robbery. In most cases, offenders incarcerated for aggravated robbery are included in an anger-management programme that does not address the underlying reasons for the offence. Aggravated robbery is thus not necessarily the direct result of anger, but is linked to it because aggression is often used to instil fear in the victim. The rehabilitation focus for offenders incarcerated for aggravated robbery is therefore automatically on therapeutic programmes such as anger-management to address their perceived criminal aggressive behaviour. The researcher's experience from anger-management group sessions was that the offenders are not necessarily aggressive in nature, confirming the earlier statement that the crime situation urged them to display aggression in order to force the victim to meet their demands. Although the DCS anger-management programme may contribute to the rehabilitation of the offender, these programmes do not address the underlying socio-economic factors for aggravated robbery. There is thus a
research gap, which the researcher confirmed in her preliminary literature study where she noticed that research in correctional centres regarding socio-economic conditions and crime, and more specifically in aggravated robbery, is limited. In summary, the reasons for offenders engaging in aggravating robbery are not clear. Poverty appears to be one reason; however, the full scope of socio-economic factors triggering and contributing to aggravated robbery is not known, especially from the perspective of the offender. If the socio-economic factors for aggravated robbery are more specifically known from the perspective of the offender, it will help the DCS to provide more effective rehabilitation programmes and to assist in shaping a programme(s) which will assist offenders’ reintegration into society. Such a programme(s) can also be shaped to play a role in the prevention of crime, which is beyond the scope of this study.

1.3. Goal and objectives of the research study

Babbie and Mouton (2001:79) state that social research serves many purposes, but the three most common and useful purposes are exploration, description and explanation. Fouché (2002: 107-108) argues that social work research should have at least one of three primary objectives: to explore, to describe, or to explain, although research objectives can also include correlation and evaluation. She further emphasises that studies may have multiple objectives, but that one objective is usually dominant.

The goal of this study was exploratory. Bless and Higson–Smith (2000:41) state that the purpose of exploratory research is to gain a broad understanding of a situation, phenomenon, community or a person. According to Fouché and De Vos (2005:106) the core goal of exploratory studies is for the researcher to become conversant with basic facts and to create a general picture of conditions.
1.3.1. Goal of the study

The goal of the study was to explore the perception of offenders on the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery with a view to inform rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for these offenders.

1.3.2. Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were:

- To conceptualise and contextualise socio-economic factors for aggravated robbery within a developmental social welfare policy framework.
- To explore the socio-economic background of the offenders at the time the crime was committed in order to draw a profile of the offenders who have committed aggravated robberies.
- To explore, from the perspective of offenders, socio-economic factors as triggers and contributing factors for aggravated robbery; including poverty, unemployment, inequality, intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships and anger and conflict management.
- To explore the needs of offenders for rehabilitation and reintegration programmes.
- Based on the research findings and conclusions, to make recommendations on rehabilitation and reintegration programmes that will help the DCS to provide more effective services to offenders that have committed aggravated robbery.

1.4. Research questions for the study

The formulation of a research question in a qualitative study is important to guide the researcher through the study (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:103). The research questions directed the research was as follows:
What are the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors for aggravated robbery that could inform rehabilitation and re-integration of offenders into society?

The sub questions of the research are as follow:

- What is the view of offenders with regard to their socio-economic background and possible triggering and contributing factors to their decision to commit aggravated robbery?
- How can rehabilitation programmes for offenders who committed aggravated robbery be adapted and/or developed to ensure their successful reintegration into society?

1.5. Research methodology

The study used a qualitative research approach (cf. Babbie & Mouton, 2001:53). Fouché and Delport (2002:79) state that the qualitative paradigm places an emphasis on understanding, naturalistic observation and the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of an insider, as opposed to the qualitative paradigm where the emphasis is on explanation, controlled measurement and the exploration of reality from an outsider.

The research was applied in nature because it aimed to find solutions for the aggravated crime problem in practice (cf. Fouché & De Vos, 2005:105 and Neuwman, 1997:22).

The case study research design, and more specifically the instrumental case study, was the selected research design. The aim of the case study is to understand a social problem in a group of cases or the population being studied (De Vos, 2005: 272).
The population for this research study was offenders incarcerated for aggravated robbery at Baviaspoort Maximum Correctional Centre in Gauteng Province. A non-probability sampling was chosen for the study, namely purposive sampling. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:202), purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling method in which the researcher uses their own judgement in the selection of the sample members. The sample consisted of 20 male offenders.

The data collection method used in this study was a semi-structured interview. A pilot study was carried out prior to the main study, with two respondents that were not included in the main research (cf. Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000:155). The data was analysed through systematic analyses of the transcripts.

For a more in-depth discussion on the research methodology and ethical aspects pertaining to the study, see Chapter 3.

1.6. Definitions of key concepts

The key concepts of the study are defined as follows:

1.6.1 Socio-economic factors

Socio-economics is the study of the relationship between economic activity and social life. The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2006:298) defines the term 'socio-economics' as “relating to or concerned with the interactions of social and economic factors”, and defines ‘conditions’ as referring to circumstances affecting the functioning or existence of something). Socio-economic conditions include: poverty, lack of food, unemployment, inequality, limited access to basic social services, lack of access to electricity, lack of sanitation, unequal and inaccessible health services, lack of education, malnutrition which leads to infant mortality, teenage pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, family disintegration, adults and

For the purposes of the study, focus of this socio-economic factors include: poverty, inequality, and unemployment in relation to the offender's intra- and interpersonal relationships, aggression and conflict management.

1.6.2. Aggravated robbery

Bartollas and Simons (1989:331, 21) defines robbery as “taking or attempting to take anything of value from another person by force or threat of force” and it becomes aggravated when the intention is to inflict serious bodily injury or cause death. This is usually achieved by using dangerous and deadly weapons. The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2006:25) defines the term ‘aggravate’ to means “make worse”, and the phrase ‘aggravating robbery’ thus means to make the robbery worse.

For the purpose of this study, aggravated robbery is defined as premeditated aggressive/ violent behaviour with the motive of taking unauthorised items through the means of aggression and weapons, such as a firearm or any sharp object or tool that can cause injury and death, and as the violation of the judicial system of a particular society and human beings’ right to safety and protection.

1.6.3. Offender

An offender is defined by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2006: 992) as a person that has committed an illegal act. The New Dictionary of Social Work (1995: 43) defines an offender as a person who disrupts the order in society by
misbehaviour or an act or omission punishable by law. Terblanché (1999:9) is of the opinion that there is no legal distinction between the criminal offence and other synonyms. Related terms of reference to 'offender' are ‘inmate’ or ‘convict’. The *White Paper on Corrections* (DCS, 2005:107) warns that misconception and labelling should be avoided and, with reference to the nature of a person’s sentence or status, the term ‘inmate’ is relevant for those in residential correctional centres. The term ‘inmate’ indicates the new direction in which the DCS is moving, away from a punitive system and towards a rehabilitation system.

Since the concept ‘inmate’ is not yet frequently of use, the term offender will be used for the purpose of the research. In this study, the term ‘offender’ will refer to a male person who committed an illegal crime through aggravated robbery.

1.6.4. Baviaanspoort Correctional Centre

Baviaanspoort Correctional Centre is situated approximately 25 kilometres north of Pretoria. The management area accommodates maximum security, medium security and youth offenders. The infrastructure of the maximum security centre can accommodate a total of 600 offenders.

1.7. The limitations of the study

The research proposal has made provision for the utilisation of an interpreter. Although it was not required (as planned) to make use of the interpreter, it may still have benefited the participants if they could have heard the question in their own language before they responded. That perhaps is the core of the limitation.

1.8. Division of research report

The research report was divided into the following chapters:
Chapter 1 presents the general introduction, including the context and rationale of the study, the problem statement, the research goal and objectives of the study, the research questions, a brief overview of the research methodology, the key concepts relevant to the study, and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 will contextualise and conceptualise socio-economic factors and rehabilitation and reintegration programmes for offenders incarcerated for aggravated robbery within a developmental social welfare policy framework.

Chapter 3 will present the research methodology and will capture and discuss the empirical results and research findings.

Chapter 4 will present the conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER TWO: TRIGGERING AND CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO AGGRAVATED ROBBERY WITHIN A DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE APPROACH

2.1. Introduction

Crime is more common among people of lower social and economic groups (Eide, 1994:35). The living conditions of people from the lower social and economic groups comprise a broad spectrum of socio-economic factors. In chapter one (see 1.6.1) socio-economic conditions include: poverty, lack of food, unemployment, inequality, limited access to basic social services, lack of access to electricity, lack of sanitation, unequal and inaccessible health services, lack of education, malnutrition which leads to infant mortality, teenage pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, family disintegration, adults and children in trouble with the law, crime (including the availability of illegal and dangerous firearms) and substance abuse (cf. Green, 2008:178; Bradshaw, 2007:16; Kotzé and Strydom, 2007:106; Islam, 2007:9; Winters, 2007:68; Friedman, 2006:1; Thabit, 2006:1; Calitz, 2005:4; Davids et al., 2005:37; Smith, 2005:1–25; Giovanni, 2004:376; Jenkins & Thomas, 2004: 377).

In this chapter, selected socio-economic factors and intra- and interpersonal relationships that could trigger and contribute to aggravated robbery will be explored and discussed within a developmental context. To understand the context of social problems and economic development in this chapter, it is important to understand what a criminal act involves. According to Terblanché (1999:32), a criminal act constitutes physical, personal and interpersonal resources, as well as the situational context that provides the occasion and the stimulus for the deviant behaviour. These factors are contextualised as follows: physical (financial resources, firearms, intoxicating substances), personal (age and physical strength, lack of self-control, powerlessness and irrational behaviour) and interpersonal resources (inadequate family support, peer
pressure). Within the focus of this study, triggering and contributing factors to aggravated crime arise from external factors that can be linked to the physical or situational context, such as socio-economic conditions; and internal resources – or the lack thereof – that relate to intra- and interpersonal factors.

To contextualise the theoretical framework of the study, the first section will discuss the relevance of the developmental social welfare approach. In the next section, specific socio-economic factors, namely poverty, inequality, unemployment and crime, which includes illegal firearms and intoxicating substances, will be analysed as possible triggering or contributing factors in the commission of aggravated robbery. In this discussion, the researcher will explore the interrelatedness of socio-economic factors and to what extent factors by themselves, or in any combination, may trigger or contribute to aggravated robbery. The following discussion will elaborate on how socio-economic factors are influenced by intra- and/or interpersonal factors. Conclusions from this debate will pave the way for the next discussion, which will focus on how an understanding of the interrelatedness of these factors can influence the design and development of significant prevention and rehabilitation programmes, and the reintegration of offenders into society.

The last section of the chapter will discuss how the developmental approach provides a conceptual framework and creates a platform for holistic, integrated human, social and economic development to inform prevention and rehabilitation programmes that could counteract triggering and/or contributing factors to aggravated robbery.

2.2. Developmental social welfare approach

The social landscape of South Africa prior to 1994 was characterised by poverty, unemployment and limited access to basic social services (Calitz, 2005:4). These socio-economic conditions had a direct impact on the country’s welfare system.
At that time the welfare system was characterised by features of the residual and institutional models (De Jager, 2005:67). According to Zastrow (2004:10), the residual approach believes that the causes of 'clients' difficulties are rooted in their own malfunctioning, which means that they are to blame for their own predicaments because of personal inadequacies, ill-advised activities or sins. The institutional model, on the other hand, maintains that an individual’s difficulties are due to causes largely beyond his or her control, and these causes are sought in the environment (society) within which the individual functions (Zastrow, 2004:10). In contrast with the institutional and remedial models stands the developmental model, a unique model that addresses a macro-scope of social service delivery that integrates the ideologies of the residual and institutional models (Patel, 2005: 96).

After the democratic transition in 1994 the new South African democratic government called on all sectors of society to revisit policies and approaches to demonstrate commitment to transformation and change towards a truly democratic society (Lombard, 2008:155). Transformation and change could only be demonstrated in a democratic society by adopting policies that would benefit people who are poor and disadvantaged. These policies were intended to address the needs of the poor, who are without food, are affected by malnutrition, experience a lack of housing, sanitation, water, electricity and education, have a high rate of unemployment, and experience disempowerment and inequality due to the unequal distribution of resources (Davids et al., 2005:37). The provision of basic welfare services is a constitutional right and, as Lundt (2008:139) argues, government should design policies that strive to be inclusive and universal, and to reach out to all South Africans, especially the poor who are affected by socio-economic factors. Therefore a rights-based approach is suggested to ensure equal service delivery across all social classes, especially for the most disadvantaged groups who form the lowest hierarchy in society (Patel, 2005:98). The African National Congress (ANC) adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 as a policy framework for integrated
and coherent socio-economic progress. The RDP includes social and economic
development as a key task of the new government (Lombard, 2008:156). The
RDP paved the way for a developmental approach to social welfare (RSA, White
Welfare, 1997:6). Green (2008:176) adds that the RDP provided an integrated
policy framework with which the ANC government attempted to adapt the existing
welfare policy, adapt programmes and services, assist historically disadvantaged
communities, eradicate poverty and build a democratic future for all people of
South Africa.

Government, however, did not deliver on the intended goals of the RDP with
regard to economic growth and development when they adopted the Growth
Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy as macro-economic policy
(Lombard, 2008:157). In the absence of GEAR to create sufficient job
opportunities to address unemployment, government announced the Accelerated
Shared Growth Initiative in South Africa (AsgiSA) to increase economic growth in
order to deliver on the objectives of the RDP (Lombard, 2008:157). Despite these
efforts, unemployment in South Africa remains high. However, the principles of
the RDP became a long-term objective for government and, together with the
United Nations Social Development Commitments from the Copenhagen
Declaration, provide a framework for developmental social welfare as mandated
government used the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) as a basis for the
development of a plan of action for the future to facilitate the shift to a
developmental approach to social welfare (Green, 2008:176).

South Africa’s developmental approach to social welfare thus evolved from the
country’s unique history of inequality, the violation of human rights due to
colonialism and apartheid, and a long history of human agency and social action
to change these conditions (Patel and Hotchfeld, 2008:194). Banerjee (2005:9);
De Jager (2005:67) and Noyoo (2000:461) acknowledge that the developmental
approach intends to widen the scope of service delivery and focus on social justice in order to rectify or redress prior development that caused social injustices. The developmental approach envisages a caring, participatory multicultural society that is generated to social transformation for all South Africans, especially the most disadvantaged (cf. Banerjee, 2005:9; De Jager, 2005:67; Patel, 2005:154 and RSA, White Paper for Social Welfare).

