LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
GST	General strain theory
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
LCIW	Louisiana Correctional Institute for Women
RCMS	Reintegration Case Management Supervisor
SAAWG	South African Association of Women Graduates
TB	Tuberculosis
UK	United Kingdom
UNISA	University of South Africa
USA	United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER AND CRIMINALITY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides insights into the background to the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, the research questions, the research objectives, and the rationale of the study as well as an outline of the chapters. In addition, the chapter contains a broad introduction to the study and an overview of the study.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

"Historically, women and girls, as both victims and offenders of crime, were usually left out of studies or, if included, were typically done so in sexist and stereotypic ways" (Belknap, 2007: 2). The small number of female criminologists has been noted as one of the reasons for the neglect of women in studies (Hughes in Belknap, 2007: 2). It has been argued that women are more likely than men to include women in their research and, as there are fewer female criminologists than male criminologists, women in prison are studied less than their male counterparts. White and Haines (2001: 113) share this view when they contend that the male dominance in both academic criminology and the criminal justice system, both historically and in the present, may be the reason for the neglect of female criminality. Another reason advanced for the scarcity of research on female offending is the observation that females constitute a small fraction of the total population of offenders globally (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004: 232; Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006; Pollak, 1950: xv; Scott in Dastille, 2011: 288; Young, 1981: 76;), and also the fact that the crimes which females commit are, in general, non-violent crimes (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004: 232; Johnson, Carney, Kline, Browne & Wechsberg, 2012). In addition, the "chivalrous treatment" of female offenders by the criminal justice system has been cited as a contributory factor to the low number of female offenders (Anderson, 1975; Barkan, 1997; Cavan, 1962; Pollak, 1950; Reckless, 1961; Thomas in Gora, 1982:4; Young, 1981). The chivalry hypothesis suggests that male police officers often avoid arresting female suspects. Barkan (1997: 481) notes that "male police officers feel women need to be protected, not punished; that arrest would harm them and their families; and women do not pose a threat to society". Barkan (1997: 481) further

points out that the police may be reluctant to arrest women because "they don't want to have to use physical force on a woman who resists arrest".

Similarly, there is a lack of research in South Africa on female offending (Jefthas & Artz, 2007: 37; Tapiwa, 2004: 500; Vetten, 2008: 134). According to Dastille (2011: 288), the literature on criminology and criminal justice in South Africa also neglects the issue female offending. Dastille (2011: 288), however, argue that, globally, more research is concentrated on studying female offending as compared to male offending.

According to Belknap (2007: 4), another aspect to the invisibility of female offenders is the correctional institutions which are made available for women and girls. Belknap (2007: 4) maintains that, both historically and currently, the prisons and delinquent institutions for women and girls vary drastically from those for men and boys, and mostly to the detriment of the women and girls. Rafter (in Belknap, 2007: 4) states that "historically, treatment and punishment issues/opportunities differed vastly for women based on race". Of the existing 239 correctional centres in South Africa (as at 2010), only eight house females exclusively, 130 house males exclusively, 86 house both male and female prisoners, 13 house youths and two are not in use because of renovation work (Burger in Booyens, 2011: 84). Johnson et al (2012: 60) observe that correctional facilities in South Africa "have been designed primarily to accommodate men", and, thus, that the provision of specific services and items for women are lacking in these institutions. Belknap (2007: 4) also notes that one of the reasons cited for the lack of research on institutions which accommodate women prisoners and the lack of training, vocational, educational and counselling programmes provided for imprisoned females is the fact that females constitute a small percentage of offenders.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

This abovementioned lack of interest in studies on females is particularly disturbing in view of the fact that the global incarceration rate of females has been shown to be growing faster than that of males with crime statistics (Sokoloff, 2005; Mumola & Beck, 1997; Kline, 1993; Immarigeon & Chesney-Lind in Belknap, 2007), indicating an increase in the number of reported female offences and arrests. According to Vetten (2008: 136) and Dastile (2011: 293), the number of women prisoners in South Africa is on the increase. This factor alone justifies the need for more studies on female offenders and incarcerated females.

In short, the chivalry hypothesis, the dominance of men in the criminal justice system and the field of criminology as well as the comparatively small number of female prisoners may account for the dearth of scientific study on salient issues relevant to the understanding and control of female criminality in South Africa.

This study adds to the understanding of the experiences of women who have been convicted of criminal offenses. Also, this study seeks to fill the void in social sciences as regards the neglect of female offending by bringing to light the experiences of women in relation to crime before, during, and after their incarceration. By enabling the participants in the study, who were all female ex-prisoners, tell their stories in their own "voices", it is hoped that an insightful understanding of their social reality as it relates to crime will be attained. It is hoped that this will, in turn, increase the awareness of female criminality and also assist to close the wide gap in the knowledge of male and female crime.

1.3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In view of the dearth of information on female crime, this study seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the circumstances that lead to the incarceration of females?
2. What are the experiences of females in prison?
3. What are the post-prison experiences of females?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In line with the research questions of the study, the study objectives are:

1. To identify some specific circumstances that lead to the imprisonment of females.
2. To gain an insight into the prison experiences of females.
3. To explore the experiences of females after incarceration.
4. To offer recommendations based on objectives (1) to (3) above that will help to reverse the steadily increasing numbers of women prisoners.

1.5 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Despite the fact that the topic of women and crime has been neglected in the past with the focus being on the crimes committed by males, criminology has witnessed some degree of change in this regard in the last four decades. The discourse on the criminality of females has been receiving more attention than it did before the 1970s. This awakening may be the result of the advent and subsequent influence of feminism during this period (Belknap, 2007: 32; Adler, 2007: 215). Adler and Simon (1979: iv) share this view about the increased awareness on the issues of female criminality in this period, stating that:

> Certainly since at least the beginning of this decade the topic of women and crime has not been neglected. Some half dozen monographs have appeared, numerous conferences have been held, debates have been aired, all seeking to explain why more women are engaging in crime at this time than in any period for which arrest statistics are available. In our view, interest in the topics women in crime and how women fare in the criminal justice system has not yet peaked. We expect more research will be done on the subject over the next few years.

Indeed, there is evidence of Adler and Simon's (1979) prediction about the proliferation of material on the criminality of women being realised as there is, currently, a significant amount of literature available on the issue (Simon & Landis, 1991: xv; Walkate, 2012: 501). However, in spite of the increased awareness that is being generated about female criminality, the overall attention paid to the topic is still minimal as compared to that which is accorded male crime (Belknap, 2007: xv & 31).

Even though females constitute a small fraction of the worldwide population of offenders (Haffejee et al, 2006; Chesney–Lind & Pasko, 2004: 232; Young, 1981: 76; Pollak, 1950: xv), recent global statistics (Dastille, 2011; Jewkes, 2007; Marsh, Melville, Norris & Walkington, 2006; King & Wincup, 2000) reveal that female involvement in crime is rising. According to Haffejee et al (2006), the number of female prisoners in South Africa has almost doubled between 1995 and 2005 – from 1 905 to 3 045. However, it was noted that

this rise was equalled by the increase in the number of male prisoners: "[t]he growth of the female prison population is not peculiar to South Africa, but consistent with trends internationally in female's incarceration" (Kruttschnitt & Gartner in Haffejee et al, 2006). Nevertheless, females represent almost half of the South African population (Statistics South Africa, 2011: 4) and they live under conditions which (Pollak, 1950: xv) contends may often shield them, and women all over the world, from the detection or prosecution of their crimes. These (chivalrous) conditions suggest that female criminality merits more research than it has, to date, been accorded, irrespective of its insignificant numerical importance. It is important to note that, since there are almost as many females as males in South Africa, one would expect that the criminal statistics for females would be equal to those of males. However, Dastille (2011: 288) and Haffejee et al (2006) indicate that there are far more male offenders in South Africa than the female offenders. Dastille (2011: 293) points out that "it is a well–established fact that not all criminal charges lead to [the ideal pattern] of arrest, prosecution, and conviction and prison sentences. This phenomenon is called the funnel of the CJS [Criminal Justice System]". Taking this factor into consideration, one may argue that the current statistics on female offenders in South Africa are not a true representation of the actual number of female offenders. Furthermore, if the notion of chivalry towards females is true, it may be deduced that the existing female offender statistics do not provide an accurate representation of the South African female criminal statistics.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

This study is qualitative in nature. The study made use of in-depth interviews, which were conducted with twenty female former prisoners. The use of in-depth interviews was regarded as appropriate for the purposes of the study because they allowed for detailed insights into the experiences of the participants by allowing the participants to articulate these experiences in their own words. A second round of interviews was conducted with four participants (who were willing to be re-interviewed). The small number of participants in the second round of interviews may be the result of the fact that some of the participants had revealed considerable sensitive information in the first round of interviews and, hence, they may have been reluctant to be re-interviewed. The use of the interview guide (see Appendix B) helped to ensure that the interviews remained within the parameters of the study. All of the interviews, but one, were recorded. A summary of the interview that was conducted with the participant who had refused to allow her interview to be recorded was written down during

the interview while a detailed record of the interview was written immediately afterwards. The average length of an interview was one and a half hours. The information generated was analysed using open, axial, and selective coding. The methodology of this study is explained in detail in chapter four.

1.6.1 Ethical considerations

Before the data gathering phase of the study commenced, ethical clearance to conduct the study was obtained from the Ethics Committee of the Department of Sociology, UNISA (see Appendix C) and the guidelines stated therein were adhered to. Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 20) identified certain criteria that are pertinent to an ethical research study, including avoidance of harm, confidentiality and voluntary participation. In accordance with Dantzker and Hunter's (2012) recommendations on research ethics, the interviews were conducted in secure spaces that ensured that the participants in this study were not exposed to intentional harm; the informed consent (see Appendix A) of the participants was obtained, the anonymity and confidentiality of the information that they provided were assured and the participants were informed that their participation in the study was voluntary.

1.7 THEORETICAL OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This study is based on three theories, namely, general strain theory (GST) and feminist pathways approach, and Goffman's "total institutions". The use of these theories enabled a complementary understanding of female criminality. GST provides a gender specific explanation for female criminality. GST contends that crime occurs as a result of the "negative" emotional responses of individuals to strain. Agnew (1992: 60) identifies anger as the most influential response to strain as regards generating crime. According to Agnew (1992: 60), the reason for this is that anger predisposes people to making decisions that are not rational and which may even be criminal. However, the decision either to participate in or to abstain from committing a crime is also influenced by what Broidy and Agnew (1997: 281–287) refer to as "mediating" and "conditioning" processes. Broidy and Agnew (1997: 284) are of the opinion that males are more prone than females to respond to strain with criminal behaviour and this may, in turn, account for the higher involvement in crime. Although GST is a general theory of crime, its gender sensitive nature made it suitable for this study.

Feminism seeks to address the historical imbalance in research on males and females which saw females as being ignored. Feminism seeks to project the experiences of females (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988: 497–498) and this attribute makes the theory particularly well suited for the purposes of this study, which centred on exploring the experiences of female ex-prisoners in relation to crime. In realising this objective, the feminist pathways approach (which is an expression of feminism) provided an understanding of the link between the experiences of females before imprisonment, particularly the relationship between prior victimisation and subsequent criminal offending in the lives of women and girls. Thus, the feminist pathways approach enabled a robust understanding of the experiences of the participants in the study In addition, the feminist pathways approach brought about the understanding that the experiences of the participants in this study were better understood in a continuum rather than in isolation. In other words, the exploration of the experiences of the participants prior to, during and after imprisonment, as a whole rather than as separate entities, provided a detailed understanding of the participants' relationships with crime.

Goffman's "total institutions" discusses the types of organisations that are categorised as total institutions and their characteristics. Goffman (1961) identified five broad categories of total institutions; female prisons belong to the third category. The inadequate concern for the welfare of prisoners and the social strata that exist in prisons was pointed out by Goffman (1961). The female prisoners and prison staff dichotomy in the prisons that the participants of this study were incarcerated in sometimes created some power situations with the prison staff having power over the female prisoners most of the time. Incarceration subjects female prisoners to mortification. The process of being "mortified" entails doing away with the roles that females played before imprisonment and taking-up the role of inmates during incarceration. The process of being "mortified" in South African female prisons is reflected in the sexual relationships that some of the female prisoners engaged in. Some of the female prisoners who practised same-sex sexual relationships with females in prison adopted these roles, alongside some other roles that are peculiar to female prisoners, upon their arrival in prison. The strain that female prisoners experience as a result of incarceration has being attributed to the reason why they engage in these relationships (Otis, 1913; Selling, 1931). The theories and their appropriateness for the purposes of this study are discussed in detail in chapter two.

1.8 OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

There are nine chapters in this thesis, each focusing on different aspects of the research topic. Each chapter begins with an introduction to the issues discussed in the chapter in question and ends with concluding paragraphs. Chapter one introduces and provides background information on this study by presenting the background to the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, the research questions, the research objectives and the rationale for the study. The chapter concludes with an outline of all the chapters of this study.

Chapter two moves beyond the introductory chapter to present the theories that were used in the study, with GST, the feminist pathways approach and Goffman's "total institutions" discussed as the guiding theoretical frameworks for the chapter. Gender, criminality and female prisons are analysed in terms of these theories. The theories are discussed individually in terms of how they relate to female crime in particular, and gender and crime in general. The areas of intersection between the theories are highlighted. A conceptual framework for the analysis of women's lives before, during and after incarceration was provided in this chapter. The chapter discusses two topics, feminism and feminist criminology, which are related to feminist pathways approach.

Chapter three contains an overview of existing literature on gender and crime, with a particular emphasis on female criminality. The chapter traces the historical antecedents of the "female criminal" by reviewing classical works on female crime and also those written in contemporary times. The chapter includes a discussion on the contributions of both the traditional school of thought and the sex role theories to female criminality. In addition, the experiences of females before, during and after incarceration, same-sex sexual relationships between females in prisons, history of same-sex sexual relationships between females in prisons, prisoners' work and corruption in prison, illicit drugs in prison, racism in prison, women as offenders and victims, female offending and incarceration in South Africa, and the intersections of gender, race, class and crime are examined in the chapter.

Chapter four discusses the methodology used in the study. Thus, the chapter examines the qualitative research design as it relates to the study. Other concepts, such as the research process – a combination of all the processes that were used to collect the data for the study, for example, how I negotiated and gained access to both the field and the research participants, the population, the sampling technique, the sample size, the method of data collection and the data analysis, are also examined in the chapter. In addition, the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants in the study and the ethical considerations that were adhered to during the study are discussed in detail. The chapter also presents an overview of the research site, reflections on the field process and my thoughts on my dual role as both an insider and an outsider during the data gathering phase of this study as well as a discussion of the limitations of the study.

Chapter five presents the first finding of the study, namely, the experiences of women prior to their incarceration in South Africa. The chapter identified emotional, sexual, and physical abuse as characteristics of women in South Africa before their incarceration. In addition, the strain that some of the participants of this study encountered from nurturing other people and peer pressure were identified as factors which preceded their offending behaviour and subsequent incarceration.

Chapter six examines the second finding of this study, namely, prison conditions in South African female correctional facilities. The following living conditions under which female prisoners are housed in South Africa are discussed in this chapter: medical care, food, hygiene and sanitation, contact with people outside of prison, visits from families and friends, education and reading material, prison work and skills acquisition, bedding, clothing and physical appearance, exercise and recreation, rehabilitation, overcrowding and torture.

Chapter seven focuses the third finding of this study, which are same-sex sexual relationships in South African female prisons. The chapter indicates the occurrence of sexual relations between females in prison. This type of relationship is shown to exist among the female inmates and also between the female inmates and the prison officials. Some of the reasons why females engage in relationships with other females behind bars are expounded upon. Based on the narratives of the study's participants, a classification of the relationships between females in prison is proposed. This classification included "ordinary" friendship, transitional lesbianism and actual lesbianism. This chapter suggests that same-sex sexual

relationships in female prisons remain, by and large, non-violent. However, some degree of coerciveness was shown to exist in some of these relationships. In addition, the reactions of some of the female inmates, who did not participate in same-sex sexual relations, are examined. The chapter also discusses the rape of female prisoners during incarceration. Although most scholars tend to focus more attention on the rape of male prisoners when studying the issue of prison sex, this chapter points to the occurrence of this practice in female prisons. However, unlike the rape of male prisoners, which empirical studies have shown to occur on a large scale, female prison rape does not occur to the extent that it does in male prisons. In fact, some of the participants in the study indicated that they were unaware of the existence of rape as they had neither witnessed nor heard of such happenings during their incarceration. The rape of female prisoners behind bars was noted as a violation of the human dignity of the female inmates. The female inmates do not report cases of rape in the prisons to the wardens because of the wardens' unprofessional attitudes to such reports. In addition, the female inmates fear they may suffer reprisals if they report such incidences; and, hence, they tend to keep quiet about such happenings. The use of food items and inanimate objects were indicated as some of the objects used to perpetrate female prison rape.

Chapter eight continues to explore the findings of the study by concentrating on the lives of the females after imprisonment with specific focus on unemployment, imprisonment and stigma, family breakdown and the psychological effect of the imprisonment of females as identified by the participants in the study. It was shown that the imprisonment of females greatly reduces their chances of finding employment. This problem is further compounded by the stigma that is attached to imprisonment. The breakdown of familial relationships also often results from the incarceration of females who are often mothers and/or breadwinners in their families. In addition, female former prisoners often experience certain psychological issues post incarceration.

Finally chapter nine concludes the study by briefly examining the research questions and the study's findings, the theoretical foundations, the limitations encountered, contributions of the study and suggestions for further research. The chapter also offers certain recommendations that may help to address some of the challenges that were identified in the study in connection with the research topic.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented information on the background to the study, the problem statement, the research questions, the research objectives, the rationale for the study, the methodology used in the study, the ethical considerations, the theoretical outline of the dissertation, as well as an outline of the chapters of this study. The historical neglect of females in criminological research and the increasing literature on female criminality were pointed out. These, in turn, serve as the general aim of the study, which is generating more information about and increasing the awareness on female criminality.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the theories that directed this study, namely, general strain theory (GST), the feminist pathways approach (a specific feminist approach) and Goffman's "total institutions". The chapter starts by outlining the justifications for the use of these theories. This is then followed by explanations of the theories and the links between the three theories and gender and crime. The views of various scholars on the theories used are also presented. In addition, the chapter puts forward a conceptual framework for analysing women's experiences prior to, during and after incarceration. Interpretations of the three theories used within the South African context are briefly provided.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF GENDER AND CRIME

GST was selected for the purposes of this study because it provides an understanding of why females engage in crime. Although GST is a general theory of criminality (Piquero & Sealock, 2000: 454), it was deemed appropriate for this study because it provides invaluable insights into female offending. GST suggests that females experience different types of strains and that these strains generate negative emotions in them. The theory posits that the negative emotions that females feel as a result of these strains culminate in either criminal or noncriminal acts. Thus, GST sheds light on the gendered responses of females to the circumstances which cause them to engage in crime.

In addition to GST, the feminist pathways approach was used for the purposes of the study because it was felt that it would provide well-rounded explanations of female criminality. The fact that feminism and the feminist pathways approach assign females a central position in explaining criminal offending – this is in line with the focus of this study, namely, female ex-offenders – made the feminist pathways approach ideal for the study because the study focuses on the experiences of women. This approach is unlike the traditional theories of criminology that tend either to marginally or totally exclude females while focusing on the

criminality of males, thereby failing to provide adequate explanations for female crime (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988: 499; Simpson, 1989: 605). The varied experiences of females include, amongst others, their relationship (or lack thereof) with crime. Feminism also attempts to explain how the inequalities between the sexes may affect male and female experiences and behaviours differently, especially in relation to crime. The theories are discussed extensively in the following sections.

Goffman's "total institutions" is appropriate for this study because it provides a robust understanding of the experiences of the participants of this study while they were imprisoned. The theory helps to understand the actions of some of the participants of this study based on their roles as prisoners.

2.3 GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

GST came into being in an attempt to address the inadequacies of the classical strain theories. Strain theory contends that the inability of individuals to achieve positively valued goals through legitimate means results in frustration and this, in turn, may ultimately lead to delinquency and crime. Classical strain theories include the works of Merton, Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin. Despite the fact that there are some differences in the classical strain theories, they all share the common contention that delinquency and crime occur as a result of the individual's inability to achieve valued goals through legitimate channels. Some of the criticisms that have been levelled against the classical strain theories include the disconnection between aspirations and expectations, flaws in the explanations of the relationship between social class and delinquency, as well as an inability to explain the relationship between adolescence and delinquency (Agnew, 1985: 151–153).

The inability of the classical strain theories to provide satisfactory answers to the two main questions relating to gender and crime, namely, What accounts for the higher crime rates of males? and Why do females engage in crime? (Naffine, 1987; Leonard, 1982; Morris, 1987; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1992) led to the emergence of GST. This inability of the classical strain theories resulted in scholars seeking a broader version of strain theory which would shed more light on the interconnected and interrelated nature of gender and crime (Piquero & Sealock, 2004: 126), especially as it relates to female criminality. This argument is echoed by

Naffine (1987: 22–23) when she noted one of the inadequacies of the classic strain theories as they relate to female crime:

> Considered as a single body of data, the evidence yielded by the various researchers into strain fails to coalesce into a clear and consistent picture of the female offender … The principal disclosure of this review of the work on strain and women is that criminologists, from the fifties to the present, have operated with a flawed theory, and, not surprisingly, the result has been confusion.

It was against this backdrop that Robert Agnew (1992: 61) propounded GST. GST significantly broadens the scope of the classic strain theories to include, not merely the blockage of positively valued goals (especially those of monetary success and middle class status), but an examination of the other types of strain that may precipitate crime. The main premise of GST is that individuals experience strain and that they respond to such strain with negative emotions such as fear, disappointment, depression, and anger.

In broadening the scope of the classic strain theories, GST conceptualises that there are three major causes of strain: Firstly, strain may arise from the failure to achieve positively valued goals, which is divided into the failure to achieve aspirations or ideal goals, the failure to meet expectations, and the failure to be treated in a just/fair manner. Secondly, strain may arise from the loss of positively valued stimuli and, thirdly, from the presentation of negatively valued stimuli (Agnew, 1992: 50; Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 277). While the classic strain theories focus both on the inability to achieve positively valued goals, such as monetary success and middle-class status (Merton, 1938; Cohen, 1955), and on differential illegitimate opportunity (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960), GST goes beyond the scope of previous strain theories by contending that there are various sources of strain and that strain does not involve only the failure to achieve financial success and attain a higher social status.

The first type of strain, namely, the strain which occurs when an individual is unable to achieve positively valued goals, is the focus of the majority of traditional strain theories. However, according to GST, strain occurs when there is a considerable gap between an individual's aspirations for success and expectations, when there is a gap between expectations for success and actual achievements or rewards and/or when there is disparity

between fair outcomes and actual outcomes or aspirations and actual achievements (Agnew, 1992: 51–52, 56; Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 278).

The second type of strain occurs when an individual is faced with either an aversive situation or the actual or anticipated removal (anticipated loss) of positively valued stimuli, for example, the loss of a relationship that the individual cherishes including the death or critical illness of a friend or the loss of a romantic partner, change of schools or suspension from school, parents' divorce or separation and work-related problems. These events generate negative emotions such as unhappiness, anger, rage, resentment, disappointment and dissatisfaction. These emotions may lead to strain that may result in crime or delinquency when the individual tries to prevent, retrieve, substitute, avenge, and/or manage the loss of the stimulus in question (Agnew, 1992: 52, 57; Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 278; Mazerolle, 1998: 68; Piquero & Sealock, 2004: 127).

The third type of strain arises when an individual is presented with negative stimuli. In other words, the individual is exposed to an unpleasant situation, such as criminal victimization, negative relations with parents or peers, child abuse and neglect or encounters negative experiences in the school (such as, bullying) or within the family (Hay, 2003: 130; Agnew, 1992: 53, 58; Agnew & White, 1992: 485; Agnew, Brezina, Wright & Cullen, 2002: 57; Mazerolle, 1998: 68). Compared to men, women are more susceptible to this type of strain because they tend to experience more verbal, sexual or physical abuse than men, and excessive demands are often imposed on them by family members and other individuals. Females who are subjected to harsh and unpleasant conditions in their homes, workplaces and neighbourhoods are particularly prone to this third type of strain (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 278). Crime and delinquency may result from this type of strain when individuals try to escape from or avoid, put an end to or relieve, or seek revenge against the source of the negative stimulus or related targets (Agnew, 1992: 58).

Agnew (1992: 59) believes that an emotional response to strain increases the likelihood of an individual experiencing other negative emotional responses, such as disappointment, despair, depression and fear. However, in relation to GST, Agnew (1992: 59) cited anger as the most significant emotion in this respect because, by increasing the need to avenge the perceived unpleasant situations, anger may cloud an individual's judgement and spur that individual into action(s) which may be either criminal or delinquent:

Anger results when individuals blame their adversity on others, and anger is a key emotion because it increases the individual's level of felt injury, creates a desire for retaliation/revenge, energises the individual for action, and lowers inhibitions, in part because individuals believe that others will feel their aggression is justified. Anger, then, affects the individual in ways that are conducive to delinquency (Agnew, 1992: 60).

According to GST, crime and delinquency may be explained in terms of two sets of mediating and conditioning processes. GST contends that negative emotions, such as anger and depression, moderate the relationship between strain and crime while conditioning variables, such as coping skills, social control and social support, influence the effect of strain on crime. For example, an individual who is surrounded by a "high level of" or highly effective social support system may not engage in crime even under significant amount of strain. Whereas, the same individual, if faced with a similar amount of strain and with a "low" or ineffective social support system, may resort to crime (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 281–287). However, Agnew (2006: 17–18) notes that, as a result of the interplay between mediating and conditioning processes, not all individuals will respond to strain and negative emotions by committing a crime. The high level of social support that an individual enjoys may prevent the individual from committing a crime, for example, the person may choose to express the negative emotion that he/she is experiencing by talking to family members and friends instead of allowing these emotions to impel him/her to commit criminal or delinquent acts.

Agnew (1992: 66) identified the following three coping strategies or adaptations to strain, namely, cognitive, emotional and behavioural adaptations to strain. Cognitive coping strategies manifest in three ways. Firstly, the individual may either ignore or minimise the importance of an unpleasant situation and, thus, individual's inhibitions about the importance of adverse situations are lowered. The consciousness of individuals who exhibit this kind of behavioural adaptation to strain as regards the implications of criminal acts is significantly compromised as a result of the anger that they feel. Anger is more likely to precipitate crime because, when people become angry, they become irrational, they are unable to discuss and resolve problems calmly, they feel less guilty than they would otherwise and they are

consumed with the sense of power which is created by the desire for revenge. Secondly, the individual may either maximise positive outcomes or minimise negative outcomes while, thirdly, the individual may accept responsibility for the adversity he/she is experiencing (Agnew, 1992: 66–69; 2001: 322). Behavioural coping strategies may take two forms of which the first involves minimising or annihilating the source of strain. With this type of behavioural adaptation to strain, Agnew (1992: 69) explains that it

> … may assume several forms, paralleling each of the major types of
> strain. Individuals, then, may seek to achieve positively valued goals,
> protect or retrieve positively valued stimuli, or terminate or escape
> from negative stimuli. Their actions in these areas may involve
> conventional or delinquent behavior.

Agnew (1992: 69) notes the following example of this behaviour – when an individual either changes schools or plays a truant from school in order to avoid an unpleasant school environment. The second type of behavioural adaptation to strain involves satisfying the urge for revenge. Agnew (1992: 69) notes that "[v]engeful behavior may also assume conventional or delinquent forms".

Emotional coping strategies involve acting directly on the negative emotions that have been generated by distress. The focus of this adaptation is on reducing the negative emotions that are associated with strain instead of exhibiting behaviour that would change the circumstances that brought about these emotions in the first place. Examples of this coping strategy include, amongst others, the use of stimulants and tranquillisers, physical exercise and meditation. Emotional coping strategies are adopted when cognitive and behavioural coping strategies are either absent or ineffective. One or more of the above mentioned coping strategies may be used by individuals (Agnew, 1992: 69–70).

Specifically, GST posits that strain generates negative emotions that provide the motivation for criminal acts as a behavioural coping strategy. Thus, the more distressed an individual becomes, the greater the likelihood that the individual will engage in crime (Jang, 2007: 523–524). Hence, based on this proposition of GST and in view of the fact that women are, in general, more stressed than men (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: Lundberg & Frankenhaeuser, 1999: 142, 278; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2001: 173), one would expect women to commit more

crime than do men. However, the opposite is the case as empirical literature has revealed that men have higher rates of crime than women (Painter & Farrington, 2004: 6).

The fact that GST describes in detail the factors that influence the choice of criminal adaptation against that which is not criminal, places GST in a better position to investigate the observation that the root cause of female crime is the widespread, oppressive conditions in which they live.

2.3.1 General strain theory, gender and crime

In applying GST to the higher crime rates of males compared to the crime rates of females, Broidy and Agnew (1997: 278) postulated the following four explanations: Firstly, males are subjected to more strain than females. Secondly, males experience different types of strain as compared to females with the strain that males experience being more conducive to the committing of crime as compared to females. Thirdly, males have different emotional responses to strain as compared to females and these responses of males are more conducive to crime as compared to the responses of females. Finally, males are more likely than females to respond to strain and anger with crime. However, in contradiction to the first proposition above, Broidy and Agnew (1997: 280) later claimed that females are subjected to more strain than males particularly if one considers that the literature on stress often overlooks stressors that may be of special relevance to females, for example, sexual abuse, abortion, gender-based discrimination, child care problems and the burdens associated with nurturing others (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 278).

The gender gap in crime rates may be said to be a result of the differences in the types of strain that is experienced by males and females. Males are said to place more emphasis on economic and material considerations compared to females, and this may be the reason why they commit more property crime than females. Females, on the other hand, may sometimes steal in order to finance their social activities or to provide assistance for their families (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1992: 43; Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 279).

Broidy and Agnew (1997) suggest five reasons why males are more likely than females to respond to strain with criminal behaviour. Firstly, they suggested that females are less likely than males to possess a sense of mastery and self-esteem. The absence of these two traits in

females renders them unable to cope effectively with strain and, thus, they are less likely than males to respond to strain with criminal acts because they may not feel secure or bold enough to exhibit such criminal behaviour. In this respect, Broidy and Agnew (1997: 284) note that:

> Certain data suggest that females are less likely to possess certain effective coping resources: especially a sense of mastery and positive self-esteem … Low mastery and self-esteem reduce women's ability to effectively cope with strain.

Therefore, while males may resort to crime as a coping strategy to deal with strain, women "may be more likely to cope with strain using noncriminal and/or self-destructive, illegitimate coping strategies such as alcohol or drug abuse or disordered eating patterns" (bingeing or starving oneself) (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 284).

Secondly, females tend to enjoy more emotional and social support than males and, albeit it in a small way, this may act as a buffer against negative effects of strain on females. This type of emotional and social support comes from close relationships with family members and/or friends. Broidy and Agnew (1997: 284) argue that such relationships reduce stress. They maintain that "females who are more strongly invested in their intimate networks may try to avoid serious criminal behaviors that would threaten these ties". This line of reasoning is based on the fact that females desist from behaviour, such as criminal and delinquent behaviour, that may threaten or jeopardise their close relationships with others. Thus, these close relationships encourage females to access/utilise legitimate coping strategies to deal with the strain(s) that they may be experiencing. For example, they may speak to the people with whom they share these relationships about their problems. However, these interpersonal relationships are not devoid of their own unique strain which may result from the grave illness of a close friend or family member (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 284).

Thirdly, as compared to females, males tend to have more opportunities to engage in particular types of crime, they have lower social control, they possess innate temperamental tendencies that are favourable to crime, and are more likely to fraternise with deviant individuals (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 284–285).

Fourthly, the gendered nature of the socialisation process encourages males, more than females, to engage in criminal behaviour. For example, aggression on the part of males is stereotypically viewed as an acceptable response to anger, whereas the exhibition of the same aggression by females is regarded as unacceptable. Although both males and females respond to strain with anger, the anger of females is more likely to be followed by guilt, anxiety or depression as compared to males. Consequently, females tend to suppress or internalise their anger while males are able to externalise or act on their anger (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 285). According to Broidy and Agnew (1997: 285),

> [m]ales, then, may be more likely to respond to anger by aggressing against others, whereas females may be more likely to engage in self-directed illegitimate behaviors such as alcohol, drug abuse, and disordered eating practices.

Finally, males and females tend to differ in their peer associations and this is reflected in the size of such associations with males having larger groups of friends while females tend to have smaller friendship groups (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 286). The sizes of these groups, in turn, foster close relationships between females and more impersonal relationships among males. Thus, as compared to males, females receive more social support from their friendship groups as a result of their close relationships with their friends. The type of interactions between the members of male and female friendship groups also play a vital role in encouraging criminal and noncriminal behaviours.

In conclusion, Agnew submits that strain elicit emotions that include fear, depression, frustration, anxiety, disappointment, hopelessness, unhappiness and anger in people. Individuals choose various coping strategies to address the negative emotions that arise from the strain that they are experiencing, one of which is committing crime. Broidy and Agnew (1997) argue that there is a gender difference in the availability of coping resources, be it on the basis of gender predisposition, socialisation, or the group norms that define socially acceptable behaviour.

2.3.2 General strain theory and female criminality

In applying GST to explaining female crime, Chesney-Lind and Shelden (1992), Leonard (1982) and Morris (1964) suggest that women are especially concerned with the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal ties with other people and this, in turn, influences their criminal behaviour. However, the high rates of divorce and abuse in many relationships often make it impossible for many women to achieve interpersonal closeness with others (Chesney-Lind, 1986, 1989). The strain that is experienced as a result of these failed relationships in the lives of several female offenders has been linked to their criminal behaviour (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 289). In other words, the increasing breakdown of interpersonal relationships between females and the individuals with whom they share close and/or intimate ties may be responsible for the increasing number of female offenders.

Although it has been argued that men are focused on financial and material success, it has also been noted that women are becoming increasingly concerned with financial success, but with many women being unable to achieve this goal of financial success (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 289). In my opinion, this observation, coupled with the preponderance of female-headed households in South Africa, breakdown in intimate relationships and the feminisation of poverty, exacerbate the strain on women and may be contributing to the increasing female crime statistics in South Africa (Ratele, Shefer & Clowes 2012: 554; Shisana, Rice, Zungu & Zuma, 2010: 39). Broidy and Agnew (1997) and Mann (1984) support this argument by pointing out that financial problems constitute a fundamental source of strain for female offenders and that this strain plays a contributory role in the crimes they commit. This category of female offenders experience difficulty in securing jobs and, hence, they resort to illegal sources of income (Mann, 1984: 96; Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 289–290).

Broidy and Agnew (1997: 293) and Agnew (1992: 71–74) note that not all women who are under strain resort to crime. In other words, women respond differently to strain with some being more prone to crime than others. Hence, the response of one woman to strain may be crime, while that of another woman to the same degree and the same type of strain may be noncriminal acts.

GST, a general theory of crime, is particularly well suited for explaining the position of the South African females in relation to crime because of the higher levels of strain that they

21

experience as a result of their gender, socio-economic disadvantages, chivalrous treatment, financial strain, sexual abuse and poor health – all of which make them more stressed than the South African male (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, McIntryre & Harlow, 2004: 1581; Agozino, 2002: 134; Kehler, 2001: 44–50).

The strain experienced by women in South Africa as a result of their role as breadwinner in many families (Smit, 2002: 401–402) and which creates stress over financial issues, as well as raising children and pregnancy (Taylor, Chatters, Tucker & Lewis, 1991), act as factors that may impel them to engage in crime. Broidy and Agnew's (1997: 289) contention that females are becoming increasingly concerned with financial success and security, with numerous females experiencing difficulties in achieving these goals is also true of South Africa. As a result of the increasingly matrilineal nature of South African families (Smit, 2002: 401), women in South Africa are generally more vulnerable to strain as compared to South African men. This increased exposure to strain on the part of women may be the underlying cause of the increasing number of female offenders in South Africa. However, empirical studies will need to provide support for this assertion.

In conclusion, the overall argument of GST is that strain generates negative emotions which serve as a motivation for crime and delinquency as a coping strategy. Hence, female crime arises as a result of the strain experienced by women. These strains are derived from the breakdown of kinship ties and emotional connections with family, friends and significant others, while the strain that results from nurturing others, including family members, and the increasing financial strain faced by South African women may help to explain the reason why more women in South Africa are committing crime. In addition, the failure to be treated in a just and fair manner and the unfair treatment by the people with whom females share close interpersonal relationships may also contribute to female crime.

GST suggests that both strains and the responses to such strains may be gendered. GST provides a better understanding of the intricacies associated with gender differences in criminal behaviour. One of the contributions of GST is that the theory highlighted the fact that there are additional sources of strain as compared to the sources of strain noted by earlier strain theories.

The preceding sections of this chapter discussed the first theory, GST, which was used in this study, in particular, as it relates to female criminality. The following sections examines the second theory used in the study, namely, the feminist pathways approach as a specific feminist theory as well as its relationship with the criminality of females.

2.4 FEMINISM

The definition of the concept of "feminism" is complex. In defining feminism, Mitchell and Oakley (1986: 3) argue that "it is easier to define feminism in its absence rather than its presence". Delmar (1986: 8) also alludes to the lack of clarity in defining feminism when he states that

> … a feminist holds that women suffer discrimination because of their sex, that they have needs which are negated and unsatisfied, and that the satisfaction of these needs requires a radical change … But, beyond that, things immediately become more complicated.

Similarly, Newburn (2013: 322) notes that "there is much debate about what constitutes feminist criminology". However, Gelsthorpe (2002: 153) succinctly identifies the key elements of feminist scholarship as follows:

> [A] focus on sex/gender as a central organising principle in social life, recognition of the importance of power in shaping social relations, sensitivity to the influence of social context on behaviour, recognition that social reality is a process and that research methods need to reflect this, a political commitment to social change, personal and theoretical reflexivity on epistemological, methodological, and ethical choices and commitment, and openness and creativity in thinking about producing and evaluating knowledge.

Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988: 504) identify the basic tenets that guide feminist inquiry as follows:

a. "Gender is not a natural fact, but a complex social, historical, and cultural product; it is related to, but not simply derived from, biological sex difference and reproductive capacities.

b. Gender and gender relations order social life and social institutions in fundamental ways.

c. Gender relations and constructs of masculinity and femininity are not just symmetrical, but are based on an organising principle of men's superiority, including social, political and economic dominance over women.

d. Systems of knowledge reflect men's view of the natural and social world; the production of knowledge is gendered.

e. Women should be at the centre of intellectual inquiry, not peripheral, invisible, or appendages of men".

The French term *feminisme* was first used in the late nineteenth century as a synonym for the emancipation of women (Burke, 2005: 8). Walsh (2011: 5) regards feminism as "a social movement organized around the demand for social, political, and economic equality of the sexes/genders". Broadly, the term "feminism" was used to refer to a women's movement which was made up of a number of diverse groups that sought to advance the position of women in society. In the early twentieth century, when the term was introduced in the United States of America, its meaning was limited and referred only to a group that had asserted the uniqueness of women's experience as well as their social and sexual purity (Burke, 2005: 8). However, Burke (2005: 8) observes that the term is no longer as restricted today, and it is applied in many ways.

Feminism is a broad theoretical approach with different strands (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Belknap, 2007: 13; White & Haines, 2001: 118). According to Burgess-Proctor (2006), feminist theory is traditionally divided into five major perspectives including liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism and postmodern feminism. According to Burgess-Proctor (2006); Belknap (2007: 13), and White and Haines (2001: 118), other perspectives of feminism also include critical race feminism, black feminism, multiracial feminism, cultural feminism, lesbian feminism, Third World feminism, eco-feminism and cyber feminism. All these perspectives of feminism have diverse ways of

theorising about the oppression of women and the interrelatedness of inequality and crime. The focal themes of these strands of feminist thoughts are autonomy, rights and power dynamics.

A specific expression of feminism, namely, the feminist pathways approach, will be used to complement GST for the purposes of this study. The significant ways in which feminism and the feminist pathways approach have impacted on criminology, and which, in turn, gave rise to the term "feminist criminology", will also be discussed. Williams (2012: 530) notes that

> ... feminist perspectives permit a broader and more inclusive academic debate than has hitherto been possible within the strict confines of mainstream criminology. In this way, feminist theories have helped to emphasise how both masculinity and femininity could well form a central area of research for criminologists.

Feminist enquiry is a dynamic field and has undergone significant changes over the years. There has been a fundamental paradigm shift in feminist thought from the focus on women gaining equality with men within social institutions to advocating that the experiences of women not be suppressed but that such women's experiences should rather be brought to the fore (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988: 497–498). This latter view is well suited to this study, which aims to bring the experiences of women, in particular the experiences of female ex-prisoners in relation to crime, to the forefront in the discussions in criminology. Mallicoat (2012: 8) maintains that

> [b]y incorporating a feminist perspective in the research environment, scholars are able to present a deeper understanding of the realities of women's lives by placing women and women's issues at the centre of the research process.

Mallicoat (2012: 8) contends that one of the influences of feminism has been the concept of giving women a voice, particularly in areas in which they have been historically silenced, for example, in the field of criminology.

2.4.1 The development of feminist criminology

The emergence of feminist criminology in the 1970s brought about a remarkable change in the study of female crime (Mallicoat, 2012: 22). There has, nevertheless, been considerable debate as to its necessity and possibility (Newburn, 2013: 313). However, notwithstanding the huge debate that feminist criminology has generated, the field has witnessed remarkable achievements from its conception until today. The achievement of feminist criminology is evident in the following words of Smart (1990: 71): "… some ten years ago it was rigueur to start any paper on this topic … Now it is difficult to keep up with the production of papers and books". Smart was referring to the scarcity of material on the topic of female crime in the 1960s and 1970s, and the proliferation of such studies in 1990. At present, there is an even greater proliferation of empirical literature on female crime worldwide (Chesney-Lind, 2006: 8; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004: 62).

Early feminist studies which related specifically to female offenders appeared in 1975 with the publications of Freda Adler's *Sisters in crime* and Rita James Simon's *Women and crime*. The emancipation of women that was taking place in the United States of America and also the effects of the second wave of feminism during this period formed the basis of these authors' works. Adler and Simon both believed that women's liberation would result in an increased participation of women in crime. While Simon (1975) maintained that the "liberation" of women from their traditional and domestic roles would lead to an increase of their commission of property crimes, Adler (1975) contended that women's commission of violent crime would increase. Both believed that, once women were free to behave more like men in both legitimate and illegitimate arenas, this would result in their committing more crimes. In *Sisters in crime,* Adler argued that there had been a change in women's roles and that this had been accompanied by a corresponding change – an increase – in their criminality (Adler, 1975: 7–15). In other words, the abandoning of their traditional domestic roles was making women more aggressive, violent and competitive as well as resulting in their engaging in other forms of criminality. Adler believed that the gap in offending between males and females was becoming smaller as a result of this change in women's roles. With regards to equality and crime, she maintained that women had lost their "chains". Adler (1975: 12–13) dramatically wrote that

[w]omen are no longer indentured to the kitchens, baby carriages, or bedrooms … The skein of myths about women is unravelling, the chains have been pried loose, and there will be no turning back to the days when women found it necessary to justify their existence by producing babies or cleaning houses … women – by the tens of thousands – have chosen to desert those kitchens and plunge exuberantly into the formerly all-male quarters of the working world … In the same way that women are demanding equal opportunity in fields of legitimate endeavour, a similar number of determined women are forcing their way into the world of major crimes.

Adler (1975) viewed this increased involvement in violent crime as inevitable as women became more exposed to the same social environments as men as a result of their social and political emancipation. This may well account for the increasing number of violent crimes perpetrated by females in South Africa (Botha, 2006).

Simon (1975) added to the discourse by focusing on women's access to blue and white collar crime as a result of their expanded employment opportunities. Simon (1975) believed that 'liberated' women were too well-educated and 'upper-class' to "alter the behaviours, the perceptions, the beliefs, and the life styles of women already involved in criminal careers" (Simon, 1975: 18). Thus, she was pointing out that, although some members of the feminist movement were defiant as regards women's traditional roles, these members had no connection with, nor any influence on, the behaviour of criminal women. According to Simon (1975), the only significant influence that the feminist movement had had on female criminality was in bringing about the equal treatment of women offenders within the criminal justice system. However, she submitted that women's participation in financial and white collar offences, including fraud, embezzlement, larceny and forgery, would increase as their opportunities for employment in higher status occupations expanded (Simon, 1979: 7, 8).

Thus, the social control that women had been subjected began to break down, and as they ventured into the workforce, their access to criminal subcultures increased (Schwartz & Hatty, 2003: 15). For example, more women than before are now filling top positions in big businesses and, hence, they are exposed to greater opportunities to commit fraud and

embezzlement. Simon (1975) believed that the opportunities created by women's higher levels of formal labour market activity would lead to higher arrest rates for property and occupational crimes such as fraud, larceny, and embezzlement. This factor may be responsible for the increasing number of female criminals in the countries in which women are more emancipated, for example, the developed countries, such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom, as well as certain sectors in South Africa. In addition, Simon (1975) attributed the changes in female criminality to the new opportunities which had become available to women as a result of their new roles, rather than to intrinsic changes in the women themselves.

Although the works by Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) contained slightly different views, they share the same general theoretical argument which has come to be referred to as the emancipation theory. They both focused on the relationship between rising crime rates and women's emancipation. Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) both contended it was possible to explain women's previously low rates of participation in criminal activity by their domestic roles and by the discrimination that had limited their aspirations and opportunities. Relating this to the South African female criminal scene (although not specifically in the 1960s and 1970s as referred to by Simon [1975] and Adler [1975]), it may be said that, in the past, females, especially "black" females, had been confined to traditional domestic roles while the end of apartheid had culminated in the availability of alternative roles for females in the public sector. Hence, in accordance with the views of Simon (1975) and Adler (1975), more opportunities to commit crime had become available to South African women. This development may, thus, be said to be responsible for the increasing number of female offenders in South Africa.

The two contentions of Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) on female emancipation and crime led to the emergence of two opposing views on female criminality in feminist criminology, with the one view supporting the emancipation thesis, and the other not. Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) argued that the women's liberation movement had gained momentum in this period and that the period had witnessed a significant increase in female crime statistics. During this period, a link was established between rising female criminality and the 'newfound' emancipation of women and their increased economic opportunities (Schwartz & Hatty, 2003:15). This relationship between rising female crime and women's emancipation was the focus of Adler's major work, *Sisters in crime* (1975). Although this historical link

between the change in the traditional roles of females and the rise in female offending is not applicable to South Africa at that time, as South Africa was then still under apartheid rule, it may, nevertheless, be argued that, after independence in 1994, greater numbers of South African women had greater freedom than before to engage in non-domestic jobs and, hence, more opportunities to commit crimes, for example white collar crimes, were open to them. Valier (2007) points out that the emancipation thesis does not relate only to women's position in the world of legitimate business and that women have also become prominent in the underworld in recent years. Valier (2007) maintains that, although there has been an improvement in the position of women in the employment sector, there are still disproportionately large numbers of women in low-paid and part-time jobs.

Feminist criminologists have criticised the emancipation thesis. White and Haines (2001: 131) argue that there is no evidence to suggest that female emancipation, in terms of criminal behaviour, has taken place. However, Box (1983) and Carlen (1988) argue that the economic marginalisation of women is a more justifiable and appropriate explanation for the rise in the female crime statistics. In other words, women have suffered increased financial deprivation as compared to men and this financial deprivation has propelled women into crime.

2.4.2 Feminist criminology

Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2013: 3) contend that

> … feminist criminology demonstrates how gender matters, not only in terms of one's trajectory into crime but also in terms of how the criminal justice system responds to the offenders under its authority.

Mallicoat (2012: 23) points out the relevance of feminism in criminological studies when he notes that

> [p]erhaps some of the most influential research to date on female offending is the feminist pathways approach. Feminist pathways research seeks to use the historical context of women's and girls' lives to relate how life events (and traumas) affect the likelihood to engage in crime.

Feminist research has established a relationship between victimisation and offending (Zaplin, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 1989; Belknap, 2007). The feminist pathways approach helps to shed more light on the cycle of criminality in the lives of females. For example, running away from home has been used by girls as a coping mechanism to deal with the abuse and victimisation that they may be facing. However, this coping method inadvertently exposes the girls to criminal situations (Mallicoat, 2012: 24).

It is not possible to overemphasise the influence of feminism on criminological studies (Newburn, 2013: 323). The discipline has made giant strides in removing, albeit not totally successfully, the cloak of gender blindness that has hitherto characterised criminology. For example, there is still a preponderance of discussions on male offending, while theories still tend to focus more on men than women in criminological studies (Newburn, 2013: 323). Similarly, Williams (2012: 530) notes that "[d]espite stated intentions, the voice of women and feminism is still muted in such studies". Williams (2012: 530) was referring to feminist studies and, in particular, to a study on gangs of crack dealers in Spanish-Harlem that was conducted by Bourgois in 1996; the objective of this study was to offer feminist interpretations, but the study deviated from its initial intentions and subsequently provided more economic explanations rather than feminist explanations.

In the main, criminological studies have been criticised by feminist criminology for excluding female offenders. More specifically, feminist criminology criticised criminology for its failure to theorise about or engage in empirical studies of female offending, its neglect of female victimisation and, in particular, male violence against women, and the over-concentration on the impact of the criminal justice system on male offenders (Newburn, 2013: 313; Mallicoat, 2012: 8).

Feminist writing has advanced the understanding of female criminality and the experiences of female criminals in the criminal justice system. This focus of feminist scholarship on gender has influenced criminology in three ways. Firstly, the feminist studies have questioned previous theories of law breaking and/or criminalisation, secondly, they have suggested new directions for empirical research and, finally, they have replaced old theories with new ones (Carlen & Worrall, 1987: 9). However, in spite of the contributions of feminism to criminology, it has not yet achieved all that its major proponents wanted it to do and criminology remains a male-dominated and male-oriented field (Newburn, 2013: 324).

In her book, *Women, crime and criminology,* Smart (1976) also lent her voice to the discourse on feminist criminology by raising two vital issues. Firstly, she maintained that studying women apart from men would result in the continued marginalisation of women and the perpetuation of criminology as a male-dominated discipline. Secondly, she stated that focusing the academic spot light on female criminality could have the latent, and undesirable, consequence of increasing the attention of both the criminal justice system and the public on the criminal and delinquents acts committed by women and girls. Smart's questioning of criminology generated a debate within feminism (Heidensohn, 1985; Young, 1996). It has been argued that feminist criminology is neither desirable nor possible (Carlen, 1992: 53).

Cain (1989: 3) observes that

> [c]rimes, criminals, victims, courts, police officers, lawyers, social workers may be objects of investigation, but our explanations must reach beyond and encompass all of them as life histories and the victim studies, the continuity studies and ideology studies already strain to do. I am arguing that, in a sense, feminist criminology is impossible; that feminist criminology disrupts the categories of criminology itself.

However, Gelsthorpe (1988) suggests that the disagreement regarding the desirability or possibility of a feminist criminology is more a reflection of the fact that various forms of feminist enquiry exist in criminology.

A series of feminist responses have been offered to fill the gap in the existing knowledge as regards the following concerns raised in criminology. Leonard (1982) voiced his concerns about the adaptation of traditional criminological theories, which had originally been propounded to explain male criminality, to provide an explanation about the criminality of women. He concluded that this "one size fits all" approach to theorising about male and female criminality is fundamentally flawed because males and females have gendered experiences of crime and also gendered responses to crime and, as such, their social realities in relation to crime are different:

Initially, I thought it might be possible simply to add what had been overlooked, and to elaborate an analysis of women in terms of existing theory. I quickly discovered that this is impossible. Theoretical criminology was constructed by men, about men. It is simply not up to the analytical task of explaining female patterns of crime. Although some theories work better than others, they all illustrate what social scientists are slowly recognising within criminology and outside the field: that our theories are not the general explanations of human behaviour they claim to be, but rather particular understandings of male behaviour. A theoretical canopy has been assumed for men and women, although their social realities are extremely diverse. Thus, something quite different will be needed to explain women and crime (Leonard, 1982: xi–xii).

In an attempt to address the concerns that were raised by Leonard (1982), Daly (1997: 26) identified three modes of conceptualising sex/gender in feminist theory and their implications for criminology, namely, "class-race-gender", "doing gender"/"doing difference" and "sexed bodies". Daly (1997) also terms class-race-gender "multiple inequalities". Daly (1997: 33) argued that

… class-race-gender need not be interpreted literally to mean a sole focus on these three relations; its meaning can be stretched to include others, e.g. age, sexuality, and physical ability.

In other words, Daly (1997) advocates that class-race-gender should not be studied in isolation but that the three concepts should rather be regarded as interrelated and interconnected parts of a larger entity, which includes other concepts such as, age, sexuality, and physical ability. Daly (1997) suggests that the application of class-race-gender varies across and within disciplines – one of these variations is biographical and autobiographical storytelling forms. Daly (1997: 35) further argues that the relevance of this scholarship to criminology

… is an insistence that everyone is located in a matrix of multiple social relations, i.e. that race and gender are just as relevant to an

analysis of white men as they are to black women. With an emphasis on contingency, one can explore the varied positions of "black women" – as offenders, victims, and mothers and wives of offenders and victims – to "white justice".

"Doing gender" is another mode that was identified by Daly (1997). The author also referred to this mode as "doing difference". Daly (1997) obtained the term "doing gender" from the study that was conducted in 1987 by West and Zimmerman in which they construed gender as a product of social situations. They argued that gender is not determined by individuals but, rather, that it is socially constructed through social interactions within specific social settings. Thus, crime, like other activities, may be viewed as a practice or set of practices through which particular articulations of gender – particular styles of masculinity and femininity – are "done" (Newburn, 2013: 317). However, one of the dilemmas inherent in this line of reasoning is "how to conceptualise crime as a gendered line of social action without once again establishing boys and men as the norm, differentiating themselves from all that is 'feminine'" (Daly, 1997: 37). Sexed bodies have, at their foundation, the combined works of Foucault on the body as the site of "disciplinary practices" and the words of feminists "who showed that even the most privileged women have not attained equality with men in the 'public' [arena]" (Daly, 1997: 38). The relevance of "sexed bodies" is articulated in the following arguments suggested by Daly (1997: 40):

> [W]e might explore how the "sensual attractions" of crime (Katz, 1988) are differently available to and "experienced" by male/female bodies and masculine/feminine subjectivities. We could analyse the variable production of sexed (racialized, etc.) bodies across many types of harms (not just rape) or for other sites of legal regulation such as family law. We could take Howe's (1994) theoretical lead by investigating women's bodies as the object of penality.

Daly (1997: 41) notes that some feminists may be concerned about the construct of "sexed bodies" because the construct seems to bring to the fore the phenomena of "biologism" and body types which have plagued criminology in the past. However, Daly (1997: 41) points out that this should not be the case because the notion of "sexed bodies" draws attention to the way in which people experience sexual difference and its relationship to gender. Daly (1997:

33

41) also draws on the relevance of the construct by observing that "it also calls attention to dualisms in western philosophy and how dualisms such as reason/emotion, mind/body and male/female are constituted in and through law, science and criminology" (Daly, 1997: 41). Nevertheless, Daly (1997) notes that a disadvantage of this perspective is that it bring about a possibility of viewing social life through the lens of social difference. In other words, there is an inherent danger of sex differences taking prominence in the construct, and this may overshadow other aspects of social life.

Chesney-Lind (in Newburn, 2013: 321) points out the importance of regarding female offenders as "people with life histories". This, in turn, highlights the relevance of this study which investigates the experiences of female ex-prisoners over a period of time, namely, pre-imprisonment, during imprisonment and after imprisonment.

2.4.3 Feminist pathways approach

Mallicoat (2012: 23) notes that a vital component of feminist criminology is its emphasis on the interconnectedness between the lives of females and their subsequent offending behaviour. The works of feminist criminologists (Owen, 1998; Daly, 1992; Belknap, 2007) have helped to shed light on the pathways of females into crime. One of the earliest feminist pathways studies, which was conducted by Arnold (1990), examined victimisation and criminalisation in the lives of poor, "black", female prisoners. According to Arnold (1990: 163), "examining early childhood, adolescent, and adult experiences of Black women incarcerated in jail and prison … reveals the process of victimization … and subsequent criminalization". The work of Daly (1994) also represents one of the pioneering studies on the feminist pathways approach. Some of the pathways of women into criminal offending, as identified by Daly (1994), include abuse, addiction, and economic marginalisation.

Belknap (2007: 71) contends that feminist pathways research

> … attempts to examine girls' and women's lives (and rarely men's and boys') histories, allowing them, when possible, a "voice" to understand the link between childhood and adult events and traumas and the likelihood of subsequent offending.

The feminist pathways approach is an extension of the life course criminological framework which analyses the offending behaviour of females within the context of their past victimisation experiences (Belknap, 2007).

The contribution of the feminist pathways approach to criminology was highlighted by Khalid and Khan (2013: 13) when they noted that

> [t]he understanding of women in the criminological research framework has emerged in the form of the "pathway perspective" in recent years. Women's entry into the world of crime is due to different reasons in comparison to their counterpart.

In addition, Bender (2010: 467, 470) states that

> [n]ot only do female offenders report more victimization than male offenders, but they report more extreme victimization and more running away, mental health problems, substance abuse problems, school disengagement and deviant peer networks … Feminist pathways theory has taken a leading role in underscoring the important influence of past victimization in the lives of offenders.

Feminist scholars have investigated female pathways into offending (Daly, 1992; Sterk, 1999; Evans, Forsyth & Gauthier, 2001; Gaarder & Belknap, 2002; Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph, 2002). Feminist pathways research has pointed out the relationship between victimisation and offending by noting that

> … traumas such as physical and sexual abuse and child neglect are not only defining features in the lives of many female offenders, but … are often related to one's likelihood of committing crimes (Gaarder & Belknap, 2002: 484).

The short and long-term consequences of involvement in antisocial behaviour were also noted (Cernkovich, Lanctôt & Giordano, 2008). It was found that the relationship between

early victimisation and subsequent drug abuse appears to be more significant for females than males (Simpson & Miller, 2002; Miller & Mancuso, 2004; Kumpfer, Smith & Summerhays, 2008).

Cultural and societal norms significantly influence female pathways into crime. Subsequently, Estrada and Nilsson (2012), Banwell (2010), Salisbury and Voorhis (2009) and Cherukuri, Britton and Subramaniam (2009) have identified female pathways into female criminal offending as poor family background, addiction problems, mental disorders/illness, childhood neglect, physical and sexual abuse, marital problems, dysfunctional relationships, payment of dowry, patriarchy, and spousal abuse.

Studies into the feminist pathways approach have noted the harmful effects of childhood trauma and victimisation as well as the manner in which gender inequalities and expectations influence people's identity, options and experiences in ways that contribute to drug use, delinquency and crime (Daly, 1992; Gaarder & Belknap, 2002; Brown, 2006). However, Koski and Bantley (2013) suggest that the pathways of the female offender in crime may be altered if positive coping strategies are learnt earlier in life.

Koski and Bantley (2013: 6) state that "[a]lthough some (scholars) have identified 'typical' or 'typified' pathways specifically for female offenders, they too can differ greatly". Becker and McCorkel (2011) used the terms "gender typical" and "gender atypical" to describe the crimes that are committed by females and males respectively. They noted that few females commit "gender atypical" crimes. Some of the most common pathways identified in female offenders include childhood victimisation, poverty, homelessness, lack of education, marginalisation, oppression and dysfunctional relationships (Chesney-Lind, 1997; Covington, 1998; Cernkovich et al, 2008; Estrada & Nilsson, 2012; Richie, 1996; Bloom, Owen & Covington, 2003; Erez & Berko, 2012; Salisbury & Voorhis, 2009). Some not so common female pathways to crime and imprisonment have also been identified, for example, in Palestine and India, where abusive homes, response to family-honour expectations, women's resistance to gender-specific oppression, family rejection of potential mates, interaction with criminal men; financial nonconformity, spousal abuse, patriarchy, and the practice of dowry have been noted (Erez & Berko, 2010; Cherukuri et al, 2009).

In conclusion, feminist criminology argues that women have been largely ignored in criminology and, even when they are included in criminological studies, their inclusion is conducted in a stereotypical and sympathetic manner (Newburn, 2013: 313; Mallicoat, 2012: 8). Both the perception of women as inferior to men and the exclusion of female and gender issues from criminological studies have been challenged by feminists in several ways. The feminist perspective has contributed to criminology enterprise in the following ways: the "female emancipation leads to crime" discourse, which is given credence in the works of Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) who both claim that women's liberation or emancipation leads to crime, and that it has brought about the emergence of gender-based themes.

Prior victimisation and subsequent criminal offending in the lives of women and girls constitute the main thrust of the feminist pathways model. Burgess-Proctor (2012: 315) explains that

> … feminist pathways analyses often use samples of incarcerated women and girls to identify how participants' trauma histories initiated, facilitated, or otherwise compelled their offending behaviors.

Feminist pathways research provides an understanding of how the past traumatic experiences of females influence their propensity to commit crimes and delinquent acts.

2.5 Goffman's "total institutions"

In his study of prison and mental hospitals in the United States of America in the 1950s, Goffman (1961) coined the term "total institutions". According to Goffman (1961: 3), institutions are "places such as rooms, suites of rooms, buildings, or plants in which activity of a particular kind regularly goes on". Similarly, Goffman (1961: xiii) defines a total institution as:

> "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period

of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life"

Scott (2010: 214) expounded upon Goffman (1961)'s definition of total institutions when she stated that "institutions were 'total' insofar as they physically confined their inmates, limiting their access to valued resources; not only material possessions but also time, personal space and control over one's daily routine"

Goffman identified five broad categories of total institutions. The first category is institutions for people who are considered to be incapable and harmless. Examples of institutions that belong in this category are homes for the blind, the aged, orphans and the impecunious. The second category consists of institutions that house people who are not able to take care of themselves and are a threat, mostly unintended, to the society. Tuberculosis "sanitariums", "leprosoriums" and mental hospitals are some examples of this type of institutions. The third category includes institutions that are established to protect the society from perceived intentional harm. The well-being of the residents of these institutions is not necessarily of upmost importance to the authorities that run them. Camps for prisoners of war, jails, penitentiaries, and concentration camps belong in this category. A fourth category is that which is made up of institutions that are built to "pursue some technical tasks and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds". Ships, boarding schools, army barracks, work camps, colonial compounds, and servants' quarters on expansive mansions are examples of institutions in this category. The final category is retreats or religious training establishments. Convents, abbeys, monasteries and seminaries are examples of institutions in this category (Goffman, 1961: 4-5).

One of the characteristics of total institutions is the social strata that exist between "a large managed group conveniently called *inmates*, and a small supervisory staff. Inmates typically live in the institution and have restricted contact with the world outside the walls; staff often operate on an eight-hour day and are socially integrated into the outside world" (Goffman, 1961: 7). Stereotypes develop between these two groups and are enforced by the restricted social interactions which are formally prescribed by the institutions (Goffman, 1961: 7-9).

Goffman's (1961) explanation on total institutions is reflected in the South African female prisons, which is characterised by a communal living space in which the inmates reside, albeit unwillingly. Prison staff also shares this communal space with the female prisoners for the purpose of work only. Unlike the prison staffs that are in prison solely to work, female prisoners in South Africa inhabit, sometimes work and enrol for formal education with people who are similar to them, in terms of criminal involvement, and often, other characteristics, such as histories of abuse and social class.

Goffman (1961) notes the adverse effect that the total institutions have on their residents, in this case female prisons and female prisoners. According to the author, the inmates become "mortified" as they enter into the institution. Mortification refers to the process whereby the inmates "suffered from the loss of many roles he or she occupied in the wide world…Instead, only the role of 'inmate' is available, a role that is formally powerless and dependent" (Stohr and Walsh, 2012: 115). Irwin and Cressey (1962: 143) point out the "processes of mortification and dispossession", as identified by Goffman (1961), which inmates experience upon incarceration. Similarly, Goffman (1961: 14) explains that:

> "In total institutions…membership automatically disrupts role scheduling, since the inmate's separation from the wider world lasts around the clock and may continue for years. Role dispossession therefore occurs".

In other words, there is a discrepancy between the roles that are played by some of the female prisoners in South Africa before incarceration and while they are incarcerated because incarceration puts an end to, suspends or modifies the roles that are played by females before incarceration and the role of a prisoner has to be taken up by them. Some of these roles and the social interactions that go along with them, as well as those roles that the participants of this study had to adopt after incarceration are explained in chapter five, six, seven, eight and nine of this study. Subsequent chapters of this study provide more insight on the female prison inmates and prison staff, particularly the wardens, dichotomy.

2.6 A comparison of GST, feminism, the feminist pathways approach and Goffman's "total institutions"

There exists some degree of overlap between GST, the feminist pathways approach and Goffman's "total institutions". In particular, GST supports one of the central arguments of both feminism and the feminist pathways approach, namely, that female crime is rooted in the oppression of women and girls (Carlen, 1985, 1988; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Gilfus, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1986; Naffine, 1987). Feminism notes that the oppression that females experience and their subsequent "liberation" from this oppression is the cause of their crimes. However, Goffman's "total institutions" is silent about the root cause of female crime. Rather, Goffman's (1961) study is more concerned about the interactions (or lack thereof) inside the prisons, particularly between the prison inmates and prison staff. The social interaction between and among the female prisoners and prison staff is influenced by the totality of such institutions, which for instance, creates a formally approved social distance between the female prisoners and the prison staff, as well as the pathways of the female prisoners into crime and their subsequent incarceration.

The oppression of females to which feminism refers is regarded as strain and past traumatic experiences by both GST and the feminist pathways model respectively. This oppression impacts significantly on the roles (as identified by Goffman's, 1961) that are played by the female prisoners before, during and after incarceration. Goffman (1961) contends that these roles that the female prisoners play prior to incarceration are often exchanged for new roles, as female prisoners, upon their arrival in prisons.

The GST and the feminist pathways are in agreement about the cause of female crime. However, the types of strain/oppression that females experience which cause them resort to crime are the point of divergence of the theories. The GST and the feminist pathways model are in agreement that the oppressive conditions (strain or past traumatic events) that females experience is the reason why they resort to crime. However, the theories differ in terms of the types of oppression (strain or unpleasant historical experiences) which females experience. A continuation of the oppression and strain that some of the female prisoners experience before imprisonment may continue during incarceration and Goffman (1961) note that these are experienced as soon as the female prisoners arrive in prison. According to Goffman (1961: 14):

> "The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements. In the accurate language of some of our oldest total institutions, he begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self".

Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004: 11) explain that GST categorises the types of oppression or strain that individuals experience and, like the feminist literature, argues that oppressed individuals may resort to crime in an effort either to reduce their strain or to manage the negative emotions associated with their strain. Similarly, the feminist pathways approach contends that the historical traumatic events in the lives of women and girls serve as the basis of their criminal offending.