As alluded to in chapter one, Patel (2005:98) refers to the features of the developmental approach in five key themes for developmental social welfare: the rights-based approach; the inter-relations between social and economic development; democracy and participation in development; social welfare pluralism, with particular reference to the role of the state and civil society in social development; and reconciling the micro–macro divide in developmental social welfare theory and practice. Lombard (2008:167) reports that as much as developmental social welfare challenges the inclusion of social development as a strategy to address poverty and income inequality, it challenges traditional social work practice to promote social integration and to integrate strength and asset-based, anti-oppressive and reflective approaches to facilitate the empowerment of individuals, families, groups, communities and organisations. Gray (2006:55) regards developmental social service provision as the key to dealing with poverty, improving people’s quality of life, reducing past inequalities and achieving a just and equitable welfare system. Motloung and Mears (2002:531) add that poverty cannot be attacked directly without knowledge of its location, extent and characteristics.

The interrelatedness of socio-economic factors, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and human rights, contextualise the need for developmental social welfare and its underpinning theory of social development as an appropriate theoretical framework for this study. In this chapter the researcher provides a literature perspective on possible triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery. Socio-economic factors (see point 2.3) and intra- and
interpersonal factors (see point 2.4) are interrelated and, where relevant, will be cross-referred and discussed in an integrated manner.

2.3. Socio-economic factors

In this section, the relatedness between poverty, inequality, unemployment, and crime, with specific reference to using illegal firearms and intoxicating substances, will be discussed as possible triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery.

2.3.1. Poverty

Paballo (2006:44) defines poverty as the inability to attain resources for minimum living standards. Poverty is multi-faceted and defined in various terms by various authors. For the purposes of this study, poverty is divided into two categories: absolute and relative poverty. Leon-Guerrero (2005:224) states that absolute poverty refers to a lack of basic necessities such as food, shelter and income, whilst relative poverty implies a situation in which some people fail to achieve the average income or lifestyle enjoyed by the rest of society. Kotzé and Strydom (2007:106) assert that it is difficult to determine a single cause for poverty. There are different theories on poverty, which Leon-Guerrero (2005:228) identifies as the functionalist perspective, the conflict perspective, the feminist perspective and the interactionist perspective. Bradshaw (2007:140) provides a variety of reasons for poverty and also differentiates between internal and external causes of poverty. External reasons include high rates of unemployment and underemployment, racial discrimination, automation that throws people out of work, lack of job training programmes, sex discrimination, a shortage of antipoverty programmes, discrimination based on previous imprisonment and inflation (Bradshaw, 2007:140). Internal reasons for poverty include physical or mental impairment, alcoholism, obsolete job skills, early parenthood, lack of education and lack of interest in taking available jobs (Bradshaw, 2007:140).
However, the interaction between poverty and other social problems is complex. Social problems such as substance abuse and lack of jobs and skills can contribute to or cause poverty, whilst poverty, in turn, can contribute to problems such as alcoholism, emotional problems, violence and unemployment (e.g. due to lack of money for transport to go to work) (cf. Zastrow, 2004:138). This interrelated reciprocal relationship results in a culture of poverty.

With regard to a culture of poverty, Davids et al., (2005:37) reports that individual deficiency creates disempowerment, and therefore articulates that, for the poor, poverty is a multifaceted reality that consists of lack of power, income and resources to make choices and take advantage of opportunities. Zastrow (2004:139) adds that an individual who grows up in a culture of poverty has strong feelings of “fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority, a strong present-time orientation with relatively little disposition to defer gratification and a plan for the future, [and] a high tolerance for psychological pathology of all kinds”.

It can thus be concluded that poverty is interwoven with various other socio-economic factors and intra- and interpersonal factors. Zastrow (2004:138) highlights some of these factors as emotional problems, alcoholism, unemployment, racial and sex discrimination, medical problems, crime, gambling and mental retardation. Poverty can, however, not be seen in isolation of inequality.

2.3.2. Inequality

Davids et al., (2005:37) asserts that whilst poverty implies a lack of resources, inequality is the unequal distribution of resources.

Although South Africa is the economic powerhouse of Africa, with a gross domestic product (GDP) four times that of its southern African neighbours and comprising around 25 percent of the entire continent’s GDP, inequality in the
country is widespread (World Economic Forum, 2009:7). Within the context of Apartheid, racial disparities of income and skills widen the gap between white and black people (cf. Whiteford & M McGrath, 1999:1; Lipton, 1985:44; and Lundahl, 1992:299 in Jenkins & Thomas, 2004:377). Noyoo (2000:459) highlights the need for effective strategies that address past inequalities carved out by the past socio-political and economic system. Sixteen years into democracy, however, inequality remains a problem in South Africa.

Although the South African government is committed to closing the gap of inequality through programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the Black Economic Empowerment Programme (BEE), other programmes such as GEAR and AsgiSA are criticised for not delivering towards achieving this goal (African Economic Outlook, 2010:01; Terreblanche, 2002:431). Despite substantial funding, the results of AsgiSA have been limited by the weak capacity of the various ministries and agencies and a lack of coordination among them (African Economic Outlook, 2010:1). The commitments and the well-intended motives of these initiatives can thus only be sustained where the goals of the ministries and agencies are aligned, their roles are clearly defined and there is cooperation among them (African Economic Outlook, 2010:01). The lack of coordination, monitoring and evaluation processes result in maladministration, corruption and mistrust between the formal business sector and the broader public (African Economic Outlook, 2010:1). Islam (2007:46) advises that good governance is a primary means of eradicating poverty. Inefficiency, corruption and poor governance have an adverse impact on poor people, who are least able to depend on themselves because they are lacking in resources and knowledge to assert their rights.

Government’s attempt to address inequality is facing greater challenges in the present economic climate. Although South Africa’s economy has taken an upward turn after being in a recession in 2009, progress is slow with a growth rate of 2.4 percent after shrinking two percent the previous year (Business News
and Economics, 2010). Although its banking system was not directly affected by
the international financial crises, South Africa was affected by the fall in global
demand for its mineral exports (Business News and Economics, 2010).

Depreciation of the rand and the decline in the price of oil, however, are expected
to ease pressure on the trade balance in the medium term (African Economic
Outlook, 2010:1). It is thus hard to visualise how government will halve poverty
and unemployment by 2015. As a direct result of the slow economic growth rate
and the instable global economic climate there were 90 000 job losses in the
various manufacturing factories in 2009 because of the low demand for products.
This, in turn, made employees vulnerable to unemployment, which is currently at
24.3 percent in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2010) Rautenbach
(2009:185) reports that the majority of job losses were in the informal sector,
which shed 96 000 jobs, followed by the formal sector, where 88 000 jobs were
cut. Business South Africa (2010.02.10) reports that the number of unemployed
South Africans has risen to 4.165 million in 2010, compared to 3.873 million a
year ago.

Economic growth is important for economic development; however, it is in itself
no guarantee for economic development (Schoeman, 2001:325; O'Brien and
Mazibuko, 1998:138). As indicated above and in chapter 1 point 1, inequality
refers to the unequal distribution of resources. Although government is prioritising
social security programmes to redistribute wealth, it is only making an impact on
the survival level (Lombard, 2003:224). What is required is long-term sustainable
income strategies, including skills development, job creation and sustainable
livelihoods, where people can become independent (cf. Lombard, 2008:167).
Within the context of skills development and competencies, it can be concluded
that there is a link between poverty, inequality and unemployment and, in turn,
possible triggering and contributing factors to crime, as will be pointed out in the
next section
2.3.3. Unemployment

Eide (1994:43) regards unemployment as a cause of crime. Jenkins and Thomas (2004:391) postulate that unemployment remains South Africa’s most pressing problem and reckon that highly impulsive people may “improvise” their own means to such desirable goals such as money, status and power and will provide innovative means for achieving goals that may be socially deviant or criminal. Unemployment reduces the rational thought process and acceptable behaviour, which may result in offending becoming the best alternative (Eide, 1994:43).

With regard to unemployment Gxubane (2006:309) highlights that it is generally assumed that young people resort to crime because they cannot find jobs and are not employable because they lack marketable job skills. This is the result of low education levels, which are associated with high levels of crime, which in turn leads to unemployment and low income (Naudé 1989:7; Nomoyi 2000:68). These authors further state that urbanisation could also contribute to the inability of the state to provide infrastructure such as schools and hospitals (Naudé, 1989:7; Nomoyi, 2000:68). The protest actions during 2009 (Sowetan, 04.08.2009) exposed a weak link between South African civilians and government. Various protest actions made news headlines, such as the arson attacks on community clinics and on the police station in Marambane, and the looting of shops by members of the South African Unemployed People’s Movement in Durban (Sowetan, 04.08.2009). The collapse of infrastructure and lack of local services further demoralises the unemployed and vulnerable in society.

According to Terblanché (1999:34), unemployment in rural areas causes the migration of youth aged 15 to 35 years to the cities to search for employment, which leads to uncontrolled urbanisation. Maree (2002:5) echoes this, stating that people who migrate to the cities are young people in search of employment and without a social support network. Maree (2002:5) indicates that a very strong sense of relative deprivation may develop regarding the material belongings of
the rich, which are considered to be a measure of success. This measure, however, has to be seen in relation to South Africa's history of education. Many in society have dropped out of school or are unable to go because they cannot afford it (Holmes & Holmes, 2002:66). Situations where people are illiterate often lead them to crime (Kotzé & Strydom, 2007:112). One of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to achieve universal primary education, ensuring that all children complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015 (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2003:3). In view of the current economic climate it is foreseen that this target will not be achieved, as was reported at the MDG United Nations Progress Summit in September 2010 in New York (United Nations Summit Programme, 2010:2). Primary school education alone without further skills development is not an efficient way to make an impact on poverty reduction and erasing of inequalities.

Low levels of literacy and skills development make youth even more vulnerable to socially deviant or criminal behaviour because they are exposed to employment with low remuneration that might not even provide for their basic consumption levels. In most cases they lack literacy and skills to fill positions in the open labour market and might be caught up in behaviour to provide monetary gain to meet their basic consumption needs. Gxubane (2006:320), however, warns that young people are generally preoccupied with gratification of material needs. This can trigger young people to behave impulsively.

With regard to deviant behavioural patterns, Goldstein (1986:46) reckons that highly impulsive people may “improvise” their own means to achieve such desirable social goals as money, status and power and will provide innovative means for achieving goals which may be socially deviant or criminal. Gxubane (2006:320) elaborates that unemployment amongst young people and scarce financial resources result in their turning to crime to meet their unmet needs. Desires for the material symbols of other people could lead to aggravated robbery, which may be planned or unplanned. From the above discussion it can
be concluded that unplanned aggravated robbery boils down to a lack of education, lack of skills, impulsiveness in the absence of rational choice theory principle, and socio-economic conditions could have been a triggering and/or contributing condition to aggravated robbery. Friedman (2006:3) concludes that unemployment not only plays a role in the commission of a crime by first offenders, but also triggers or contributes to re-offending among ex-offenders because they are stuck with a criminal record and hence find it difficult to find employment. Being labelled a criminal not only complicates job seeking for an ex-offender, but can be a triggering or contributing factor to aggravating robbery in itself.

In a telephonic conversation (22.06.2009), an employee from the National Prosecuting Authority, who preferred to remain anonymous, disclosed that the criminal record of an ex-offender has a twofold purpose, i.e. preventative and punitive. The criminal record is preventative in the sense that it alerts the prospective employer to the possible future risks for the business. This implies that before an individual commits an offense and violates the laws that are laid down by the Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, he should first think about the consequences of his planned actions, namely that he will have a criminal record for the rest of his life. On the other hand, the punitive function of the criminal record continues after the completion of the sentence of the offender and, in that context, never expires. The only way to clear a criminal record is to apply for a presidential pardon, and the chances of the record being eliminated are slim (National Prosecuting Authority, 2009.06.22). In general, an ex-offender experiences a criminal record as an embarrassment. Furthermore, it contributes to endless frustrations, which negatively affect previous rehabilitation efforts, as well as causing recidivism and having a negative impact on the intra- and interpersonal functioning of an ex-offender.

The importance of employment is emphasised by Singh (2000, in Lombard, 2005: 224), who affirms that employment is important not only because of its
relationship to poverty, but also because unemployment leads to social exclusion since it lowers self-esteem, is de-motivating and results in social degradation. Lack of education and skills development further contribute to the problems of poverty, inequality, unemployment and crime. The monetary gain and experience of immediate gratification from aggravated robbery are short-term goals that have long-term effects, which can include imprisonment, weak intra- and interpersonal relationships and the stigma of a criminal record. Education and skills development are elements of long-term goals that are underpinned and strengthened by intra- and interpersonal resources, paving the way to economic independency and self-sustainability, and eliminating the effects of a criminal record. Zastrow (2004:138) points to the interaction between poverty and other social and emotional problems as complex. This complexity is further intensified by the use of illegal firearms.

2.3.4. Crime and the use of illegal firearms

Conklin (1998:180-181) indicates that a firearm is used in 20 percent of robberies. Injuries occur less frequently when the offender points a firearm at the victims because it prevents them from resisting the attack. In the researcher’s experience working with offenders they have indicated that aggressive crime is easier to commit because the pay-off is greater. For example, hijacking a car while in possession of a firearm is easier and takes less time than breaking into a car, which takes longer, the car can be damaged and the remuneration is lower. This is one explanation for the escalation in aggravated robberies (DCS Statistics, 2006b:5).

Naudé, (2000:3), points out that illegal firearms are available in South Africa both as a result of the liberation struggle and because of wars in border countries such as Mozambique and Angola. Illegal firearms are also obtained through house robberies and are then used in aggravated robberies. A crime is not necessarily planned as an aggravated robbery. Research findings by Barlow and
Ferdinand (1992, in Gxubane, 2006:317) indicate that “young offenders do not start out committing serious crime; they start with theft, housebreaking and then move to more dangerous crimes”. As their needs grow, they become more self-confident in performing criminal acts and greed makes them more careless. Gxubane (2006: 310), however, is of the opinion that the offenders think that they do not matter and therefore nothing else matters. This belief triggers them to commit the most violent crimes when they are armed with a dangerous weapon. One possible interpretation is that how offenders think about themselves and/or believe others perceive them influences their perception of the power they have or do not have, their level of self-control, and their rational or irrational behaviour, which, in turn, determines their decision to commit a crime in the presence of or using illegal firearms.

From working with offenders, the researcher discovered that illegal firearms are also obtained due to corruption in government departments. Corrupt government officials employed at the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the South African Police Service (SAPS) and security companies hire their firearms out to criminals to generate income. It seems that nowadays corruption is a fashion in South Africa and the government is aware of these irregularities. This type of action is totally condemned and is revealed in the media when it is discovered. The Star (2010.09.10), for example, reported an incident where a civilian opened a case against an ex-cop for the illegal dumping of garden refuse and reckless driving. The civilian was humiliated and threatened at the police station and a case was opened against him. In September 2010 it was reported in the Pretoria News that police officers hire their uniforms and firearms out to criminals. In an attempt to reveal and curb bad public service delivery and corruption, President Jacob Zuma, during his Presidential Inaugural Speech (RSA, 2009:3), announced that he was going to put in place a toll-free line that the public could use to report fraud and corruption cases directly to the presidency for further handling. This line was launched on 15 September 2009; however, the success of this initiative depends on the public and government’s
response to limiting the circulation of illegal firearms and hence assisting in preventing aggravated robberies. The availability of firearms and the illegal use of firearms within a crime context thus directly impacts on aggravated robbery and can hence be regarded as a direct contributing factor to aggravated robbery.