In addition, in explaining the etiology of female crime and the reason why males commit more crime than females, GST relies heavily on the feminists' views on crime (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 276). In addition, there are numerous similarities between GST and the various accounts of feminism and the feminist pathways approach that explain female crime in terms of oppression. Similarities is also inherent between GST, feminism and the feminist pathways approach, and Goffman's "total institutions" in that the experiences that female prisoners are subjected to by the virtue of the totality of prisons is often influenced by their lives (which may involve oppression or strain) before imprisonment, their pathways into crime and imprisonment and their lives after incarceration.

2.7 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S LIVES BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER INCARCERATION
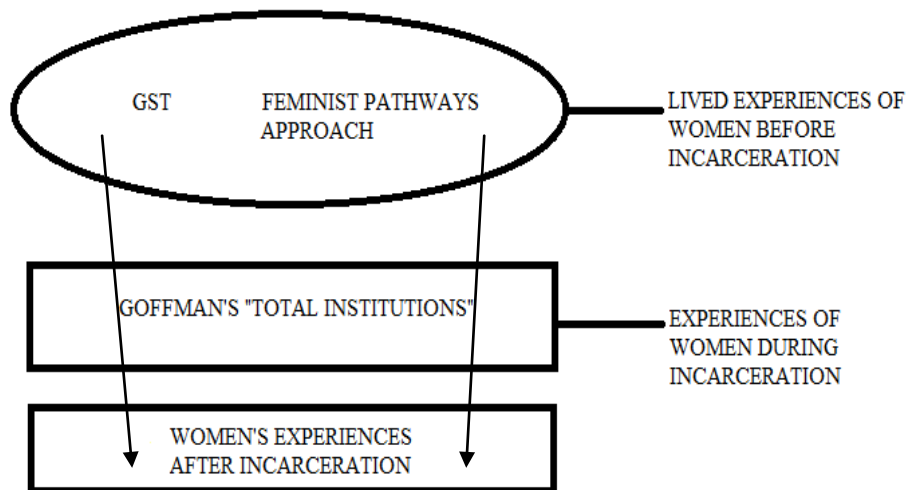
Figure 1: Conceptual framework for the analysis of women's lives before, during and after incarceration

The theoretical model above indicates that the strains (explained by GST) may continue during and after incarceration, and the pathways of the participants into crime may influence their experiences during and after incarceration; a combination of these may lead to re-offending.

Using the conceptual framework above, chapter five of this study will be interpreted in terms of GST and feminist pathways approach. Chapters six, seven, and eight will be interpreted in terms of Goffman's Total institution. Chapter nine will be interpreted in terms of the above theoretical model as a whole.

2.8 CONCLUSION

GST, feminism, the feminist pathways approach, Goffman's "total institutions" have provided insightful explanations of female criminality and the social interactions that occur inside prisons. GST extends the observation made by traditional strain theories that strain, including the failure to achieve monetary success and middle-class status, causes crime by positing that there are other types of strain that are responsible for crime and also that there

are several factors that influence individuals' responses to strain. Thus, males and females generally react differently to strain. Hence, one may argue that the responses to strain are gendered. Thus, the responses of South African females to strain influence their choice of whether or not to engage in crime. In addition, these responses are significantly different to those of South African males in similar circumstances because of the gender differences between males and females. GST submits that these strains elicit emotions, including fear, depression, frustration, anxiety, disappointment, hopelessness and anger. Individuals choose various coping strategies to address the negative emotions that they experience. Some feminists explained the reason for the increase in the crimes committed by females. Feminism attributed this increase in female crime to the "liberation" of women. Goffman's "total institutions" discussed the interactions that take place in establishments, such as female prisons, and how the separation of female prisoners from the larger society bring about values and behavioural roles that are peculiar to the inmates within these institutions.

The three theories have made significant contributions to criminology scholarship, in particular, on the topic of female criminality and prison studies. The feminist pathways approach observes that traumatic events precede females' criminal and delinquent behaviours.

The theoretical model put forward in this chapter shows the interconnectedness of the experiences of the participants of this study prior to, during and after incarceration. The model indicates that there is a continuous relationship between the experiences of the participants of this study during the above mentioned phases of their lives.

The next chapter examines the existing literature on female criminality and traces the historical antecedents of female crime. The chapter also investigates the various explanations of female criminality.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the historical explanation of female criminality and studies on the experiences of women regarding crime. Specifically, literature on the experiences of women regarding the following are discussed: same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons and the history of this phenomenon over the years, female prisoners and abuse, female offending and incarceration in South Africa and the intersectionality of gender, race, class and crime.

3.2 THE HISTORY OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY

Gora (1982) identifies two major schools of thought that have provided historical explanations of female crime. The earlier school, the traditional school of thought, is found in the writings of scholars spanning a period of approximately sixty-three years, starting from the early 1900s up to the early part of the 1970s. Gora (1982) categorised the works of Thomas, Lombroso, Pollak, Cowie, Cowie and Slater, Freud, Konopka, and Vedder and Somerville as belonging to the traditional school of thought. This school regarded the etiology of female crime as being rooted mainly in psychological and physiological factors. The traditional school of thought also recognised the contribution of emotional factors to female criminality. The second school of thought, sex role theory, stressed that social and cultural factors, in particular, sex-role socialisation, are relevant in explaining female crime (Gora, 1982: 8–9). These schools of thought are discussed in more detail below.

3.2.1 The traditional school of thought

The late nineteenth century heralded research into the causes of female crime. Cesare Lombroso's work, *The female offender* (1895), was regarded as the first attempt at writing a text on females and crime. The theory of evolution served as the basis for Lombroso's ideas. Lombroso believed that criminals are a product of the failure or inability to evolve in the same way as other (non-criminal) humans. This inability of criminals to evolve causes them to become "atavistic". According to Dastille (2011: 289), atavism occurs when a human

characteristic reappears after several (human) generations of absence. Lombroso and Ferrero believed that atavism was the cause of female criminal behaviour. In other words, the criminals become primitive (Valier, 2007: 145). In Lombroso's view (cited in Dastille, 2011: 289), criminals are more primitive than non-criminals and they (the criminals) occupy a lower rung of the evolutionary ladder as compared to non-criminals. It was Lombroso's contention that female criminals occupied an even lower level on the evolutionary scale than male criminals and, hence, they should be regarded as born criminals and sometimes even monsters. According to Lombroso and Ferrero (cited in Smart, 1977: 32), in criminal females, natural female traits were replaced by "strong passions and intensely erotic tendencies, much muscular strength and a superior intelligence for the conception and execution of evil". Lombroso emphasised that the criminality of females is dependent on their physical characteristics. Lombroso concluded that those females who possess the following traits, namely, larger cranial cavities, larger and heavier jaw bones, larger cheekbones, moles and hairiness, were naturally criminally inclined. Lombroso believed that the traits mentioned above were masculine traits and, hence, they should not be present in a female. Females are supposed to be "delicate" in physique. According to Lombroso, a deviation from this norm denoted inherent criminal tendencies in females (Klein, 1976: 62).

Lombroso's work on female criminality laid the foundation for the work of William Isaac Thomas. Thomas incorporated psychological and social causes into Lombroso's discourse on the crimes committed by females. In his publication, *Unadjusted girl*, Thomas regarded female criminality as an expected response to certain social circumstances. Thomas stressed the relationship between social controls and the behaviour of individuals. Thomas believed that the behaviour of humans is dependent on the circumstance(s) in which they find themselves (in Gora, 1982: 4). Thomas' approach to theorising was in line with the basis of what later became known as symbolic interactionism. Thomas argued that traditional society was experiencing what he considered to be social disorganisation, and that the influence of social control on women had reduced, thus, resulting in criminal females (Klein, 1976: 59). Thomas attributed the cause of female crime to the need for excitement and adventure on the part of the females (Gora, 1982: 4–5).

Sigmund Freud further established the connection between human physique and crime. In particular, he established the relationship between psychological traits, biological characteristics, social structural factors and crime. Freud placed a high priority on the

socialisation of people, arguing that socialisation was the determining factor as to whether an individual became a criminal or not. Freud explained that socialisation creates an equilibrium between the urges and the drives of individuals. Improper socialisation destabilised this equilibrium and this, in turn, resulted in criminality or deviance. Freud used psychoanalysis to trace the etiology of female criminal behaviour to early childhood trauma. He attributed the cause of female crime to a sexual anomaly in the female criminals. Freud referred to this as "penis envy", contending that the realisation of the absence of a penis or the presence of an "incomplete" or "inferior" sexual organ, the desire and futile attempts to obtain a penis and the negative emotions generated as a result of these futile attempts resulted in females committing crimes, particularly those females who were unable to negate these negative emotions through socialisation. The "lack" in female biology propelled them to want to be like men by committing crime. Inherent in Freud's argument is the premise that crime is the domain of males (Klein, 1976: 61; Gora, 1982: 5).

Otto Pollak's, *The criminality of women* (1950), made significant contributions to the discourse on female criminality. Pollak expanded on the physiological explanation of female criminality put forward by Lombroso by arguing that female crimes are both "hidden" and sexually motivated. In addition, Pollak viewed the biological phases of female lives and crime as being connected, arguing that these biological phases, such as menstruation, pregnancy and menopause, influence female criminal behaviour because their inhibitions are compromised during these periods (Gora, 1982: 5). In my opinion Pollak's contention is flawed because it contradicts the low global female crime statistics as compared to the male crime statistics, both now and in the past. If Pollak's argument were valid, there would have been high female crime statistics historically and also nowadays. Pollak was, however, quick to point out the reason for the low offending rate of females as compared to that of males in his next line of argument. Pollak claimed that women did not feature in the crime statistics because they chose to be engaged in "traditional" professions, such as, maids, nurses, teachers and homemakers, and that these professions rendered their crimes relatively undetectable. Pollak believed that nurturing jobs provided good cover for the concealment of female criminal acts and that this was the reason for the preponderance of females in such professions (Klein, 1976: 73–75; Gora, 1982: 6). I believe that it was naive of Pollak to state that these occupations were preferred by females because, based on evidence from the patriarchal nature of societies in different time periods, it can rather be deduced that women took up such jobs because those were the roles that the patriarchal societies groomed them

and which they were expected to take up. In other words, females' socialisation prepared them to take up such domesticated and nurturing roles in society.

Coupled with the type of professions in which females engaged, Pollak also maintained that females were experts in deceit and concealment. According to Pollak, these traits were rooted in female biology and were honed through their concealment of menstruation and their faking of orgasms (Klein, 1976: 74). However, the awareness of opportunities which had, hitherto, not been known or available to women, brought about a change in the traditional roles of females (Simon, 1975; Adler, 1975). In my opinion, if Pollak's contention that females' masked crimes were to be true, then females would have chosen to remain confined to their traditional roles and not take up more modern roles as this will enable them to continue to "mask" their crimes. In addition, the number of crimes committed by females has been increasing. More modern views point to the increased freedom females now enjoy in the traditionally male roles and occupations as a factor which contributes to the crimes that they commit. Some of the writers who share this opinion are Freda Adler and Rita Simon. Adler and Simon were feminist theorists who analysed female offending in their books, *Sisters in crime: The rise of the new female criminal* (published in 1975) and *Women and crime* (also published in 1975). These feminist researchers noted that the large numbers of females entering the labour force since the early 1970s had been responsible for the increasing numbers of females who were committing crime (Dastille, 2011: 290).

Gisela Konopka based her study on the connection between psychological and physiological factors and female crime. However, as opposed to Pollak (1950), who regarded sexual motivation as the primary cause of female crime, Konopka attributed the cause of female crime to emotional factors. Konopka further claimed that girls have greater emotional needs than boys and that the absence of fulfilling these emotional needs influences the criminal behaviour of girls (Gora, 1982: 7–8).

Cowie, Cowie and Slater (cited in Gora, 1982: 6–7) point out the difference in the rate and type of delinquent acts that are perpetrated by boys and girls reflects their biological make-up, particularly their hormonal balance and genetic composition. These authors contend that female offenders tend to flout social controls and that they exhibit masculine characteristics, whereas non-criminal females display feminine characteristics. The masculine and feminine characteristics identified by Cowie et al include energy, aggressiveness, enterprise,

rebelliousness, weakness, dependent nature and narcissism. They believe that the more "masculine" a female, the greater her propensity to commit crime.

Clyde Vedder and David Somerville (in Gora, 1982: 7) assert that the cause of female crime is embedded in the malfunctioning of the family unit and the consequences of this malfunctioning for the individual. They suggest therapy to address this malfunction within the family.

Although the contributions of the scholars cited above to explanations of female crime are dated and even sexist (with the possible exception of Adler and Simon), they do represent the thinking on female criminality at the time. Another perspective, the sex role theory of delinquent behaviour and its link to female criminality, will be discussed next.

3.2.2 Sex role theories

Unlike the proponents of the "traditional" school of thought, the sex role theorists contend that both the sex role and the socialisation of females play significant roles in their criminal behaviour. Walter Reckless regarded role theory as occupying a central position in the analysis of crime statistics in the late 1950s. He pointed out that the behaviour of males and females, including criminal behaviour, are determined by the social roles of the two sexes. However, Reckless maintained these social roles are a product of the biology, psychology and social position of males and females (in Gora, 1982: 9).

Ivan Nye asserted that delinquency is both natural and normal and, thus, that behaviour that conforms to societal norms is the opposite of delinquent acts and, in fact, unnatural. He maintained that non-delinquent behaviour is a product of two factors, namely, internal controls and direct controls. Internal controls are acquired by individuals through early childhood socialisation, while direct controls are imposed on individuals by the society in which they live. Nye contended that girls experience more direct controls, particularly from their families, as compared to boys and, hence, girls are often less delinquent than boys. According to Nye, a reduction in the direct controls that are imposed on girls will precipitate criminal behaviour (in Gora, 1982: 9).

Dale Hoffman-Bustamante adopts a sociological explanation in analysing female criminality by proposing that female crime is embedded in five factors, namely, differential role expectations for both men and women, sex differences in both socialisation patterns and the application of social control, structurally determined differences in the opportunities available to commit particular offences, differential access to or pressures toward criminally oriented subcultures and careers, and the sex differences which are built into the crime categories themselves. Hoffman-Bustamante attributes the differences in the arrests between females and males to the differences in their social control and socialisation. Hoffman-Bustamante also contends that sex roles equip individuals with skills which they may then use to perpetrate crimes. These sex roles also dictate the types and modus operandi of the criminal acts that are committed by males and females (in Gora, 1982: 11).

The works of Rita Simon and Freda Adler also belong to this school of thought. They argue that the change in female criminal behaviour has been brought on by both the increased availability of opportunities to commit crime and by the sex role of females (see section 2.4.2 for more details on Simon and Adler's views of female crime).

Gora's categorisation of the viewpoints of different scholars into the traditional and sex role schools of thought has shed light on the numerous ways in which scholars have viewed the etiology of female crime. In essence, the traditional school of thought argued that the causes of female crime may be explained using physiological, psychological, social and emotional factors, while the sex role school of thought contends that an examination of the gender roles of females is imperative in the understanding of the causes of female criminality.

The following section examines the experiences of females before, during and after incarceration. The effects of these experiences on not only the female prisoners and female ex-prisoners but also on their families, particularly their children are discussed.

3.3 FEMALES' EXPERIENCES BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER INCARCERATION

Pandey and Singh (2006: 97) regard the problems that arise from interpersonal relations within families as being responsible for the majority of the crimes that are committed by women. In addition, impoverished family background, inadequate education, abusive parents, broken homes, perceived imminent loss of valued interpersonal ties (especially a romantic relationship) and unemployment are identified as some of the characteristics of female offenders (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1995: 87–88). Pandey and Singh (2006) and also parts of Steffensmeier and Allan's (1995) contentions are in support of one of the theories, GST, upon which this study is anchored. GST contends that the inability of females either to establish or maintain interpersonal ties with other individuals is one of the factors that may significantly influence the criminal behaviour of females.

The poor living conditions of women prisoners and their children was noted by Pandey and Singh (2006: 97) when they observed that the claim by jail authorities in India in their jail manuals that medical and health facilities, food, clothing, and other necessities are provided to women prisoners and their children was, in fact, incorrect as these jails lack the basic necessities for survival and are also overcrowded. Pandey and Singh (2006: 97) also observed that "the facilities for education, recreation, health, nutrition, rehabilitation" were poor in these jails. Silvestri and Crowther-Dowey (2008: 42, 43) supported female prisoners' rights to private and family lives, particularly those who are mothers and, more especially if this category of prisoners is incarcerated in institutions that are relatively close to home when they stated that "the deleterious effects on family life of imprisoning mothers continues well after they have served their sentences and are released back into the community". Silvestri and Crowther-Dowey (2008: 42, 43) also noted that female prisoners are more likely to be the primary care givers of their children than their male partners and that there is an increased likelihood of these children becoming offenders as a result of their mothers' imprisonment and absence during incarceration.

Some of the unpleasant prison conditions that women prisoners and their children are exposed to in Indian prisons, as noted by Pandey and Singh (2006), is evident in South African female prisons. Hesselink and Dastille (2010: 65) observe that "[i]nfants and toddlers who are 'incarcerated' with their inmate-mothers within South African female correctional

facilities are exposed to a harsh, criminal, rigid and static (unchangeable) custodial environment on a daily basis". They noted that incarceration has significantly negative effects on the babies and toddlers who are imprisoned with their mothers. These negative effects include "lack of privacy and freedom of movement, limited choices, social interaction and familial and age appropriate contacts [which]… contribute to the baby and toddler's perception of reality" (Hesselink & Dastille, 2010: 65). These effects, Hesselink and Dastille (2010: 65) argue, create problems for the child in terms of an inability to adapt to the environment outside of prison.

The pains of imprisonment for female prisoners include the loss of privacy, the strain experienced in adapting to communal life in prison and the lack of control over their bodies as a result of strip searches as well as the fear of losing interpersonal relationships with family and friends after incarceration. It was noted that the most difficult aspect of imprisonment for many women is the separation from their children as a large number of female prisoners are mothers. This separation of mother and child often intensifies the pain of imprisonment for women by creating an intense feeling of isolation which is exacerbated by the frustration and guilt that these females experience as a result of the separation from their children and their inability to continue to care for their children. A significant number of incarcerated women were the sole breadwinners in their families before imprisonment. These feelings of despair are also aggravated by the non-cordial relationship that often exists between the female prisoners and the wardens (Pogrebin & Dodge, 2006: 28–30).

The effects of imprisonment are often felt by female prisoners long after their release from prison. Carlen (1990: 17) observes that "a woman's experience of imprisonment crucially affects her prospects on release … too often that experience is damaging and debilitating". A myriad of problems arise from the incarceration of females, particularly within the families. Family instability often precedes the incarceration of some females and imprisonment may, in turn, exacerbate this instability. The absence of a mother because of imprisonment may have devastating effects on members of her family, especially her children who may experience anger and resentment as a result of their mother's incarceration. Aggression, delinquency, substance abuse, poor school grades, and mental health problems are some of the negative behavioural changes that the children of incarcerated women exhibit as a result of their pain of separation from their mothers. It is also believed that there is an increased likelihood that these children will themselves be incarcerated and abuse and neglect their own

51

children. The imprisonment of mothers usually results in their children being cared for by extended family members although this often means a lack of access to the mental health and social services which would have been provided for these children if they were looked after in government controlled foster homes. However, the fear of losing custody of their children often means that female prisoners are not prepared to relinquish the care of their children to the state prior to their incarceration (Sarri, 2009: 301–303). On their release from prison, female prisoners are often eager to be reunited with their children and other family members but are unaware of the emotional roller coaster (anger and anxiety) and turmoil which their children experience when their mothers return to them. These negative feelings on the part of the children are fuelled by the sense of desertion that they felt when their mothers were incarcerated and/or the confusion as regards how to react to their mothers' return home because they may have transferred their affections for their mothers to the person who took care of them during their mothers' absence. The fact that most female "offenders are released with nothing except the clothing they are wearing and a bus ticket" compounds the experiences of female prisoners after imprisonment (Sarri, 2009: 309).

The literature on the specific experiences of females in relation to imprisonment is examined in the following sections. These experiences include same-sex sexual relationships. Female prisoners and abuse, female offending and incarceration in South Africa as well as the intersections of gender, race, class and crime are also discussed.

3.3.1 Same-sex sexual relationships between females in prisons

Same-sex sexual relationships behind bars may either be consensual or coerced. More literature exists on consensual sexual relationships between female prisoners that those which are coercive in nature. Consensual sexual relationships are practised by female prisoners as a way of coping both with life inside prison and also the loss of relationships, both sexual and non-sexual, upon imprisonment. In the United States of America, Jones (1993) identified certain coping adaptations on the part of female prisoners in order to adjust to the loss of familial ties, namely, the formation of quasi families, couples, and remaining alone. Jones (1993) noted that couple relationships may become sexual while the other adaptations serve the purpose of fulfilling the emotional needs of the female prisoners. Similarly, Propper (1978) noted that non-sexual relationships between female prisoners provided them with security, companionship, and affection. In addition, in a study also conducted in the United

States of America, Koscheski and Hensley (2001) found that female prisoners indicated several sexual orientations, including lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual, prior to imprisonment. However, the percentage of female prisoners who claimed to be "homosexuals" during incarceration increased compared to the percentage of female prisoners who claimed that they had been heterosexual before imprisonment. It may, thus, be deduced from the study that more females practised same-sex sexual relationships in prison compared to before imprisonment.

Homosexuality has been a controversial topic within both prison environments and broader society. Homosexuality has been described as "natural, unnatural, criminal, and as a type of mental illness" (Pardue et al, 2011: 286). Pardue et al (2011: 286) explain that the term "homosexuality" was coined in 1869 at a time when homosexuality was classified as a mental disorder in the USA. It remained classified as such until 1973 when the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the classification of mental disorders. For the purposes of this study, both homosexuality and lesbianism will be referred to as same-sex sexual acts.

The issue of same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons has been of scholarly interest to researchers with the majority of studies on the subject matter being conducted in the prisons of the United States of America (Einat & Chen, 2012: 25). The majority of previous studies on prison sex focused on male prisoners with most of these studies tending to focus on male prison rape rather than on consensual sexual relations between male prisoners. Tewksbury and West (2000: 372) point out that the perception of prison rape as a social and institutional problem is the reason why prison rape has been accorded more attention than consensual sexual relationships in prisons over the years. There is a paucity of research into same-sex sexual relationships in South African female prisons. In line with the trends in prison sex research in the USA, the focus in South Africa has also been on the sexual relationships that exist between male prisoners and in male prisons.

3.3.1.1 A historical overview of studies on same-sex sexual relationships between females in prisons

Studies on prison sex started in the early 1900s with an article, "A perversion not commonly noted" written by Otis (1913) in the USA. She examined homosexual relations between

"coloured" and "white" female juveniles in an institution for delinquent girls. Otis (1913: 113) regarded the inter-racial sexual relationships that existed between the girls as an anomaly and she referred to such relationships as "a form of perversion". It is evident from the study by Otis (1913) that, despite the fact that lesbianism was the focus of her study, the emphasis was on racism with the race of the girls in the study seemingly playing a crucial role in their practising lesbianism. Thus, Otis's (1913) work shows that racism was entrenched in the penal system. She noted that

> [i]n one institution, in particular, the difficulty seemed so great and the disadvantage of the intimacy between the girls so apparent that segregation was resorted to. The colored girls were transferred to a separate cottage a short distance from the other buildings. The girls were kept apart both when at work and when at play. The girls were given to understand that it was a serious breach of rules for them to get together, and the white girls were absolutely forbidden to have anything to do with the colored (Otis, 1913: 113).

The actions of the authorities in the juvenile institution that Otis studied towards the sexual relationships between the girls show that they perceived same-sex sexual relations as being, intrinsically, an inter-racial "problem". The separation of the girls into racial categories indicated that girls of the same race did not practise same-sex sexual relations. The act of segregating the girls, which was initiated by the institution's authorities, suggested that "coloured" girls were the ones who were promoting lesbianism in the facility. It would appear that this segregation was aimed at preventing the "coloured" girls from "tainting" the "white" girls who were, it seemed, perceived as belonging to a supreme race, that is, the "white" race.

However, despite the segregation of the girls into racial groups, Otis (1913) asserts that the homosexual behaviour among the girls continued to the dismay of the institution's authorities; in fact, Otis (1913) notes that the act of segregation appeared to strengthen homosexual relationships between the girls. According to Otis (1913: 113):

> Yet this separation did not have wholly the desired effect. The motive of "the forbidden fruit" was added. The separation seemed to enhance the value of the loved one, and that she was, to a degree inaccessible, added to her charms.

A study similar to that of Otis (1913) was conducted by Selling (1931). In analysing relationships between delinquent girls, Selling (1931) noted that they formed familial relationships in the institution as a way of coping with the pains of confinement. The development of families in both juvenile facilities and in prisons represents the inmates' attempts to achieve stability by simulating the type of human interactions and relationships which were similar to the ones that they enjoyed before confinement. Pogrebin and Dodge (2001: 531) state that "[m]any [female] inmates strive toward normalcy by creating relationships and mores to supplant outside losses. In fact, early research on women inmates focused on the development of social structures based on family and traditional gender roles". Similarly, Ward and Kassebaum (1965), Giallombardo (1966), Heffernan (1972), Larsen and Nelson (1984), Leger (1987) and Owen (1998) observed that the formation of pseudo-families and relationship building, including same-sex relationships, were commonplace among women in prisons.

These families of delinquent girls act as substitutes for the families that the girls leave behind when coming to the institution, and are fashioned after the same type of family structure, especially a structure which involves monogamous marriages and the interactions that exist in the wider society. Thus, terms such as "mumsy" for mother, "grannie" for grandmother, "popsie" for father, sister and uncle are used to address the members of a family in the institution (Selling, 1931: 251). However, these families have more complex structures than the structures that exist in families outside of the juvenile facility. For example, a girl could be a grand-daughter to another girl, but not a daughter to the child of her grandmother (see Selling, 1931: 252 for further explanation).

In addition to providing the inmates with the functions of a "normal" family, the families in the institution for delinquent girls that Selling (1931) studied also performed sexual functions. The term "honies" was used to describe girls who were involved in same-sex

sexual relationships in the institution. The term "honies" was coined from the word honey – a term of endearment which the girls used to address one another over a period of years.

Selling (1931) identified four types of same-sex relations, namely, overt lesbianism, pseudo-homosexuality, mother and daughter relationship and friendship. Overt lesbianism was said to exist among the girls. However, this group of girls were regarded with disdain by the other girls in the pseudo-homosexual, mother and daughter, and friendship relationships.

Pseudo-homosexuality is a social relationship rather than an emotional one. Girls who engaged in pseudo-homosexual relationships did so in a bid to conform to the social norms among the girls in the facility. Such girls did not want to have "honies" but pretended to be in lesbian relationships so as to avoid being ridiculed by the other girls. This type of relationship consisted mainly of sending love messages or relating such messages by word of mouth. Selling (1931) pointed out the girls' reluctance to engage in lesbian relationships. He noted that, when two girls who were supposedly involved in a lesbian relationship were brought together, there was usually an expression of disgust and vehement denial on the part of the "white" girl as regards the possibility of a sexual relationship between her and her purported partner, usually a "coloured" girl. However, this denial may, in fact, not have been because of the lack of a sexual relationship between the two girls, as Selling (1931) contends, but the fear of incurring the wrath of the institution's authorities, who were known to disapprove of the existence of such relationships, especially between "white" and "coloured" girls. As Selling (1931: 247) notes: "[A] problem which has been very annoying to the administration of this school has been that of intimacies growing up between two girls, one of whom is frequently colored and the other white." It would appear that the belief in the supremacy of the "white" race over other races was more of a problem for the institution's authorities than lesbian relations between the girls. Indeed, it was the "white" girl who denied the relationship while the authorities seemed to imply that the "coloured" girls were "corrupting" the white girls. The "coloured" girls were not asked to give their version of the alleged lesbianism and this, in turn, further points to the undertones of racism that existed in the institution. The denial of any opportunity for the "coloured" girls to give their own accounts of the allegations suggests that the words of the "white" girls were deemed to be more credible than those of the "coloured" girls.

In the mother daughter relationships identified by Selling (1931), there was usually some form of sexual contact. Selling (1931) notes that: "At one time she (the mother in this relationship) was ill at the hospital and immediately sent for her daughter to come up and talk to her. When they are unobserved, they kiss" (Selling, 1931: 251).

According to Selling (1931), friendship was a natural type of relationship wherein the girls involved became fond of one another without being members of the same family. This type of relationship involved no sexual relationship. Selling (1931) contended that the four categories of relationships were characterised by varying degrees of sexual relations. This view of Selling (1931) contradicts his contention that friendships are devoid of sexual relations.

As was seen in the study conducted by Otis (1913), the main problem noted in Selling's work appeared to have been in the intimacies that had developed between the "coloured" and "white" girls, and not necessarily the sexual relationships between girls. If the sexual relations between the girls in general and not the sexual relations that existed between girls of different racial categories had, indeed been the foci of the studies, they would have gone further to investigate such among girls of the same racial categories within the institutions, especially in the study by Otis which witnessed the segregation of the girls into different racial groups.

Sykes (1958) identified the loss of liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relations, autonomy, and personal security as some of the deprivations faced by prisoners. Prison subcultures, one of which is same-sex sexual relationships, develop as a response and coping strategy to the losses indicated by Sykes (1958). During the 1960s, same-sex sexual relationships in juvenile institutions for girls in the United States of America wherein the inmates were involved in "girl-stuff" were documented. In studies conducted by Ward and Kassebaum, and Giallombardo in the mid-1960s, same-sex sexual relationships were found to exist among females in prisons in the United States of America. It was reported that as many as 50 to 86% of the inmates had been engaged in sexual relationships with other female inmates during their imprisonment. Same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons may be consensual and serve to meet the emotional needs of the inmates (Toch, 1975; Pollock-Byrne, 1990). It was observed in the studies of Otis (1913) and Selling (1931) that female prisoners

had engaged in sexual relationships with their fellow inmates as a coping strategy in order to deal with being confined inside prisons.

The studies carried out by Propper in the United States of America between 1976 and 1982 found a significantly lower participation in sexual relationships among female prisoners. Propper reported that between 7 and 14% of the inmates were either married to or engaged in sexual relationships with other females; had kissed; written and exchanged love letters and had been sexually involved with females while in prison (Hensley, 2000: 361). Leger (1987) argued that same-sex sexual relationships among women in female prisons occur because of the unavailability of men; and that "lesbians" had higher rates of recidivism, had been in prison for longer periods and had been arrested at younger ages than the "straights". Morgan (1998), who served five years of a 19-year prison sentence, gave an insider's view of same-sex sexual relationships in a female prison in the USA. Morgan (1998) contended that "lesbianism" (same-sex sexual relationships among females) was a behaviour which female prisoners learnt before their imprisonment and that female prisoners met their needs for support and companionship in these sexual relationships.

Greer (2000) identified a change in the nature of interpersonal relationships in female prisons, stating that such relationships were less familial than those that had existed in the past. Pogrebin and Dodge (2001) explained that the pains of imprisonment and the development of prison subcultures are interrelated. More recently changes in the type of relationships between female prisoners have been documented. Severance (2005) noted that the need for companionship is one of the reasons why female prisoners engage in same-sex sexual relationships. Severance (2005) conducted in-depth interviews with 40 female prisoners, some of whom were opposed to sexual relationships among females and others who practised such relationships. Some of Severance's participants maintained that their involvement in sexual relationships was confined to the prison environment only, while others viewed it as a way of life which, for them, would continue after their imprisonment.

A recent study conducted by Pardue et al (2011) identified five categories of sexual behaviour in women's prisons; namely, suppressed sexuality, autoeroticism, (consensual) true homosexuality, (consensual) situational homosexuality and sexual violence. Pardue et al (2011) noted that suppressed sexuality is characterised by the absence of any sexual activity while a woman who engaged in same-sex sexual relations before, during and after

incarceration is said to practise (consensual) "true homosexuality". Female prisoners who belong in the (consensual) "situational homosexuality" category engage in homosexual relationships as a result of their incarceration. The true and situational homosexuals share certain behavioural similarities which include engaging in consensual sexual acts, establishing dyad relationships with other female prisoners and conducting relationships that are characterised by inherent harm, especially when the relationship becomes exploitative. Pardue et al (2011) identified three forms of sexual violence, namely, manipulation, compliance and coercion. They observed that sexual behaviour in the last category, coercion, included sex as a form of trade by barter, safety or protection, sexual assault, rape and, in extreme cases, murder. This category of homosexuality is the most violent. Pardue et al (2011) point out that sexual violence exists in inmate-inmate, as well as in inmate-staff, sexual relationships.

Forsyth, Evans and Foster (2012) observed that same-sex sexual relationships among women prisoners at the Louisiana Correctional Institute for Women are highly prohibited. They noted that the penalty for being caught in a "lesbian moment" is 90 days in the maximum security cellblock. According to Forsyth et al (2012), some of the activities that constitute a "lesbian moment" include physical contact and a hug or kiss between the female inmates. They observed that economic reasons, boredom and curiosity are some of the reasons for the sexual relationships between women in the institution that they studied.

Young-Jahangeer (2013) explains that, despite the fact that the South African Constitution regards "homosexuality" as a right and gay marriages are legal in South Africa, "lesbianism" is frowned upon in South African prisons. In common with Morgan (1998), Young-Jahangeer (2013) contends that women in prison practise sexual relationships with other females prior to their incarceration, with over 80% of the women in her study belonging to this category.

The literature discussed above on the sexual relationships that exist between female prisoners suggests that, even though the majority of these relationships are consensual, some of them are coerced. In addition, the literature indicates that females in prisons engage in consensual sexual relationships with one another because of a variety of reasons. However, the common denominator in all of these sexual relationships is the wish to meet specific needs.

3.3.2 Female prisoners and abuse

Belknap (2007) maintains that the crimes which women and girls are most the likely to experience – sexual victimisation (rape) and woman battering (domestic violence) – are the most underreported as well as the most abusive, fear inducing, humiliating, violent and dangerous. Moreover, "most young women and girls grow up with strong messages about dangerous men lurking in alleys and behind bushes; thus, in a sense, females are trained to fear crime" (Belknap, 2007: 5). The important point being made is that variously constituted threats (real or imagined) of danger (sexual, physical, psychological or emotional) from men permeate the public and social lives of females. This, however, does not mean that all females are always afraid of men or all men.

Certain studies indicate that delinquent girls and women prisoners have often experienced high rates of victimisation, especially incest, rape, and battering, prior to their offending behaviours (Belknap, 2007: 7; Zaplin, 2008: 78). Studies show that a significant number of female offenders are both victims and offenders (Dastille, 2011: 288). According to many of these studies, there is a possible link between prior victimisation, offending (especially in rape, prostitution, running away and drug offences) and subsequent incarceration (Belknap, 2007: 4; Zaplin 2008: 78). Recent research suggests that running away from home, prostitution, petty crimes and drug use are females' coping mechanisms to survive abuse in the home. Belknap (2007) contends that the "escape" options that are available to women and girls who have experienced or are experiencing physical and/or sexual victimisation are often illegal. Needless to say, when these females are apprehended by law enforcement agents, prosecuted and found guilty by the law courts, they tend to become labelled as "offenders" and, thus, a vicious cycle of "victim-turned-offender" process is set in motion.

The research conducted by Haffejee et al (2006a) showed that females in South African prisons have experienced significantly higher rates of childhood rape and violence in their intimate relationships as compared to females in the general population and, in fact, they are said to be seven times more likely to have been raped as children as compared to females in the wider society. According to the data from the research of Haffejee et al (2006a), 38% of the respondents reported that they had witnessed violence in their families while growing up, although they did not state the form of violence experienced. Outside of their intimate relationships, 21% of the participants claimed to have been assaulted sexually before the age

of 15. The frequency of abuse in all the cases reported in the study of Haffejee et al (2006a) ranged from recollections of daily to weekly abuse. In addition, the analysis of the data from the study indicated that, at the time of the study, 62, 81, 77 and 43% of the participants had experienced economic, emotional, physical and sexual abuse respectively. The types of abuse experienced by the female inmates varied from name calling to beating and sexual assault. One of the participants in Haffejee et al's (2006a) survey recalled being victimised by the police when she was arrested for prostitution. According to her, the police took her money and instructed her to "shut up" or else she would be victimised further. Other experiences of victimisation are also a reality in the incarceration of females in South Africa with the various forms of victimisation including "assaults and verbal insults by other inmates and correctional personnel" (Dastille, 2011: 299).

Although there is no record or actual count, a significant number of women who are the survivors of physical and domestic abuse and who killed their abusers as a last resort are imprisoned in the USA – "historically, the crime-processing system that chronically failed to respond to battered women and girls as victims respond harshly to them as offenders" (Belknap, 2007: 7). Of the participants in the survey conducted by Haffejee et al (2006a), 11% reported that they had experienced violence in their consensual sexual relationships in prison, while 5% of the participants revealed that they had been coerced into their current sexual relationships.

Historically, it was believed that women were defenceless and needed support and guidance. Accordingly, they were "relegated to a subordinate position as non-citizens, since they could not vote, own property, make wills, testify in court, serve on juries or obtain divorces" (Mann, 1984: 159). In addition, women experienced more cruelty in criminal cases and "while denied identical rights as men, they were, nonetheless, subject to the same laws as men" (Mann, 1984: 159). As compared to men, the legal status of women has always been characterised by subjugation and inferior treatment[1].

---

[1] Henriques and Manatu-Rupert (2004: 221) suggest that, historically, prisons have served as instruments of social control for both males and females, for example, prisons occupied by political prisoners in South Africa. They maintain that women have traditionally entered the criminal justice system for different reasons as compared to men. According to Henriques and Manatu-Rupert (2004), women usually go to prison for relatively minor crimes, such as property crimes, larceny, fraud and forgery. On the other hand, men are more often involved in violent offenses as compared to women while a female homicide is usually a response to prolonged abuse by a man.

3.3.3 Female offending and incarceration in South Africa

In common with the rest of the world (see section 1.2), there are a limited number of studies on female offending in South Africa and women prisoners who are incarcerated in South African correctional centres have been and are still accorded little attention in South African criminology. The low number of female offenders and insufficient "subject matter" on female offending in South Africa has been identified as the reasons for the paucity of literature on female criminality in the country (Dastille, 2011: 288).

Compared to males, female offending and incarceration in South Africa are relatively infrequent with female inmates constituting approximately 2.2% of the prison population of South Africa. However, research suggests that the number of females in South African correctional centres is rising. The report of the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons for the period of 1 April 2005 to 31 March 2007 shows that there were 3 525 females in South African correctional centres as compared to 3 369 in 1996 (Dastille, 2011: 293). In addition, the number of female inmates in South African correctional centres increased from 3 406 in 2006 to 3 703 by the end of February 2011 (Boddy-Evans, 2013). Although this is not a significant difference it does reflect an increase in the number of convicted female offenders in South Africa. The growth in female prison population is not peculiar to South Africa, but is consistent with international trends in female incarceration (Haffejee, Vetten & Greyling, 2006b).

Haffejee et al (2006b) point out that in July 2006, there were 240 functioning prisons in South Africa while, of these 240 prisons, eight were women-only prisons and 72 housed mainly men, but had an adjunct, separate space for women. Haffejee et al (2006b) observed that there was an increase in the number of female prisoners in South Africa between 1995 and 2005; although they do point out that this rise was equalled by the rise in the imprisonment of men. Dastille (2011: 294) points out that it is important to note that the percentage increase in statistics, as cited above, are influenced by the small base number.

Marginal in number, female prisoners in South Africa are further marginalised in research and public discussion on imprisonment and related issues, "except … as mothers of babies behind bars (arguably, it is the baby who is of greater public interest), or as women who have killed abusive partners" (Haffejee et al, 2006b).

3.3.4 Intersections of gender, race, class and crime

The interrelatedness of gender, race, class and crime has been a subject of scholarly discourse. Bell (2009) argues that any study considering gender, race and crime should not analyse these concepts separately, but should consider the intersections. Accordingly, the intersection of these four social concepts is briefly discussed in this section.

It is difficult to disentangle gender and race, especially when discussing issues in criminal offending. The intersection of gender with racial and economic inequalities plays a significant role in shaping people's criminal behaviour (Bell, 2009: 14). As stated by White and Haines (2001: 19), "the unique position of black women in the structure of power relations in society has profound effects not shared by their white counterparts". This observation may be said to be true of the experiences, past and present, of women in South Africa, especially "black" South African women. The historical disadvantages experienced by "black" South African women (Andrews, 2006) may be the reason for the high representation of this group of people in the statistics on criminal activities in South Africa. It is not possible to overemphasise the distinctive ways in which gender and race intersect to shape the criminal behaviour of people. Thus, the criminal behaviour of a poor, "black" South African woman is different from that of an equally poor, "white" South African woman or any other person who does not share the former's attributes in terms of class, gender or racial characteristics.

It is generally accepted that there are both gender and racial differences in criminal offending. For example, men commit more crimes than women, and "black" people commit more crime than "white" people. In the United States of America it was observed that race is the second major indicator of criminal offending (Bell, 2009: 1). The racial composition of female prison inmates in South Africa at August 2010 indicates that 70% of the inmates was black, 20% coloured, 9% white and 1% Asian (Dastille, 2011: 296). Most of the earliest literature on race, gender and crime also reflects the intersection of these three concepts. According to Gabbidon (2007: 11), these studies maintained that, for varied reasons, racial minorities, including female members, were more criminally inclined than the other racial/ethnic groups. In applying the intersections of gender, race and crime to the South African criminal scene, it may be contended that the gender, race and class of "black" South African females during the apartheid years shaped their criminal offending behaviour; and that their response to the

oppression (strain) that they experienced during those years accounts for their higher representation in female crime in South Africa. It is, however, essential that more studies be conducted to verify this view.

Consistent with the discourse on the intersectionality of race, gender, class and crime, Bell (2009) points out that there is a debate in the social sciences as to whether blacks commit more crime or they are simply targeted by the criminal justice system. In drawing a comparison between the percentage of incarcerated females and the percentage of the general female populace in South Africa, there appears to be an overrepresentation of white females in South African criminal statistics. The racial composition of female inmates in South African prisons at 2010 indicated that 68% was black, 8% white and 21% coloured (Johnson et al, 2012: 60). On the other hand, the statistics for the general population of South African females indicate 79% black, 9% white, and 9% coloured (Johnson et al, 2012: 60). In contrast to Bell's (2009) observation that black females may be targeted by the criminal justice system, the statistics by Johnson et al (2012) quoted above indicate that there is an overrepresentation of white females in the South African criminal statistics. However, whether the overrepresentation of white females in crime in South Africa is the result of their being targeted by the criminal justice system remains a subject of scholarly discourse.

It has been argued that individuals' identities are multifaceted. For example, a woman's identity is linked to her race, ethnicity, class and sexuality. Simpson and Gibbs (2006: 269) explain how the race, gender and class of offenders influence their experiences of crime:

> Race, class and gender intersections affected participation in illegal activities (e.g., who gets involved in drugs and sex work); the kind of activities that occurs (e.g., who does what and with whom); economics (earnings for services); where the activities takes place; relations with the surrounding community; and who gets hassled by the police.

In other words, the commission of a crime, the type of crime committed, where and how the crime is committed and the gender of the offender all play very important roles in criminal offending.

64

Race and social class create distinct cultural frames of reference while socioeconomic experiences shape how women perceive family relations when growing up. These early experiences ultimately affect how women comprehend and respond to battering in their adult relationships and also criminal activity. The conceptualisation of the abovementioned developmental processes may be described as a *pathways approach* to offending, that is, an analysis of ways in which gender, race and class affect the initiation of both women and men into criminal behaviour, their continued involvement in offending, and their interactions with the criminal justice system.

Heimer (1995) offers an interactionist explanation of how gender, class and race affect motivational pathways to delinquency, for example, definitions of favourable risk-taking, self-esteem, and school grades. Heimer's study reveals that, although risk-taking is directly related to the delinquency of men and women, risk-taking has different implications for males and females. Heimer (1995) observes that women have favourable risk definitions when their self-esteem is low, whereas the opposite is the case for men. He also observes that "whites" value risk-taking more that African Americans and that their self-esteem is lower although the levels of violence of African American males are higher than all the other racial groups.

In line with the intersectional analysis of gender, race and crime, Cernkovich and Giordano (in Simpson & Gibbs, 2006: 271) found that there are similarities and differences, in terms of gender and race, in the role played by family dynamics and friendship in delinquent outcomes. Their study indicates that intersectional differences became more apparent with more refined measures of family dynamics and friendship. Cernkovich and Giordano also found that family variables are better indicators of delinquency for "whites" than for "non-whites". They observed that communication plays different roles within the various dimensions of family dynamics. For example, they noted that communication matters more for "whites" than for "non-whites"; and that supervision and control comprise a better delinquency predictor for "whites" than for "non-whites". In addition, Cernkovich and Giordano observed that females tend to view their friendships as being less conflictual than do males and/or they feel less pressured by their friends as compared to males. Cernkovich and Giordano believed that it would appear that the latter protects females from being delinquents. Similarly, parental and peer influences and an adverse educational environment affect the delinquency of men and women, "blacks" and "whites", and "lower-class status"

(compared to other classes) increased violent offending only among disenfranchised "white" females and "black" males" (Simpson & Gibbs, 2006: 271).

The intersectionality of gender, race, class and crime is also evident in the work of Deming (in Chigwada-Bailey, 2004: 183). Deming contends that the criminality pattern of "black" women has been consistently different from that of "white" women in the United States of America while also contending that the pattern of criminality of "black" men differs from that of "white" men. Similarly, the experiences of "black" women within the criminal justice system differ significantly from those of "black" men and "white" women. The differential experiences of "black" women, "black" men and "white" women in respect of the criminal justice process may be seen as a result of the differences in the gender, race and class of the offenders. Women have fewer choices than men, racial minorities have fewer choices than "whites" while the poor have fewer choices than the wealthy. Analogically, poor, "black" women and women who belong to other racial minority groups will have access to fewer choices as compared to wealthy white males (Chigwada-Bailey, 2004: 183). Chigwada-Bailey (2004) submits that black women's race, gender and class render them vulnerable to unequal treatment within the criminal justice system. Chigwada-Bailey's arguments discussed above suggest that offenders' experiences within the criminal justice system are dependent on their gender, race, and class, with poor black women at a disadvantage.

Intersectionality strives to create an instrument with which the identities, situations and different contexts in which men and women find themselves render them more susceptible to abuse and discrimination. Intersectionality explores ways in which discriminatory systems precipitate the inequalities that influence the position of women, people of different races and ethnic groups, and marginalised groups so as to fully comprehend their varied experiences. The gender, race, ethnicity, and class of people constitute their multiple identities and individually shape their experiences socially, economically and politically. These characteristics of individuals may also operate simultaneously in people's lives, and in multiples, thereby creating a greater variety of experiences than they would ordinarily have had if the characteristics had operated separately (Joseph, 2006: 142–143).

In conclusion, regarding females and their multiple identities in their entirety and as a complete whole, rather than as separate parts, is essential to an understanding of their varied experiences in relation to crime and also within and outside of the criminal justice system.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This literature review section discussed the history of female criminality based on the views of scholars whom Gora (1982) grouped into two groups, namely, the traditional school of thought and sex role theorists. The experiences of females prior to, during and after imprisonment were examined. It was revealed that a significant number of female prisoners come from impecunious family backgrounds, have been the victims of parental abuse, and are unemployed and inadequately educated.

It was also revealed that female prisoners, and sometimes their children, are housed under deplorable conditions in prison. It was pointed out that imprisonment has grave consequences for the women and their families, especially in view of the fact that many of the female prisoners are mothers and also the breadwinners of their families before their imprisonment. It was noted that the devastating effects of imprisonment on incarcerated women and their families continue after their incarceration as their return to their families is often associated with considerable family upheaval, especially if children are involved.

In addition, the practice of sexual relationships between females in prison was investigated. It was observed that these sexual relationships may either be consensual or coercive. The paucity of studies on same-sex sexual relationships in South African female prisons was also highlighted. A major reason identified for the practice of sexual relations among females in prison is that these relations are an attempt to cope with the pains of imprisonment. An overview of prisoners' work and corruption in prison was given and the similarity between corruption and favouritism in prison discussed.

Illicit drug use in prison, its inherent dangers and effects were also discussed. The existence of racism in prison was highlighted. It was noted that racism is reflected in the lives of the inmates and prison staff alike. The abuse of female prisoners and the link between women as offenders and victims of crime was discussed. The various types of crime to which female prisoners are subjected prior to their offending behaviours were highlighted. It was observed that, in common with their counterparts in other parts of the world, the number of female prisoners in South Africa is low compared to that of the males. The importance of intersecting gender, race, class and crime in research were also discussed. The next chapter discusses the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Punch (1998: 66), a research design entails "all the issues involved in planning and executing a research … It is the basic plan for a piece of research". Similarly, Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 82) contend that a research design is "a feasible plan or blue print" of a study. They explain further that this plan – the research design – seeks to answer the "the common five Ws (who, what, where, when, and why) and H (how) of investigation" (Dantzker & Hunter 2012: 82). These common five Ws and H refer to the sample size (who), the topic of study (what), the field or place where the data was obtained (where), the time frame within which the data was gathered (when), the objectives of the study (why) and the method(s) that were used in order conduct the study and as well as the data analysis method(s) (how). Thus, this chapter discusses the research design, method of data collection, sample size, sampling technique, data analysis and interpretation, ethical considerations of this research, my role as an interviewer as well as my reflections on the data gathering process.

4.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative research is defined as the "non-numerical explanation of one's examination and interpretation of observations, the purpose of which is to identify meanings and patterns of relationships" (Creswell, Hagan, Maxfield & Babbie in Dantzker & Hunter 2012: 56). This type of research is said to "encompass interpreting action and meanings through a researcher's own words" (Adler & Clark in Dantzker & Hunter 2012: 56). According to Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 57), qualitative research enables researchers to verbalise insights in a way that quantifying data does not permit. They observe that there are varieties of methods that may be used to carry out qualitative research. These methods include field interviews, focus groups, field observations, ethnography, sociometry, and historiography.

This study seeks to understand the experiences of female former prisoners before, during and after their imprisonment. According to Fulcher and Scott (1999: 73), a study concerned with exploration is a study "in which the researcher seeks to find out something in a new or under-researched area".

This study adopted a qualitative approach that enabled me to explore a range of aspects related to female ex-prisoners' experiences of crime and imprisonment. The participants in this study were female ex-prisoners. The qualitative approach was deemed the most appropriate for the purposes of the study because it allowed the participants to express themselves in their own words and, hence, an in-depth understanding of the subject matter was attained.

4.3 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

This section discusses all the processes that were used to collect the data for the study. These processes include gaining access to the research site, the research population, sampling and the methods of data collection – in-depth interviews. The processes that were used to gather the data for the study are discussed extensively in the following sub-sections.

4.3.1 Gaining access to the field/research site

I approached the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) in Pretoria to assist me in gaining access to female ex-prisoners. I took with me a letter of introduction (see Appendix A) to facilitate my being granted access to the participants for the study. After I had been granted access to the field by the Divisional Head of Community Corrections she introduced me to the Reintegration Case Management Supervisor (RCMS) who is in charge of female parolees. Thus, the data gathering phase of the study, which involved in-depth interviews with the female ex-prisoners, had begun.

I used two lists to gain access to the potential research participants' contact details from the DCS. The first list was a list of female prisoners who had been released in the previous five years, while the second was a list of soon-to-be-released female parolees. The selection of research participants is discussed in detail in the section "Research population and sampling" (section 4.3.2).

The interviews helped me to gain an insight into the lives of the female prisoners before, during and after their imprisonment. After the DCS had granted me access to the women, I had to gain their trust so that they would feel sufficiently comfortable to share the details of their experiences of crime and imprisonment with me. This I did by being friendly and smiling reassuringly[2] at the beginning of the interviews. In my attempt to gain the trust of the women whom I interviewed, I introduced myself by telling them my name and that I was a student at UNISA, the title of my study, its objectives, and the reason why I had chosen to interview them. I reinforced the fact that I was a student at UNISA by showing them my university identity card and this set them at ease. I saw them visibly relax as they scrutinised my university identity card. I addressed each woman by name as their names appeared on the two lists that I had been given at the DCS. I also assured them of their anonymity, the confidentiality of their responses, their voluntary participation in the study and the fact that they were free to leave the study at any stage, although I would appreciate it if they participated until the end. Nobody opted out of the interviews although several women decided not to participate in the study. Prior to the days on which I interviewed the women at the DCS, Pretoria, I had never met them nor had I any form of contact with them. I contacted the women on the list of prisoners that were released in the previous five years by telephone so as to set up appointments for the interviews; this set of participants was interviewed outside of the DCS, Pretoria. Thus, there were two sets of participants – those whom I interviewed at the DCS and those whom I interviewed outside of the DCS.

4.3.2 Research population and sampling

Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 110) define a research population as "the complete group or class from which information is to be gathered". The research population for this study comprised female ex-prisoners who had been released in the previous five years. Correctional officers were the resource people who could provide additional information on the research population.

I also used an additional sampling method to the two lists that I had obtained from DCS, namely, snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling strategy that involves locating "subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study …

---

[2] I smiled even when I did not feel like smiling, for example, during one of the interviews when I had flu and a runny nose.

These subjects are then asked for the names of other persons who possess the same attributes they do" (Mutchnick & Berg, 1996: 76). "Snowballing" refers to the "process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects" (Babbie, 2013: 191). Snowball sampling is a type of nonprobability sampling which is used primarily for exploratory purposes. According to Babbie (2013: 191), "this procedure is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to locate". Babbie (2013) further explains that the researcher gathers information from participants whom he/she is able to locate, then asks these people to help to locate more members of the same population. I sought out the initial participants using the two lists that I had obtained from DCS and then used snowball sampling to locate more participants. The initial participants introduced me to other female ex-prisoners who were also willing to be interviewed.

Sandelowski (1995) observes that an adequate sample size should neither be too small – the sample size should enable the researcher to obtain a new and richly textured understanding of experience; nor should it be too large – it should allow for intensive interviewing and analysis. Thus, the sample for this study had to be large enough to enable me to capture the varied experiences of female ex-prisoners in relation to their crime and subsequent incarceration. I interviewed twenty participants during the first round of interviews. Laforest (2009: 2) notes that "[d]ata collection from key informants should end once data saturation is achieved, i.e. when interviews do not provide any new or additional insights because the information gathered is repetitive". Accordingly, I stopped the first round of interviews after the twentieth participant had been interviewed as data saturation had been achieved.

The aim here was not to find a representative sample; hence, it was appropriate to use the non-probability sampling method of snowball sampling in addition to the two lists that I had received from the DCS. In view of the fact that I wanted to gather in-depth information from female ex-prisoners with different social characteristics, I believed that snowball sampling would be an appropriate sampling method for the study. However, as a result of the fact that a random sampling method was not used, this study is not representative of the population of female ex-prisoners in South Africa and, thus, it was not possible to generalise the findings of the research study to all female ex-prisoners in South Africa.

After concluding the first round of interviews, I contacted all the research participants to organise follow-up interviews. In order to increase the follow-up interview rate during the

second round of interviews, I had maintained contact with most of the participants whom I had initially interviewed by sending them messages via their cell phones during festive periods, and by keeping in touch with them through Facebook and Whatsapp.

When I tried to telephone the potential research participants whose names appeared on the DCS list of female prisoners who had been released in the previous five years,[3] most of the telephone calls did not connect – some were not reachable, some went to voicemail, some did not exist, some were incorrect numbers, and some rang without being answered. When my telephones calls were answered, on hearing the reason why I was calling them, some of the prospective participants either said that they were not the person who I was looking for,[4] I had the wrong number, they had never been to prison or they simply dropped my call. These reactions may have been as a result of either the trauma that they had experienced as prisoners or the stigma that is attached to imprisonment. Most of them did not want to be associated with having been to prison for fear of being stigmatised. This line of reasoning was reinforced by the response of one of the women who had declined to participate in this study because she wanted "to put the experience behind her". She indicated that the experience in prison had been so terrible that she wanted to leave it in her past. I thanked her for granting me an audience, told her that I appreciated her honesty and that I respected her wish of not wanting to participate in this study. Some of the women declined outright to participate in the study; some agreed to participate but later opted out when I called them to remind them of the interview, while some did not turn up for the interview despite the fact that I had reminded them the day before. Using the list of female prisoners who had been released in the previous five years, I made a total seventy-five telephone calls and five women only agreed to take part in my study.

The second list, which comprised several sheets of paper, and that I used to locate research participants contained the names of yet-to-be released female parolees. I went to wait for them on the indicated day of release at DCS from 7a.m to request them to participate in my study. I had to be there that early because no one knows the exact time that they will come to

---

[3] I wanted to go beyond five years, but the DCS staff member who helped me advised me not to because most of them would have changed their telephone numbers and I would most likely not have been able to track them down. She proved to be right as I was not able to track down the majority of the female prisoners who had been released in the previous five years.

[4] Even though I normally asked for them by their full names at the beginning of the telephone conversation and they had told me that they were the person I had been looking for before I proceeded to tell them the purpose of my call.

DCS to sign their release papers. I usually waited between one and four hours before they arrived. The second list contained the names of both male and female parolees so, before the interview days, I had to go through the list carefully to pick out the names of the female parolees. In selecting the female parolees I also had to make sure that I selected the female parolees who were still under the DCS, Pretoria as some of them would have been transferred to prisons outside of Pretoria during their imprisonment and, thus, they would have paroled outside of Pretoria. In view of the fact that the second list from which I selected potential participants contained the names of far more male parolees than females, I had to go through several sheets of paper to obtain the names of female parolees. The ratio of female parolees to male parolees on this list is approximately 1: 28 and, sometimes, a sheet of paper containing the parolees' names contained no female parolees, only males. In total, the second list yielded nine participants for the study. All the participants whose names I had obtained using the second list agreed to take part in the study.

The fourteen participants that I obtained from the two lists introduced me to thirteen prospective participants but only six of them agreed and were able to take part in this study. The reasons why the remaining seven prospective participants that I got through snowball sampling did not participate in this study were due to the fact that some of them now live far away from the research site and some others were not reachable.

Of the twenty participants whom I interviewed initially, fifteen only were reachable for the follow-up interviews. Although these fifteen participants all initially agreed to be re-interviewed, eventually only four were re-interviewed. The remaining eleven participants whom I did not succeed in re-interviewing either did not answer my telephone calls, texts or Whatsapp messages any more, or they kept putting off the date on which I could re-interview them. After four months of contacting the eleven participants for a second interview on a weekly basis, but without success, I concluded the data gathering process. The aim of the follow-up interviews was to verify the validity of the information that the participants gave me during the first round of interviews but the unwillingness of most of the participants of this study to be re-interviewed hindered this process.

4.3.3 Method of data collection

The method used to collect the data for the purposes of this study is in-depth interviews. I chose this method because I believed that it is the most appropriate for realising the objectives of the study as regards providing rich information on the lives of females in and out of prisons. This method is discussed in detail in this section.

After having been briefed about the aims of the study all the participants participated in the research study willingly. The participants signed consent forms and all the standard ethical procedures were observed. The participants were assured of their anonymity and the confidentiality of the information that they would provide. Pseudonyms were used for all the participants in order to protect their identities.

The initial twenty interviews were conducted over a period of eight months, from September 2012 to May 2013. An interview guide (see Appendix B) was used to steer the flow of conversation during the interviews. With the exception of one interview all the interviews were audio-taped. I did not require the services of a translator during the interviews because all the participants spoke English fluently.

In addition to the first twenty interviews, I conducted a second round of interviews from September 2013 to December 2013. Four of the participants from the first round of interviews were re-interviewed during the second round of interviews. The questions that I asked the four participants during the second round of interviews sought to ascertain what had happened to the participants between the first and second interviews, and were tailored to suit each of the participants based on their responses in the first interviews. With the exception of one interview, the four interviews in the second batch of interviews were recorded. I jotted down notes during the interview with the participant who had declined to allow her interview to be recorded, and wrote more comprehensive notes immediately after the interview. The reluctance of the sixteen participants to grant me a second interview may have the result of the sensitive nature of the study and also the fact that they may have felt that they had revealed considerable (perhaps too much) personal and sensitive information to me during the first interviews. However, the refusal of some of the participants to be re-interviewed clearly indicated that the participants in the study had been aware of their choice to participate or not participate in the study.

4.3.3.1 In-depth interviews

Punch (1998: 176) writes that "[d]ifferent types of interviews have different strengths and weaknesses, and different purposes in research. The type of interview selected should therefore be aligned with the strategy, purposes and research questions [of a research]". Interviews are "conversations with a purpose" (Mutchnick & Berg, 1996: 116). Different types of interviewing are suited to different situations. Interviewing involves an individual asking another individual question(s) with the aim of obtaining information (Dantzker & Hunter, 2012: 57). Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 57) noted that a research interview refers to the interaction between two people where one of the person's goals is to obtain recognisable responses to specific questions. In order to obtain these responses, I used an interview guide during the interviews (see Appendix B). The interview guide is "a check list of topics and questions to be explored" (Fulcher & Scott, 1999: 89). In my opinion, the term "interview guide" (Guthrie, 2010: 120) may be used interchangeably with the terms "interview schedule" (Mutchnick & Berg, 1996: 117; Hagan, 2005: 175) and "interview protocol" (Hagan, 2005: 175) because they all refer a set of pre-set questions that help the interviewer to stay focused on his/her topic of study during an interview. The interview guide enabled me to steer the interviews in the directions that were most relevant to the objectives of this study and, thus, it was designed in a flexible way so as to allow me gain a better understanding of the participants' views on their experiences with crime and imprisonment.

One of the objectives of the data collection process in this study was to allow the participants to speak spontaneously and, hence, the data was collected using in-depth interviews. This technique is advantageous in that it allows the participant to relate as freely as possible about the topic under examination and assigns him/her a central role in the interview while fostering interpersonal interaction(s) (McLeod in Drapeau, Körner, Brunet & Granger 2004: 31).

In view of the flexible nature of in-depth interviews, various researchers use this type of interview in different ways, subject to their research objectives. Accordingly, scholars classify in-depth interviews in different ways with some writers categorising it as a form of semi structured interview while, to others, it is a type of unstructured interview. In the view of Minichiello et al (in Punch, 1998: 176), the in-depth interview is a type of semi-structured interview. However, according to Punch (1998: 178), "the traditional type of unstructured

interview is the non-standardized, open-ended, in-depth interview". In-depth interview is a type of semi-structured interview because it combines elements of both the structured and the unstructured interviews. For the purposes of this study, I used the in-depth interview as a type of semi structured interview. The use of in-depth interviews afforded me the opportunity to probe the experiences of the participants so as to obtain a substantial amount of information that was relevant to the study. The use of in-depth interviews also encouraged the participants to respond on their own terms and in ways which they considered relevant and significant to their experiences. Most importantly, the use of in-depth interviews in the study enabled me to explore why the participants gave specific responses and also to ask follow-up questions to the responses that they gave. During most of the interviews the flexible nature of in-depth interviews allowed me to probe for in-depth information. At such times, the interview guide ended up being expanded and, thus, more detailed and valuable information was obtained than would otherwise have been the case. In addition, the in-depth interviews enabled me gain insights into the past and present experiences of the participants in relation to crime and imprisonment. Some of the memories of these experiences were so strong and vivid for certain research participants that they had tears in their eye as they related them to me while others broke down in tears[5].

I conducted all the interviews. The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and five hours, although the average length of an interview was one and a half hours. Hagan (2005: 175) suggests that "the recording of interviews by means of audio tapes releases interviewers from the task of taking on-the-spot notes and enables them to concentrate on conducting the interview". Accordingly, I recorded (audio-taped) all the interviews but one. In the case of the woman who had not agreed to the use of a tape recorder while I interviewed her, I wrote down notes during the interview and then more detailed notes immediately after the interview. Brief notes were also taken during the other interviews. Using a tape recorder during the interviews gave me a deeper understanding of the social context in which the responses of the women were generated as it allowed me to focus my undivided attention on the participants and the stream of our conversations. I was also able to maintain eye contact with the participants throughout the interviews and to read their body language as the interviews progressed. This, in turn, enabled me to pick up hints on whether to probe a

---

[5] Whenever any of the participants start crying during an interview, I usually turned off the tape recorder, consoled them and gave them some time to regain their composure, after which I would ask them if they would like to continue with the interview. None of the women who cried during an interview opted out of the interview and they welcomed the opportunity to speak about their experiences.

certain topic or response further and to sense whether a participant was uncomfortable with the flow of the conversation or a particular question. At such times, I changed the subject to a more comfortable one or interjected the interview with an anecdote or a compliment so as to relax the participant. If I had taken copious notes during the interviews, my eyes would have inadvertently been on the paper on which I was writing the notes and, thus, the meanings behind some of responses would have been lost on me.

Punch (1998: 183) states that "language is obviously central in qualitative research, with data in the form of words. Talk is the primary medium of social interaction, and language is the material from which qualitative social research is constructed". In discussing the importance of language in qualitative research, Silverman (in Punch, 1998: 183) attests to the importance of language in qualitative research as follows: "Qualitative field data are linguistic in character: observations, texts and interviews all focus and rely on language". Similarly Wooffitt (in Punch 1998: 183) contends that "[l]anguage permeates those aspects and phenomena which are central to social research", while Coffey and Atkinson (in Punch 1998: 184) state that "cultural categories are organized and defined through language". During all the interviews I spoke little and allowed the women to do most of the talking. If a follow-up question occurred to me as they talked, I did not interrupt them, but wrote the question down and asked it when they had finished talking.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

"Coding is the process through which individual responses are converted into categories and classifications for use in the research" (Fulcher & Scott, 1999: 80). Punch (1998: 204) points out the key role played by coding when he wrote that "coding is the starting activity in … qualitative analysis". Similarly, Babbie (2013: 396) states that "the key process in the analysis of qualitative social research is coding". He goes on to explain that coding entails "classifying or categorising individual pieces of data-coupled with some kind of [information] retrieval system".

Open coding is the first stage of coding during which labels are attached to data. These labels may be either descriptive or low-inference. Axial coding comes after open coding and involves interconnecting the main categories/themes that were obtained during the open

coding. Selective coding builds on the categories/themes that are generated by the axial coding (Punch, 1998: 212, 216, 217; Babbie, 2013: 397–398).

Once I had completed the interviews, I used open, axial and selective coding as explained above. At the end of all the interviews, I transcribed them and re-read them in order to eliminate transcription errors. I also analysed the field notes that I had made and incorporated them into the data analysis. I then attached labels (open coding) to the pieces of data that had been generated from the interviews (Punch, 1998: 204, 212). The interview guide that I had used contained the main themes of the interviews, but these themes were adjusted to include other labels and categories as suggested by the data that had been generated from the interviews. The initial labels formed an integral part of the subsequent analysis. The labels that I attached to the participants' words helped me to index the data, thereby providing a basis for the storage and retrieval off the data. The initial labels enabled me carry out advanced coding later in the data analysis. In addition, the first labelling of the data also assisted me to summarise the data by synthesising the themes and identifying patterns in the participants' responses.