2.3.5. Intoxicating substances

Do intoxicating substances such as alcohol, dagga and other drugs trigger or contribute to the feelings of low self-control and irrational behaviour, and give the offender more power or “guts” to conduct aggravated robbery? Naudé (2000:8) reports that studies worldwide indicate that 50 to 70 percent of all perpetrators of violence were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the crime. Cox (2004:2) and Thompson (2004:6) state that unemployment and substance abuse (especially alcohol abuse) are common among the South African prison population and that these factors contribute to the country’s high rate of violent crime. The use of alcohol limits people’s inhibitions and shifts the threshold towards the criminal side where socially unacceptable behaviour such as aggravated robbery becomes a choice (Terblanché, 1999:32; Louw and Shaw, 1997:237). Walters (1994:39) quotes Goldman (1981), who notes that drug use is a choice that depends on the individual’s familiarity with drugs, access to financial resources and opportunity to purchase, prepare and use these chemical substances.

According to Louw and Shaw (1997:5), drug and alcohol use does not necessarily start criminal careers, but rather tends to intensify and perpetuate them. Costanzo and Oskamp (1994:236) support this view and report that a high proportion of offenders report alcohol and drug use prior to or during the offence, that these offenders did not plan the crime in advance and that the substances have built up their courage prior to the commission of the crime. However, the behaviour of a person influenced by substance abuse depends not only on his level of aggressiveness, but also on the dynamics of the situation and the
strength of general cultural and social control mechanisms (Kerner, Weitekamp, Stelly and Thomas, 1997 in Maree, 2002:7). Goldstein (1986:161) argues from a different point of view, postulating that it is not situational factors, but the psychological traits of some individuals that make them more likely to be aggressive in the context of aggravated robbery. Goldstein (1986:96) further argues that alcohol and drugs can be used as an excuse for deviant behaviour where the individual withdraws from as opposed to taking responsibility for his own criminal behaviour. In this context, Goldstein points to the role that intra- and interpersonal factors play in substance abuse.

Walters (1994:31) and Kaplan (1995:189) broaden the scope of intra- and interpersonal factors to include structural reasons for using substances. They focus on structural causes by indicating that there is a direct link between crime, drug abuse and unemployment because there are fewer legitimate opportunities available during harsh economic times. Potgieter (1998:117) confirms that it is in the transactions between a person and parts of his world (environments) that quality of life can be enhanced or damaged.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the use of or dependency on substances can influence criminal behaviour and hence be a triggering factor in the commission of aggravated robbery.

In summary of the discussion on socio-economic factors (2.3 – 2.3.5), there is a clear relatedness between poverty, inequality, unemployment, the use of illegal firearms and the use of intoxicating substances. Although the literature points to possible links between one or more of these socio-economic factors, it cannot be assumed that these socio-economic factors will trigger or contribute to crime or aggravated robbery. There are, however, sufficient pointers in the literature to conclude that one or any combination of the discussed socio-economic conditions may be triggering or contributing factors to aggravated robbery. This possibility is further enhanced in the presence of particular intra- and personal
factors, a conclusion supported by various authors’ views. Kotzé and Strydom, (2007:104) assert that the actual reasons for crime can be debated extensively and that social problems such as poverty may be seen as a possible cause of the increase in crime-related problems. Smith (2005:16) adds that worsening social and economic conditions could draw more people into criminality. Shabangu (2006:7) concurs that joblessness breeds poverty, which in turn breeds crime.

On the other hand, Louw and Shaw (1997:2) state that structural features such as poverty and unemployment often describe the context within which crime occurs, but that levels of poverty do not necessarily correlate with levels of crime. They argue that by attributing the high crime levels to the poor just because they are poor is to victimise them twice. The association of poverty with powerlessness (Smith, 2005:3) therefore does not mean that people who are poor and/or powerless will necessarily become involved in crime.

With regard to the consumption of intoxicating substances such as alcohol, dagga and other drugs, it can be concluded that this may be triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery, especially in the presence of low self-control, powerlessness, irrational behaviour, weakened social bonds, violence and aggression. These factors relate to intra- and interpersonal factors, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.4. **Intra- and interpersonal factors**

The *Oxford Dictionary* (2006:745) defines ‘intrapersonal’ as “taking place or existing within the mind”. It is an internal process and is hidden from others (Ebersöhn & Eloff, 2003: 47). Wilson (1996:621) explains the self-talk in context of a positive intrapersonal relationship as follows: “As I begin to know, accept and love myself, I begin to accept and love others, since I can see them in me and me in them”. This means that an individual needs to discover and know his identity and self-worth in order to establish positive relationships with others. Ebersöhn and Eloff (2003:47) affirm that the intrapersonal self-awareness of who people are and how they think, feel and make decisions, is a precondition for the establishment of interpersonal relationships (Ebersöhn & Eloff, 2003:47).

De Klerk-Weyer and Le Roux (2008:145) relate interpersonal relationships to the communication and interaction between people, empathy towards others, influence, concern, situational awareness and being attuned. Ebersöhn and Eloff (2003:47) regard interpersonal communication as secondary skills that require adequate intrapersonal skills. These authors see self-actualisation as a final step for intrapersonal relations, which means that to become more and more idiosyncratic requires intrapersonal tasks such as self-acceptance, introspection, the ability to be alone and an understanding of one’s capacities (Ebersöhn & Eloff, 2003:47).


Intra- and interpersonal factors revolve around the individual’s experience and perception of himself, which is central to his self-image (De Klerk and Le Roux, 2001:70). Schaefer (1981:98) indicates that underlying childhood problems contribute to feelings of low self-esteem, and that self-worth is usually measured
by performance at school or work, and in social relationships. As indicated earlier (see point 3.4), Fine (1996, in Gxubane, 2006:310) notes that offenders are of the opinion that they do not matter and therefore nothing else matters, and that this can trigger them to commit violent crimes.

Low self-respect and value reflects a weak self-image. This triggers a lack of feeling and general disrespect for others, which makes it easier to commit a violent crime because there is nothing to lose. Conklin (1995:144), however, points to the other side of the coin, urging social work practitioners to take note of “errors of criminal thinking” with the emphasis on an inflexibly high self-image. Terblanché (1999:32) identifies several intra- and interpersonal factors that might motivate a person to commit crime, arguing that the opportunity to perform a criminal act includes physical, personal and interpersonal resources, as well as the situational context that provides the occasion and the stimulus for the deviant behaviour (see point 1). Gxubane (2006:309) quotes Conklin (1995), indicating that offenders can utilise newly acquired skills to venture into new avenues of crime. The opportunity to learn motor mechanical skills, however, can direct the motive of the skills development into a criminal act by assisting the offender to make an illegal business from motor theft. According to Kotzé and Strydom (2007:104), there are people who see nothing wrong in taking someone else’s belongings and thus would be more likely to steal; not seeing anything wrong in breaking the law.

It is not clear from a literature perspective whether the offender that commits aggravated robbery could be classified as an individual with low or high self-esteem or one that fluctuates between the two. An analysis of intra- and interpersonal factors may shed further light on this matter.
2.4.1. Intrapersonal factors

In view of ‘intrapersonal’ as “taking place or existing within the mind” (Oxford Dictionary, 2006: 745), the relationship of age, lack of self-control, powerlessness and irrational behaviour to aggravated robbery, as well as to crime in general, will be explored in this section.

2.4.1.1. Age

Gxubane (2006:316) reports that the average age at which the criminals begin their criminal careers is 15 years. Naudé (2000:8) adds that, worldwide, most criminals fall within the age group 15 to 35 years of age, with the greatest concentration in the age group of 15 to 24 years. The Child Justice Act indicates that the criminal capacity of a child starts at the age of 14 to 18 years (RSA Child Justice Act, No. 75 of 2008: 22). According to Statistics South Africa (1998:26), 43,7 percent of the South African population under the age of 19 years was involved in violence in 1998, compared to 19,7 percent in 1995–96 (Naudé, 2000:7). These findings indicate that there was an increase in violent crime committed by youth between 1995–96 and 1998. The 14 to 18 years age group is more daring and its members often seek immediate satisfaction of their needs (Costanzo and Oskamp, 1994:233; Gxubane, 2006:320). Costanzo and Oskamp (1994:233) and Eide (1994:34) concur that most persons arrested for violent crimes are young, poor and black because they are physically strong and not tied to work, and therefore more exposed to opportunities for committing crime. This factor, however, does not ignore that external factors like unemployment amongst young people and scarce financial resources can contribute to their resorting to crime to enable them to meet their needs (Gxubane, 2006:320). This reiterates the interrelatedness between intrapersonal and external socio-economic factors in triggering and/or contributing to aggravated crime.
South Africa is in its 16th year of democracy and the continuing high unemployment rate, especially in the 15 to 64 years age group, was 4,396 million in the third quarter of 2010 (Statistics South Africa, 2010:5). It is not clear why the age of 15 years is used as a criterion by Statistics South Africa to determine the unemployment rate. Statistics South Africa (2010:13) further reports that the unemployment rate in the category too old to young people was 1,156 million. The statistics do not accurately reveal youth unemployment figures because they include all individuals between the ages of 15 and 64 years. The relevance of this broad 15 to 64 year age group is questionable seen in light of the fact that the average child is still at school at 15 and completes school at the age of 18 years. The National Education Policy Act No. 27 of 1996 indicates that a child of 15 years is still compelled to attend school. Those above the age of 15 at first registration are referred to an Adult Basic Education Centre (RSA, National Education Policy Act, 1996:3). The high crime rate among young people raises serious questions in relation to (1) prevailing socio-economic injustices and (2) intrapersonal and interpersonal factors as triggering and contributing factors to the commission of crime. What role does lack of self-control, powerlessness and irrational behaviour play explaining the involvement of youth in committing crime?

2.4.1.2. Lack of self-control, powerlessness and irrational behaviour

According to Hesselink-Louw (2005:61), the possible antecedents that might trigger violent and/or aggressive behaviour within an individual include personal factors such as lack of power and control; uncontrollable aggression; alcohol abuse; feelings of revenge; impulsive and irrational behaviour; vulnerability; immediate gratification; low self-esteem; extreme shyness; poor problem solving skills; a lack of coping mechanisms; and feelings of anger, hatred, hostility, helplessness and powerlessness.
In the presence of low self-control, powerlessness, irrational behaviour and weakened social bonds, unfavourable external socio-economic factors could provide the background to trigger violence and brutality (cf. Gxubane, 2006:310; Hesselink-Louw, 2005:61; Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:153). It thus appears as if violence and aggression could be a primary driver for aggravated robbery because they are inherent within the individual. On the other hand, more latent feelings of lack of self-control, powerlessness and irrational behaviour can be triggered by external socio-economic factors within the environment. When an offender’s thoughts are ruled by gratifying his needs, he may lose rationality and become powerless within the context of his own inadequacies, resulting in aggression and violence, which are even more aggravated in the presence of dangerous weapons because the robbers are more in control of a life and death situation and any resistance can activate more aggression.

2.4.2. Interpersonal factors

The interpersonal factors that refer to the relationship of an individual with other people revolve around peer pressure, inadequate support structures, dangerous weapons and intoxicating substances (De Klerk & Le Roux, 2001:70). Hesselink-Louw (2005:61) adds that peer pressure, gang influences and gang involvement, the support of violent and aggressive behaviour, and sodomy and rape contribute to the offender’s involvement in crime and aggressive behavior.

As indicated in the introduction to point 4, De Klerk-Weyer and Le Roux (2008:145) relate interpersonal factors to the communication and interaction between people, empathy towards others, influence, concern, situational awareness and being attuned. In the context of this study, peer pressure and inadequate support will be discussed as interpersonal factors related to aggravated crime.
2.4.2.1. Inadequate family support and peer pressure

Hesselink-Louw (2005:61) postulates that an inadequate support structure is an element that contributes to criminal behaviour. According to Hunter and Dantzker (2002:153), weakened social bonds are the product of low self-control and the subsequent development of alternative attachments, involvements, commitments and beliefs. It is the researcher's opinion that this confirms the interrelatedness of intra- and interpersonal factors. The establishment of an identity/positive self-concept is important for the initiation and maintenance of relationships with family members, and for belonging to a group such as a peer group. In the absence of a positive self-concept and adequate family support, these attachments, groups and peer pressure can be directed in a criminal manner.

Eide (1994:35) takes a firm stand in condemning the idea that socio-economic factors and lack of family support are to be blamed for the choice of criminal behaviour. Eide (1994:35) bases his argument on the fact that only a minority of young people who were exposed to slums, low-income or divorced parents become serious criminals, and postulates that most low-income people seem to be just as law-abiding or law-violating as others. This contradicts the belief that broken homes characterised by abandonment, rejection, conflict and absence of love together with poverty are the main factors that precipitate involvement in crime (Hesselink-Louw, 2005:61; Zastrow, 2004:138; Maree, 2002:03).

Ebersöhn and Eloff's (2003:25) approach to the predisposition to engage in crime involves small 'movements' (i.e. mobilisation) by an individual in a system that create 'movements' in others within that system. This implies that change in an individual can lead to many changes in the whole system because of the interactive relationship between different systems. These changes make the individual vulnerable. Gotfredson and Soulé (2005:119) highlight the fact that violent criminals lack competency skills, such as those required for stress-management, responsible decision making, social problem solving and
communication, which, in turn, impacts negatively on their relationships with others, including family. Social systems at risk are those that are vulnerable to specific conditions and problems that impact negatively on their social functioning (Potgieter, 1998:117), and if criminal opportunities should come about, the combination of low self-control and weakened social bonds will very likely result in crime.

From the above discussion it emerges that intra- and interpersonal factors play a significant role in behaviour, and hence can be triggering or contributing factors to aggravated robbery, which is exacerbated by socio-economic factors including poverty, inequality, unemployment, crime and the use of illegal firearms and intoxicating substances. Kotzé and Strydom, (2007:104) are of the opinion that the actual reasons for crime can be debated extensively and social problems such as poverty may be seen as a possible cause of the increase in crime-related problems. Smith (2005:16) adds that worsening social and economic conditions could draw more people into criminality. Shabangu (2006:7) concurs that joblessness breeds poverty, which, in turn, breeds crime.

An understanding of possible triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery has benefits for rehabilitation and prevention programmes. The rehabilitation programmes run by the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), for example, could focus on interventions that would address human, social and economic development in an integrated manner. This would not only prepare offenders for when they are released back into the community, but would prevent recidivism. In the external community, possible triggering and contributing factors could be integrated into prevention programmes with various target groups, including school settings, family interventions and community development programmes. In this way criminal behaviour could be prevented; especially among at-risk youth who could benefit by avoid getting into conflict with the law.
In view of the residual approach that is still very prominent in the DCS, social work and social services intervention approaches, strategies and programmes must shift from a focus on psycho-social behavioural pathologies to a developmental approach that embraces a holistic, integrated framework to social, human and economic capital development.

2.5. Holistic approach for integrated socio, human and economic development

A holistic approach to social work and social welfare recognises the interrelatedness of systems, such as individual offenders, their families and the correction system, with their respective environments and that people should be treated in the context of the entirety of their environment (Potgieter, 1998:114).

Lombard (2008:163) urges the utilisation of the social development approach that provides the social welfare sector with the key to make a meaningful contribution to the alleviation of poverty and inequities in society. In addition to Lombard’s plea, Midgley (1999:15) states that economic, social and political development need to be integrated for the development and growth of a country and hence community. Ife (1995:132) widens this scope for sustainable economic development to include the following six dimensions for community development: social development, economic development, political development, cultural development, environmental development and personal/ spiritual development. Development in terms of the different dimensions needs to take place in a sustainable manner. Sustainable development is defined by the Brundtland report as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (United Nations Human Development Report, 2003:2). It is the researcher’s view that these different dimensions are equally important to address aggravated robbery within the framework of an integrated, human, social and economic development context.
The rehabilitation of offenders can only be truly successful, and their reintegration into society meaningful, if all stakeholders are allowed to participate in the process (DCS, White Paper on Corrections, 2005:178). Through external partnerships, the White Paper on Corrections further envisages the enhancement of effective reintegration of offenders into society as law-abiding and productive citizens. This holistic approach also refers to the interaction of the public sector, private sector, welfare organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the community as partners against social evils such as aggravated robbery. Partnership is one of the key components of a developmental approach (cf. Patel, 2005). Social development provides the theoretical framework for a developmental approach with the goal of developing social, human and economic capital (cf. Midgley, 1995), which will be briefly discussed next within the context of correctional services.

2.5.1. Social capital

Social capital is the volume and intensity of cooperative social relationships in communities (Midgley, 1999:11). Mohan and Stokke (2000:255) state that social capital is the glue that binds communities together and ensures both political and economic progress. Mohan and Stokke (2000:255) quote Putnam, who states that social capital fosters reciprocity, facilitates information flow for mutual benefit and trust, and, once this exists, tends to be self-generating as successive generations are socialised into the localised norms, which create success (Mohan & Stokke, 2000:255). The elements of trust and cooperation are very important (Gittel & Vidal, 1998:28).

With regard to building networks and community participation in the DCS, social capital is important for creating an environment that will allow for effective involvement of the community in the rehabilitation of offenders and that will create opportunities for the establishment and maintenance of partnerships.

In order to establish a trusting and cooperative relationship towards rehabilitation and social reintegration of offenders, the DCS cannot function in a fragmented manner, either with regard to internal role players or with regard to external stakeholders.

Partnerships built on trust and cooperative relationships will limit ex-offenders’ chances of being labelled and stigmatised, and will thus ensure their effective reintegration into society.

Social capital in the form of external partnerships, networks, trust and cooperation is a crucial element in a holistic approach towards re-integration of ex-offenders into society. The DCS should pave the way for the offender regarding these issues because the Department has a policy framework and resources which can support this initiative.

2.5.2. Human capital

Human capital emphasises a surplus value that resides in individuals, and represents an investment in education and skills (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964 in Robinson, Schmid & Siles, 2002:4). In the context of correctional services, human capital refers to a variety of services including social work therapeutic programmes, correctional didactic programmes, medical care, religious care, education and skills development. The provision of skills development services aims to equip offenders with marketable knowledge and skills, but also to inculcate positive attributes and attitudes that would encourage offenders to jettison undesirable behaviour and embrace norms and morals acceptable in society (DCS, Skills Development Policy, 2003:1). These empowerment programmes aim to give the offender control over his life and reduce the
powerlessness that results from negative experiences in stigmatised groups by removing the obstacles that contribute to such situations (cf. Potgieter, 1998:120). The monetary assistance for the skills development programme amounts to a budget of between R4.5 and R5.2 million per annum and is allocated to the Gauteng South Office. This provides for the offenders to be trained in technical and business skills, including construction, welding, agricultural, clothing and textile manufacturing, furniture making, chef and catering, computer, electronic/ electrical appliance repair, motor mechanic and beadwork (DCS, 2008:10). The policy also encourages the establishment of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME) by offenders once they have been released as opposed to only focusing on securing employment (DCS, Skills Development Policy, 2003:1).

The challenges that DCS is faced with in regard to human development are numerous. Only a limited number of offenders are exposed to skills development training. Some offenders may experience difficulties with enrolling for studies due to problems with, or a lack of, identity documents; some have inadequate skills and inabilities to find a job, or get low skilled jobs with low remuneration that cannot satisfy their needs; some are chemically dependent, which derives from the smuggling of dagga into the correctional centre. All these challenges have a negative impact on the rehabilitation and functioning of offenders. What is observed is that job positions in a correctional centre are only available for a limited number of offenders in a medium correctional centre who meet certain criteria. All offenders in the Zonderwater Maximum Correctional Centre are totally excluded from mainstream production activities due to two separate hostage dramas that occurred at the Correctional Centre during 2006. Various officials and visitors were held hostage and one official was paralysed during the shooting that broke out. Outside work for maximum security offenders is thus seen as a risk by the Security Directorate. Some offenders in maximum security centres are utilised as cleaners, cooks, store men and tailors, but only within their unit inside the correctional centre and not at outside facilities such as workshop premises.
For the maintenance of other DCS facilities tenders are mostly contracted to external stakeholders involved in the Expanded Public Works Programme. The objectives of the Expanded Public Works Programme thus limit offenders’ chances to be productive whilst incarcerated and do not contribute meaningfully to the self-esteem of offenders. Furthermore, the granting of contracts to external contractors according to the Expanded Public Works Programme causes more frustration and anger within the offender population and can often lead to the exercising of gang activities because the offenders have nothing else to keep themselves occupied with. If the offender was unemployed because of socio-economic conditions before his imprisonment, the need to be trained in skills for productive employment is even more important during imprisonment. In this regard Alarid (2005:626) refers to previous research that examined the advantages and disadvantages of prison labour: The advantages of prison labour include cost reduction (or reducing the strain on government budgets); reduction of prisoner idleness; establishing of good work habits; creating a sense of independence and self-respect; and some prisoners being able to learn meaningful vocational skills (Flanagan & Maquire, 1993; Guynes & Greiser, 1986 and Hawkins, 1983 in Alarid, 2005:626). The principal disadvantage of prisoner labour is that security issues take precedence over a normal work day (Alarid, 2005:626). Despite all the challenges, Carlson (2001:25) offers valuable advice: “Where possible, prisoners should be able to apply for a work assignment, as some choice results in higher compliance and less deviance” and might be translated into the psychological importance of employment. This therefore emphasise the positive impact of work and prevention of the rules of Correctional Services.

It is important that offenders are granted the right to development in order to prepare themselves for participation in the mainstream economy when they are released from a Correctional Centre. Matube (2005:174) confirms that poverty is about, amongst other things, a lack of basic needs, opportunities and choices for development and growth. This means that the DCS must provide the required
resources to meet offenders’ development needs. The right to development is the only way for offenders to access the mainstream economy (Gray, in Lombard, 2008:161). Midgley (1995:14) proposes actions that address and improve the effectiveness of skills development, job placement and employment support programmes to obtain economic capital.

2.5.3 Economic capital

Economic capital formation, or work, refers to increases in the income of the population and economic growth (Midgley, 1995:158). The development of economic capital plays an important role in eradicating poverty. Harpaz (2002:177) adds that work plays a central role in people’s lives and in the fulfilment of several important needs. Alarid (2005:621) regards work as a means to an end, whilst Karlsson (1995, in Alarid, 2005:621) views work as any activity performed out of sheer necessity and includes both paid and unpaid labor. Harpaz (2002:177) distinguishes two main approaches that offer the centrality of work: economic (or instrumental) and the other social (or intrinsic). Harpaz (2002:177) explains that the first perspective emphasises an instrumental or economic orientation, asserting that people work in order to secure their basic sustenance and satisfy their material needs. Moving out of poverty through employment confirms the finding of Smith (2005:12) that poverty is temporary and in some cases people can and do work their way out of poverty. Harpaz (2002:177) further argues that not only does work contribute to one’s sense of personal identity, but it also lends stability and continuity to that awareness, helping individuals to achieve and maintain their self-esteem, status, and sense of accomplishment, is vital for individual well-being, encourages financial independence and provides access to things that money can buy (Harpaz, 2002:177; Gill, 2000:726). An individual thus benefits from work on a socio-economic as well as intra- and interpersonal level. It is therefore important that the DCS enforce the Skills Development Policy through training offenders to
promote labour productivity and eradicate unemployment and its dire consequences, which is poverty (DCS, Skills Development Policy, 2003:1).

Gray (2006:56) advises that the economy has to safeguard essential social and environmental resources, and plan for growth in such a way that people could participate in the economy and thus generate their own means of livelihood. Offenders in Correctional Centres who have committed aggravated robbery should be exposed to economic literacy terms, the macro-economic and fiscal policy of the country, policies affecting employment creation, and the role of the different stakeholders in this regard. The aforementioned exposure undergirds empowerment. Nthomang and Rankopo (1997:205) explain that empowerment facilitates the discovery of strengths, the attainment of participatory competence, claiming resources from the State and, in the process, the removal of structural constraints that serve to promote the marginalisation of poor people. Potgieter (1998:120) explains that only through the dynamics of empowerment is the individual directed to understand his behaviour as efforts to cope with an untenable situation that impacted his holistic functioning in an economic context.

Raheim (1996:79) and Midgley (1996:20) notes that employment and self-employment programmes bring positive material benefits and development through involvement in productive activities, generate income, effectively raise participant self-esteem and self-efficacy, and improve family relationships. This is where the relevance of collaboration between the DCS and NGOs is important. NGOs, such as the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) programme, focus on aspects such as stock control, record keeping, marketing and drawing up of a business plan in order to provide aftercare to ex-offenders. At the end of training, participants who need money to start or grow their business may apply for finances through the NICRO Enterprise Finance micro-loan scheme (Rautenbach, 2009:189). The DCS can therefore learn from other NGOs how to provide support to ex-offenders.
This viewpoint emphasises the importance of human capital with the support of microcredit, where the offender needs to explore and develop his strengths and skills in order to become part of the mainstream economy and society. Midgley (1996:14) affirms that poorly skilled individuals are not likely to earn incomes that are adequate to meet living costs, and that they therefore need to explore ventures such as micro enterprises. In line with this statement, Islam (2005:05) observes that microfinance holds the promise of a series of exciting possibilities for reducing poverty and fostering social change. Rautenbach’s (2009:193) view is that the vast majority of micro enterprises are set up for reasons of necessity rather than choice. Furthermore, survivalist enterprises in South Africa are on the increase due to high levels of unemployment, retrenchment, lack of income and job opportunities. There is no database in place keeping track of which offenders completed what kind of skills training successfully. When an offender is out on parole, there is no mediator between the offender and the skills he obtained to network with potential employers or to assist him in accessing microfunding to start a business, nor is there someone to monitor or support his business in its move towards sustainability. If the DCS does not develop a structure that can facilitate, mediate, network, monitor and support the offender’s reintegration into the community in accordance with the skills he developed during incarceration, the purpose of skills development during imprisonment is in question. However, if the DCS adopts a holistic, integrated developmental approach, then they will more likely take up the responsibility of keeping a database and becoming a mediator for the skills of the offender and what is required in society to ensure a match for full reintegration into society.

In conclusion, holistically integrated human, social and economic development facilitate empowerment, which is a crucial component in social service delivery to offenders that should be guided and directed by self-introspection in order to discover and develop internal strengths. The developmental approach to social service delivery makes provision for this and hence the DCS should adopt this approach fully. Green and Nieman (2003:162) concur that empowerment is a
strategy that is embedded in the developmental approach and benefits individuals, groups and communities. Wilson (1996:622) states that the goal of empowerment is the self-realisation of each individual’s own well-being and potential for changing themselves, their families and their communities. This will facilitate a strong intrapersonal relationship embedded in self-control, a feeling of empowerment and responsible behaviour (Wilson, 1996:621). In turn, a positive intrapersonal relationship will strengthen interpersonal relationships, helping the individual to resist peer pressure to, for example, abuse drugs or alcohol and to seek support systems as opposed to seeking attention in destructive ways by engaging in illegal activities such as crime (De Klerk-Weyer and Le Roux, 2008:15).

Integrated social and economic development, which undergird a developmental social welfare approach, require integrated social and economic policies in order to positively influence employment creation.

2.6. Social policies affecting employment creation

Midgley (1996:2) states that the developmental model was not about transferring productive economic resources to finance welfare services, but was rather about “ensuring that social policies contribute to development”. Jenkins and Thomas (2004:385) confirm the purpose of development and report that policies affecting employment creation play a vital role in reducing inequality, poverty and crime, especially for people that originate from the lower socio-economic strata. Gill (1992:120) conceptualises social policies as guiding principles for ways of life, motivated by basic and perceived human needs.

The goals of social policy are (1) elimination of poverty, (2) maximisation of welfare within the context of development programmes and (3) utilisation of social policies as instruments to facilitate the redistribution of resources with the ultimate aim of achieving equality (Hall & Kaseke, 1995:16). This, however, can
not occur in isolation of economic policies. In response to the goals of social policies, the Department of Social Development (2006:7) notes that consideration must be given to the implementation of a range of policies, which include active labour market measures, skills development programmes, special employment and labour-intensive development programmes. This is in alignment with the role of government as the primary agent in the design, development and implementation of macro-economic policies to promote and facilitate micro-economic interventions.

As discussed previously (see 3.2), the GEAR strategy and AsgiSA do not succeed in creating employment opportunities. SMMEs and entrepreneurship are widely regarded as being the driving force in economic growth and job creation in both developed and developing countries (Rautenbach, 2009:196). The National Small Business Act (No. 102 of 1996) provides an institutional framework for various programmes, such as the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) that guides the Khula enterprises controlled by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI, 2009:1).

Khula provides mentorship programmes to entrepreneurs and includes the transfer of skills on a face-to-face basis, the development of viable business plans, and pre- and post-loan services (DTI, 2009; Matube, 2005:83). The researcher explored the viability and accessibility of this initiative for the DCS social service user population. The researcher telephonically interviewed (22.06.2009) an employee, who preferred to remain anonymous, at the DTI’s Information Help Desk regarding the services that Khula offers. The employee explained that applicants for financial assistance must complete a mentorship programme before intermediation for financial help-aid will be considered. For financial assistance a good credit history is required, and it is thus the bank that approves or declines the application (DTI, 2009). When the application for a start-up business is declined, the DTI does not take any responsibility. Rautenbach (2009:189) opposes this kind of practice and indicates that
knowledge alone cannot contribute to poverty alleviation. Islam (2007:10) acknowledges the need for training and skills development, but asserts that in such cases the present attitude of publicly-supported financial institutions the provide microcredit needs to be restructured and widely marketed (Friedrich, 2004:s) for self-employed entrepreneurs through the provision of economic capital for SMMEs.