Consistent with Punch's (1998) definition of open coding, I attached labels to the individual data that I had gathered. The similar data that were obtained during open coding were later pooled during the axial coding stage. These groups of data were placed under the same headings in order to create themes. The labels generated from the open coding were descriptive and also exhibited some degree of low-inferences. The twenty interviews were organised by means of cross-case analysis (axial coding), wherein each theme which emerged from the content analysis (open coding) was compared vertically and horizontally (between participants) (Punch, 1998: 215). When analysing the data at this stage, I focused on patterns and recurrent themes that were emerging from the data rather than on predetermined categories. After an initial review of the various themes mentioned by the participants, I reduced the number of these themes by collapsing them into broader categories (selective coding) (Punch, 1998: 217).

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Conducting research on female ex-prisoners raises ethical issues. However, I obtained ethical clearance to conduct the study from the Ethics Committee of the Department of Sociology,

UNISA (see Appendix C) and the ethical guidelines were adhered to. Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 20) note that there are certain specifically identified criteria that, when applied or followed, assist in producing an ethical research study. These criteria include avoidance of harm, confidentiality and voluntary participation.

4.5.1 Avoidance of harm

Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 26) explain that, in many instances, it is possible to conduct research without "having to inflict any undue stress, strain or pain on respondents [research participants]". However, Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 26) acknowledge the fact that *"at times* research can be physically or emotionally harmful". They submit that "the ethical approach is to avoid any such (sic) research [that causes the participants harm] … regardless of how important its findings might be, unless it can be shown that good from the information of such studies far outweighs the harm", an eventuality which Dantzker and Hunter (2012) note is rare (Dantzker & Hunter, 2012: 26).

It is essential that research participants should be protected from any harm that may result from their participation in a research study. In line with the views of Dantzker and Hunter (2012) on the research ethics of avoidance of harm, I did not expose the participants in this study to any intentional harm. For example, the interviews were conducted in secure spaces such as the social worker's office in the DCS or in public spaces, for example, inside a shopping mall or on a university campus.

4.5.2 Confidentiality

Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 28) maintain that privacy and confidentiality are two ethical issues that are germane to social researchers because "the very nature of their research, frequently request individuals to share with them their thoughts, attitudes, and experiences". According to Hagan (2005: 60), all social science researchers are obliged to protect the confidentiality of the information provided by their respondents.

Overall, Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 28) offer the following five reasons as to why confidentiality and privacy are important in research:

"1. Disclosure of particularly embarrassing or sensitive information may present the respondent with a risk of psychological, social or economic harm.

2. Sensitive information, if obtained solely for research purposes, is legally protected in situations where respondents' privacy rights are protected.

3. Long term research may require data storage of information that can identify the participants.

4. The courts can subpoena data.

5. Respondents may be suspicious as to how the information is truly going to be used."

Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 28) further maintain that it is fundamental that confidentiality and privacy be adhered to in carrying out research. They go on to say that confidentiality and privacy can be achieved by two methods, namely, physical or legal protection. Physical protection has to do with presenting data in such a way that it is not possible to make connections between the information gathered and the participant who provided the information or by the restriction of access to the data generated or information gathered. On the other hand, legal protection "attempts to avoid official misuse" of the data generated by a study.

In light of Dantzker and Hunter's (2012) views on privacy and confidentiality and in accordance with UNISA's ethics policy, I sought the informed consent (see Appendix D) of the research participants before conducting the interviews. I also assured the research participants of their anonymity and the confidentiality of the information they provided. In order to protect the women whom I interviewed and to ensure the confidentiality of the information that they gave me, I did not use their real names during the data analysis but, instead, I used pseudonyms. The pseudonyms consisted of first names only. The pseudonyms were chosen in such a way that they reflected the participants' cultural heritage, for example, "Nokuthula" may be called "Nozipho" or "Helen" may be called "Henrietta".

4.5.3 Voluntary participation

Dantzker and Hunter (2012: 23) posit that researchers should not only "seek to obtain consent, they [should] also … [inform] prospective respondents that participation … [is] voluntary". In line with this contention, I explained the purpose of the study to the participants at the beginning of each interview and then asked for their voluntary

participation. The fact that so many women either refused to take part or did not show up for the scheduled research interviews underscores the fact that they had understood this aspect. The participants were also given consent forms (Appendix A) to sign before the interviews commenced. In addition, I made it clear to them that they were free to withdraw from the study should they so choose.

4.6 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH SITE

I conducted the interviews in an office at the DCS and also at a mall, a nursing school, a university, on the grounds of the Union Buildings and in the home of one of the participants. The choice of the interview venue was dependent on the safety and convenience for the participants and me. I always asked the participants to choose the venues although I did sometimes make suggestions as to where we could meet.

Nine of the interviews were conducted in the "social worker's" office[6] at the DCS, Pretoria. These nine interviews involved women who had been parolees before the actual day of their release and they had been on parole for between six months to three years. Eleven of the women were interviewed outside the DCS. These eleven women had been released from prison for a period of between three months and four years, while the remaining nine women (who were interviewed in the DCS) had completed their parole a few minutes before the interviews. Of the eleven interviews that were conducted outside of the DCS, six were conducted on a bench in a mall[7] in Pretoria, three took place on benches on two of the

---

[6] Although the sign on the door of this office reads "PLEASE DON'T DISTURB. SOCIAL WORKER PROGRAMME", I did not see any social worker using the office throughout the data gathering phase of this study. Instead I observed this office being used as an adjunct office by the other DCS and trainee staff.

[7] This venue was chosen because of its proximity to the residence of the women interviewed. I also thought it was a neutral and safe venue for both the women and me. Despite the fact that I did not feel threatened by any of the women whom I interviewed, I still took the necessary precautions to ensure my safety, thus, taking into account the fact that I was dealing with ex-prisoners, some of whom had been convicted of heinous crimes.

campuses of UNISA in Pretoria, one was conducted in the home[8] of one of the women in Pretoria, and the last one took place in a nursing college[9]in Pretoria.

4.7 BIOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FEMALE EX-PRISONERS

This section describes the socio-demographic variables of the participants in the study. The age, religion, ethnic group, occupation, number of children or dependents, marital status, educational qualification, type of offence, length of last prison sentence, history of abuse, and history of imprisonment in the families of the participants are discussed in detail below.

As mentioned above, twenty female ex-prisoners participated in the study. As presented in Table 1.1, the women were aged between twenty-two and sixty-three years. Nineteen of the women described themselves as Christians, while one woman did not practise any religion. Eight of the women were white, one coloured and eleven black. As regards home language, three of the women spoke Pedi, two Ndebele, one Greek, nine Afrikaans, one Shangaan, one Tswana and three Zulu. At the time of the interviews, two of the research participants were married, four were divorced, ten were single, two were separated and two were widowed. Twelve of the women had children, while eight did not. All the women had some formal education – eight women had less than Grade 12 education, six women had completed Grade 12; and six had some form of tertiary education. A minority of the women had been previously employed in skilled professions and included a medical secretary, an accountant, an information technology staff member of a bank, and a bookkeeper. Six of the women had never been formally employed while three of the women talked about how losing their jobs had forced them to resort to criminal activities in order to feed their families.

Table 1.2 reveals that that ten of the twenty women had committed fraud. Although not representative of all female ex-prisoners in South Africa, this high number provides some

---

[8] The choice of her home as the interview venue was based on her request. In order to ensure my safety, I went to her house with a male friend of mine who had been briefed about the situation and its inherent dangers. On arriving at the woman's house, I introduced myself and my male friend to her, after which he went outside and waited some distance from where I was conducting the interview. He was to come to my rescue if he noticed that I was in danger or distress, or if I gave him some mutually agreed upon signals. There was, however, no need for him to interrupt the interview as it went smoothly. In fact, this interview ended up being my longest interview and also one of the most enlightening. It lasted for approximately five hours. It would appear that the familiarity of her environment encouraged the participant to relax and she gave me a "no-holds barred" interview.

[9] I conducted this interview in the room of this participant, in a dormitory at the nursing college where she was a nursing student.

support for Simon's (in Schwartz & Hatty, 2003: 15) contention that the increased access of women to employment in higher status occupations will increase their participation in financial and white collar crimes, for example, fraud, embezzlement, larceny and forgery. Of the ten women who had been imprisoned for fraud, nine had worked in what Simon termed "higher status occupations".

The research participants had been imprisoned for between three and seventy-eight months (more than six years). The majority of the participants (17) were first-time offenders, while three women were repeat offenders. Six women had been unemployed before incarceration. The women's unemployment rate had doubled after incarceration (from six women to twelve women). This may be the result of the fact that most employers, both private enterprises and the government establishments, do not want to hire women after they have been imprisoned. This, in turn, is part of the stigma that female ex-prisoners face and it is one of the reasons why they hide their past as prisoners. Eight out of the twenty women who were fortunate enough to be employed were earning as little as a quarter of what they had earned prior to imprisonment. Two of the twenty were earning the same or approximately the same amount as that which they earned before they had gone to prison.

Sixteen of the women had no history of imprisonment in their family, while four did. Five of the women indicated they had experienced varying degrees of sexual violence, physical and mental abuse. This abuse ranged from verbal insults from their intimate partners, to rape. Three of the women said they have been raped in the past. Men had perpetrated all the abuse which these women had experienced. Most of the crimes (17) committed by these women had been non-violent, although three of the women had been incarcerated for violent offences. The crimes committed by the women included shoplifting, armed robbery, credit card fraud and other types of financial fraud, assault, possession of illegal substances and murder.

4.8 REFLECTIONS ON THE FIELD PROCESS.

> Qualitative research should involve critical self-scrutiny by the researcher, or active reflexivity. This means that researchers should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research

process, and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as they do the rest of their "data". This is based on the belief that a researcher cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating. Instead, they should seek to understand their role in that process. Indeed, the very act of asking oneself difficult questions in the research process is part of the activity of reflexivity (Mason, 2002: 7).

The data gathering phase of the study was exhausting, but fulfilling, especially when I interviewed those participants who were willing to talk freely and extensively to me. Some of the women were more forthcoming with information than others.

The lengthiest interview took place at the house of one of the participants and, although it was somewhat risky to go to her house, I took precautions to ensure my safety. A similar situation arose when a prospective participant asked me to meet her for an interview in a part of Pretoria that, unbeknown to me at the time of our telephone conversation, was dangerous for foreigners.[10] On enquiring about the interview venue that my prospective participant had chosen, I realised that it would be dangerous for me to go to such a place. In view of the spate of xenophobic attacks carried out by black South Africans against black people (the potential participant in question was a black, female South African) from other African countries, I considered that the risk for me was too great and I decided to change the interview venue. Accordingly, I telephoned her to suggest a more neutral venue, adding that I would pay for her taxi fare to and from this new venue. She insisted that we meet at the initial venue or she would not participate in my research study. At this juncture, I told her that I would not be able to meet her at the venue that she had initially suggested and thanked her for listening to what I had to say. Needless to say, the interview never took place.

I went into the interviews with an open mind. I did not intend to judge any of the women whom I was to interview. On the contrary, I was curious to understand the reasons behind the crimes that they had committed, the emotions that they had experienced after they had been convicted and subsequently incarcerated, and their experiences both during and after incarceration. I was prepared to be shocked by some of the information that I would obtain

---

[10] I am a Nigerian.

from the participants as I knew some of them may have committed heinous crimes. Surprisingly I was not shocked. This may have been because of the friendly and easy going nature of all the women with whom I spoke. I was amazed to realise that some of the women who "put up" extremely "tough" exteriors were some of the most emotional as the interviews progressed.

The fact that I am a woman born in Nigeria impacted on the study in certain ways. The status of being either an insider or an outsider in the study research was fluid and under construction as the study progressed. However, the fact that I am a female who was interviewing female ex-prisoners meant that I shared certain characteristics with the participants although not being either an ex-prisoner or a South African meant that my status as an outsider was clear. Although I clearly would never become a female South African recently released from prison or completing parole, my dual status as an "insider" and an "outsider" was fluid throughout the data gathering phase of this study.

> In certain research situations specific disparities between interviewers and respondents may constitute a substantial hindrance, but dissimilarities in race, language, class and gender may also have the effect that the respondents will discuss their views and actions more freely, since the researcher is perceived as an outsider who is unaware of specific cultural norms (Rabe, 2006: 96).

I felt that the above quotation applied to me and it certainly played out during my interviews with the women. My race played a significant role in helping me to elicit sensitive information from certain participants with the fact that I am a black person facilitating the free flow of the information from the participants, in particular when I was exploring the issue of race and imprisonment. The women whom I interviewed felt free to bare their souls to me about their experiences in prison as a result of their race. The fact that I was able to obtain extensive information from the white, black and coloured respondents regarding the issue of race and imprisonment and, indeed, a wide range of issues, was a result of the fact that I am a black, "non-South African" whom they felt they could speak their minds to without my being offended, especially if they were speaking about races other than theirs. In addition, the participants were also able to talk freely with me because I am a woman. In the

course of some of the interviews, certain of the participants often wanted to buttress their points by tapping into my "feminine" experiences (or lack thereof), for example, some of the women made statements such as: "You know when you are pregnant and you feel like …", "I missed my kids the most when I was in prison. I missed them the way a mother misses her children, you understand what I am saying, né?", "You know when we women are menstruating; you cannot use one pad from morning until night".

The participants from races other than my own felt they could relate to me because I am a woman and, as such, shared certain attributes with them. Thus, my attributes as a black female and a "non-South African" was extremely helpful in enabling me gain the trust of the women whom I interviewed. If researchers with attributes different to mine were to interview the same women whom I interviewed, they may obtain different responses from the ones I elicited. In addition, my status as an "outsider" enabled me to ask the participants questions that an "insider" could not have asked. At the same time, my insider status as a woman enhanced my understanding of the women's perceptions and responses and this, in turn, enabled me know which responses to probe further and the manner in which to do so. This all enabled me to gather a rich data on the women's experiences of crime and imprisonment.

One of the hurdles that I encountered was the long hours of waiting for the participants' arrival. This made the data gathering phase extremely difficult for me. I often waited between one and four hours for the participants whom I was to interview, particularly at the DCS, to arrive. Sometimes, they never came.

4.9 LIMITATIONS

The major limitation that I experienced was finding willing participants. Initially, I had started searching for my participants by word of mouth. Thus, I told my family, friends and acquaintances about my study and the fact that I required female ex-prisoners to participate in the study. However, this method of finding participants for my study resulted in one participant only after about three months. The other women who were willing to participate in the study were sceptical about it as they were of the opinion that I was an undercover police officer and my study was a guise to re-arrest them. Try as I did to convince them that I was not a police officer and that the study was a purely academic endeavour, I did not succeed. I then thought of going to meet them near their homes, accompanied by two men

who would act as my interpreters, if I so needed, and also serve as "protectors" for me. I decided not to follow through with this plan of going to meet my prospective participants near their places of residence because I felt that I would be exposing the two men and myself to undue danger[11] while also making the prospective participants feel threatened. Despite the fact that I was convinced that I would find participants in Mshongo, a township of Pretoria, I decided not to go there as it may have compromised my safety and that of the two men who were to go with me. During this difficult period of not being able to find participants, my supervisor directed me to one of her ex-students who worked at the DCS, Pretoria. This DCS official introduced me to the appropriate people in DCS, Pretoria and the data gathering phase of the study kicked off.

While conducting the interviews, mix-ups sometimes occurred. The DCS staff member who was in charge of releasing female parolees and prisoners is sometimes off duty. At such times, she is assisted by a male DCS staff member who is originally in charge of releasing male parolees and prisoners. Whenever this happened, there was usually a mix-up – either the women had been released a day earlier or a day later, especially if the release date was scheduled for a Sunday, or they never came. Neither the male DCS staff member, nor I[12], was informed about these mix-ups beforehand. The male DCS staff member was not usually responsible for handling the release of the female parolees and prisoners as he was, in fact, responsible for the release of male parolees and prisoners.

Despite the fact this study provides invaluable insights into the experiences of female prisoners and ex-prisoners, the small number of the participants in this study and the non-probability sampling that was used imply that it is not possible to generalise the findings of the study to all female prisoners and ex-prisoners.

---

[11] Since I am a black woman from another African country and xenophobia is rife among black South Africans, I had to take extra care. Mshongo, the community (or the township area, as these areas have been referred to since the apartheid years, is where mainly black South Africans live) that I was to go to conduct the interviews is populated by black South Africans and it is notorious for crime. In fact, it is known as one of the criminal hideouts in Pretoria.

[12] I normally contacted the DCS woman, who was in charge of releasing the female parolees and prisoners, a day before the interviews in order to remind her that I would be coming to her office the following day to interview a participant. However, she never told me about any early or later releases. I often left the DCS after waiting for several hours without seeing prospective participants. The DCS lady usually told me, either later that day or even days afterwards, that my prospective participants had been released earlier or were to be released later. She may have forgotten to tell me about these earlier or later releases because she was extremely helpful to me throughout the data gathering phase of the study.

4.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the methodology used in the study. In-depth interview is the method of data collection used for the purposes of the study. A qualitative research design was used. The major limitation that I encountered in the study was the initial difficulty that I experienced in finding participants although this was eventually overcome. The research experience was both physically and emotionally exhausting because of the long hours that I had to wait for the participants to arrive at the DCS and also the touching life stories of the women. Nevertheless, my hours of waiting was worthwhile when I gained access to participants who were willing to talk at length to me.

The findings of this study will be presented, in detail, in the next five chapters. The participants' experiences before incarceration will be discussed first. This will be followed by the experiences of the participants during and after incarceration.

CHAPTER FIVE

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES BEFORE INCARCERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the experiences of female prisoners prior to imprisonment in South Africa. It has been noted that some of the experiences of females before incarceration include the problems that arise from the social interactions between them and their family members and dysfunctional homes. The former often lead to the crimes that females commit (Pandey & Singh, 2006: 97; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1995: 87–88).

In discussing the lives of the participants before imprisonment, the emotional and sexual abuse experienced by some of the participants as well as the problems that arose from the relationships with their families which influenced the crimes that some of them committed and the events that led to their incarceration are explored. For some of the participants in the study, the abuse that they experienced started during childhood and continued into adulthood. The perpetrators of such abuse were all men.

Some tentative comparison will be made from literature from the USA since those are more readily accessible.

5.2 WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES BEFORE INCARCERATION

Although the participants were not asked specific questions about their possible histories of abuse, four of them supplied information on this topic. Margaret, Gail, Erin and Gina narrated their experiences of sexual and emotional abuse. These abuses been perpetrated by men.

> *I experienced a lot of bad things in life…there was a time, around the age of fourteen; I was raped by my cousin. Ja, so … it took some time to heal and get over it, you see …* (Margaret).

Gail relived the day that she was raped:

It's a police [man] *that raped me. It's someone that I know. Ja. He was a police, ne? And he was dealing with my case* [the first time that she was arrested for shoplifting at the age of 15]. *So, he used to come to our house after I left* [police custody]. *So now, he started becoming like a friend/relative. Everyone in my house was used to him. And then I got a job at ... We are working shifts. One day, I was changing a shift. Around 11 o'clock, I said "Let me take a taxi to work" ... So, I stayed, maybe, ten minutes without the taxi coming. So, I saw him* [they exchanged pleasantries]. *He said. "Where are you going?" I said, "I am going to work". He said "Sharp! Okay, I can take you there". He made a U-turn. He took me. There inside the car, he said to me, "Today, I am going to rape you". I thought he was joking. He said. "I have told you many times that I like you. I love you, and you don't understand that. So, today I am going to rape you, because always, even if I told you that I want to sleep with you, you always refuse". Then I said, "No, you can't do that". He then changed the topic. We were going. And then suddenly as we got to...street, he changed the route. I asked him, "Where are you going now?" He said, "I told you I am going to rape you today. I am going to sleep with you". I said, "No!" So, that time I thought if I can open the door* [the car door] *and jump off the car. Of which his car is automatic, and then he locked the door. I tried to open the door ... I struggled to open the door, and then I couldn't open the door, until we reach where he was taking me. So when we arrived there, eish ... So, he parked the car ... So, I was wearing a skirt* [she described, in detail, how he raped her] *... Eish, it was not nice. We were still inside the car. I screamed. I cried ... it was useless. And I was thinking I was not using any family planning ... so what now? He kept me there until at night. I didn't go to work. Eish, it was painful.*

Broidy and Agnew (1997: 278) maintain that females encounter more strain than males, especially as a result of the burden that they experience from nurturing other individuals. This, in fact, was the reason why Gail committed the crime she did.

> *I had a sister, né? And this sister of mine had children … My boss told me, "You know what? I am looking for someone who can assist me. So, please…find me a person that I can trust, who can work also in my other place". I said, "Okay, I will find you someone". Then I thought of my sister…and then I brought her. The place at which I was working, it was nice, very nice. So, my boss hired her to work at another place, but the place was not the same as the one that I was working. It was not as nice. So, I think it started there because she was always complaining about, 'uh, where you are working is nice, and where I am working is not nice". She was complaining and complaining, but I told her, "You know what? At least you have something at the end of the month for your children" … but then … eish! She trapped me into doing something that I was not intending to do. I had to steal in my job, and then from stealing there … I can't say it was stealing because she asked me to take some other things to bring because it was the same thing, né? That we were doing. So, my boss was not there. So, she told me, "You know what? Can you please bring me something like this, and then…" I said, "No, you know what? For me to take things like this and give it to you, it'll be hard because the boss didn't tell me anything"…and then, my boss trusted me a lot because he knew that I was a Christian. So, I just thought, "No man. She is my sister. Let me give it to her" … but, of which she took the things that I have given her, and she waited for my boss to come back … and when my boss came back, she told my boss, "You see, you are trusting the wrong person because the same person that you are trusting is stealing from you". So, one day, I was working and then when I was about to knock off[13] here comes now the CID, the police … and they were starting searching me … They searched*

---

[13] Close for the day at work.

everything, they didn't find anything. They went to my home. They searched everything, they didn't find anything. They took me to the police station and I met her there. I asked her, "Why are you doing this?" She just kept quiet. You know she is the kind of person that likes to pretend, she likes to act. She started crying [mimics her] *"No, you are talking lies. You stole it!" ... I said, "Okay, fine" because I know her better. No one knows her. She is my sister* (Gail).

The strain that Gail reported that she encountered in the nurturing of her sister eventually led her to commit the crime for which she was arrested.

Erin's narrative below describes how she was "married off" at the tender age of 12:

When I was twelve years old, my mother took me to her homestead [she is a Xhosa woman]. *I was married off at the age of twelve ... I was so scared. I had my first born at the age of 13 ... I ran away at 14 years* [from her 'husband'] *because I was still young. I did not how to stay with many people. When I was staying with my mother, it was just three of us, my mother, my sister and me. When I was married, they were a lot of people, his sisters, brothers, his mother, and their children living in the house; the kids alone were about twenty ... My early marriage robbed me of my childhood. I never enjoyed being a kid*.

The sexual relationship that Erin's "husband" had with her constituted rape because she was a minor when he had sexual relations with her. Eventually, she gave birth to a baby when she was 13 years old. Monyane (2013: 64) explains the above incident as "'*ukuthwala*' ... a form of customary marriage where the young man forcibly takes a girl to be his wife". Koyana (in Monyane, 2013: 67) explains that "'*ukuthwala' means 'to carry'*". In South Africa, the practice of *ukuthwala* is common among the Sotho, Mpondo, Mfengu and Xhosa tribes (Department of Social Development, 2009 in Monyane, 2013: 68). Tshabala-Msimang (in Monyane, 2013: 76) regards *ukuthwala* as "a form of gender-based violence against a girl-child [which] ... ultimately compromise (sic) the development of the girl child and can result

in early pregnancies". Monyane (2013: 76) notes the disadvantages of *ukuthwala* when she states that "[m]ost victims of *ukuthwala* lack education and with limited prospects of possible employment, they remain in the cycle for poverty (sic)". A large number of the victims of *ukuthwala* are from poor families (Rainbow Index, 2011 in Monyane, 2013: 76). Rembe, Chabaya, Wadesango and Muhuro (2011: 66) observe that, although the practice of *ukuthwala* is said to be disappearing, it is becoming increasingly more popular and some Xhosa communities, as well as communities in other parts of South Africa, continue to practise this custom. The impecunious family backgrounds of girls who are subjected to *ukuthwala* as well as the poverty in girls' lives created by *ukuthwala* may be a predisposing factor for female crime as the relationship between poverty and the criminality of females (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1995: 87–88) has been established. However, this was not the case for Erin as the crime that she committed was not financially motivated (see details of the crime committed by Erin on the next page).

The dysfunctional relationship which Salisbury and Voorhis (2009) identified as one of the pathways of females into crime was responsible for the crime that Gina committed. Gina narrated her history of emotional abuse at the hands of men. When she was interviewed for this study, she was living with a man whom she claimed was abusing her emotionally. They had been together for six years and had a three year old daughter together. As Gina and I walked towards the interview venue (which was a stone's throw from where I had met with her for the interview), she told me that she had not thought she would be able to make it for the interview as she had had a miscarriage three days prior to the day of the interview. She said she was weak and only just getting her strength back. I asked her if she was strong enough to do the interview, and she said she was. According to her, the cause of her miscarriage was stress caused by her "man". The baby that she had lost was for her "husband". Gina claimed that the cause of her stress and the reason why she had miscarried was his incessant womanising, which was a source of constant worry and unhappiness to her. She related how she had caught him cheating on her with other women on several occasions. She claimed that he took undue advantage of her because of her quiet and shy nature. She also claimed that his womanising had been the root cause of her imprisonment. According to Gina, they shared a two-bedroom flat with another Tanzanian man (her "husband" is also a Tanzanian). Their flatmate had a South African girlfriend. The flat mate went back to Tanzania for good, leaving his girlfriend behind in the flat. She claimed that her husband and the flatmate's girlfriend started conducting a brazen affair after the flatmate's return to his

country. They never hid the affair from her. She said she warned the woman to stop having an affair with her husband, but the woman did not heed her warnings. One day, as a result of her anger about the affair between her husband and the woman in question, Gina poured hot water over the woman. This action led to Gina's arrest and her subsequent imprisonment for three months. She spoke of her past intimate relationships with men, all of whom she claimed had also been philanderers who had emotionally abused her.

According to Broidy and Agnew (1997: 279), men's and women's conceptions of fairness are different. They note that men are concerned about the end result(s) of social interactions, while women are more concerned with manner in which the people who participate in the social interactions are treated. This gendered response to fairness was responsible for the criminal behaviour of another participant in the study:

> *It was weekend. I was cooking for my younger sister, she was sick. She was in the hospital. So, my sister, the one she come after me. So I told her she must borrow me the big pot. So, she start to go to her house, and she was drinking that time. So she go, she find that lady, the one I em ... murder, they start to fight ... They start to fight because you, you tell my friends that I sleep with the boyfriend of another person. So, me, I was inside, I don't see anything. Then comes another small girl telling me that "You are here, your sister, they are killing her outside". I said "Ha, it can't be my sister. She is not in the street, she go to her house". She go and come back again and say "I am serious, look outside!" If I look outside, I see many people ... they are surrounding ... I start to run outside to go and see what they are doing. So, I find them fighting. That person I know, so I stop them from fighting, I said "No, you mustn't fight." So, she said "You I know, you come to stand for your sister" and then she start to stab me with the bottle. So, me, I see I didn't do wrong so why now you fight with me. And then she stabbed me again. If I look at people and then they say "I don't have eyes"[14]. So I start to be cross because now I don't have eyes, no one will love me again if I don't have eyes,*

---

[14] Implying that she would no longer be considered beautiful because of the scars that may be caused by the stab wounds to her face

94

so I start to fight. So I hold the bottle, even me, I stab her until the ambulance and the police, they come I didn't stop because I was so angry. And then we go to the hospital and she start to die (Erin).

The strain that Erin had experienced in the encounter she described above led her to inadvertently commit crime. Erin deemed the interaction between her sister's assailant and herself as unfair. She responded to this perceived unfairness with anger and she expressed her anger at her perceived unjust treatment by another person by fighting. In the fight that ensued she murdered her sister's assailant.

Chesney-Lind and Sheldon (1992: 43) argue that, unlike males who focus more on material things which, in turn, results in their overrepresentation in property crime, females often commit crimes in order to help their families out financially or to assist in funding social events. The response to this type of strain may have contributed to the criminal actions of six participants in this study. Poverty, which was noted by Covington (1998) as one of the common pathways of females into crime is reflected in the crimes committed by these aforementioned six participants. Emily and Valerie explain:

I was married to a wealthy man. He had an accident. He was in a wheelchair for five years before he died. After that, my life just went downhill. Then we have to do something to survive. When my late husband was alive, I never worked. He never allowed me to go and work. I had never worked in my life. Twelve years passed since he had passed away. You know, sometimes if you mix with the wrong crowd, the wrong people and you need the money to put food on the table, then you follow. You know what you are doing is wrong. Of course, you know it's wrong. There is no excuse saying that you don't know what you are doing is wrong. You need the money, so what do you do? (Emily).

I started to grow and come with different friends. They tell me you can do this 1, 2, 3 and I started to do shoplifting. When I was not

> *caught, it was nice ... I steal the clothes and give it to my younger*
> *sister ... I go again and steal, my sisters, they are happy* (Valerie).

When Lebohang was asked what she had hoped to do with the money that she had stolen from the bank where she had worked she had this to say:

> *I don't know actually. This happened at an age when I was crazy. I*
> *was drinking. You know, it was all the hype. I was still young; I was*
> *21 when I got arrested. The drinking, the money, the booze, the*
> *people that I was hanging around, it's those people that had money to*
> *flash around. I'm earning ... per month. I'm 21. I don't have a kid. I*
> *don't have a house. I don't have anything to pay for. It was just me*
> *and my money. I just wanted to spend it and spend it.*

Freda gave the following account of her life before incarceration:

> *You know* [sighs deeply]*, I was earning a big salary. I was an*
> *accountant at that time, and I was earning ... a month. So, I didn't*
> *have to do fraud. I did it because I can, because I could do it. Ja, and*
> *also you do things in your life to impress people. You wanna show*
> *them. It's like keeping-up with the Jones. My neighbour is driving a*
> *Jeep four by four, I am driving an Audi. No, no, I think I must also ...*
> *and then the thing started. You know your mind starts thinking, and*
> *then you think for yourself I can do this ... and you always want to be*
> *there, on top. That is how I was before prison.*

Salisbury and Voorhis (2009) maintained that marital problem is among the pathways of females into criminal offending and this influenced Emelia's criminal activities. An unhappy marriage was the main factor in Emelia's criminal behaviour:

> *Ja ... I had a bad marriage. My husband owned a club here in ... with*
> *women stripping and what have you. He had a lot of girlfriends, from,*
> *oh, 1996. I had a bad marriage, where my husband and I drifted*

96

*apart. So, I started gambling with my mum and dad. It became a habit
for me. Whenever my husband was not around, which happened a lot,
I get bored and I go gamble. He just gave me money to get me out of
the house. He gave me as much as R5000 on weekends. He once gave
R10 000 on a long weekend. This was a lot of money ten years ago.
He tells me, "Go gamble". After I lose the money that he has given
me on gambling, my sister and I go and withdraw money from my
business account to gamble some more. That was how I started
gambling and became addicted. I also got my sister and mum
involved. When I started my business, he* [her husband] *even told me
that I was going to gamble my business away. I told him that I won't.
I am a co-owner of the company that I defrauded. My sister, who is
also my co-accused, was working for us. We went gambling. We
withdrew money from the company account and go gambling*
(Emelia).

Relating some of the experiences that had preceded her imprisonment, Margarita explained
how poverty led her to commit crime:

*It was only poverty. I was working in … in 1984. I was retrenched in
1989. Before my parents' death, they were financially responsible for
me and my siblings. After their death, I became the breadwinner of
the family, and that was when I started shoplifting, to feed myself and
my children, to get food. The shoplifting started after my parents
passed away. I have four siblings. I am the third born. As at the time
that I started shoplifting my two elder siblings had left our parents'
house to stay on their own; I was then the eldest in my parents' house.
I was responsible for everything, rent, food and so on. I was not
working. I started shoplifting after my retrenchment from.*

The pathways of the participants of this study into crime revealed two categories, namely, the
type of crime committed and the income of the participants. The first category comprised
those impoverished participants who had been incarcerated because of shoplifting and public

drinking. The participants in the second category had been more empowered than those in the first category as they had more education, good salaries and the opportunity to commit white collar crime (see table 1.2 for details).

5.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the historical antecedents of the criminality of some of the participants in this study, their histories of abuse, and their other pathways into crime. The focus of females on their emotional connection with others may account for their low involvement in property crime. Some of the findings of this study support this observation as only one of the twenty participants in this study had committed property crime. On the other hand, the desire to maintain interpersonal relationships with others echoed strongly in the crimes that the majority (nineteen participants) of the participants in this study had committed with the strain that was generated from need for emotional connections with other people as the bane of their criminal behaviour. This supports Pandey and Singh's (2006) observation that problems within families strongly influence female crime.

The next chapter investigates the experiences of female prisoners in South Africa; as well as the prison conditions in the facilities where female prisoners are housed. Some of these conditions, for example, overcrowding, create an enabling environment for the rape of female inmates in South African prisons and this exacerbates the strain that some of the participants of this study, who were raped prior to incarceration, experienced while they were behind bars.

CHAPTER SIX

PRISON CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALE PRISONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

"The penal systems in Africa were largely inherited from the colonial powers, and the legislative framework, as well as the infrastructure, remains largely unaltered. Although attempts have been made in several countries to improve their prison conditions, in most prisons they are still inadequate" (Dissel, 2001: 1). Thus, according to Dissel (2001), the literature on prisons in Africa suggests that these prisons are plagued by severe overcrowding because the prisons have not been expanded since the end of colonialism and their capacities are extremely limited. In addition, Dissel (2001: 1) notes that "many of the facilities are rudimentary in nature, and there are shortages of food, bedding, medical supplies and treatment, and an absence of recreation facilities". According to Dissel (2001), gross ill-treatment and even the torture of inmates are reported in several countries. "Despite promises and reforms, conditions for women in most countries … have not improved and, in some cases, have deteriorated" (Snider, 2003: 365). Gordin and Cloete (2012: 3) note that "South Africa's prisons are notorious for their horrifying conditions". This, in turn, is exacerbated by the increasing prison population without a corresponding increase in the quantity and quality of the prison infrastructure.

Based on the information obtained from the participants in the study, this chapter examines the conditions in which female inmates in South African prisons live. Some of the living conditions of South African female prisoners that will be discussed in this chapter include medical care, hygiene and sanitation, food, contact with the outside world, education and reading materials, prison work and skills acquisition, bedding, clothing and physical appearance, exercise and recreation, rehabilitation, overcrowding and torture.

6.2 MEDICAL CARE

The poor state of prisoners' health globally has already been commented on by numerous studies (Van der Bergh, Gatherer, Fraser & Moller 2011). The health of female prisoners has often been compromised prior to their imprisonment as a result of financial hardship (Khalid

& Khan, 2013). In addition, some of the other pathways of females into crime, including physical, sexual and drug abuse (Lopez & Miller, 2012; Estrada & Nilsson, 2012) contribute to the deterioration in the health of female prisoners before their incarceration. Van der Bergh et al (2011) wrote the following:

> Women prisoners constitute a minority within all prison systems and their special health needs are frequently neglected…Current provision of health care to imprisoned women fails to meet their needs and does not meet the human rights and international standards. The evidence includes a lack of gender sensitivity in policies and practices in prisons, violations of women's human rights and failure to accept that imprisoned women have more and different health-care needs compared with male prisoners, often related to reproductive health issues, mental health problems, drug dependencies and histories of violence and abuse. Additional needs stem from their frequent status as a mother and usually the primary carer for her children.

The participants in this study all complained about the absence of or inadequate medical care in the prisons in which they had been incarcerated. These complaints included the fact that there are no medical doctors to attend to the inmates of female prisons. Thus, if they need to consult a doctor, they have to be taken out of the prison facilities to hospitals on scheduled visits. One of the participants, Emelia, indicated that only nurses attend to the medical needs of female inmates in prison, and that the prisoner to nurse ratio is too high. Hence, although they might have queued for hours to see a nurse, they may eventually not be lucky enough to be seen by a nurse as the nurses have fixed working hours and, once those hours are over, they leave work for the day. This, in turn, implies that the nurses stop seeing sick prisoners at a specific time and leave, irrespective of whether there are scores of ill female prisoners waiting to see them or not.

> *You can only see the sister* [nurse] *at the kas*[15] *at some particular times, usually in the mornings. You sit on a bench to queue. Once the*

---

[15] *Kas* is prison slang for clinic. All the female prisoners in the prison in which this participant was locked up referred to the prison clinic as the *kas*.

> *time to see the nurse is over, she closes her office door. Tomorrow it's the same thing. If you are not among one of the first people on the queue, you will not see the nurse for that day. The nurse comes every day* (Emelia).

Female prisoners have specific health care needs and these are often neglected in prison, Finkel (2011: 224) observes that

> … many female inmates enter prison with substance abuse dependencies, and reproductive diseases, as well as histories of physical and sexual abuse…Worldwide, depression, anxiety, and tendency to self-harm also are more prevalent among women prisoners compared with male prisoners. Yet, widespread gender insensitivity and the failure to meet the basic needs of women offenders dominate criminal justice systems.

Some may argue that the current level of medical care in male and female prisons is commensurate with the population of inmates housed in these prisons. However, Finkel (2011: 225) addresses this line of reasoning as follows: "Although overall there are fewer female inmates, their health needs are such that they tend to utilize the prison medical system more frequently."

Hanser (2013: 285) observes that, in the USA there is a discrepancy between the services that are provided in male and female prisons, with the female inmates receiving poorer services as compared to the males. Van der Bergh et al (2011) further point out that, prior to their imprisonment in South Africa; many prisoners have little or no access to health care services because they may be socioeconomically disadvantaged and poor. This, in turn, exacerbates their poor health during incarceration. Similarly, Valerie, who claimed that she was prone to pneumonia, recounted her ordeal when she suffered from pneumonia during her incarceration:

> *I was sick in prison. I was born with pneumonia … Plus me, I go* [to prison] *in winter. I was so cold, I get a flu … So, I told that girl that I*

was telling you about [her prison friend] *to call my sister and tell her that I have a flu, she must come with* [mentions a drug] *cos, when I go to the clinic there* [in prison]*, they only gave me drugs to put here* [pointing inside her nostrils to indicate that she was given nasal drops] *cos I told them my nose is blocked … My sister told my grand mum* [that she is down with pneumonia in prison]. *My grand mum come* [to the prison that she was in] *and explained to the head* [of prison] *that "my grandchild she was born with it* [pneumonia]*, she is not a drug addict. She don't drink alcohol, she just do this thing shoplifting only. Apart from that, she is a good girl. So, if she say [sic] she is sick, she was not lying". The head* [of prison] *called the warden that was in the charge that day* [warden on duty for that day]*, they talk. They say "You must take her to the clinic". The warden came back and was cross* [with Valerie]*, she thought maybe I backstabbed her* [reported her]. *I told her "No, I told you I was sick, but you didn't take me serious" … They didn't allow me take the medicine my grandmother brought for me that day* (Valerie).

Valerie also recounted the inadequate medical care that her sick friend in prison received:

I had this friend there [in prison]. *I found* [met] *her and we just get connected* [became friends]. *She was so sick. She is positive* [HIV positive]. *Sometimes, she don't take her pills on time … Sometimes she vomits at night, crying, and vomiting … We must* [often] *call the prison wardens … and they come there to help her. Before they help her, they shout at her saying "You are doing this to spite us!" How can somebody do this* [pretend to be sick] *to spite them? I said "No, she is not doing this to spite you. She is just sick* (Valerie).

Finkel (2011: 225) points out female inmates may be pregnant at the time of their incarceration. However, many of them do not receive pregnancy care. Van der Bergh et al (2011) argue that

> … free provision of hygiene products and sanitary napkins and possibility of regular exercise are not standard services … Women in prison seldom have access to any maternal education during pregnancy to help prepare them for the birth. The nutrition offered in prisons often fails to meet pregnant women's needs … Furthermore; there is often a lack of support for women who have been victims of sexual or physical violence before their imprisonment.

Margaret claimed that she was pregnant with her second child when she was imprisoned and that she received no medical attention, despite her pregnant condition:

> *I was locked up the time I was pregnant with my second child. My medication was supposed to be brought inside. They didn't want my medication inside* [prison]. *I was never allowed to take my medication. They did not give me any medication when I was inside* [prison] *… I gave birth two months after coming out of the prison.*

The fact that Margaret had given birth two months after being released from prison suggests that she had been visibly pregnant when she was incarcerated. However, she was not given the kind of medical attention, or any medical attention, that is due to a pregnant woman. Emily's following account further reflects the lack of pregnancy care that is given to female prisoners:

> *There was a girl in cell C2 who gave birth in her cell … The inmates* [her co-prisoners] *said she was so small, so when she was asked by the warden if she is pregnant, she said no. Nobody knew that she was pregnant. One day, her roommate was sleeping and she gave birth inside the cell … That is not even the worst thing. The worst thing is that after giving birth, she flushed the baby down the toilet, killing the baby.*

It is clear from Emily's account above that the pregnant inmate had not received any ante-natal care because nobody was even aware that she was pregnant.

Chapter two of the Correctional Services Act, 1998, (which was amended on 1 March, 2012 and set out in the Government Gazette, Republic of South Africa, 2012) states the procedure for the admission of inmates into prison as follows:

"(3) (a) Every inmate and every child cared-for must, within twenty four hours after admission and before being allowed to mix with the general inmate population, undergo a health status examination by either a correctional medical practitioner or registered nurse, who must record the health status of such inmate or child and confirm such person's medical history if necessary (Para (a) substituted by clause 3(a) of Gazette No. 35032 of 27 February 2012).

(b) If a registered nurse has conducted such a medical examination, he or she must refer the case of the inmate or cared-for child to the Correctional Medical Practitioner as soon as reasonably possible if any of the following conditions are identified:

i. the inmate or cared-for child who, upon admission to the Correctional Centre has been injured, was injured or has complained that he or she is injured or ill;

ii. the inmate or cared-for child is using prescribed medication or receives medical treatment;

iii. the inmate or cared-for child is receiving continued or ancillary medical treatment;

iv. the inmate is pregnant; or

v. there exists any other condition with regard to the inmate or cared-for child which the registered nurse on reasonable grounds believes requires the Correctional Medical Practitioner to issue the admission report

(c) The Correctional Medical Practitioner or registered nurse must screen all inmates admitted to the Correctional Centre for communicable, contagious or obscure diseases and record the presence thereof , as prescribed by the Order.

(7) An inmate may only mix with the general inmate population after
being medically assessed".

Adherence to the above regulations, particularly as contained in sections 3(a), 3(b) iv, and 7, would address the issue of female inmates being pregnant without the knowledge of the prison authorities.

Micaylah talked about the medical care that was given to an ill female prisoner and the wardens' reactions to the ill health of the inmate in question:

> *I have heard of people dying in prison, but I did not witness any inmate's death while I was there. I remember the case of a very sick HIV/AIDS fellow inmate, she was very sick. The prison authority was giving this sick inmate special diet and HIV drugs. The other inmates did not want to associate with this sick inmate. They avoided her like a plague. This sick inmate realised this and asked the prison wardens to give her a separate cell. She realised she was dying. She wanted to die alone, without inconveniencing other inmates. However, the prison authorities did not grant her this request.*

Micaylah also narrated her own experience of illness while in prison:

> *The prison is the worst place to fall ill. You are more or less on your own when ill in prison. Within the first three months of getting to prison, I had severe flu. My mum wanted to give me lozenges on one of her visits to me, to help relieve the flu symptoms, but the prison officials refused. It pained my mum so much to see the pain that I was in due to the flu, and she could help me, but was not allowed to. Even though I was not crying, I had tears rolling down my face as a result of the flu. My mum kept wiping away my tears.*

The participants expressed concerns about being taken outside of the correctional facilities to see medical doctors. During visits to consult doctors in hospitals, which are located outside of

the correctional facilities, the inmates are transported in handcuffs and fetters. The female prisoners experienced stigma as a result of being bound during the hospital visits, especially as they had to move around the hospital premises in handcuffs and fetters in full view of non-prisoners.

> *There are no doctors there* [in prison]. *A doctor comes once in a blue moon. The people* [inmates] *that need to see a doctor were usually taken on the buses to Steve Biko* [hospital] *or Kalafong* [hospital]. *They chain, handcuff their hands and feet, and take them to the hospitals* (Ashley).

> *It's just that they* [the prison authorities] *do not have adequate medicine and personnel to take care of the sick prisoners. Sometimes, the sick people* [female prisoners] *are given the option of being taken to a hospital, outside the prison premises, but most of the inmates decline because they are embarrassed by and dislike the shackles that are attached to their ankles whenever they are to be taken outside the prison* (Micaylah).

As a result of the stigma that some female prisoners experience from being bound during hospital visits, they do not let the wardens know that they require the attention of medical personnel. In addition, if the attempts of some female prisoners to see the prison nurses fail or if visits to the prison nurses are not satisfactory, they resort to self-medication using a variety of "home-made" remedies:

Ashley: I went to the *kas*, I said to the nurse there that I have got a cold, and she said to me, 'Are you the doctor?' I said 'No, but I have got a cold'. She said 'What are your symptoms?' I said 'I have got a runny nose', and she gave me a Panado. Of course, my cold did not go away with the Panado. After some days, I had to take … For colds, we usually make a mixture of Med Lemon, which we buy at the shop [inside prison], hot water, a spoon of maple syrup, a spoon of lemon juice, and two tablets of crushed Panado. We mix the

ingredients together and take it hot. We then get under the blanket and sweat it out. You learn survival skills in prison [laughs].

Interviewer: Is the cold mixture that you make in your cells effective?

Ashley: Yes, it does work! The next morning you feel better.

Emelia explains how she self-medicated and sourced medicine herself while she was sick during her incarceration:

> *I never got any medicine from the kas when I was there* [in prison] *because, if you are a smoker, they do not give you any medicine. They belief that, as a smoker, you are the one causing your symptoms … I had an abscess in my mouth when I was there* [in prison]. *It was swollen. It was so big. I had to buy antibiotics from another woman* [inmate] *that was taking antibiotics for her tooth that was removed by the dentist. I had to buy the antibiotics from the woman because I would not have been attended to at the clinic because I smoke.*

Emelia related how the wardens would ensure that the female prisoners' bowel movements were regular: *"On Saturday and Sunday mornings, we are given Epson salts* [to drink by the wardens] *so that we can go to toilet. They* [female prisoners] *drink it by the bottles. You are not forced to take it."*

Female prisoners who suffered from specific ailments before their incarceration sometimes experience great difficulty in accessing the much needed medical care in prison. This often results in their ailments worsening, thus, causing them more pain and suffering:

> *With my sickness, I have Fibromyalgia, I needed to go see the doctor that treats me every three months, but the people that take me to the hospital* [while she was imprisoned] *are always late in coming to get me. I end up missing my appointments and treatments with the doctor or professor.*[16] *Then I get very sick. The nurses in my section tried, but could not help me* (Mercy).

---

[16] The prisoners are often taken to academic training hospitals and, therefore, the doctors there are professors.

Hanser (2013: 398) reports that "many offenders live unhealthy lifestyles prior to coming to prison such as the use of tobacco, drug and alcohol abuse, subsistence on a poor diet, risky sexual behaviors, and so forth. This lifestyle tends to put them at risk for illness, fatigue, infection, and diminished immune system functioning". There is also the prevalence of mental health problems and diseases such as, HIV, tuberculosis (TB) and hepatitis among prison populations (Van der Bergh et al, 2011; Ginn & Robinson, 2013: 2; Harner & Riley, 2013: 26). Coyle (2005: 121) points out that "the morbidity of individual prisoners, the prison environment does not lend itself to good health ... prisoners are likely to be spending long periods of each day locked in small cells, sometimes with another person".

Similarly, Finkel (2011: 224) contends that communicable diseases such as TB, HIV/AIDS and hepatitis C are rife in prisons worldwide: "Studies document that prisons are conducive to the spread of TB; it is well known that TB in prisons poses a threat to the general population. For example, globally, the level of TB among those incarcerated is significantly higher than that of the civilian population and may account for up to 25 percent of a country's burden of TB." This contention of Finkel clearly demonstrates that not treating or inadequately treating certain medical conditions in prisons poses a problem not only to the prison population, but also to the entire society.

According to Hanser (2013: 399), the close proximity of inmates to one another in prison, on a daily basis, facilitates the breeding and exchange of germs and illness between inmates. The fear of contracting TB from the numerous ill female prisoners, a fear that was rooted in the lack of or inadequate medical treatment for the disease, and which may eventually led to her demise in prison was one of the major concerns expressed by Gail:

> So, I used to see people sick. You know, I was sleeping next to a lady
> who was very sick. But most of them [inmates] were sick, even though
> they were not saying it. But I used to sleep in front of others who were
> sick, eish! Some, they had TB. You know when they cough and when
> you sleep the windows are closed, and there's no fresh air. When you
> try to open the windows, they will just shout at you, "Hey, it's cold!
> Close the windows!" Some, they were HIV positive, so they were like
> having TB, né? Eish! I was like scared. I was afraid ... What if I get

TB?! What if I get sick here in prison, and die here in prison?
Because I did not know where am I going to get the treatment? How
am I going to be treated?

Finkel (2011: 221) also notes that "while prisoners are secured behind high fences wired with electronic sensors and camera or bricks or stone barriers, locked doors and barred windows, and cells encased in thick concrete, the probability of developing an illness or disease while incarcerated is quite high". According to Cayla, sick female prisoners may or may not receive medical attention but the chances of receiving such attention were remote if any of the inmates were taken ill during the course of the night: *"[b]y 2 p.m. you are locked up until the next day. If somebody falls sick during the night, you stand and scream and scream, and they* [the wardens] *may come to check the person or not."*

Although the "home-made" remedies that Ashley and Emelia referred to in this study are not harmful in themselves, self-medication may have delayed adverse effect(s) on the health of the prisoners as the medicine they use to self-medicate may suppress the symptoms of illnesses which they do not know that they have. In other words, self-medication may treat the symptoms of illnesses only and not their root cause(s) and this, in turn, may lead to the worsening of such illnesses.

The medical conditions of the participants of this study indicated a link in their experiences before, during and after incarceration. Some of the participants had not had access to medical care while they were incarcerated. These participants may have had access to the medical care that they were denied in prison if they had not been incarcerated at the time that they required these medical services.

6.3 FOOD

Johnson (2008) maintains that the quality of prison food should be as high as monetary considerations will allow because good food reduces the discontent felt by prisoners. A contented prison population will be peaceful and this, in turn, will facilitate the smooth running of these institutions. Hanser (2013: 404) notes that "having good quality nutritional food keeps inmates in good health and therefore reduces the amount of illness and other health problems that might arise; this is important because lower medical costs translate to

savings for prison administrators". However, most of the participants in this study lamented the poor quality of the food that they received during their incarceration. They claimed that the food was terrible and, in some cases, not even properly cooked. Cecelia claimed that she had been fed a diet that was not ideal for her pregnant state:

> *The food we eat is not good. They must find a person who can cook good food, cos when they lock us in, some of us are pregnant; some of us among them are not pregnant. The food that we eat inside, eish! It's not good, and we eat only twice a day, and I was pregnant. Like the food they give us early in the morning, né? Its oats and it's not cooked. Like ... may be cooked for two minutes. Like when you chew it, you can hear the ... this thing is not cooked, it's hard ... We eat twice a day and, as a pregnant woman, they should have done things like we should eat four times a day.*

Valerie also spoke about the poor food that she ate while imprisoned. However, she indicated that the prison in which she was incarcerated catered for prisoners with special dietary needs based on religious grounds:

> *The food, it's like bread, butter or syrup, pap and eggs. You can't eat boiled eggs with pap? It doesn't combine* [they do not go well together]*, but that is what we eat ... During Saturdays, we eat three times, but during the week, we eat two times. You can take your food to your cell, and then you will make your own dinner at night because four o'clock, they lock the cells ... Muslims eat Muslim food. They cook for them Muslim food* [Halaal].

The food in certain prisons was reported to be extremely poor. The poor food that Nomsa had eaten during her imprisonment brought her sad memories of the poverty that she and her family experienced while she growing up. These sad memories was so overwhelming for her that she often refused to eat prison food and chose to go hungry instead:

I heard even the food that they [sentenced inmates] eat that side is much better than ours [17][awaiting trial inmates]. Sometimes we [awaiting trial inmates] eat rotten chicken. If you don't want to eat the food, you are not forced. We eat pork, at least twice a week. I could stomach the pork, the chicken, and the wors[18] with samp, but the pap and boiled eggs I really could not stomach. For me, it had much more meaning. When I was studying all my life ... I came from that situation, I told myself, I am studying so hard just to combat that me going back to eating pap and boiled egg. So, when I went to prison, they took me back to exactly that way, but that way I did not want to go. So I told myself, I will never eat it! I sometimes stay without eating the whole day, if its pap and boiled egg. The pap is almost like porridge. Then you must eat that with boiled egg and a little bit of boiled cabbage. It was the worst life ever! I remember the first day going down to eat ... that was a nightmare, I cried (Nomsa).

Micaylah recalled how she too starved herself, especially at the beginning of her prison sentence, because she could not bear to eat the prison food. However, Micaylah's case was more about food preferences as she had certain food preferences before her imprisonment and they remained during her imprisonment:

Prison food is horrible. I ate almost nothing in my first month in prison, except for boiled eggs and the occasional fruits. Prison food consists of mainly bread, porridge and pap, and I ate none of those food items before or during my prison sentence. After about a month of being in prison, I realised that your family is allowed to bring food for you on visiting days. I then told my family that they can bring food for me during their visits. My family's once-a-week visit days are the only times that I eat good meals. I lived on boiled eggs and fruits during the week.

---

[17] This participant was an awaiting trial inmate during the period to which she referred.
[18] The participant used the Afrikaans word "wors" which is a type of South African sausage. Boerewors is a specific type of South African sausage. In prison, they were probably served 'braaiwors' which is a cheaper version of *boerewors*.

Mercy had a medical condition which made the consumption of a special diet compulsory for her. However, her specific dietary requirements were barely met during her imprisonment:

> *Also, the food was not good at all. The fish that they give us is bad. I have a sickness, Fibromyalgia, so I need a special diet. Four out of the seven days in a week, the food was off* [bad]. *They make the food for the female inmates in the male inmates' section. They start cooking around 3 a.m., by the time it gets to the female section around 12 noon, it is already bad. The food for the other female inmates is okay because they do not start making it as early as the special diets. They tried to correct it, but did not succeed* (Mercy).

Emily talked about the type of food that she and her co-prisoners had eaten while in prison. Her narration suggested that the prison that she was in seems to have provided the inmates with a better quality of food while it also provided "special" diets to inmates who required them. However, the monotony of prison food caused her to dislike a particular type of food:

> *Once a week, usually on Sundays, we get a piece of fruit, either a banana or an apple. However, the inmates who are diabetic or HIV positive gets fruits daily. Those who are HIV positive get a glass of milk daily too. For breakfast, we get soft porridge and four slices of bread. Lunch consists of another four slices of bread and peanut butter or jam. There is special diet for people that are diabetic. Normally, we are served only brown bread; white bread is a luxury in prison. That's why, up till now, I don't eat brown bread because I ate a lot of it in prison* (Emily).

Cayla found prison particularly "terrible" because of certain factors, especially, the prison food. The food that she ate in prison had been so bad that, like Emily, she finds the sight of a particular food repulsive and she has not eaten that particular food since her release from prison:

The food in prison is terrible. In the mornings you get pap and porridge, it's the same thing for me [she regards pap and porridge as one and the same]*, I don't like them. In the afternoons, you get pap and cabbage, maybe with a fish or chicken. Because of the terrible kind of meat that we were served in prison, I don't eat meat now that I am outside prison* (Cayla).

With a hint of amusement, Emily recalled the prison food, meal times, the food related prison parlance, and the way in which the inmates had supplemented the prison food during her incarceration:

When you get to prison, they give you this big plate that we call a "laptop" [laughs]. *The lunch box that you get from your visitors is called the "scafting". When your coffee and stuff is finished and the shop* [inside prison] *does not open, you must go and buy from other inmates. Some of them work in the kitchen, so they have access to lots of sugar from the kitchen. So you go and buy sugar from them or whatever you need.*

Ashley also talked about meal times, certain food related events as well as the quality and quantity of the prison food that she had consumed during her imprisonment and how she coped with eating prison food:

The food, oh! [She makes a sound to depict how disgusting the food was] *... We have pap every day, for breakfast and lunch. Dinner is five slices of bread only. Sometimes, the pap is brown. Once in a blue moon, we get oats and Maltabella[19] for breakfast; otherwise, it is soft pap. They* [the prison kitchen staff] *throw it into your 'laptop'. Every day, in the afternoon, we get pap, with cabbage and sometimes with a spoon of mash, tiny pieces of pork or a spoon of pumpkin. The sergeants* [wardens] *take the best meat for themselves, and give the inmates the leftovers. Sometimes, I got a big piece of bone with a very*

---

[19] This is a brand of South African malted sorghum porridge.

tiny piece of meat on it for the whole day. We[20] got sugar only twice in the ten months that we spent inside [prison]. *There are times that you find worms in the pap. Ja, the food was terrible. If we did not have visits from our families or the prison shop that opens once in about eight weeks, then I am sure we would have gone hungry. I don't like pap, but eventually I ate pap. We also bought archaar[21] from the wardens. We take a small piece of pap and pour a lot of archaar on it. On family visit days, there were recreations, where they make things like hamburgers. The prison authorities are the ones that make the foods, and then your visitors can buy for you from there. We lived basically for Saturdays* [when her visitors brought her food]. *You can also buy some chips and cold drink, and keep that* [in your cell] *for the week. You learn to survive* (Ashley).

The participants in the study voiced tremendous dissatisfaction with the quality, quantity and availability of prison food. The monotony of prison food was one of the major complaints of the participants. Nevertheless, a few of them had no complaints about the quality of food that they were given during their incarceration.

The participants' experiences of food also reveal how incarceration had impacted on their daily lives, particularly during and after imprisonment, when particular food preferences and the stereotyping of "poor food" during incarceration had resulted in their suffering. As evidenced in the avoidance of certain food, these negative experiences of food had carried over into the daily lives of the participants after incarceration. This, in turn, demonstrates how everyday food items triggered bad memories of the food that the participants had eaten during incarceration.

6.4 HYGIENE AND SANITATION

According to Snider (2003: 365), female prisoners are "housed in inferior conditions … Health care, particularly reproductive … is poor, even in those countries that provide universal health care to all citizens". The dirtiness of the prisons inhabited by female

---

[20] This participant was referring to both herself and her co-accused.
[21] This is a spicy condiment often eaten with a curry.

prisoners is a source of major concern for the inmates and is exacerbated by the fact that they are helpless when it comes to improving the hygiene of their cells and/or prisons. Gail and Lebohang recounted their experiences regarding the cleanliness (or lack thereof) of the prisons in which they were incarcerated:

> *No tissues, no cleaning stuffs, they came after a long time. And you can get germs from the toilets. You can get sick. How are you going to clean the toilets? Imagine fifty or sixty people in one toilet. If there are chemicals that we use to clean, it's better. And when I looked at the place where we were sleeping, eish! It was not nice. It's like a big hall, and many people inside, only two toilets, two showers. We were like fifty. I was like, "What kind of life is this?"* (Gail).

> *Every time you are bathing with cold water, and while you are bathing, with soap all over your body, the water goes off. And now you have to wipe off soap from your body because you are all soapy, and then rinse yourself again tomorrow. It was sad. They give you this long bar of green soap, it's for the whole block for the whole month. Its ultimate survival in there, you have to be clever, intelligent to survive in there* [inside prison] (Lebohang).

Margarita and Emelia noted that the proximity of the toilets to the sleeping area and the inadequate toilet and bathroom facilities contributed to the unhygienic conditions of the cells:

> *The toilet and bathrooms are just beside where you eat and sleep. It's not alright. It's not hygienic* (Margarita).

> *The first time that I get to A1 … there is only one toilet and bath for fifty to sixty inmates here. The toilet is at the back* [behind] *of the beds. There are no doors between the toilets and the cell rooms, the toilets are right inside the cells. We made curtains to demarcate the toilet from the cell* (Emelia).

In addition, the design of the prison buildings sometimes resulted in unsanitary conditions in the female prisons:

> *While I was in prison, we were moved from the old women's prison to the new women's prison. The new women's prison is part of the men's prison. The way the new women's prison is, the male inmates cannot see the women, but the women can see the men, if the women stand on their top beds they can see the men in their courtyards. We changed prisons, from old to new, because the old prison was said to be old and not suitable for females. In the new women's prison, when it rains, the water coming from the men's prison floods the women's prison basement. The female inmates have to pass through the basement to get to the reception. At such times, the flood water is about calf-length when one walks through it. So it's a terrible place to be for a lady* (Cayla).

The unsanitary conditions of some of the female prisoners' cells are exacerbated by the presence of pests, such as rodents and bugs. Some of these pests feasted on the female prisoners while they were fast asleep.

> *The next thing I heard "chiri, chiri, chiri ..."* [Imitating the sounds made by rats]*, I turned and the next thing, I saw thousands of rats! I said to the cell monitor that I want the gaga*[22] *bed, and she said to me that you can't have that. Even though there was no one occupying the gaga bed, the monitor refused to give it to me. I thought they* [the rats] *won't be able to get to me on the gaga beds, but I later realised that they* [the rats] *climb onto the gaga beds* [chuckles]. *They climb the prison doors and trolleys* [laughs]*, you won't believe it. They are lots of rats in the cells. Did you ever see the movie of the piper? The guy with the flute, then he blows his flute and mass of rats come running towards him?* [laughs] *Ja, the rats in the prison were that much. We used to call them our pets* (Emelia).

---

[22] Gaga bed is prison parlance for the upper bed of a bunk bed.

> *... cockroaches biting you. I did not even know that they* [cockroaches] *can bite. I noticed a wound on my arm, and I said "Oh, I must have scratched myself unknowingly", and one of the ladies* [inmates] *told me, "No, it's the cockroaches. While you are sleeping, they take the skin off you"* (Freda).

> *The rats pull out the ladies'* [inmates] *hair while they are sleeping* [laughs]. *Thank God I am out of there* [prison]*, but you always remember the people* [inmates] *that are still staying there* [in prison] [sighs] *... You learn to live with them. I sleep with a broom at night to get the rats off me* (Cecelia).

The unhygienic and unsanitary conditions of the cells and prisons of female inmates may compromise the health status of these people whose health was probably compromised before their incarceration. The failure to address the problem of unhygienic and unsanitary female prisons may lead to the spread of diseases both there and in society itself. It has been shown that tuberculosis is rampant in prisons.

6.5 CONTACT WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF PRISON

"For many prisoners, one of the most distressing features of imprisonment is separation from family and friends and contacts with them is the thing that they value above all else" (Coyle, 2005: 111). The international human rights standard relating to imprisonment refer to this: "Special attention shall be paid to the maintenance and improvement of such relations between a prisoner and his family as are desirable in the best interests of both" (UN standard minimum rule 77). The "closed" nature of prison, which separates prisoners from their families, adversely affects familial relationships (Coyle, 2005). Accordingly, Coyle (2005) recommends "special efforts to be made to ensure that prisoners and their families and friends can maintain and develop links with their family and friends as best as they can" (Coyle, 2005: 111).

The international human rights standard cited above suggests that family contact is beneficial to both the female prisoners and their families and friends. The incarceration of females far

from their homes means that visits from their loved ones are difficult and sometimes impossible. Van der Bergh et al (2011) note that the relatively small population of imprisoned women leads to the provision of "fewer prisons for them, resulting in women often being imprisoned further away from their homes". This fact makes it imperative that the prison authorities foster visits from the families and friends of female prisoners, especially those inmates whose homes are far from the prison.

The various forms of contacts between female prisoners and their families and friends during their incarceration are examined below. These contacts may take the form of telephone calls from the inmates to their loved ones, social media and visits from families and friends.

6.5.1 Telephone calls and social media

The use of personal mobile (or cellular) telephones by female prisoners is highly prohibited and inmates who are caught breaching this rule are often placed in solitary confinement. Instead of using personal mobile telephones, prison inmates are allowed to use the "public" telephones which are located inside the prisons. However, telephone calls to family and friends are often restricted and there are specific days and times on which telephone calls may be made. The participants mentioned that there are pay phones in the prisons and that their visitors buy and bring special phone cards which they use to make telephone calls on these pay phones. The time allocated for making a telephone call is brief, approximately five minutes per inmate. The reason for this is that the large number of inmates who want to call their loved ones is often more than the available telephones; hence, each inmate is allowed only a few minutes to make telephone calls so as to make room for the other inmates who would be queuing to make telephone calls. One of the female prisoners monitors the telephone call making so as to ensure that each prisoner does not exceed her allotted time. If a prisoner's time is up and she does not end her telephone call, the inmate who acts as a time keeper abruptly terminates the call. Nomsa related her experiences making telephone calls during her first few days of imprisonment:

> *They tell you are only entitled to one phone call per week, but it's a public phone, and you can only go and phone there once a week. They tell you that you must tell your family to buy you World Call* [airtime].

I didn't know about World Call and stuff like that [prior to her imprisonment]. *When my family came visiting, I told them to buy World Call for me. I did not know how to use it. So, what I did was I asked one of the person that are actually controlling the queue … they will hang up if you speak longer. It's not fair because they don't even look at the time, If they feel you have spoken too long, they just cut the call* [laughing]*, even if it's not up to five minutes. So, I asked this person to do it for me. She says to me "What's the number on your phone card?" I kept calling out all those numbers. You know people are so clever. It's about 16 digits on that thing. I called out the digits to her, and made less than five minutes call. The following time when we are allowed to use phone lines, I found out there was nothing, zero rands on my World Call. I asked my other friends because I had made friends inside* [prison]. *I was like "It's so strange. They bought me R50 World Call. I made about five minutes call with it and now it's finished". My friend was like "[y]ou don't allow anybody peep* [glance at your telephone card digits] *through it because those people* [their fellow inmates] *are so clever". They have this photogenic memory, it's not even funny* [laughs].