The DCS provides skills development training to offenders to empower them to be economically active in the open labour market. However, as already indicated, there is no database to fast-track the success of this programme and there is no coordination and support after the release of an offender. The success rate of these policies and programmes is therefore unknown. There are no benefits like the provision of start-up capital for offenders that have completed training and received certificates as artisans through skills development training.

Without research data or a proper database, it can only be assumed that the policies and programmes of the DCS intend to meet the objectives of social policy. Therefore the researcher proposes a holistic integrated model for social, human and economic development which will put measures and structures in place to determine the impact of the policies. Such a model will promote referrals and partnerships between the DCS, the DTI, the Department of Social Development and the Department of Labour. An integrated social, human and economic development model for DCS will be in accordance with the key components of a developmental model as proposed by Patel (2005:98), which promotes a rights-based approach, inter-relations between social and economic development, democracy and participation in development, social welfare pluralism with particular reference to the role of the state and civil society in social development, and reconciling the micro-macro divide in developmental social welfare theory and practice.
2.7. Conclusion

Socio-economic factors such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, illegal firearms, corruption and intoxicating substances set the scene for the commission of aggravated robbery. These socio-economic factors do not necessarily trigger and contribute to aggravated robbery but can individually or in combination with other factors, cause the commission of a crime.

Intra- and interpersonal factors, where factors such as age, inadequate support systems, powerlessness, lack of self-control, irrational behaviour, substance abuse, and violence and aggression displayed through the use of dangerous weapons can play a role in triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery especially in relation to socio-economic problems and challenges.

Socio-economic factors and intra- and interpersonal factors are intertwined and thus can trigger and contribute to aggravated robbery, it does not mean that it necessarily will. To ensure rehabilitation and fully integration into society rehabilitation programmes of the DCS’s rehabilitation programmes should be provided from an integrated holistic perspective that includes social, human and economic development which take into account the socio-economic aspects discussed in this chapter as possible triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND EMPIRICAL STUDY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the empirical study that was undertaken to achieve the goal of the study, namely to explore the perception of offenders on the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery with a view to informing rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for these offenders.

The research was guided by the following question: What are the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors for aggravated robbery that could inform rehabilitation and re-integration of offenders into society? The sub research questions was as follow:

- What is the view of offenders with regard to their socio-economic background and possible triggering and contributing factors to their decision to commit aggravated robbery?
- How can rehabilitation programmes for offenders who committed aggravated robbery be adapted and/or developed to ensure their successful reintegration into society?

In this chapter the research methodology will be presented first, followed by the ethical aspects of the study, and finally the findings of the empirical study will be presented and discussed.

3.2. Research methodology

The research methodology of the study includes the research approach, the type of research, the research design and research methods, the feasibility of the study
and finally the ethical aspects of the study.

3.2.1. Research approach

The study used a qualitative approach. Qualitative research focuses on describing rather than explaining and predicting human behaviour (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:53). Fouché and Delport (2002:79) state that with the qualitative paradigm the emphasis is on understanding rather than explanation; on naturalistic observation rather than controlled measurement; and on the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of an insider rather than the outsider perspective that is predominant in the quantitative paradigm.

In this study the offenders provided information from an insider’s perspective about their socio-economic backgrounds; the possible triggering and contributing factors to their decision to commit aggravated robbery; their socio-economic position at the time of the offence; and what their needs for rehabilitation and reintegration programmes were in relation to internal and external resources.

3.2.2. Type of research

The study made use of applied research. Fouché and De Vos (2005:105) and Neuwman (1997:22) distinguish between basic research and applied research, stating that applied research is conducted to gain insight into a situation, phenomenon, community or individual. The researcher investigated what the relationship between socio-economic factors and aggravated robbery was from the perspective of offenders in order to find practical solutions for the problem of aggravated crime.
3.2.3. Research design and methods

In this section the research design for the study, population, sample and sample method, data collection methods and data analysis will be discussed.

3.2.3.1. Research design

Struwig and Stead (2001:9) define research designs as “strategies that can be used to address research questions”.

The research design applicable for this study was the instrumental case study. The instrumental case study is used to elaborate on a theory or to gain a better understanding of a social issue (Fouché, 2005:272). The interest is “in the process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation” (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smith, 2004:41). The instrumental case study not only serves the purpose of gaining knowledge about a social issue, but can also assist in contextualising the developmental approach to address socio-economic factors and crime through the creation of economic opportunities for the poor, which was the focus of the study. In this study the offenders’ view of their socio-economic background and possible triggering and contributing factors to their decision to commit aggravated robbery informed their needs for rehabilitation and reintegration programmes in relation to internal and external resources.

3.2.3.2. Population, sample and sampling methods

Babbie and Mouton (2001:173) define a population as the theoretically specified aggregation of study elements. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:155) define the population as the complete sets of events, people or things to which the research findings are to be applied. In summary, a population sets boundaries to the study units. It refers to individuals in a universe who possess specific characteristics. In
this research the population included all the offenders of aggravated robbery at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:156) conceptualise a sample as “the group of elements drawn from the population which is considered to be representative of the population and which is studied in order to acquire some knowledge about the entire population”. The sample consisted of 20 male offenders.

The non-probability sampling technique for this study was purposive sampling. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:202), purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling method in which the researcher uses his/ her own judgement in the selection of the sample members. In this regard, a list was requested from the Case Management Committee at Baviaanspoort. The list consisted of 415 offenders that have committed aggravated robbery. The criteria for selection were as follows:

- Have committed aggravated robbery
- Aged between 20 and 50 years
- Maximum period of detention in the Correctional Centre of between 10 and 15 years
- Different racial groups
- A range of education levels, from incomplete schooling, to grade 12, to tertiary education.

The first 20 respondents were selected that have fitted the abovementioned criteria and gave permission for participation in the research.

3.2.3.3. Data collection

A qualitative data collection method was used for this study, specifically the semi-structured one-on-one interview. The interview is an interaction between the interviewer and the subject being interviewed in which both participants create
and construct narrative versions of the social world (Silverman, 2004:125). With
the semi-structured interview the researcher has a set of predetermined
questions on an interview schedule (see Annexure A, attached); however, these
questions only guide the interview as opposed to dictating it (Greeff, 2005:296).

The primary reason for the researcher’s selection of the semi-structured interview
was because it provided an atmosphere in which the respondents could feel free
to speak out on their perspectives and perceptions, especially important in an
unnatural environment such as a correctional centre. Having the freedom to
speak is also important because incarcerated offenders are in an environment
where they can easily be labelled. With regard to the recording of the interviews,
respondents were informed beforehand about the purpose of utilising an audio-
recorder and a notebook. Henning et al. (2004:74) posit that qualitative studies
require that participants feel comfortable with the mode of recording, such as
audio-recorders and a notebook.

The population of Baviaanspoort Correctional Centre consists of different cultural
and language groups. The interviews were conducted in English or Afrikaans. In
cases where the offender did not have the ability to communicate in either
English or Afrikaans an interpreter was utilised.

Two respondents from different cultural contexts formed part of the pilot study.
Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:155) defines a pilot study as “[a] small study
conducted prior to a larger piece of research to determine whether the
methodology, sampling, instruments and analysis are adequate and appropriate”.
Strydom (2005a:206) provides a clear and concise view of a pilot study by
describing it as “the dress rehearsal of the main investigation”. The purpose of
the pilot study is to determine possible shortcomings in the semi-structured
interview schedule and to make amendments accordingly. With regards to the
pre-testing of the interview schedule, Babbie and Mouton (2001:244) assert that
pre-testing is crucial in a case where more than one cultural or language group is
included in the study, as was the case in this study. The two respondents in the pilot study were interviewed approximately two months before the main research was conducted and they were not included in the main study. The questions were well understood by the respondents and no changes were thus induced for the semi-structured interview schedule.

### 3.2.3.4. Data analysis

Data processing and analysis is the ‘heartbeat’ of research (Henning et al., 2004: 103). To analyse literally means to take apart words, sentences and paragraphs, which is an important act in a research project, in order to make sense of, interpret and theorise about data (Henning et al., 2004:126).

The following steps, suggested by Creswell (1998), as cited in De Vos (2005:334), were utilised for the qualitative data analysis:

- Collecting and recording data: the researcher conducted interviews while at the same time managing a tape recorder and taking notes to aid voice recognition;
- Managing data: the researcher stored the transcripts in a Microsoft Word file, and the biographical data sheets in a hardcopy file;
- Reading, writing memos: the researcher printed the transcripts with an extra wide margin along the right hand side. She read through the transcripts and wrote notes in the margin of the transcripts regarding the key issues that were discussed;
- Describing, classifying, interpreting: the researcher read the notes over and over in order to identify themes in the transcripts. Henning et al. (2004:40-41) explain that data is divided into small units of meaning, which are then systematically “named” per unit and coded according to what a unit of meaning signifies for the researcher, and then grouped in categories that contain related codes. The researcher allocated numbers
to the coding of the data (De Vos, 2005:334). The data analysis helped
the researcher to make sense of the data and identify salient themes,
recurring ideas or language, and patterns of belief that might link people
and settings together (De Vos, 2005: 334);

- Representing, visualising: in this chapter the identified themes are
described by means of summaries of responses and key quotes. The
biographical data is presented in the form of graphs and text.

3.2.4. Feasibility of the study

Strydom (2005a:209) regards feasibility “as a very valuable way of gaining
practical knowledge of and insight into a certain area”. The study was feasible in
terms of the time framework, costs, availability of respondents and permission to
conduct the research.

The Correctional Services research committee granted the researcher
permission to conduct research at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre
(see Annexure B, attached). At the time the research was conducted, the
researcher was employed at Zonderwater Correctional Centre and was familiar
with relevant legislation, operational policies and procedures in correctional
centres.

3.3. Ethical aspects

A moral issue is concerned with whether behaviour is right or wrong, whereas an
ethical issue is concerned with whether the behaviour conforms to a code or a
set of principles (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:140). Ethics is a set of
moral principles that is suggested by an individual or group, is subsequently
widely accepted, and that offers rules and behavioural expectations about the
correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers,
sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students (Strydom, 2005b:57).
In social research, the unit of analysis is people. People are human beings and the human rights of each individual are therefore protected by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

Research ethics therefore place an emphasis on the humane and sensitive treatment of the research participants, who may be placed at varying degrees of risk by research procedures (Bless, Higson-Smit & Kagee, 2006:140).

The researcher has addressed the following ethical issues in her study:

3.3.1. Avoidance of harm

Harm to respondents in the social sciences is mainly of an emotional nature, although physical injury cannot be ruled out completely (Strydom, 2005b:58). The ethical obligation rests with the researcher to protect subjects, within reasonable limits, from any form of physical discomfort that may emerge from the research project (Dane, 1990:44). The researcher remains accountable for the ethical quality of the inquiry and should take great care and, when in doubt, ask for advice (Henning et al., 2004:74).

Salkind (2000), as quoted by Strydom (2005b:66), states that where physical or emotional harm is caused unintentionally during the research it is important to discuss respondents’ feelings soon after the interview. To prevent any form of harm to the respondents, the researcher had a debriefing session after the interview. The researcher probed about the feelings of the respondents after each interview and the feedback from the respondents was that no harm was caused to their feelings through participation in the research study. It was thus not necessary for the researcher to refer respondents to an internal social worker for follow-up interviews.
3.3.2. Informed consent

Informed consent refers to the voluntary permission given by the respondents to participate in the research. Du Plooy (in Louw, 2006:11) notes that it means that each individual must have the ability and the right to choose whether or not to participate in research.

The researcher took the stand that it is a violation of an individual’s human rights when a respondent is compelled to participate. Persons with a lower status, such as offenders, may feel compelled to participate, or consider participation as a way of handling boredom or receiving certain privileges (Strydom, 2005b:59). Based on the fact that the respondents were prisoners it was imperative that the researcher highlighted the following aspects for them, as outlined by Taylor (2000:7-8):

- the type of interview or treatment to be conducted;
- the impact of the interviews upon the normal activities of respondents;
- what was expected of the respondent; and
- that the respondents had a right to withdraw.

After the researcher had obtained permission from the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) and the Research and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities University of Pretoria (see Annexure C, attached), to proceed with the proposed research study, the necessary logistical arrangements were made regarding a venue and the dates of the interviews. The respondents were informed individually about the purpose of the research and were requested to complete the consent letter (see Annexure D, attached). In cases where the respondents were illiterate, the consent letter was read to them, whereafter they were requested to give their consent by signing with a cross in the presence of an independent witness who signed the form. Uncertainties were also addressed during the session. The research data will be anonymously kept in a secure
place by the University of Pretoria for a period of fifteen years and will only be used for any further research purposes with the informed consent of the participants.

3.3.3. Deception

Deception refers to an act whereby the researcher gives wrong and/or misleading information to the respondents or withholds information from them (Struwig & Stead, 2001:69). With deception, the researcher's intent is to manipulate the research study. In order to prevent deception, respondents were fully informed about the study, what it entailed and what the researcher undertook to do.

3.3.4. Privacy and confidentiality

Kimmel (in Dantzker & Hunter, 2000:31) explains that privacy and confidentiality are two ethical issues that are crucial to social researchers. The conditions of anonymity apply to the collection of data by means of interviews. Whereas the principle of anonymity refers to the identity of an individual being kept secret, the principle of confidentiality deals with the information gathered from the subjects (Mouton, 2001:244). The researcher requested that the interpreter sign a declaration of confidentiality (see Annexure E, attached).

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in the researcher's office. The data presentation was not associated with the respondents. The research interviews were audiotaped; however, the cassettes and transcripts were securely locked away by the researcher.
3.3.5. Actions and competence of researcher

Researchers are ethically obliged to ensure that they are competent and adequately skilled to undertake the proposed investigation (Strydom, 2005b:63). The researcher was equipped with a Master’s level module in research methodology that provided her with the required skills to conduct the research. Furthermore, she was guided by an experienced supervisor.

3.3.6. Release or publication of the findings

With regard to the release or publication of the findings, it is important that the researcher present the results of the research study to the respondents in a form that is easily understandable (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:144). The information must be formulated and conveyed clearly and unambiguously to avoid or minimise misappropriation by subjects, the general public and even colleagues (Strydom, 2005b:65). When research results are published, it is important that respondents are not identified by name (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:144). The research findings are presented in this research report and will be published in an accredited subject journal. A research report will be provided to the relevant stakeholders at the Head Office of the DCS and the Area-Commissioner Baviaanspoort Management Area.

3.4. Research findings

The biographical information of the respondents will be presented first in graphical and/or discussion format, followed by a discussion on the findings from the interviews by means of themes and sub-themes. Literature will be integrated into the data analysis and discussion to verify and validate the research findings and interpretations.
3.4.1. Biographical information

The biographical information includes race representation, home language, age at the first crime, frequency of imprisonment, marital status and number of dependants, highest qualifications, reasons for leaving school, employment status prior to imprisonment and geographical area.