Communication via electronic media is virtually non-existent as prisoners do not have access to computers or the internet. However, one participant claimed that some female prisoners, who happened to be the wardens' favourites, had access to computers with an internet connection. According to Cayla, these inmates did chores for the wardens in their homes and they used the wardens' computers, with the wardens' knowledge, to access social media sites, particularly Facebook:

There are a lot of wardens' favourites in prison. They go out to the wardens' houses to clean their houses. I know one of the inmates that go to a warden's house every day to use the warden's laptop. She chats with her mom on Facebook. She cleans the warden's house, and then chats on Facebook afterwards.

However, in general, communication via social media is severely restricted and mostly non-existent. Nevertheless, some female inmates and wardens circumvent this regulation when the wardens allow their favourite inmates to use their laptops to access Facebook after the inmates have done chores at the wardens' houses.

6.5.2 Visits from families and friends

The participants in this study received irregular visits during their imprisonment. On average, the participants indicated that they had been allowed one visit per week. Ten of the participants claimed that they had weekly visits from their family and friends while they were incarcerated, usually on Saturdays or Sundays. The average length of the visits was an hour. However, Erin received no visitors during her incarceration because her family lived far away from the prison and could not visit her because they could not afford the transportation costs:

> *It was tough for me because I did not have anybody from home to come visit me. I stayed in prison for three years ... My mother, she is poor. She doesn't work. She is only having that money for grant. I also left my children for her* [in her care]. *So, it was difficult* [financially] *for her. She did not have money for transport*.

When asked how often she saw her family and friends during her incarceration, Emily responded:

> *Not very often because I was* [imprisoned] *in Durban* [her family lives in Pretoria, which is about eight hours' drive away]. *It was not so easy. I see them* [her family] *when I go up and down to the courts* [before she was sentenced]*, but after that one or two times for the whole period of 15 months that I was inside* [prison] (Emily).

Melissa related how the long distance between her home and the prison in which she had been incarcerated had adversely affected the visits from her friends and family:

> *My family lives in Pretoria, and I was in Nelspruit, so I didn't see my family, not even once, but my boyfriend was staying in Nelspruit, so I see him about once or twice a week. My husband came to visit me about two or three times* [she was separated from her husband during this period].

Ashley expressed her opinion as to the reason why some female inmates do not receive visitors and how those inmates who do receive visits relate to those who do not:

> *Some it's because their families live far away from the prison. Others because their family are fed up of them being imprisoned for the second or third time. We always try to share with the people that haven't gotten visits. When your family comes to visit you and you get back to the cell, you are so excited and you want to share your excitement with other people* [inmates], *but when you look at those people who haven't gotten visitors, you hold back. That is one of the stuff that we learn inside, to be considerate, to think about other people's feelings. That's what we learnt.*

Gina also related how she shared the things that her visitors brought for her with those female inmates who did not receive visitors:

> *They were coming to visit me every week … A week, they can come, may be, once or two times. It is different people that are coming to visit me. Maybe my family, they come, and then my husband was coming. Ja … and friends too. I give some of my stuff to people who don't get visitors.*

Geraldina explained that the duration of the visits is dependent on both the categorisation of the inmate concerned and good behaviour on the part of the female prisoner:

Interviewer: How often did you see your family and friends when you were in prison?
Geraldina: They were coming every weekend.

121

Interviewer: How many hours did your family spend per visit?

Geraldina: It depends. If you are in A group, you get an hour but, if you are in B group, you get 30 minutes.

Interviewer: Which group were you in?

Geraldina: After 6 months you become A group. You start from B group but, when you are naughty or whatever, you go to C group. I was in A group.

The number and duration of the visits that the participants received varied. The majority of the participants had regular visits from their families and friends while others had irregular visits and sometimes a few visits only during the entire period of incarceration. However, one of the participants did not received any visitors because she was incarcerated far away from her home, hence, her family could not visit her in prison, especially as they were poor. Overall, the participants indicated they would have like to have had more and longer visits from their families and friends. Erin, who had no visitors, said she longed for visits from her loved ones.

6.6 EDUCATION AND READING MATERIAL

This section examines the educational opportunities that were available to the participants while they were imprisoned. It also investigates their access to reading material during this period.

6.6.1 Education

Gail and Mercy both spoke about the availability of formal education in female prisons:

> *People that are studying are going to study. Ja, there's a school inside [prison]* (Gail).

> *I was studying. I was getting my N6 in business management* [in prison]. *I was getting my diploma in theology. I did other courses in prison, like HIV/AIDS and drugs related courses. I got my diploma in prison* (Mercy).

However, it would appear that the opportunity to study in prison is sometimes problematic as some of the participants claimed that, despite the fact that they had wanted to enrol for formal education courses in prison, they were not allowed to do so by the prison authorities. Some of these participants claimed that the reasons for this refusal were the short length of their prison sentences and favouritism, while some other participants claimed that only people with lengthy sentences are allowed to enrol in the prison school. In addition, other participants blamed their denial of formal education enrolment in prison on favouritism on the part of the prison authorities. They maintained that, even though they had indicated that they wanted to enrol for formal education during their incarceration, they were not granted this opportunity because they were not one of the prison wardens' favourites.

6.6.2 Reading material

The reading material in female prisons is insufficient and sometimes not available even when the inmates' visitors were allowed to bring them reading material. Only a few of the participants in this study had access to reading material during their incarceration with idleness and boredom resulting from the insufficient reading material that were made available to the participants. Gina and Emily both referred to the scarcity of reading materials during their imprisonment and the idleness that resulted thereof:

> *When we come back from doing the courses, for those that do courses, we just sit around chatting…You go to sleep. Most of them sleep the whole day and evening. I don't know how they do it. They get up for roll call in the morning, get back into bed, get up to eat at lunch time, and then get back into bed, get up for roll call around 6 p.m., then go back to bed. I think its depression, because it's not a nice place to be. I think they do it to while away time* (Gina).

Emily: Most of the weekends, we get locked in the passages; the cells open into the passages. We only get to go out when it is time to eat, and we are locked up immediately afterwards.

Interviewer: What do you do in your cells when you are locked up?

Emily: Read or sleep.

Interviewer: Where do you get the books that you read?

Emily: From the library downstairs. It used to open every Thursday, but it was closed after a while. The library was closed because they said they do not have enough people to work there. Then my daughters started bringing me books on their visits. You are not allowed to take books from outside the prison inside the prison [This may be the practice in this prison only as the narratives of some other participants indicated that their visitors were allowed to bring them reading material], but the head of prison allowed me to take in my books from home because I could not read English. The books that I asked my daughters to bring for me are written in Greek [her home language]. I pleaded with the head of prison that I had nothing to read.

Micaylah talked about the state of the prison library in the prison where she had been incarcerated as regards to the availability of reading material:

Interviewer: Where do you get the newspapers and books that you said you read?

Micaylah: The poorly stocked prison library. Most of the books there are very old and outdated, but they help to keep my mind busy. The prison that I was in used to stock two different newspapers daily, but stopped getting newspapers long before I was released on parole. The prison library was shut down before I was released on parole.

Interviewer: Why was the prison library shut down?

Micaylah: I don't know.

The insufficient reading material in female prisons and how the inmates coped with this is evident in the narration below:

> *I read all the books in the library in the three and a half years that I was there. We* [inmates] *also exchange books* (Cayla).

Emelia and Ashley also referred to the lack of and inadequacy of reading material and prison libraries:

> *So, there's no place that you can go, like a library or something, just to get away from people* (Emelia).

> *There's a very small space* [she demonstrates how small the space is with her hands] *that can only take about four people standing at once, with books pressed together on the shelves that are along the wall. Once a week, after lunch, they open the library for an hour, and then everybody in prison can go get a book ... We struggle to get a book, but not everybody likes to read. They don't like to read. It's only a few of us that read. There are only a few educational books there. Out of the limited books that are available, only a few are in good condition. Some have some pages ripped out and missing, but you read it like that because there is nothing else to do* (Ashley).

There is a relationship between the experiences of the participants regarding reading and having access to reading materials prior to, during and after their imprisonment as some of the participants who were avid readers had to suspend reading because of the lack of and inadequate reading materials. However, they were able to go back to reading after their release.

6.7 PRISON WORK AND SKILLS ACQUISITION

The importance of work in prison has been observed by numerous researchers (Foucault, 1975; Ignatieff, 1978; Melossi & Pavarini, 1981; Garland, 1990; Van Zyl Smit & Dünkel, 2001). Prison work for female inmates consists mainly of jobs that help to keep the prison running. These jobs are mainly traditional feminine jobs. Hence, female prisoners engage in jobs, such as cooking in the kitchens, working in the laundry or wash bay, cleaning offices in the prison facility and working in the crèche and tailoring workshop. The meals for the prison inmates are prepared by fellow inmates in the kitchen, usually by inmates with lengthy prison sentences, under the supervision of the correctional services staff. Some of the female

inmates also look after the babies of their fellow female prisoners in the prison crèche. The laundry and tailoring workshops in the female prisons were reported to cater mainly for the needs of the male prisoners. The clothes for the male prisoners are washed in the laundry by some of the female prisoners. The female inmates sew prison clothes (overalls) and bedding for fellow inmates in the tailoring workshop. The prisoners doing these jobs are often not paid. Cayla talked about the work that she did during her imprisonment:

> *For the first year I worked doing the laundry and ironing. After the first year I was made a monitor, I was working as a monitor. I was working outside the cells. I was working in the* [prison's] *director's office. We were taken there in a car in the mornings and then taken back to our cells in the afternoons.*

Ashley, Erin and Mercy discussed how they worked in the wash bay and tailoring workshop and as a tutor during their imprisonment respectively.

Female prisoners also tend the babies of their fellow inmates in the prison crèche. Melissa explained:

> *The female inmates that have kids in prison leave them in the care of other female inmates when they are going to the workshop. The female inmate that looks after the children in prison is usually sent by the warden, the mother of the children have no say in which female inmate will look after their child while they are at work. I never went to this section because I never worked there. Prisoners with short sentences, less than two years or so, are the ones that work in this section.*

Although most of the prison work that is done by female prisoners is unpaid, one of the participants related her experience of working in prison and the meagre remuneration that she received in return. It appears that the female prisoners who worked in the workshop of the prison in which this participant was incarcerated received stipends. Emily also spoke of

another dimension of prison work, namely, work done by a female inmate for fellow female inmate(s) in exchange for food or material things:

> *We get paid R30 per month for working in the workshop. We were started on R19 per month, but it was later increased to R30 per month. Prisoners work for other prisoners and get paid with chocolates, phone cards and so on. One of the kinds of work that prisoners do for other prisoners is washing of clothes.*

Despite not being paid, some female inmates volunteer and are eager to work in prison because it helps them to pass the time while they serve their sentences. However, the majority of female prisoners remain idle throughout their incarceration.

> *Then I was working outside doing some laundry for men…outside the prison cells. There is somewhere we wash. There are so many* [washing] *machines there. Ja, we do some laundry for men* [male prisoners], *those who have been sentenced to, maybe 15 years, they are not supposed to go out … I didn't get paid* [for doing laundry in prison]. *I just go do it for me, to keep me busy, and my mind was just … when I am sitting there in my cell, I was thinking, crying, fighting, and so, when I am outside doing laundry, I enjoy it and I feel better … They* [the prison authorities] *see it as part of your sentence. If your sentence is not like 5 years or more, you must go there and do it. It was fun for me because it kept me busy. I didn't go wait* [remain idle] *in the cell. In the cell, sometimes we end up smoking because there is nothing to do* (Valerie).

Mercy talked about the existence of vocational training in prison. Cecelia also referred to the vocational training that she received during her imprisonment. Some of the skills that are taught in these training sessions include tailoring, needle work, and beaded jewellery making.

Cecilia stated:

> *After breakfast sometimes we go for the courses ... Me, I went for*
> *beads making. Sometimes we go for Bible courses. Sometimes we go*
> *to church.*

Some of the participants did not have opportunities for vocational training. However, it was reported that most of the female prisoners do not participate in the vocational training sessions. In my opinion, more female prisoners may participate in these training sessions if they are made aware of the link that exists between their experiences before, during and after imprisonment and skills acquisition. A significant number of female prisoners do not participate in vocational skills training because they do not see a relationship between the acquisition of such skills and financial freedom, especially after their release. If skills that translate into gainful employment for female prisoners upon their release are taught in prisons, the inmates may be encouraged to participate actively during such sessions. It is equally important that the items made in the vocational skills training centres in female prisons are sold and that the people (female prisoners) making these items are given a portion of the money realised from the sale of these items as a token of their labour. This may help the female prisoners to realise the importance of participating in the vocational skills sessions and how these skills may be financially beneficial to them, both inside and outside of prison.

6.8 BEDDING, CLOTHING AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The bedding in female prisons is reported to be insufficient and in a poor state. Prison uniforms for female prisoners are also insufficient, thus, the inmates supplement these uniforms with personal clothing which they ask their visitors to bring for them. Margaret spoke about the state of the bedding that she and the other female prisoners used while serving their sentences in prison: *"It's bad inside there* [in prison]*, cos, to start with, where we sleep it's just untidy cloth, what do you call it? Em ... mattresses, the flat ones. They are not nice. They give you backache, you see. When you wake up, you always have a sore back. Ja"*. Margaret was approximately seven months pregnant when she was released from prison. She suffered from severe back pain as a result of the poor state of the bedding that she used while she was imprisoned. The fact that she was heavily pregnant exacerbated the back pain

that she experienced during incarceration. Gail also commented on the deplorable state of the bedding in female prisons: *"The beds that we sleep in, the mattresses, some they are finished [paper thin]."*

The insufficient number of beds and inadequate bedding often force female inmates to share these items with other inmates. Emelia talked about the state of the bedding that she and her sister, her co-accused, encountered on their arrival in prison: *"We* [she and her co-accused] *were lying side by side on a bed. We did not even have anything to cover ourselves until an inmate gave us a blanket. We used our towels as pillows"*. Valerie also spoke about the inmates sharing beds in female prisons *"... we share beds, two people on one bed. The bed is this three quarter; it's not that big bed"*.

Female inmates often have the freedom to choose the type of clothes that they wear in prisons. In other words, they are able to choose whether or not to wear prison uniforms. Prisoners are generally allowed to wear their own clothing. Some prisons had uniforms for the female inmates although these were supplemented with the inmates' personal clothes.

> *When we were leaving prison, we gave everything, my clothes that my family brought for me, everything. We gave them out to the inmates that do not get visitors. Some of them do not even have pyjamas to sleep in. I left prison in only a piece of clothing that my family brought for me. That was the only thing that I took away from the prison* (Emelia).

Valerie spoke about the inadequate uniforms provided to them by the prison authorities: *"... and they give big uniforms, you have to sew* [amend] *it yourself, but there is someone inside there, she does do it* [reduce big uniforms], *and we paid her with cigarettes."*

Make up is permitted in most prisons although it was reported that some prisons are moving towards the abolition of make-up, much to the displeasure of the inmates. Some inmates grow their hair and plait each other's hair as a favour. Regularly plaiting hair and changing hair styles helps to pass the time for some inmates. Prisoners wash their clothes as often as they wish although this it is determined, mainly, by the availability of laundry soap. Any kind of

soap is often scarce in female prisons. Valerie and Freda talks about cosmetics in female prisons: *"[i]n visit time, they allow cigarettes and cosmetics from outside* [prison]*"* (Valerie).

> *I think if they can just allow the females* [inmates] *inside* [prison] *to live a normal life. Don't take away their make-up. Don't take away their hair because I believe that's what's gonna happen now. Let them be beautiful as they were when they were outside* (Freda).

The inadequacy and insufficiency of the bedding in female prisons was mentioned by the participants. Inmates often requested that their families bring them clothes with which they supplement the prison uniforms. By and large, it would appear that, although some of the participants wore prison uniforms, they were allowed to wear their own clothes. The female prisoners were also allowed to plait their hair and use make-up. However, it seems that some prisons want to disallow the use of make-up by female prisoners.

The experiences of the participants in relation to the bedding and clothing to which they had access during imprisonment as well as their physical appearance during this period were often different to such experiences before or after imprisonment as they had to make do with what they were given and the items that they were allowed to use by the prison authorities during their imprisonment.

6.9 EXERCISE AND RECREATION

This section examines the availability (or lack) of opportunities for exercise and recreation for the participants in the study during their periods of incarceration.

6.9.1 Exercise

Prisoners are housed in confined spaces which greatly reduce the opportunities for them to exercise (Coyle, 2005: 109). The time spent outside by prisoners is termed "exercise" in prison parlance. Some of the participants indicated that they were given time to exercise in prison, while some said they did not have such opportunities.

Ashley lamented the fact that she and her co-prisoners were not given time to stay outside in the sun during their incarceration: *"We do not even have space to go sit outside because where we go sit is like a laundry. It's where washing and hanging of laundry is done. There's no space for yourself."*

Cecelia recommended more time in the sun for female prisoners:

> *At least, they should leave us for three hours. We only get forty-five minutes to go out, and it's not exactly outside. It's a cell. There is a safe at the top, where you can see the sun. It's like a cell, with a safe at the top, where you can see the sun, where there is holes where you can see the sun.*

Margaret also recommended more time in the sun for female inmates in prison: *"... at least give us some time to go out and see the sun."*

In contrast to Margaret's words above, Cayla reminisced about the time that she had spent exercising during her incarceration: *"I go to the gym in the mornings. One of the members* [wardens] *organises the gym. After that I am off to work."*

According to Hanser (2013: 200), involving prisoners in sports activities or physical exercise makes them "less likely to be lured into other activities that are not prosocial". Exercise for female prisoners should be made a priority. By prioritising exercise for female inmates, much of the fighting that breaks out in female prisons could be curtailed as some of the aggression and idleness that result in these fights would be channelled positively into exercise.

6.9.2 Recreation

Hanser (2013: 200) noted the importance of recreation in prisons when he stated that:

> Recreation for inmates comes in many shapes and forms, but, regardless of the type of recreation, the ability to offer such activities can be an effective behaviour management tool inside prison. The

131

threat of exclusion from participation in recreation programs usually does gain compliance from most of the inmate population.

Hanser (2013: 417) further noted that "[w]ell designed recreational programs provide constructive options for inmates to spend idle time and, at the same time, can serve as incentives for good behaviour".

Some of the benefits of recreation for both the inmates and the prison as a whole, as noted by Hanser (2013: 422), include a reduction in violence and disciplinary problems, boosting the inmates' self-esteem and the acquisition of skills by the inmates.

Hanser (2013: 422) points out the rehabilitative function of recreational activities when he stated that "the term used to describe rehabilitative recreational programs is therapeutic recreation". Physical activities with other inmates are one of activities that are used in therapeutic recreation. Hanser (2013: 423) stated that "when considering anger management, stress management, and aggression control, inmates may be required to engage in physical activities with other inmates and, at the same time, cooperate with others in the group". The lack of recreational activities, especially those that involve physical exertion, may contribute to the fights and aggression found in South African female prisons. The majority of the participants in this study recounted the lack of opportunities for recreation in prison. This, in turn, resulted in considerable idleness among the female prison inmate population. Micaylah and Emily spoke about the fights in the prisons in which they had been held:

> *There were a lot of fights between the inmates, some of which were caused by deciding which television channel to watch. Most fights break out without anyone, except the parties that are involved in the fights, knowing the causes of the fights* (Micaylah).

> *There are a lot of fights in female prisons. It could be due to anything. About five inmates bathe in the shower at once. While we bathe, everybody watches everybody. A fight can break out because somebody does not like you washing your hair every day, she tells you to stop washing your hair every day, you refuse, and she fights you.*

They can ask you why you wash your hair every day. Why do you comb your hair this way, you should comb it that way (Emily).

Nomsa explained some of the reasons for the fights among female prisoners: *"People fight for little things, like cigarettes and those kinds of things."* Clearly, fights break out over petty issues which may be triggered by other reasons. It is argued that exercise and recreational facilities may counter such petty fights.

Most of the recreational activities in which female inmates engage are organised by the inmates themselves and they take place inside their prison cells with very few of such activities being performed outside of the prison cells. Duduzile shed light on this:

Duduzile: We play cards. We play games like monopoly.

Interviewer: Where do you get the games from?

Duduzile: From the wardens. We plait hair. You can change your hairstyle anytime you want, like because we are bored. Our family bring us hair pieces.

On the one hand, Melissa's narrative below suggests that she and her co-prisoners lacked access to recreation during their imprisonment:

They wake us up around 5 a.m. After that, we sit up. We eat the first meal around eight, and after that, we just sit, we go out of the cells. We stay out, where there is shelter. We stay out and just listen to weather. We go inside, they lock the cells. There's no more going outside. When we are back in our cell, we suppose to sleep. There is nothing we can do cos there's nothing to be done. You just stay like that. You just stay till the next day. You just stay lying around. That's all you do for the time being, till tomorrow, till they open the cell. You can't see the weather outside. We just live in the dark.

On the other hand, Freda' narrative centred on the different types of recreational activities which she and other female inmates had taken part in during their imprisonment:

When you're locked up, you can sit and socialise with the other prisoners. You make friends. There's a lot of people there, it's not just bad people, there's good people. Any colour, black, white, there's good people. Some of them [female prisoners] *play board games. Others will write letters. Most of the time, I do crossword puzzles. You can listen to music, you are allowed to have a radio* (Freda).

The prison authorities sometimes organise recreational activities for the female inmates. Nomsa and Cayla described some of these activities:

In the mornings, after breakfast, we have singing lessons in the lunch hall. So now, you are demonstrating back to the prison wardens what you have been doing with your time in the cells. It's up to you; you are not forced to do it [the activities]. *So, in the mornings, after breakfast, we would sing or pray, and you know people* [inmates] *showing us whatever different activities that they are doing every day* (Nomsa).

We had sports day, once every six months, where we play soccer, net ball and volley ball. They have like cultural day, heritage day. Then they give you the opportunity, if a Sotho, then you can dress in your traditional attire. They make a function out of it…and they have a family day, it starts from 8 a.m. till 1 p.m. there are a lot of members [prison wardens] *there. Your family can bring you any kind of food that you want. If you've got children then they can come. You socialise with your family members* (Cayla).

Melissa also attests to the fact that some South African public holidays are celebrated in female prisons and that these often take the form of recreational activities: *"[w]e would have like Freedom Day, Heritage Day and things like that. Twice a year, you have the Family Day"*.

134

Micaylah recalls how some of the recreational activities in which she and some other inmates were involved were stopped because they were encouraging negative habits:

> *I played games, like monopoly and card games, but the games were confiscated by the prison wardens because the inmates were betting* [gambling] *on the games, using their toiletries* [as the winning prices].

Increasing recreational activities for female inmates in prisons (where they already exist) and the introduction of similar activities in female prisons which do not have them may help reduce the excessive idleness that currently pervades such institutions. In addition, the level of aggression between female inmates may also be reduced and this would, in turn, ultimately lead to a reduction of the number of fights that break out between the female inmates in South African prisons.

6.10 REHABILITATION

"Rehabilitation is the result of a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibility and values" (Department of Correctional Services, 2005: 38). This article suggests that the rehabilitation of offenders in South Africa should not be regarded as a crime prevention measure only, but also as an all-encompassing process which is aimed at fostering social responsibility, social justice, active participation in democratic activities, empowerment with life skills and other skills, and a contribution to creating safer a South Africa. In The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa, the Department of Correctional Services (2005) contends that rehabilitation may best be achieved by engaging the offender on a variety of levels, including the social, moral, spiritual, physical, work, educational/ intellectual and mental levels.

The Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013–2017 notes the tripartite composition of rehabilitation in South Africa as follows*:* "Correctional programs, offender development, and psychological, social and spiritual services. These subprograms provide educational and skills programmes, correctional sentence programmes, and psychological, social work and spiritual services" (Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan

2013–2017: 17). The purpose of the subprograms is to "provide offenders with needs-based programmes and interventions to facilitate their rehabilitation, social responsibility, human development and enable their social integration" (Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013–2017: 17).

Correctional administrations globally have made tremendous efforts geared towards the organisation of offender rehabilitation programmes (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). The reason for these programmes is that rehabilitation programmes are believed to be efficacious in reducing crime, hence, such programmes are beneficial to communities (Day & Doyle, 2010).

However, contrary to one of the mission statements of the DCS which contends that "promoting the rehabilitation … of all offenders" (DCS Annual Report 2012–2013) is one of its goals, some of the participants in this study were of the opinion that their imprisonment had been devoid of rehabilitation. Micaylah had the following to say about her lack of rehabilitation and that of her fellow female inmates:

> *The prison does not rehabilitate prisoners. For example, those two Indian sisters that I told you about earlier were supposed to be rehabilitated* [as part of their sentence] *for their gambling addiction. Even though the two sisters kept asking the prison wardens, there was never any rehabilitation programmes organised for them, until I left prison.*

A major complaint of the participants was that, even when the rehabilitation of female inmates is put in place, it does not address their needs in terms of the crimes that they committed. Thus, ultimately, genuine rehabilitation does not take place.

> *… they tell you that they will take you to rehabilitation. Since I have been out of prison* [on parole]*, I have been to only one rehabilitation workshop, and I was supposed to have done five, nothing was said about the other four. They say they are rehabilitating you, and they take you to scrub toilets at the museum* [during her parole]*. How do you rehabilitate a person by making her do half of the things that she*

did in prison? In prison, they take you to wash public toilets, do gardens, you do filing and all those things. So, for rehabilitation it's like you continue being in prison. Instead of finding you a job that you can do, they don't (Lebohang).

However, despite the fact that the specific needs of female inmates are not targeted during rehabilitation, especially in relation to the crimes that they committed, the female inmates participate in the rehabilitation programmes put in place by the prison authorities just to render them eligible for parole. Ashley and Emelia explained:

We were told that we were gonna have rehabilitation courses inside prison to help us deal with our gambling addiction, but we did not have any such courses. The courses that we had had nothing to do with the crimes that we committed, and we did those courses just to impress the parole board [laughs]. *You have to do a particular amount of courses to be eligible for parole* (Ashley).

Inside [prison]*, we did HIV course, Sycamore tree ... most of them are religious courses. Those courses teach things like you must forgive yourself, write letters to the people that you hurt with your crime. Those things had been done long before we came to prison. We had talked things out and forgiven one another. Now you must just sit through the whole courses just to get a certificate that will make you eligible for parole. Why don't they make courses for, say, people with gambling addiction, or drug addiction?* (Emelia).

Cayla also spoke about the inadequate rehabilitation that takes place in female prisons:

The only programme that is really helping in prison is for people that committed violent crimes, that is anger management programmes. There is also a programme that is for drug addicts too. There are no programmes for fraudsters and the other people [inmates].

However, Cecelia was of the opinion that there were effective rehabilitation programmes for female prisoners, but that the onus is on the inmates to take advantage of such programmes. Inherent in Cecelia's view on the rehabilitation of female prisoners is the fact that inmates choose either to be rehabilitated or not.

> *I think I became a better person* [as a result of her incarceration] *...*
> *There are a lot of nice programmes there that you can either benefit*
> *from or you don't benefit from…There's Heart lines programme, and*
> *then another programme that meant a lot to me is Life Skills ... In*
> *Heart Lines, there are different topics, and then you can benefit from*
> *it. Life Skills is about how you face people in life* (Cecelia).

The high level of idleness among female prisoners that was referred to by some participants in this study in section 7.6 of this chapter suggests that the majority of the female prisoners are not rehabilitated as regards learning new skills.

The following suggests that the Department of Correctional Services is paying attention to the rehabilitation of prisoners in South Africa "Payments for capital assets in the rehabilitation programme will increase with 10.7 per cent over the medium term as a result of replacing equipment in production workshops countrywide" (Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013–2017: 20). However, it is essential that rehabilitative programmes be geared towards addressing the root causes of prisoners' offending behaviour in order to break the cycle of the crimes that they commit.

6.11 OVERCROWDING

The high and increasing number of prisoners in South Africa compounds the problem of overcrowding in prisons. The prison population of South Africa is currently the highest in Africa and it is ranked as the ninth largest in the world (Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013–2017: 6). The prison population of South Africa as at 1 March 2013 comprised 152 550 inmates (Ndebele, 2013).

South African prisons are filled beyond their intended capacities. The average occupation level of prisons in South Africa is estimated to be 139%. Gordin and Cloete (2012: 1170) explain that "nineteen correctional centres are considered 'critically' overcrowded with occupation levels of 200% and over". They further explain that, as a result of the severe overcrowding, prisons in South Africa house almost two and a half times the number of prisoners than they were originally built to accommodate. Accordingly, it is commonplace to find two hundred men in a cell that was built to house eighty men. As a result of the "insufficiency" created by overcrowding, "about half of them [prisoners] have to sleep on the floor and that 200 men have to use two shower heads and one toilet" (Gordin & Cloete, 2012: 1170).

Although Gordin and Cloete's (2012) study focused more on male prisoners, this study found that similar conditions prevail in South African female prisons. Another implication of overcrowding is that there is pressure on the available resources with overcrowding leading to increased strain on prison facilities and resources, including water, electricity and the kitchens. In addition, overcrowding generates and exacerbates the tension and violence in prisons which is brought on by the competition for scarce resources (Gordin & Cloete, 2012: 1170). This, in turn, leads to fights among the inmates. Lebohang discussed the fights that took place during her incarceration:

> *They actually fight in the showers. When the first wardens walk past*
> *and say you can go bath, you have to go bath at that time so as to*
> *avoid the rush to the bathrooms later, which may result in fights.*

Dankwa (2008) points out that the national human rights institutions in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa visited prisons with the aim of improving prison conditions, overcrowding being their major concern. However, despite these prison visits and similar visits worldwide, overcrowding in prisons remains a contentious issue. Overcrowding constitutes a major challenge in prisons worldwide with many countries witnessing an increase in their prison populations. For example, at the beginning of this millennium, Ghana, Malawi and South Africa experienced a 38, 35 and 24% increase in their prison population respectively (Tapscott 2008).

The overcrowding in the female prison cells was noted by Valerie:

> *Iyoh! We were so many, maybe 50 ... We shared beds, two people on one bed. The bed is this three quarter; it's not that big bed*.

Emelia and Freda also made reference to the overcrowded cells: *"We sleep four to six people in one room and the room is like a cubicle, it's small"* (Emelia).

> *... and then 40 people must stay in one place as small as this* [demonstrates with her hands to show how small the cell is]*, one toilet, one basin, one shower for 40 people* (Freda).

Lebohang spoke about how the overcrowded prison cells affected the female inmates' sleeping arrangements: *"There are sixteen people in some eight bunk cells, two people to a bunk."*

The cells of the prison in which Ashley was incarcerated were so overcrowded that she had had to sleep in the cells' corridors.

> *They* [the prison authorities] *got me a bed, and they put it in the corridor because there was no space* [for her bed inside the cells] (Ashley).

The problem of overcrowding was just as pronounced in the awaiting trial section where Mercy was locked up. She stated: *"There were a lot of people there. We were about 99 people in a small cell like this, with one bathroom"* (Mercy).

The DCS acknowledges the fact that overcrowding poses a challenge in South African prisons. In light of this, DCS has implemented some of the following measures to combat the problem of overcrowding in South African prisons:

> The strategy to down manage overcrowding involved the reduction of the length of detention of remand detainees, the improved

management of conversion of custodial sentences to community correctional supervision, the introduction of electronic monitoring, the effective functioning of the parole system, the creation of additional bed space through centre upgrades and through the building of new facilities … 3 464 additional beds spaces will be created … These additional bed spaces will increase overall bed capacity from 118 154 in 2011/ 2012 to 121 618 in 2015/2016 (Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013–2017: 12, 20).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the DCS plans to provide additional beds, the number of beds to be provided is nowhere near the number that is required to cater for the entire prison inmate population. In order to reduce overcrowding in female prisons, there needs to be a de-emphasise of punitive measures in the form of incarceration and a greater focus on non-incarceration measures for female offenders.

6.12 TORTURE

Article 1 of the United Peace and Conflict Prevention Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane and Degrading Treatment or Punishment defines torture as follows:

> … any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity (Forje, 2009: 98).

Torture is also defined as the intentional infliction of either mental pain or extreme physical pain by a torturer on a non-consenting, defenceless person (a victim) which is targeted at breaking down a person's will (Miller, 2011). Torture renders the victim powerless. According to Miller (2011), "[t]he person being tortured is for the duration of the torturing process physically powerless in relation to the torturer. By 'physically powerless' two things are meant: the victim is defenceless, i.e., the victim cannot prevent the torturer from torturing the victim, and the victim is unable to attack and, therefore, physically harm the torturer".

Agger (1989) classifies torture into two categories, namely, physical and psychological. According to Agger (1989), the aim of physical torture is to inflict physical pain on a victim, while psychological torture is intended "to break down and shatter the victim's psychological defence mechanisms by causing psychic pain" (Agger, 1989: 306). Agger (1989) noted that witnessing the torture of others and other forms of humiliating treatments, such as sexual torture, are some of the methods used to carry out psychological torture. The practice of torture is commonplace in military, police and correctional institutions globally, although countries such as Australia, Britain and America have just recently succeeded in significantly reducing the occurrence of such torture (Miller, 2011).

The origin of torture in South Africa may be traced back to the era of apartheid. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission stated that, under the apartheid regime, "torture was used systematically by the Security Branch, both as a means of obtaining information and of terrorising detainees and activists. Torture was not confined to particular police stations, particular regions or particular individual police officers" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1998: 187). With such a culture of torture, it was not surprising to find incidences of maltreatment and torture reported by the participants in this study.

Some of the participants of this study experienced torture, directly and indirectly, at the hands the prison wardens. Both Gina and Nomsa's narratives suggest that there was also inmate-on-inmate torture without the knowledge of the wardens.