3.4.1.1. Race representation

Twenty respondents participated in the study, of which four (20%) respondents were White, fifteen (75%) Black and one (5%) Coloured. The study therefore met the criterion of different racial groups. The distribution is in accordance with the profile of offenders in the prison.

3.4.1.2. Home language

The home languages of the respondents were as follows: two (10%) Siswati; two (10%) Zulu; three (15%) Northern Sotho; one (5%) Southern Sotho; two (10%) Ndebele; four (20%); Xhosa, three (15%) English and three (15%) Afrikaans. The research proposal has made provision for the utilisation of an interpreter. The respondents were multi-lingual and therefore it was an advantage to the researcher to collect first-hand data instead of making use of the services of an interpreter.

3.4.1.3. Age when first crime was committed

Twelve of the offenders (60%) committed their first crime between the ages of 16 and 20 years. Eight of the offenders (40%) committed their first offence between the ages of 21 and 35 years. Gxubane (2006:316) confirms that the average age at which criminals begin their criminal career is 15 years. This finding is further supported by Naudé (2005:129), who indicates that risky behavior, including
violence and crime amongst males, is highest in the age group 15 to 29. The Child Justice Act regards the age of 14 years as a reasonable age to investigate the criminal capacity of a child (RSA, Child Justice Act No. 75 of 2008:22). Only one respondent (5%) was 56+ years old.

3.4.1.4. Frequency of imprisonment

Fifteen (75%) respondents came to prison for the first time whilst 5 (25%) was re-offenders as is reflected in the following Figure.

![Figure 3.1: Frequency of imprisonment](image.png)

The majority of the respondents were thus first offenders.

3.4.1.5. Marital status and number of dependants

The majority of respondents – 16 (80%) – had never been married, as opposed to four (20%) who were/ had been married. This finding can be linked with the young age of the respondents at the time of their first committed crime – 60 percent (12) between the ages of 16 and 20 (see 3.4.1.3). Most of the respondents, however (14, or 70%) had children, as while six (30%) did not. Naudé (2005:129) states that this in part reflects the fact that entering into
marriage is becoming less important for both men and women and that marriage is no longer regarded as a prerequisite for reproduction. From the findings it appears that most children were born from non-marital relationships.

3.4.1.6 Highest qualifications and reason for leaving school

In terms of qualifications, eight respondents (40%) completed secondary school, eight (40%) did not complete school and four respondents (20%) completed their school career during their imprisonment. The latter respondents further enhanced their qualifications by registering themselves for tertiary studies at higher education and training institutions.

Multiple reasons were provided for leaving school as shown in Table 3.1, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of finance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were not motivated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance Abuse</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Influences</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems at home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political reasons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced problems at school with the teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reasons provided</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the eight respondents who did not complete their schooling, many gave more than one reason for quitting school. The reasons were as follows: five (62.5%) lacked finances; four (50%) were not motivated; four (50%) left because of substance abuse; four (50%) due to peer influence; three (37.5%) experienced problems at home; two (25%) because of political reasons; one (12.5%) experienced problems at school with the teachers, whilst four (50%) did not provide any reasons for leaving school. From the above findings it is clear that various factors played a role in the respondents’ reasons for leaving school.

3.4.1.7 Employment status
Fourteen of the respondents (70%) were unemployed at the time of the crime; two (10%) were self-employed and four (20%) were employed. The employment status of the respondents at the time the crime was committed support the above findings on their age (3.4.1.3), and their school and education levels (3.4.1.6). With regard to unemployment, Gxubane (2006:309) highlights that it is generally assumed that young people resort to crime because they cannot find jobs and are not employable because they lack marketable job skills.

3.4.1.8. Geographical area

The aggravated robberies occurred in Gauteng, as Baviaanspoort Correctional Centre is situated in Gauteng Province. However, not all the respondents are originally from Gauteng Province. At the time of the offence, 17 of the respondents (85%) stayed in the Gauteng province; two (10%) in Mpumalanga and one (5%) in the Eastern Cape. Despite the fact that three of the respondents (15%) were originally from different provinces, they were in Gauteng at the time of the crime because they were apparently looking for employment. According to Terblanché (1999:34), unemployment in rural areas causes youth aged 15 to 35 years to migrate to the cities to search for employment.

3.5. Themes and sub-themes

The research findings will be presented and discussed according to themes and sub-themes and, where applicable, findings will be supported by direct quotations in order to give voice to the respondents’ views.

The researcher identified the following themes and sub-themes from the data collected from the respondents during the interviews:

Table 3.2: Themes and sub-themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Political ideologies</td>
<td>1.1 Illegal firearms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Socio-economic factors
   2.1 Poverty
   2.2 Unemployment
   2.3 Crime is easier than working for a living
   2.4 Inequality
   2.5 Substance abuse

3. Intra- and Interpersonal factors
   3.1 Aggressiveness vs non-aggressiveness
   3.2 Values and self-control
   3.3 Peer pressure and greed
   3.4 Impulsiveness, boredom and low self-esteem

4. Rehabilitation programmes and re-integration into society
   4.1 Social work programmes
   4.2 Skills development

3.5.1. Theme 1: Political ideologies

All the respondents agreed that there was an increase in aggravated robbery after the 1994 political transition in South Africa. Among the respondents, the reasons for the increase in aggravated robbery were believed to be political ideologies as main theme and the increase in illegal firearms as a sub-theme.

Political ideologies stood out as a main reason for the increase in aggravated robbery. Some of the respondents' statements on this sub-theme were filled with racist remarks and they reckoned that the White people were responsible for all the brutality, and that they would pay for the inhumane manner in which African people’s forefathers were murdered, tortured and abused. Respondents indicated that most youth were disappointed with the peaceful democratic political transition. Respondents expressed themselves as follows:

“Yes because of political ideologies. For myself as I grew up my parents used to tell me that White people steal their land and took their cattles; that is why they were suffering as a result of that which I go to high school I refuse to have a White teacher. In my life I have this contradiction about Whites. Also the society I grew up had contributed a lot. I was told to kill a White person was the right thing because she/ he has kill[ed] too”.

“The new political dispensation angered African youths because the promises of distributing White wealth changed to peace and political unity
and therefore those who belonged to political military wings then decided to use violence as means to forcefully redistribute White wealth to African community and also to make White people paid for their pre 1994 deeds”.

Nomoyi (2000:68) points out that in South Africa, violence and aggression are used as the accepted means to solve political, social, economic and even domestic conflict, and that this can be attributed to the culture of violence in the country. Naudé (2005:63) quotes Bandura, whose view is that people are not born with the ability to act violently, but that they learn to be aggressive through their life experiences.

3.5.1.1. Sub-theme 1.1: Illegal firearms

Respondents indicated that weapons were freely available because of the struggle. The majority of the respondents used firearms during aggravated robbery, whilst a few respondents used knives. Most of the respondents got access to weapons through illegal trading or housebreaking, and one respondent disarmed a police officer. The minority of respondents (two) indicated that they were the legal owners of a firearm and got the firearms through a friend and family member, respectively.

The easy access to weapons during the struggle is evident in the following quote:

“After 1994 the country was awake with weapons smuggled into the purpose of the armed struggle”.

This finding is in alignment with the research findings of Naudé (2000:3), indicating that illegal firearms are available in South Africa as a result of the liberation struggle.
Although firearms were the most used weapon because of their easy availability, respondents indicated that they also used them because of the fear that they instil. The views of the respondents can be summarised in the following remark:

“To make people scared. Since childhood [I] was also exposed in same scenario. I was exposed two times to bank robberies. Has seen then that people got afraid [if they are faced with a firearm].”

This correlates with the view of Conklin (1998:180-181) that a firearm is used in 20 percent of robberies and that injuries occur less frequently when the offender points a firearm at the victim because it prevents them from resisting the attack.

3.5.2. Theme 2: Socio-economic factors

Four sub-themes emerged from this theme: poverty, unemployment, crime is easier than working for a living, inequality and substance abuse.

3.5.2.1 Sub-theme 2.1: Poverty

Although the majority of the respondents said that poverty was a motivation and thus a triggering factor to commit crime, there were also very strong views by some respondents that poverty did not play a role in aggravated robbery.

Two respondents voiced the role of poverty in crime as follows:

“Yes poverty leads to crime, especially if you’re uneducated and how can you be employed, you will stay unemployed up until you go to crime”.

“Economic distress can contribute to violent crimes as economically deprived males are inclined to vent their stress and frustration on others, even their wives and children and girlfriends much is expected from them”
This view links up with the description of poverty by Paballo (2006:44) and Leon-Guerrero (2005:224) as the inability to attain resources for the minimum standard of living, such as a lack of basic necessities, which include food, shelter and income. Kotzé and Strydom, (2007:106) assert that the actual reasons for crime can be debated extensively and that social problems such as poverty may be seen as a possible cause of the increase in crime-related problems. Shabangu (2006:7) concurs that joblessness breeds poverty, which in turn breeds crime.

In contrast with the above view, the following response represents the views of respondents that do not direct link poverty and crime:

“There is no evidence to show that poverty is a triggering factor for crime. It is just that various people, after committing crimes, turn to justify their deeds by using poverty as their shield or force to commit crime. What about people who don’t have a shelter over their heads but don’t commit crime. They will become beggars or even worse some end up eating from the dusty box and sleep at different parks with cardboards only, but they survive without crime”.

The strong view that poverty is not necessarily a triggering factor for crime is in alignment with literature. Louw and Shaw (1997:2) argue that by attributing the high crime levels to the poor just because they are poor, is to victimise them twice. Eide (1994:35) bases his argument on the fact that only a minority of young people who were exposed to slums, low income or divorced parents become serious criminals, and postulates that most low income people seem to be just as law-abiding or law-violating as others.

On the question of why some people will resort to crime whilst others will abstain under similar conditions, almost all the respondents said that moral values are the determining factor, followed by cultural values, education and ambition. The association of poverty with powerlessness (Smith, 2005:3)
therefore does not mean that people who are poor and/or powerless will necessarily become involved in crime.

3.5.2.2 Sub-theme 2.2: Unemployment

In correlation with the previous finding on poverty, the majority of the respondents reported that unemployment triggered their aggravated robbery. However, compared to the finding on poverty, very few respondents indicated that unemployment played no role in their aggravated robbery. This implies that all the respondents who were unemployed at the time of the crime (see 3.4.1.7 above) agreed that their employment status played a role in the crime they committed. The respondents expressed their views as follows:

“How can you be employed you will stay unemployed up until you go to crime”.

“All that touches your heart you feel that pain you cannot eat one thing or bread and tea or legs of chicken and the bellies of it and then cannot find a job”.

“People are hungry and do not have material means. I was unemployed at the time of the crime”.

“I do not think that poverty leads to crime but I do think that inequality and unemployment are contributing factors”.

Eide (1994:43) regards unemployment as a cause of crime. The importance of employment is emphasised by Singh (2000, in Lombard, 2005:224) who affirms that employment is important not only because of its relationship to poverty, but also because unemployment leads to social exclusion since it lowers self-esteem, is de-motivating and results in social degradation. Eide (1994:43) and
Gill (2000: 726) reports that unemployment reduces the rational thought process and acceptable behaviour, which results in offending becoming the best alternative.

### 3.5.2.3. Sub-theme 2.3: Crime is easier than working for a living

Most of the respondents indicated that crime is easier than working for a living because, in view of their levels of educations and/or qualifications, working entails low salaries. They indicated that salaries also do not match the long working hours required to meet consumption demands. Furthermore, respondents indicated that long working hours where the basic demands for consumption are not in alignment with the income, is fruitless and demanding and therefore crime is quicker.

The respondents’ opinions on why it is easier to commit crime instead of working for a living are captured in the following views:

- “Yes it is easier if the crimes you commit give rewards monetary that far exceeds the risk involved”.

- “I wanted money to also take my family out of the dead end locations and simple life, create wealth and a legacy for descendants”.

- “Crime provides excitement because of the risks attached to it, as well as danger, speed. Certain crimes do not require a great deal of skill and planning and has a few long term advantages and does not weigh up against the advantages of a job or career”.

Disel (1999, in Naudé, 2005:80) argues that laziness contributes to the attitude of some people who see crime as an easy way of making money instead of working for a living. The above statements of respondents demonstrate that although
there is a direct link between crime and unemployment (see 3.4.1.7 above), the relationship between work, income and crime is not simplistic.

3.5.2.4. Sub-theme 2.4: Inequality

More than half of the respondents highlighted inequality as a triggering factor for crime. The following response of one of the respondents indicates the link of inequality with poverty, unemployment and political ideologies which were all indicated by the respondents as contributing factors to aggravated crime (see 3.5.1, 3.5.2.1 and 3.5.2.2 above):

“Yes because of low salaries. When I start to work I had a problem of these people with my education I was paid less whereas the White man with the same qualification was paid ten times more compared to me. It is where aggression started. I also had some plans of opening a business but the banks were not of any help to me; reason was that I was earning less. My late friend advised me to follow the old rule of struggle which was to rob in order to finance this plan”.


3.5.2.5 Sub-theme 2.5: Substance abuse

According to the respondents, substance abuse, including alcohol, drugs and dagga, played a role in their criminal behaviour. Three quarters of respondents answered the question and, without exception, they all agreed that they had been
under the influence of alcohol, dagga or other drugs at the time of the crime and acknowledged that it played a role in the aggravated robbery that they committed.

Respondents verbalised the influence of intoxicating substances at the time of the crime as follows:

“Alcohol drives one to commit crime as it interferes with your judgement power, your reasoning capacity lowers down when one has drink. Alcohol gives you the guts to do even serious damage that you could not do when sober”.

“The influence of drugs is one of the contributing factors that lead to violent crime. When one is under the influence of drugs, they do not care at all about the consequences of their actions. Their conscience is suppressed, they fail to distinguish between right and wrong”.

The above findings are supported by literature. Naudé (2000:8) reports that studies worldwide indicate that 50 to 70 percent of all perpetrators of violence were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the crime. The use of alcohol limits people’s inhibitions and shifts the threshold towards the criminal side, where socially unacceptable behaviour such as aggravated robbery became an option (Terblanché, 1999:32; Louw & Shaw, 1997:237). Substances build up courage and can be used as an excuse for deviant behaviour where the individual withdraws from taking responsibility for their own behaviour (cf. Costanzo & Oskamp, 1994: 236 and Goldstein, 1986:96).

3.5.3 Theme 3: Intra- and interpersonal factors

The research findings indicated that both intra- and interpersonal factors are a significant factor to determine the reasons for aggravated robbery. Intra- and
interpersonal factors revolve around the individual’s experience and perception of themselves, which is central to their self-image (De Klerk & Le Roux, 2001:70), as can be seen from the following sub-themes.

3.5.3.1. Sub-theme 3.1: Aggressiveness vs non-aggressiveness

The minority of respondents indicated that they are not aggressive people by nature. In contrast the majority respondents denied that they are aggressive by nature. From the following responses, it appears that although respondents perceived themselves as not being aggressive, they possessed the capacity to become aggressive at the crime scene:

“By nature I am not an aggressive person because I would use my aggressiveness only to acquire proceeds or generally in life I consider myself a [considerate] person”

“I was aggressive before incarceration. However, hurting people were not my intentions, as long as he/she gives me what I want. Even though in some instances I end up hurting one but not intentional, desperate situation calls for desperate measures, that’s how it goes”.

“I really don’t like to be aggressive, I never wanted to hurt the victim, I only wanted to scare them, when the victim resisted, I lost control of my actions because I was under the influence of hard drugs”.

“When I was committing crime I just pretended to be aggressive, it was like it was not real but just a movie I realised that it was real when I landed in prison, many criminals just pretended otherwise they are not evil people”.

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“I would also like to criticize the government for promoting violent acts like rioting in the sense that it does not listen to the people’s grievances in appropriate time. The people are forced by circumstances to embark on strikes that turn out violently resulting in even people losing their lives. Another good example where violence is promoted is in prisons. Government officials do not assist you if you approach them in a proper manner but if you commit a violent act ... your problem will be attended to. In so doing our communities are sending out a message that violence and aggression pays and it is an easy way of gaining respect and status”.

The reasons that the respondents provided for their aggressive behaviour correlate with the finding of Hesselink-Louw (2005:61), namely that they wanted money, that it was the only way to escape from the scene of the crime and that some had lost self-control. Holmes and Holmes (2002:50) highlight that violent criminals lack competency skills, such as stress-management, responsible decision making, social problem solving and communication skills, which in turn impacts negatively on their relationships with others, including family. These factors, however, did not feature strongly during this study.

3.5.3.2. Sub-theme 3.2: Values and self-control

The majority of the respondents agreed that moral values, education and ambition prevent others from committing crime, whilst the minority was of the opinion that some people abstain from crime either because they do not have the guts or because they fear other people. People's value systems thus assist them to abstain from crime, as expressed by the following participant’s response:

“The reasons why other people abstain from crime is because of moral values, fear/ not having guts and because some is educated. Some people obey the ten commandments and are satisfied with their circumstances”.
Values and control can be compared with Terblanché’s (1999:32) view that if a line was drawn reflecting the increasing seriousness of crime, most people would have a point on that line that they would not normally be prepared to cross. Kotzé and Strydom (2007:104), however, note that people who see nothing wrong in taking someone else’s belongings are more likely to steal; therefore they will not see anything wrong in breaking the law. In Irwin’s (2003:5) view, the complexity of human factors, behaviours and responses are often difficult to measure accurately, which poses a challenge to science. Murphy (1993), as quoted by Kotzé and Strydom (2007:104), explains that whether or not you would steal depends on your attitude towards theft.

3.5.3.3. Sub-theme 3.3: Peer pressure and greed

The majority of the respondents indicated that greed and peer pressure play a role in triggering aggravated robbery. The following view provides a summary of the opinions of the respondents:

“The other thing that we must consider as a trigger is peer pressure. One wants to be at the same level with their friends, they want to be identified with a certain group of people. Hence, because of peer pressure we find people committing serious crimes so as far as to be respected by their peers”.

Hunter and Dantzker (2002:153) regard weakened social bonds as the product of low self-control and the subsequent development of alternative attachments, involvements, commitments and beliefs. Terblanché (1999:32) points out the importance of fitting in somewhere as one of the factors of the normal threshold for committing aggravated robbery.
One respondent indicated that whilst he regrets his imprisonment, he found himself and hence his self-confidence, and as a result won back the trust and respect of his family and relatives. He spoke out on this as follows:

“My relations with family members have so far improved very well. I now know how important it is to have a family and be supportive to each other. Even though with some of the family members there is still a wall separating us because of the stigma associated with being in prison. I am trying by all means to demolish the wall”.

This expression is in accordance with the finding of Zastrow (2004:139) that the individual who grows up in this criminal culture has a strong feeling of “fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority”. Zastrow (2004:139) further reports a “strong present-time orientation with relatively little disposition to defer gratification and plan for the future, a high tolerance for psychological pathology of all kinds”. With regard to greed, Maree (2002:5) indicates that a very strong sense of relative deprivation may develop regarding the material belongings of the rich, which are considered to be a measure of success, and that this relates directly to greed.

3.5.3.4 Sub-theme 3.4: Low self-esteem

A minority of the respondents see low self-esteem as a major factor in the commission of aggravated robbery. The majority of the respondents do not regard impulsiveness, boredom and low self-image as major factors to aggravated robbery. One respondent linked child rearing practice with self-esteem as follows:

“Weak child-rearing practices result to a low self-image which cause behaviour problems and can result later into criminal delinquency ”
Schaefer (1981:98) indicates that underlying childhood problems contribute to feelings of low self-esteem. The author further explains that self-worth is usually measured by school performance, at the job, and in social relationships (Schaefer, 1981:98). As earlier indicated (see point 3.4), Fine (1996), in Gxubane (2006:310), notes that offenders are of the opinion that they do not matter and therefore nothing else matters, which can, in turn, trigger them to commit violent crimes. Schaefer (1981:98) explains that self-worth is usually measured by performance at school or on the job, and in social relationships. Low self-respect and self-value reflect a weak self-image. This results in a lack of feeling for others and disrespect for other people, which, in turn, makes it easier to commit a violent crime because they have nothing to lose. Conklin (1995:144), however, points to the other side of the coin, urging social work practitioners to take note of “errors of criminal thinking” with the emphasis on an inflexibly high self-image.

3.5.4. Theme 4: Rehabilitation programmes and re-integration into society

The research findings indicate a very positive response to the social work programmes with regard to personal growth and development, such as learning about their own motivation, changing their behaviour, improving relationships, building self-esteem, and dealing with conflict and aggression. On the one hand, the research findings confirm the strong emphasis of the social work programmes on remedial programmes, and on the other hand they show the need for skills development to assist offenders in re-integrating into society.

3.5.4.1. Sub-theme 4.1: Social work programmes

The general response of the respondents towards the impact of social work programmes was positive. Their views were expressed as follows:

“Programmes have helped me in realising things I did not know about myself in improving relationships with other people and to realise that
through hard work you can slowly be where you want to be even if it take[s] time, but at the end of it all you can be proud of yourself. And I also know that shortcuts in life are short lived with regrets”.

“I’ve learnt how to be independent and started to look at myself deeply, being without drugs now for seven years. I’ve started taking a liking to myself, I learnt ways and tips from books on how to change yourself and I noticed that my relationship with people in general improved but my family still hasn’t forgiven me so my relationship with them is still uncertain although I would love to have a better relationship”

“I realised that criminal activities, aggression and conflict are personally unproductive and wasted time”.

From the research findings it is clear that the residual approach is still very prominent in the DCS. Although there is space for rehabilitation and remedial programmes in correctional centres, offenders not only have psycho-social behavioural problems and needs, as will be discussed in the following sub-theme, but also needs technical skills. Lombard (2008:159) clearly indicates a shift of “traditional” practice, such as remedial social services, towards incorporating other newer approaches that are strength-based and empowerment-focused and are embedded in the developmental approach.

3.5.4.2. Sub-theme 4.2: Skills development

The majority of respondents emphasised the urgency of skills development in social work programmes, including a focus on the strengths of individual offenders. The respondents indicated that economic literacy and skills development programmes should be integrated with life skills and emotional intelligence programmes. Anger-management was not indicated as a priority, but
was regarded as a ‘bonus’ in acquiring skills that would address basic life skills challenges.

The need for human and economic development opportunities in the DCS is strongly supported in the view of the current experience of the respondents, which can be summarised in the following statement:

“I think DCS is a very cruel department. They are creating a product which is in line with a cycle that offenders should not be able to escape this prison situation after they [have been] released. Instead, the DCS creates a job for its own department by jeopardis[ing] the reality of a person to be able to face the economic upside downs”

The majority of the respondents expressed strongly that opportunities for skills development at the different correctional centres should be standardised. Respondents were of the opinion that the DCS can, through job creation, play an important role in addressing poverty, inequality and unemployment and assisting in their successful reintegration into society. Respondents indicated that the DCS can predominantly play this role through the equal spread of resources, which will provide for skills development for all offenders, and facilitate closer working relationships with external service providers, marketing of offenders’ skills in other government departments for employment opportunities, and eliminating offenders’ criminal records.

Respondents articulated these proposals as follows:

“Through the equal spread of resources in the department to provide skills development for all the offenders.”

“Skills development. It is wrong to only include medium offenders at the workshops for skills development.”
“Eliminate record for ex-offenders because this is an albatross that ultimately renders you unemployable, which increases the chances of recidivism.”

“Also the criminal records must be eliminated for ex-offenders. After all what is the use, if someone has served their sentences behind walls. I do not see any reason why they should be labelled with criminal records”.

“Skills development. People must start here in maximum prison to be taught the skills, for example, carpentry, upholstery, agriculture, construction etc. So that when they are released they are equipped to face the life outside because we spend a lot of time here at Maximum Prison doing nothing”.

The last statement is in line with the objectives of the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005:27): “… that productive work should enhance the employability of inmates once they are released, through providing all inmates who have worked with an accredited and certificated record of their employment in correctional facilities”. The provision of skills development services aims to equip offenders with marketable knowledge and skills, but also to inculcate positive attributes and attitudes that would encourage offenders to jettison undesirable behaviour and embrace norms and morals acceptable in society (DCS, Skills Development Policy, 2003:1). These empowerment programmes aim to give the offenders control over their lives and reduce the powerlessness that results from negative experiences in stigmatised groups by removing the obstacles that contribute to such situations (cf. Potgieter, 1998:120).

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter the research methodology that guided the study was presented and discussed. Various themes emerged from the research findings, namely
political ideologies, socio-economic factors, intra- and interpersonal factors, and rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

From the four themes, the following sub-themes emerged and were discussed: illegal firearms; poverty; unemployment; crime is easier than working for a living; inequality; substance abuse; aggressiveness vs non-aggressiveness; values and self-control; peer pressure and greed; impulsiveness, boredom and low self-esteem; social work programmes; and skills development.

The next chapter will highlight the key findings of the study, from which conclusions will be drawn and recommendations made.
CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the key findings of the study, as well as the conclusions drawn and recommendations made by the researcher based on these findings. First, however, this chapter will review the goal and objectives of the research study in order to determine whether the intended outcomes were achieved.

4.2. Research goal and objectives

The goal of the study was to explore offenders’ perceptions of the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery with a view to inform rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for these offenders.

The objectives of the study were:

- **Objective 1**: To conceptualise and contextualise socio-economic factors for aggravated robbery within a developmental social welfare policy framework.

  The objective was achieved by means of a literature review as indicated in chapter 2. In chapter 2, socio-economic factors, the transformation of social welfare services and social policies were discussed within the context of the developmental approach (see sections 2.2 and 2.3).

- **Objective 2**: To explore the socio-economic background of the offenders at the time the crime was committed in order to draw a profile of the offenders who have committed aggravated robberies.

  This objective was achieved by means of the literature study in chapter 2 (see 2.3 and 2.4) and the empirical study in chapter 3 (see 3.4.1.2 – 3.5.2.5).
Objective 3: To explore, from the perspective of offenders, socio-economic factors as triggers and contributing factors for aggravated robbery; including poverty, unemployment, inequality, intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships and anger and conflict management.

This objective was achieved in the empirical study in chapter 3 (see 3.4.1.2 – 3.5.3.4).

Objective 4: To explore the needs of offenders for rehabilitation and reintegration programmes.

This objective was achieved in the empirical study in chapter 3 (see 3.5.4).

Objective 5: Based on the research findings and conclusions, to make recommendations on rehabilitation and reintegration programmes that will assist the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) to provide more effective services to offenders that have committed aggravated robbery.

This objective is achieved in this chapter (see 4.3.1 and 4.4).

4.3. Key findings and conclusions

The key findings of the study are presented below.

4.3.1. Key findings

The research findings indicate the following key points:

- A reciprocal relationship exists between poverty, inequality, unemployment, intoxicating substances and intra- and interpersonal factors. Although the majority of the respondents reported that poverty was a motivation and thus a triggering factor for them to commit crime, there were
also very strong views that poverty did not play a major role in their committing aggravated robbery.

- Both intrapersonal factors – such as aggressiveness versus non-aggressiveness, values and self-control, and low self-esteem – and interpersonal factors – including peer pressure and greed – can contribute to and/or trigger aggravated robbery. The research findings, however, did not indicate the typical profile of an offender that commits aggravated robbery as an individual with low or high self-esteem, or one who fluctuates on the scale between the two points.

- Aggressiveness is not perceived as a main characteristic of those respondents who are incarcerated for aggravated robbery. Aggressiveness was rather seen as a strategy to be used to give a clear message of what the perpetrator (offender/respondent) expected from the victim at the time of the robbery. The main reasons that emerged from the research findings regarding the respondents’ views of what motivated people to abstain from crime include: moral values, cultural values, education and ambition.

- Unemployment could primarily be attributed to limited employment opportunities, school drop out, illiteracy and limited skills. Youth between the ages of 15 and 35 years migrate to the cities to search for employment, and hence there is a strong link between leaving school early and unemployment. Aside from lack of finances, other factors also play a role in leaving school early, including: lack of motivation; substance abuse; peer influences; problems at home; and political reasons.

- Low levels of education and/or lack of qualifications, and low salaries make crime an easier option than working for a living.
There is a very positive response to the social work programmes with regard to personal growth and development, such as learning about one’s own motivation, changing behaviour, improving relationships, building self-esteem, and dealing with conflict and aggression. However, it emerged strongly from the research findings that offenders are in need of productive employment and skills development that would facilitate reintegration into society.

The DCS should, through job creation, provision of resources and building partnerships, play an imperative role in addressing poverty, inequality and unemployment to ensure successful reintegration of ex-offenders into society.

4.3.2. Conclusions

Although the literature study and empirical findings point to possible links between aggravated robbery and one or more socio-economic factors, it cannot be concluded that poverty, inequality, unemployment or the use of intoxicating substances will, in themselves, necessarily be triggering or contributing factors to aggravated robbery. There are, however, sufficient pointers in the literature (cf. Bradshaw, 2007:140; Kotzé and Strydom, 2007:106; Shabangu, 2006:7; Paballo, 2006:44; Davids et al., 2005: 37; Smith, 2005:16; Zastrow, 2004:138; Motloung and Mears, 2002:531; Louw and Shaw, 1997:2) and in the empirical study that one – or any combination – of the discussed socio-economic factors could play a role in contributing to or triggering aggravated robbery. This possibility is further enhanced in the presence of certain intra- and interpersonal factors, a conclusion supported by various authors’ views (cf. De Klerk-Weyer & Le Roux, 2008:145; Ebersöhn & Eloff, 2003:47; Terblanché, 1999:132; Wilson, 1996:621; Conklin, 1995:144 & Schaefer, 1981:98). Low self-respect and self-value reflects a weak self-image. This triggers a lack of feeling and general disrespect for others, which makes it easier to commit a violent crime because there is nothing to lose.
The study’s findings thus indicated similarities with previous research studies with regard to possible triggering and contributing factors to aggravated robbery.

- Poverty takes a central position with almost all other social problems, including unemployment, inequality, substance abuse and crime, which are, in turn, directly related to self-esteem and value, and hence intra- and interpersonal factors. In view of the fact that most of the offenders/respondents were either unemployed or self-employed and unable to sustain themselves at the time they committed the crime, it can be concluded that unemployment plays a significant role in contributing to or triggering aggravated robbery.

- Unemployment that is exacerbated by a lack of education and skills development and that is linked to intra- and interpersonal factors appears to be a dominant socio-economic factor that could contribute to or trigger aggravated robbery. Low levels of literacy and skills development aggravate unemployment, or employment with remuneration so low that it cannot even provide for a basic consumption level. Lack of literacy and lack of skills development provides limited opportunities, which could, in turn, lead to deprivation and a careless attitude. This can make people more vulnerable to a socially deviant lifestyle that desires the possessions at the cost of other people and thus causes them to engage in criminal behaviour in an aggravated manner. In view of the finding that aggression was not indicated as an inherent personality trait for most respondents, it can be concluded that the above circumstances and consequences related to unemployment could provoke aggression. Aggression then becomes a strategy, whether intended or unintended, before or during the commission of the aggravated robbery.

- Social work programmes play an important role in the rehabilitation of offenders, although the benefit is mostly at the psychosocial level. The limited socio-economic skills development programmes demonstrate that the DCS
has not yet made a sufficient shift from a remedial to a development approach with regard to the rehabilitation of offenders. It can therefore be concluded that rehabilitation programmes still lack a holistic, integrated developmental approach and hence do not prepare ex-offenders for full integration into society. Earning an income whilst in prison will build offenders' capacity and lead to their empowerment when released. Shabangu (2006:7) advises that offenders should work whilst incarcerated and pay for their accommodation and expenses whilst in prison.

- The advantages of prison labour include cost reduction (or reducing the strain on government budgets), reduction of prisoner idleness, establishing good work habits, creating a sense of independence and self-respect, and enabling prisoners to learn meaningful vocational skills (Flanagan & Maquire, 1993; Guynes & Greiser, 1986; Hawkins, 1983 in Alarid: 626).

In view of the fact that the DCS already has a policy of skills development services aiming to equip offenders with marketable knowledge and skills, and to inculcate positive attributes and attitudes that would encourage offenders to jettison undesirable behaviour and embrace norms and morals acceptable in society (DCS, Skills Development Policy, 2003:1), it can be concluded that the DCS can play a significant role in facilitating rehabilitation programmes that include skills development for job creation in a holistic, integrated developmental manner.

4.4. Recommendations

The researcher makes the following recommendations for the implementation of rehabilitation programmes in the DCS within the context of the developmental approach:
• To implement its policy mandate of skills development services (DCS, Skills Development Policy, 2003:1), the DCS should put the equal allocation of resources for skills development – such as maintenance, carpentry, upholstery, steel work farming, catering and workshops – between medium-term and maximum-term offenders high on its agenda. This will enable maximum-term offenders to do not only the theoretical courses, but also apprenticeships, thus allowing them to complete their entire qualification. When the offenders become medium-term offenders and are transferred to a different Correctional Centre that does not have the resources and facilities to complete their qualification, they will then be able to utilise their training and further develop their skills while they are still incarcerated.

• The DCS should seek partnerships and closer working relations with external service providers. Through partnerships with the private sector and other government departments it is possible to prevent crime by creating productive economic opportunities for offenders while they are still incarcerated and when they are released back into the community. When a trustworthy and cooperative relationship is established, it will limit the chances for labelling and stigmatisation, which is a necessary step for ensuring the effective reintegration of the offender into society. In this regard, a service agreement with the Department of Trade and Industry is recommended for the mentorship programme for Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs). In addition, support groups within the communities can be coordinated by the Social Reintegration office of the DCS.

• The DCS can facilitate negotiations on accessibility in terms of funding needs with the banking sector and Khula enterprises. The DCS should develop policy guidelines for funding such programmes. Rogerson (2001:271) advises that “a well-conceived and successfully implemented public policy is one that provides access to credit and imports, vocational training, technical assistance...”
Further research opportunities include the following:

- In view of the fact that a criminal record is an obstacle for ex-offenders to access employment opportunities, the DCS should explore possibilities with regard to elimination of criminal records and/or securing job placements in the private and government sector through specially designed policies and/or contracts with the private sector and other government departments that will facilitate holistic, integrated development.

- Based on a database that is kept by the DCS on skills development during incarceration and matching job opportunities and placement when released, ex-offenders can be followed up on to evaluate the effectiveness of integrated rehabilitation programmes within specific trades, as well as the contribution and impact of these programmes in relation to ex-offenders’ re-integration into society and their holistic development.

- The role of the social worker in the DCS should be explored regarding the implementation of integrated developmental rehabilitation programmes in preparing ex-offenders for fully integration into society.
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World Economic Forum. 2009

ANNEXURES
ANNEXURE A
Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Research title
Triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery: The perspective of offenders at Bavianaスポort Maximum Correctional Centre

Biographical Information
1.1 Age group

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-35</th>
<th>36-40</th>
<th>41-45</th>
<th>46-50</th>
<th>51-55</th>
<th>56+</th>
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1.2 Racial group

- White
- African
- Coloured
- Asian

1.2 In which town/city did you stay before imprisonment?

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

1.4 Marital status

- Never married
- Living together
- Customary marriage
- Lawful marriage
- Separated
- Divorced
- Estranged
- Widower

1.5 Number of biological children

- None
- 1-2 children
- 3-4 children
- 5-6 children
1.6 Home language

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<td>Shangaan</td>
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<td>Ndebele</td>
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1.7 Highest qualifications

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<td>N4- N6</td>
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<td>Diploma/degree</td>
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1.8 What was your employment at the time of the crime?

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<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
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<td>Self-employed</td>
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<td>Unemployed</td>
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<td>Other, specify</td>
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Questions

1. Statistics shows that there was an increase in aggravated (violent) robberies after the 1994 political transition in South Africa. What is your opinion regarding the reasons for the increase in aggravated robberies?

2. Do you agree with the statement that it is easier to commit crime than having to work for a living? Motivate your point of view.

3. What, in your view, are the circumstances that trigger some people to commit aggravated robbery whilst others do not? What of these factors that you mentioned influenced your behaviour at the time of the crime?

4. Do you see yourself as an aggressive person and did you mean to hurt people at the time of the crime? Motivate your answer.

5. Did imprisonment in any way change the way that you handle conflict and manage aggression? Motivate your answer.

6. What aspects in your view should be included in social work rehabilitation programmes to address the factors that trigger and contribute to aggravated robbery?

7. How did your perception about yourself change since your imprisonment and what was the impact of the change on your relationships with people closest to you?

8. How do you think can the Department of Correctional Services assist offenders with job creation opportunities in order to address poverty, inequality, unemployment and crime to ensure their successful reintegration into society?

9. If you had the opportunity to advise the Department of Correctional Services how to help offenders who have committed aggravated robbery and served their imprisonment to reintegrate into society, what message would you have?
ANNEXURE B
Dear Ms J May

RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON “THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS AND AGGRAVATED ROBBERY”

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved.

Regional Head: Corrections (Gauteng) Ms Mmule Madisa, has been appointed as your internal guide. You are requested to contact her at telephone number (012) 420 0103 before the commencement of your research.

It is further recommended that your research should be conducted in Bavianspoort-Maximum

Your attention is drawn to the following:

☐ The relevant Area and Regional Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.

☐ It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your visiting times.

☐ Your identity document and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting the centers.

☐ You are required to use the terminology utilized in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) should be adhered to.

☐ You are not allowed to use any photographic or video equipment during your visits to the Correctional Centres.

☐ You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication of the report.

☐ Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number 012-305 8619/8696/8627 or 307-2359.
RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON "THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS AND AGGRAVATED ROBBERY."

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully

[Signature]

DC: POLICY CO-ORDINATION & RESEARCH
Ms. T. M. Magoro

20-28-28-1
ANNEXURE C
19 May 2009

Ms J May
Private Bag X1003
CULLINAN
1000

Dear Ms May

TITLE REGISTRATION: FIELD OF STUDY – MSW: SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

I have pleasure in informing you that the following has been approved:

TITLE: Triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery: The perspective of offenders at Bavianspoort Maximum Correctional Centre

SUPERVISOR: Prof A Lombard

I would like to draw your attention to the following:

1. **ENROLMENT PERIOD**
   (a) You must be enrolled as a student for at least one academic year before submission of your dissertation/essay.
   (b) Your enrolment as a student must be renewed annually before 31 March, until you have complied with all the requirements for the degree. You will only be able to have supervision if you provide a proof of registration to your supervisor.

2. **APPROVAL FOR SUBMISSION**
   On completion of your dissertation/essay enough copies for each examiner as well as the prescribed examination enrolment form which includes a statement by your director of studies that he/she approves of the submission of your dissertation/essay, as well as a statement, signed by you in the presence of a Commissioner of Oaths, must be submitted to Student Administration.

3. **NOTIFICATION BEFORE SUBMISSION**
   You are required to notify me at least three months in advance of your intention to submit your dissertation/essay.

4. **INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE PREPARATION OF THE DISSERTATION/ESSAY AND THE SUMMARY APPEAR ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THIS LETTER.**

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

For Dean: Faculty of Humanities

GW-505E
A. DISSERTATION/ESSAY:

1. A dissertation/essay must bear evidence of scientific research and originality.

2. A dissertation/essay of a format larger than A4 is not acceptable.

3. The title-page must contain the following:
   (a) The full title of the dissertation/essay.
   (b) The full names of the student.
   (c) Submitted in (partial) fulfillment of the requirements for the degree:
       Name of degree: ........................................................................................................
       Name of department: ...................................................................................................
       Name of faculty: ..........................................................................................................., at the University of Pretoria.
   (d) Name of supervisor: ..................................................................................................
   (e) Name of co-supervisor: .............................................................................................
   (f) Year and month of submission: ................................................................................

4. Submission of final copy – after examination:
   Copies of the dissertation/essay should be printed on good quality paper in letter quality
   print. A candidate must submit 2 stifles/CD’s (one PDF format and one MS Word format)
   (http://upetd.up.ac.za) after the required alterations have been made. In the case of a
   dissertation, a final bound copy must also be submitted. It should be submitted at Student
   Administration (Information Technology Building 2-9) before 15 February (for the autumn
   graduation ceremony) and before 15 July for the (spring graduation ceremony), otherwise
   the degree can not be conferred. The title of the dissertation and the name of the
   candidate should be printed on the front cover. The name of the candidate and the year
   of submission should be printed on the spine. The cost of the Academic Information
   Service will be provided with submission and must be paid at the cashiers.

PLEASE NOTE: THE TITLE ON THE TITLE PAGE AND THE COVER MUST CORRESPOND IN
ALL RESPECTS WITH THE APPROVED TITLE AS MENTIONED IN THIS LETTER.

B. SUMMARY:

1. (a) A summary of not more than 500 words of the dissertation/essay in English, and the
    candidate should include it in a bound/final copy of the dissertation/essay.
   (b) A list of at least 10 key terms in layperson’s language compiled in co-operation with
       the supervisor should be added to the summary mentioned in (a).

2. The title of the summary must include the following:
   (a) The complete title of the dissertation/essay
   (b) The full names of the student/candidate
   (c) Supervisor
   (d) Department
   (e) Submission of dissertation/essay for what degree

C. DRAFT ARTICLE FOR PUBLICATION WHEN A DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED:

A draft article for publication in an accredited journal must be presented simultaneously with the
examiners’ copies of the dissertation. The article must be based on the research and must be
acceptable to the supervisor.

D. RELEVANT REGULATIONS:

Please take note of the relevant regulations in Part I of the University’s yearbook and G.57 to
G.61 of the General Information and Regulations.
ANNEXURE D
02/02/2011

Researcher: Juliana May
Zonderwater Medium A Correctional Centre
Private Bag X1003
Cullinan
1001
Tel: 0742307572
E-mail: juliana.may@dcs.gov.za

RESPONDENT: INFORMED CONSENT

1. Respondent's name: __________________________

2. Title of the study
Trigerring and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery: The perspective of offenders at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre

3. Aim of the study
The aim of the study is to explore the perception of offenders on the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery with a view to inform rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for these offenders.

4. Research procedure
I understand that I will be invited to be part of a semi-structured interview to explore the triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery. The duration of the interview will be approximately 60 minutes. I understand that I will be informed of the time and the venue of the interview. I understand that the interview will be audio-taped. I take note that the cassettes and transcripts will be kept in a secure place by the University of Pretoria for a period of fifteen years and will only be used by the researcher for research purposes. My understanding is that the data will not be used for further research without my consent.

5. Risks and discomforts
I take note that the research questions might remind me of the practical realities and experiences surrounding the crime and the imprisonment. However, I take note that there are no known risks involved in serving the offence by partaking in this research.
I am also aware that at the completion of the interview session, the researcher will immediately give me the opportunity to discuss my feelings about my participation in this study. I am also aware that, if required, the researcher will refer me to a social worker for further assistance if required.

6. Benefits
I understand that there are no direct benefits for me to participate in this research study. I understand that I will not receive any compensation for participating in this research. The results of the study will be made available to the Department of Correctional Services with the view to enrich the Department’s programmes.

7. Participation rights
I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I may withdraw at any stage without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

8. Confidentiality
I understand that the researcher will take all reasonable steps to protect the confidentiality of the research respondents and that she will refrain from identifying me in her research report or any other publication related to this research.

9. Disclosure
I agree not to disclose confidential information that I became aware of during the interview. I will, to the best of my ability, prevent inadvertent disclosure of confidential information with at least the degree of care that I treat similar material and information of my own.

I confirm that I have read this letter of consent and that the study has been explained to me. I understand that I do not give up any legal rights by signing this letter of consent. I take note that I will receive a signed copy of this document.

_________________________  ___________________________  ________________
Respondent (Print name)  Respondent’s signature  Date

_________________________  ___________________________
Researcher (Print name)  Signature of researcher  Date
02/02/2011

Researcher: Juliana May
Zondervan Medium A Correctional Centre
Private Bag X1003
Cullinan
1000
Tel: 0742307572
E-mail: juliana.may@dcs.gov.za

INTERPRETER: INFORMED CONSENT

1. Interpreter's name: ________________________________

2. Title of the study

Triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery: The perspective of offenders at Baviaanspoort Maximum Correctional Centre

3. Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to explore the perceptions of offenders on triggering and contributing socio-economic factors to aggravated robbery with a view to inform rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for these offenders.

I, ________________________ (full name), identity number ________________________ hereby confirm that I understand that I may not make known any information, verbally or in writing which has come to my attention as a result of my role as interpreter. This agreement applies even if I resign as an employee of the Department of Correctional Services.

Interpreter (Print name): ________________________ Interpreter's signature: ________________________

Date: ________________________

Signature of researcher: ________________________

Date: ________________________

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