> *There are so many things that is not nice about prison, like bullying,*
> *ne? ... and they, the ones that were there before us, bully us* [fellow
> female prisoners] *a lot. They think the place* [prison] *is theirs, they*

own it. I come for the first time, and then I must obey the prisoner [fellow inmate]. *If they wrong you, you must never report them, you must keep it to yourself. It's not nice* (Gina).

I was by the awaiting trial section, where people talk about what [crimes] *they have done, and they put you in a corner to say what you have done too. I had this difficulty with people* [fellow inmates] *not understanding my offence* [the offence that she committed]. *It is always for the eye shocking cases that people are actually there for. They* [her fellow inmates] *never really understand the financial world and stuff like that, except if it's from theft and things related to almost theft. Most of the people* [inmates]*, they will think you are in there for a better* [grievous] *something* [crime]*…you need to be punished. 'You are eating cheese out there* [before incarceration]*', that's what they* [fellow inmates] *will actually say to you. They feel they need to be rebellious* [bully] *to you and actually punish* [torture] *you as much as they can, while they still can because they know that you don't have a very long stay* [Nomsa claimed that she had been accused of white collar crime although she was eventually found "not guilty" and released after six weeks in the awaiting trial section of the female prison]*, so they might as well punish you now* (Nomsa).

The new inmates are tortured by some of the old inmates by being subjected to the following: bathing in freezing cold water and sleep deprivation. Any refusal on the part of the new female prisoners to submit themselves to the torture meted out to them by the old inmates often had severe repercussions.

That kind of thing that because you are new you must sleep on the upper bed; they call them gaga beds because they are high. 'Gaga' is prison language. So, it's high up there … so you must actually sleep on the higher bed. When they say "gaga parade", everybody who sleeps on the top bed must go. The disadvantage of sleeping on the top bed is because you have to get up hours earlier than the others …

the ones that sleep below. It's normally the longer stay-ins [the old female inmates] *on the bottom beds ... and you have to conform, otherwise you will face the consequences, and remember there* [in prison] *you rarely get contact with the prison wardens, so you will rather live and conform to the group. The less questions asked, the better your stay* (Erin).

As Emily's narrative below indicates female inmates were also tortured by the wardens.

If you make the mistake of reporting to a warden that a fellow inmate wronged you, the warden will call the inmate that you came to report to her, in your presence, and then tell that inmate that these are the things that you complained about her. The warden will then lock both of you in the same cell and ask both of you to sort out your differences [fight]. *She* [the warden] *then locks the two of you in the same cell and leaves. Oh! They gonna beat you! The inmate that you reported will beat the daylights out of you. The other prisoners will not come to your rescue when such happens. They do not get involved.*

Juliet also stated that the torture of female inmates was sometimes orchestrated by the wardens but carried out on female inmates by their fellow female inmates:

If it's your second time or more of coming back to the prison, you will be mistreated [tortured]. *You'll be seriously mistreated by the prison wardens. They will make you scrub the very large commune one-man room. You must mop it. You must make it shine. You must go scrub the showers. You must clean those toilets. Fellow prison inmates get paid by the prison wardens to frustrate you by doing things* [dirtying the floor] *to make you redo what you have done.*

Ashley also discussed the torture that she experienced at the hands of the wardens while in prison:

> *Both of my feet were crushed just before I went to prison. I was in the wheel chair for a long time* [prior to her incarceration]. *She* [her co-accused] *taught me how to walk again. I can't get up and down the stairs quickly; I have to take my time. I have iron in my feet. They* [wardens] *knew, before we are taken to our cells they take our medical history, about the iron in my legs, yet they insist that I climb the "gaga" beds. I told the sergeant* [warden] *I can't do that … In prison, I had to go down on my knees and scrub and polish the floor. The captain would sit there and shout at me, "Get down on your knees! Get down on your knees!" … The captain and the wardens said that I was too proud to go on my knees. I told them that I could not go on my knees because of the irons in my feet; I can't even bend my ankles. If I am down* [on my knees]*, I am down. She* [her co-accused] *or anybody else that is working with me had to pick me up whenever I go down on my knees and want to get back up. I was working in the kitchen. It was on the second floor, with a lot of stairs. I had to take the rubbish from the kitchen outside, climbing the stairs up and down, with my bad feet. There was a day that I could not go to work, my feet was very swollen. The warden asked me to go to work, despite my swollen feet. She said that I did not want to go to work because I was lazy. She asked me to put a bandage on my feet and go to work. My feet were visibly swollen, and I have got long scars on both feet, indicating where the metals were inserted into my feet.*

The torture which Ashley was subjected to in prison at the hands of the correctional staffs resulted in psychological torture for co-accused [who is also her sister] as she witnessed the pain and suffering that her sister went through.

Torture of the female inmates was also evident in the solitary confinement that some of them were subjected to.

> *The single cell* [solitary confinement] *is not nice. They only give you water. Sometimes if they give you food, after they have remainders* [leftovers]. *At times, they don't remember* [to give you food]. *Those who like to fight a lot and those who come with cell phones, they punish them very well* [by putting them in the single cell] (Valerie).

The previous chapter indicated that sexual relationships in prison are either consensual or coercive. Some of the narratives on sexual relationships in South African female prisons also indicated that female inmates are subjected to torture, particularly in coercive sexual relationships.

There is no doubt that inmates are tortured in South African female prisons. Female prisoners are either tortured physically or psychological by the wardens or their co-prisoners. Even when the wardens are not directly involved in the torture of inmates, they are often aware that it is happening but they turn a blind eye while the wardens themselves are sometimes responsible for instigating the torture of female prisoners.

The narratives of some of the participants of this study in this chapter suggests that the well-being of female prisoners is not of primary importance to the prison authorities and this is a feature of a category of total institutions as identified by Goffman (1961). The prisons that the participants of this study were incarcerated in share some similarities with Goffman's total institutions, particularly in terms of the fact that the female prisoners lived in the same institutions with people who share the similar characteristics as them regarding involvement in crime, and were subjected to the same prison rules and regulations while they are incarcerated.

6.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the living conditions under which female prisoners are incarcerated in South Africa. Most of these conditions were found to be deplorable. The inadequate priority

given to some total institutions, in this case, female prisons in South Africa may be responsible for these deplorable conditions. However, DCS is aware of the inadequacies of some of these living conditions and is taking measures to improve the conditions under which South African female prisoners live. Albeit, the steps being taken by DCS seem inadequate in addressing the poor living conditions of female prison inmates and the DCS should increase the efforts that it is making to address the poor living conditions in female prisons. Perhaps, most importantly, there should be less attention focused on incarcerating offenders, and more focus placed on alternative methods of punishing/correcting offenders.

The experiences of the participants in this study before, during and after incarceration clearly differ. However, their experiences during incarceration were clearly more unpleasant than their experiences either before or after incarceration. In line with Carlen's (1990) observation, the effects of the experiences of some of the participants in prison were so profound that they continued to influence their lives upon their release from prison and this is clearly illustrated in the theoretical model in chapter two of this study. In some cases, imprisonment generated strain or compounded the strain that existed in the lives of the participants of this study before they were incarcerated.

The next chapter provides more insights into the experiences of female prisoners during their incarceration in South Africa by examining the sexual relationships that occur in such institutions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALE PRISONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the relationships between females in South African prisons, with particular emphasis on sexual relationships. These sexual relationships may be either coerced or consensual. The practice of sexual relationships between females in and out of prisons has been embedded in a lot of controversies. In times past, sexual relationships between females was regarded as a criminal act and a form of mental disorder (Pardue et al, 2011: 286).

The first part of this chapter examines the consensual aspect of same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons, while the second part of the chapter discusses the coercive nature of such relationships. For the purpose of this study, especially in this chapter, the term "same-sex sexual relationships" is used consistently although the research participants and some writers use the terms "homosexuality", "lesbianism", and "same-sex sexual relationships" interchangeably.

The findings of this study indicate that there are various types of relationships among the female inmates in South African female prisons. Some of these relationships are platonic friendships, while others are of a sexual nature. As regards the sexual relationships which exist between female prison inmates in South African prisons, some are entered into willingly while there is coercion in others. This chapter will discuss all these relationships, the various ways in which they are practised and also the reactions of fellow inmates and wardens to such relationships.

7.2 CONSENSUAL SAME-SEX SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FEMALES IN SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS

Consistent with studies conducted by Ward & Kassebaum (1965), Giallombardo (1966), Heffernan (1972), Larsen and Nelson (1984), Leger (1987), Owen (1998), and Pardue et al (2011) on consensual same-sex relationships in female prisons, the findings from this study

reveal the occurrence of such relationships in South African female prisons. One of the research participants explained:

> *Lesbianism happens a lot in prison, but I was not put in that situation because I had a pastor woman friend* [her fellow inmate] *that I spend most of my time with in prison. I was never forced to do anything. Some inmates came to the prison "straight" and later became lesbians in prison. There's no males and stuff and so people start "dating" amongst themselves* (Nomsa).

The absence of males with whom the female inmates may have sexual relationships in prison is regarded as an important factor that enables sexual relationships in female prisons as the inmates resort to alternative ways, for example, same-sex sexual relationships, of relieving their sexual urges in the absence of heterosexual partners. The view of Nomsa quoted above is echoed by Hensley (2002: 2) who stated that"[t]his deprivation [of heterosexual activity] forces prisoners to turn to alternative methods of achieving sexual gratification [such as] masturbation, consensual same-sex activity, and coerced same-sex activity" (see chapter three for details). Eight of the participants in this study talked about the pervasiveness of consensual, same-sex, sexual activities among the female incarcerates in the prisons in which they were imprisoned Emily even estimated that approximately ninety-five per cent of female prisoners are involved in same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons.

The females who are imprisoned for the first time are usually not aware beforehand of the pervasiveness of sexual relationships among female prisoners. Engaging in sexual relationships with other female inmates may be met with strong opposition by first time female prisoners. In discussing her first few days in prison, Gail related her initial experiences of a same-sex sexual encounter. Hitherto, Gail had never had sexual relationships with other women outside of or inside prison. The initial sexual advances that the other female inmates made to her were met with resistance. She stated:

> *First of all, when I was there, né? I think it was two days or one day, they said to me, "You are a nice chick, you can be my girlfriend". So because I'm rude you know, I'm this violent person. I don't take ...*

sorry to use the word, né? I don't take shit! I said, "You know what?
You don't fuck with me! You want to fuck with me?! Come, let me
show you!". Eish! I used to hate it when they tell me, "You are a nice
chick, be my girlfriend (Gail).

Explaining her reactions towards the female inmates who had made sexual advances towards her and her lack of interest in their advances, Gail said: "*[w]hen I told them* [her fellow inmates] *that I was not interested in being a lesbian partner, they didn't leave me alone. They wanted to fight me. I had to fight back, but not like physically. We had to fight with words. I swear at them* [laughs]*".*

However, Erin revealed that some of the resistance of female prisoners to their initial encounter with same-sex sexual relationships in prison often disappeared with time. According to Erin:

You can say no you don't want if you are new but, as time goes on,
you start to want those things that they are doing because, you see,
the way they help each other. So, even you too will start to think that
if I do, I will have this and this and that.

Emily, a novice inmate, had this to say about her first encounter with same-sex sexual relationships in prison:

Emily: What about the Scondai thing? You know Scondai? [There is this thing that they call "Scondai". Do you know it?].

Interviewer: No, I don't.

Emily: Me too, I did not know [laughs]. You know when they say to me "Let's play Scondai". I said "Ja, let's play". I thought maybe it's a game [chuckles]. Some of them [female prisoners], they start laughing at me. They say the two ladies, they sleep together. Inside [prison] they call it Scondai.

In addition to having a specific term, Scondai, that denotes same-sex sexual relationships, the fact that Emily's fellow inmates knew about and wanted her to participate in sexual

relationships with them, suggest that such relationships exist on a larger scale in South African female prisons than has been reported up until now.

Erin affirmed the occurrence of consensual sexual relationships between women inside prisons. She stated that she had a long term, consensual sexual relationship with a fellow female inmate during her incarceration. The different length of her prison sentence as compared to that of her partner led to the end of their relationship because her partner was released from prison before her. She stated that:

> *There are many people 'dating' each other there in prison. Females 'date' each other inside. It usually starts out as friendships. Later they start telling each other I love you … I do* [practised same-sex sexual relationship] *once, but the person that I do with go quickly* [left prison before her] *because she was having a small sentence while me, I have a big sentence.*

The initial disapproval and resistance of first-time female prisoners sometimes diminishes as they often eventually engaged in same-sex sexual practices in prison.

It was further revealed that consensual same-sex sexual relationships existed not merely between the female prison inmates but also between the female inmates and female prison wardens. Juliet related the following: "*I was sexually engaged with some ladies inside there* [inside prison]. *Lesbianism is very common in prison, it's like normal eh. It's normal. You will even find the prison wardens, they are busy 'dating' female inmates.*" Consensual sexual relationships between South African female prisoners and wardens are also portrayed in the work of Dirsuweit (1999: 77): "[w]hile some members were extremely homophobic … others were lesbians themselves [some even in relationships with prisoners]." Thus, consensual prison sex occurs not just between female incarcerates, but also between female incarcerates and the prison wardens.

7.2.1 Socialisation process

The consensual sexual relationships between females in prison often start out as "ordinary" friendships, with the party interested in a sexual relationship initiating the friendship. Thus, as Erin explained above, females in prison sometimes become friends in the hope that the friendship will lead to a sexual relationship. Gail provided the following account:

> *So, there was this girl who used to like me and I did not know that this girl loved me. She wanted me to be her boyfriend. Ja, because of the way I used to act. I acted like a boy, you know…a guy. So, the girl loved me so much. So, we became closer and closer cos we could see each other in the church every Sunday … and she could invite me in everything … So, I used to go with her everywhere, but I didn't read her intentions … what was going on. Then suddenly we started practising what they are practising there inside* [same-sex sexual relationship]. *We started like playing, you know, like ah … touching each other "Eh, you are so beautiful", you know. I started now taking out my mind from the life of outside, and then I took my mind inside there* [prison]*, and I said "Ah, what's the use? I am in here. So, why can't I adopt this kind of lifestyle? We were partners and we were sleeping together. We were partners that only used to kiss … just to taste how it's like. How are these people doing it? What are they feeling? So, I was like I want to taste now. I want to see what will happen. We started kissing … we started jollying*.

Female inmates are sometimes lured into consensual sexual relationships by the exchange of gifts and favours from the interested party to the prospective partner. According to Valerie, "*[t]hem doing you a favour or being friendly with you is a trap. Their friendship is never pure friendship, it is conditional*". Juliet confirmed that most consensual sexual relationships in female prisons often begin with friendship. She added that the party who wants to engage in a lesbian relationship with another has to woo the other party. According to Juliet: "*[i]n prison, the interested person in a lesbian relationship woos the other person by being nice to her, giving her things, eventually she will come around*".

In some cases, the sexual advances of a female in a platonic friendship are met by resistance and refusal by the other party. Sometimes this refusal is not well received as the initiator of the sexual advances may have been nursing the hope of a sexual relationship blossoming out of her platonic friendship with the other inmate. This hope is sometimes the bane of this female's involvement in the friendship. This refusal is often not taken kindly by the party whose sexual advances have been turned down. Some of the consequences of such a refusal are explained in the second part of this chapter. The line between consensual and coercive sexual relationships may easily be erased.

The desire to engage in consensual sexual relationships in South African female prisons is borne partly out of sexual curiosity and partly out of fulfilling sexual needs. In particular, it is argued that the absence of males in female prisons results in the lack of heterosexual sexual relationships and this may make female inmates resort to sexual relationships with other females in order to fulfil their sexual desires. In addition to the fulfilment of sexual urges, meeting their emotional, social, and financial needs are some of the other reasons why some female inmates, especially those who were not lesbians before going to prison, engage in same-sex relationships in prison. Pollock-Bryne (1990) contends that homosexuality in female correctional facilities tends to be consensual with the need for emotional fulfilment as the bane of establishing such relationships. According to Toch (1975), female prisoners strongly desire emotional support. In this study, financial/material gains and the need for emotional fulfilment emerged as reasons why the participants engaged in sexual relationships with their fellow prisoners:

> *Their love is serious. They help each other. My relationship with another female inside was good because she was helping me all the time because, if her family, they buy things for her, they buy for me too. So, everything that they buy for her is two two* [in twos] (Erin).

Erin's narration above shows that, in some cases, same-sex sexual relationships are accepted by the family members of the female inmates who are involved in such relationships inside prison.

> *So, we can't touch each other. So, the only thing we do is to write down a letter, or you write down something, and then you throw it* [into her partner's cell]*, and then if she is happy about it or whatever ... and then she is going to answer ... and then throw back* (Gail).

The confinement of female prisoners in correctional facilities enables same-sex sexual relationships to flourish. Sykes (1958: 63) notes that prisoners suffer significant deprivation, in particular, the loss of goods and services, and that this may, in turn, create a breeding ground for sexual battering and exploitation. According to Pardue et al (2011: 289), sexual battering in prisons is part of the institutions' underground economy and it may be reflected in the sexual exchanges between the prisoners and prison staff.

7.2.2 Male and female roles

The gender roles that female prisoners play in the consensual sexual relationships may mimic the roles played in consensual heterosexual relationships outside of prison in that there is often a "male" and "female" partner in such relationships. While describing the gender roles in lesbian relationships in female prisons, Juliet stated: "*[i]n prison the male in a lesbian relationship is called the 'butch', while the female is called the 'femme'*". Dirsuweit (1999: 81) points out that the "debate about whether butch-femme roles parody heterosexual norms or whether they act as reinforcement of the view that the gender binary is of an essential nature has raged in feminist literature". Radical lesbian feminists regard the "femme" as "the slavish repetition of feminine role to which a woman has been brought up, trying to live as a Mills and Boon heroine" (Jeffreys, 1996: 104). On the other hand, Butler (1990) argues that butch and femme roles in lesbian relationships do not undermine the male/female roles in heterosexual relationships, writing that "the gendered body has no ontological status apart from various acts which constitutes its reality" (Butler, 1990: 123). In addition, Bell, Binnie, Cream and Valentine (1994) contend, that rather than undermining identity structures in heterosexual relationships, butch/femme identities strengthen existing heterosexual norms.

Female inmates who exhibit masculine traits, such as aggressiveness, a masculine appearance and masculine way of talking and walking tend to play the roles of "males" in consensual prison sexual relationships. Gail's following statement indicates that she was the "male" in the sexual relationship that she had with another female prisoner during their incarceration:

> *So there was this girl who used to like me. And I did not know that this girl loved me. She wanted me to be her boyfriend. Ja, because of the way I used to act. I acted like a boy, you know … a guy. So, the girl loved me so much* (Gail).

There is, however, not necessarily strict boundaries between the male/female roles in the consensual sexual relationships amongst female prison inmates and, in fact, these roles are fluid. For example, an inmate may be the "female" in a consensual sexual relationship today, and a "male" in another such relationship the following month. The desire to be the "male" in a consensual sexual relationship between female prison inmates is often a result of the desire to wield the type of power that a "male" in such relationships wields. When asked whether there were more "males" or "females" who engaged in consensual same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons, Micaylah stated:

> *It is confusing. I think most of them want to exercise their power to be males because they know the power that males have in relationships. You could find, this week, a female inmate is a girlfriend to another female inmate, and next week she is boyfriend to another female inmate. It is confusing … Remember if you are a girlfriend to a female inmate* [who is the male in the relationship]*, you have to clean for her and treat her like a man by doing things that girlfriends do for their boyfriends. I guess they* [the girlfriends] *get tired of that and think that "Why can't I be the one that everything is being done for?" So it's confusing to say if there are more females acting as males or females in those relationships, you can't keep track of it.*

Another determinant of the male/female roles in the consensual prison sexual relationships among female inmates is seniority. This seniority is predicated on both the length of the

prison sentence and the prison time already done by the inmates. The female prisoners with longer sentences and who have been in prison for the longest time, usually take up the "male" roles in consensual sexual relationships in prison (see Nomsa and Lebohang's narratives in section 6.3.2).

7.2.3 Stigma and the attitudes of fellow female inmates to consensual sexual relationships between females in prison

There is considerable stigma attached to same-sex sexual relationships in prisons. The fear of experiencing the stigma that is attached to such a relationship after leaving prison is even greater for female prisoners than when they are in prison. This may be the reason why some female inmates abstain from engaging in sexual relationships with fellow prison inmates while other female inmate cut off all ties with same-sex relationships when they leave prison. When one of the women was asked why she had not engaged in a sexual relationship with a fellow female prisoner when her partner was released from prison, she had this to say *"I just thought I will soon leave prison, I will stay alone until I go out"* (Erin). Thus, despite the fact that Erin was receiving advances from other female inmates, she chose not to enter into another sexual relationship with another female in prison. She also said she had not been involved in a sexual relationship with a woman since she had left prison.

Similarly, the fear of experiencing the stigma attached to being in a same-sex sexual relationship, particularly after imprisonment, was what made Gail opt out of such a relationship even though she could have continued with the relationship outside prison because her partner had seriously wanted to do. Gail further explained:

Interviewer: Did both of you see each other after your partner came out of prison?
Gail: Ja, we saw each other, but we were not like…you know that thing…it was gone already.
Interviewer: Both of you were not interested in the relationship again?
Gail: No. She was interested, but I was not interested. For me, I took it like it's part of prison life. So, I leave it there inside.
Interviewer: How did she react when you said you were not interested again?
Gail: It was not easy for her because she thought that we will live together until…showing off outside, you know, this one is mine and that one is mine.

	She used to tell me when we were inside prison that "You know what?"... She used to picture, you know, that we will walk around the mall…and we will hold hands, we will be free. In my heart, I knew that for me, this is not my life.
Interviewer:	Why were you no longer interested in the relationship when you came out of prison?
Gail:	No. That was not me. I just did it because I wanted to experience it. I just wanted to experience life. So, it was not a matter of it's me; the prison life will change me, no.
Interviewer:	So, both of you are no longer together as partners?
Gail:	No, we are no longer partners. We are friends now. We sleep in one bed, but we don't kiss, we don't do anything. We just treat each other as friends. I treat her like that because she is afraid of me, né? She just treats me as a friend. Even though, she wants to do something, like touching me, I become unfriendly.
Interviewer:	Does she have another partner now?
Gail:	I think she has another partner now.
Interviewer:	Are you jealous of the fact that she has another partner?
Gail:	No [laughs]. When she came to visit me the last time, né? She find me with this guy, né? The guy came to see me in my house. So, she was like "Who is this?" I said "No, this one is my friend". So, I was afraid to tell her "This is my boyfriend".
Interviewer:	Who got to your house first, she or the guy?
Gail:	The guy came first, and it was late, around 9 p.m.
Interviewer:	Was she going to sleep in your house till the next day?
Gail:	Ja, she was going to sleep until the next day.
Interviewer:	Why did you not want to tell her that that was your boyfriend? What were you afraid of?
Gail:	I was afraid that this one, I know she is going to be very angry. Eish! When she gets angry. Eish! My mother will hear things that I am not intending for her to hear them. So I thought. Eish! Let me just accommodate both of them in any way I can. So, when my boyfriend ask me "Who is this?" I said "No, this one is my friend". So, I had to talk to him outside, and brush him and polish him with lies whatever (laughs). I also lied to her, and then he left, but she was very angry. She suspected I was dating the guy. She asked "Why guys now?" I

told her, "No, he is my friend. I am outside now (no longer in prison). There are not only women outside". When she left, she vanished for round about one or two years, after that night. We lost contact. So, I thought it's good for her and it's good for me, let me move on with my life. And then, suddenly, I saw her again. She came to my house.

The stigma that is attached to being involved in a consensual same-sex relationships results in some female prison inmates leading double lives, practising these relationships in prison and then pretending that such relationships never happened when they are outside of prison. Nomsa narrates: *"A person will be strictly a lesbian while we are in the cells, but come court date[23] then you see that person in skirt all lady-like, an overnight conversion."*

Female inmates who do not engage in same-sex sexual relationships display a variety of reactions to the sexual relationships between other females in prisons. In some prisons, same-sex sexual relationships are barely tolerated. This intolerance is evident in the work of Young-Jahangeer (2013) whose study is based on one of the plays in which some South African female prisoners acted. The plays were used to address issues that are peculiar to the female prison inmates. In this particular study of Young-Jahangeer (2013), the play addressed the issue of lesbianism in the Westville Female Correctional Centre, Durban, South Africa. The reactions of those inmates who did not engage in same-sex sexual activities in this prison were characterised by utmost disapproval and seething disgust. Young-Jahangeer (2013: 201) noted that the

> first dialogic interaction … facilitated with the group, prior to workshopping (sic) the play, soon degenerated from an impassioned debate to a (sic) hate speech. In one particularly offensive insult, lesbians were called "less than dogs … because at least dogs know who to fuck!" They refused to believe that lesbians have "real" sex. This was all expressed in the presence of at least five lesbian women.

The participants in this study who had witnessed and, in some cases, had been active in same-sex sexual relationships during their incarceration displayed varied reactions to such

---

[23] Nomsa was locked-up in the awaiting trial section. She was eventually found not guilty by the law court, so she did not go to the sentenced section of the prison.

relationships. Emily's narration above suggests that she was surprised and amused at the thought of females as sexual partners, particularly as she had been invited to participate. Nomsa maintained that such relationships did not bother her. However, other participants had regarded such relationships as unacceptable. For example, on the one hand, Gail had initially been vehemently opposed to such relationships. However, she eventually became involved in such a relationship. On the other hand, Valerie did not like the practice of consensual sexual relationships between females in prison and found the phenomenon particularly disturbing. She had not participated in such relationships before, during or after her incarceration:

Interviewer: You said that you experienced some things that were not nice in prison. What are some of these things?

Valerie: They were so many things … there was lesbians. I hate it because … I don't criticise lesbian … I have nothing against them, but I don't like it when they put us in the same cell because us, we are straight. You must watch them whatever they are doing. Sometimes they close it with their blankets, like a room, to block us from seeing what they are doing inside. In your imagination, you can imagine what they are doing. It disturbs us.

The reactions of those female prisoners, who did not engage in same-sex sexual relationships, to consensual prison sex among their fellow female inmates included a spectrum of emotions, ranging from surprise, amusement, nonchalance to the utmost disgust and disapproval. Although it appeared that same-sex sexual relationships were widely practised, they were not universally accepted. Public disapproval of such practices was readily verbalised while acknowledgement by willing participants was rare.

7.2.4 Types of relationships in South African female prisons

Based on the narrations of the women interviewed in this study I discerned three categories of relationships in South African female prisons, namely, friendship, transitional same-sex sexual relationships, and lifelong same-sex sexual relationships. Female inmates have female friends in prison with whom they do not practise sexual acts (as is evident in the case of Nomsa). These friendships serve the purpose of providing companionship for the inmates. Some female inmates, who have not practiced same-sex sexual relationships before imprisonment, resort to such relationships while in prison. However, these inmates do not

continue with same-sex sexual relationships when they are released from prison. I term the type of same-sex sexual relationships in which these female inmates engage as "transitional same-sex sexual relationships" because these relationships constitute a type of transitional phase for them while they are incarcerated. These relationships are similar to the male-male sex in South African mining compounds as described by Niehaus (2002). The female inmates who become involved in such relationships have not engaged in such sexual relationships before prison nor do they after prison. For these women, same-sex sexual relationships are just a phase in their lives. In fact, they are like an experimental relationship for them (as seen in the cases of Gail and Erin). However, some female prisoners engage in same-sex sexual relationships before they are incarcerated; while they are in prison, and after they leave prison. For these women, same-sex sexual relations are a way of life. Such women do not engage in same-sex sexual relationships because of their imprisonment or a lack of males with whom to engage in heterosexual sexual relationships (as seen in the case of Juliet).

7.2.5 Jealousy

Young-Jahangeer's (2013) study indicates that there is often some degree of jealousy in lesbian relationships inside prison: "[l]esbianism in prison is not only disruptive to the prison population, with jealousies and conflicts" (Young-Jahangeer, 2013: 202). As seen in the following example, this study also revealed that consensual sexual relationships between females in prisons may be riddled with jealousy. Gail narrates how her partner became jealous as their relationship progressed:

> *... and then the girl started becoming so jealous ... When she sees me*
> *with another girl may be ... sitting together with another girl". Ja.*
> *They used to fight over me, you know "ai, you, you don't talk to her"*
> *and this and that. They used to fight and I say no "Why are you*
> *fighting?" I started now saying in words "You know I love you", of*
> *which I knew it was not love* [laughs].

Gail provided a vivid illustration of how the jealousy in her sexual relationship with another female inmate had played out:

Interviewer: Who were you telling you love? Was it that your partner or …?

Gail: It was my partner. It was my friend but, because she was jealous that she does not want to see me with other ones, like, if she can come and find us together, sitting like this (gesticulating to indicate the way she and I were sitting side by side during this interview), she will be jealous. I didn't like to sit where there are a lot of prisoners. My cell mate, who is a friend of my partner, wanted me. She was jealous and wanted me to love her.

Interviewer: Did your partner know that your roommate wanted you to love her?

Gail: Ja.

Interviewer: Were they not fighting over you?

Gail: They were not fighting because they were friends. I used to shower with this one

Interviewer: Your roommate?

Gail: Ja, my roommate. So, we used to, you know, you look at each other, naked there, and you feel like…you just hit the bum and you look at each other… You know your mind set, your thoughts they change, like I don't know how, but it changes.

Interviewer: So, you start having sexual feelings for women?

Gail: Ja, for women.

Interviewer: Why do you shower with your roommate and not with your partner?

Gail: Because we are in different cells, we only see each other there by the iron bars. Later, we were put in the same cell, but it was not as nice as I thought. She was so jealous. She didn't want to see me with anyone, a-n-y-o-n-e. She was like, eish, annoying man!

Erin had this to say about the jealousy in same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons:

> *There are cases of jealousy in the lesbian relationship because the partners are not always in the same cell. So, when we go for parade in the morning, the people* [inmates], *they will tell you that that boyfriend of yours, she is with another person* [inmate] *and that is how jealousy starts.*

161

Gail and her partner were also subjected to the separation of female inmates who are engaged in same-sex sexual relationships in prison that Erin mentioned above. Gail described the dynamics of her sexual relationship with another female inmate as well as how she and her partner had coped with not being in the same cell:

Gail: Because we are in different cells, we only see each other there by the iron bars.

Interviewer: Can you touch each other from your different cells?

Gail: No, we can't touch each other. The distance is like this [demonstrates with her hands, showing me that the cells are not close]. It's a little bit far. So, we can't touch each other.

Interviewer: How did you and your partner manage to have a relationship? Since you were not in the same cell?

Gail: It was easy because they only lock us, let's say, round about four or half past four or five. So, from morning till that time, we see each other, and even [after] they've locked us, she could see everything that is happening there [inside Gail's cell], and I could see everything that is happening there [inside Gail's partner's cell]. So, we were like this [gesticulating to indicate eye-to-eye] opposite each other. So … [laughs]. I can't say it was nice, né? But I started enjoying it.

Emily recalls how a female inmate who was jealous of her partner became violent and hurt herself: *"There was an incident whereby a Scondai lady cut herself with a blade because her partner was cheating on her."*

Cayla also affirmed jealousy in consensual same-sex relationships in female prisons: *"You would hear that someone beat up someone because she was looking at another female* [sexually] *in the shower* [laughs].*"*

Although most of the women interviewed talked about sexual relationships between females in prison as consensual, Juliet did speak about some female inmates who had been coerced into sexual relationships with their fellow inmates: *"Females are forced into sexual relationships with other females, especially if the female that wants the relationship is well-respected among the females. The female that does not want a relationship* [the unwilling

party] *can only say no* [decline to engage in same-sex sexual relationships] *if she is also well-respected"*.

Thus, sexual relationships in South African female prisons are not always consensual but may sometimes be coerced. The coercive nature of the sexual relationships among inmates of South African female prisons is explored in the second section of this chapter. The factors that enable sexual coercion in female prisons are explored together with other issues.

7.3 COERCIVE SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALE PRISONS

This section examines the coercive nature of sexual relationships in South African female prisons. The nature of such abuse, the precipitating factors, the perpetrators and the responses of the wardens to such incidences are investigated. As stated in chapter three, the terms "sexual coercion" and "female prison rape" are used interchangeably.

7.3.1 Occurrence of female prison rape

Pardue et al (2011: 289–290) maintain that sexual coercion is a form of sexual violence and "includes behaviour ranging from tacit or overt pressure to engage in sexual contacts to sexual assault, and even to forcible rape". Although the rape of female prison inmates, especially by fellow inmates, is rarely referred to, the findings from this study indicate that such abuse does take place within the confines of female prisons in South Africa. This abuse is made possible and sustained by the need for sexual relationships, the power wielded by authority figures in female prisons, for example, some cell leaders and some inmates who have lengthy prison sentences, and the unprofessional attitude of the wardens. These precursory and contributory factors to the rape of female prisoners are explained in this section.

In talking about the occurrence of rape in female prisons and the responses of the victims and the wardens, Gail explained that:

> *When you are raped in there, there is nothing that you can do about it. Reporting it to the wardens makes no difference, they will do nothing about it. Females date each other in prison but, if you are not interested, you have to find a way to get yourself out because if you say you are not interested, they're gonna force you into it.*

When Gail was asked what she meant by finding a way out of the situation she had described above, she commented as follows:

> *With me, there was a female that approached me, and I told her that "No, I can't". She was like "Why"? I was like "I'm HIV positive", and she was like "Okay", and she left me alone. She never bothered me about sex again until I left prison. Maybe she told her friends that I am HIV positive because nobody ever came to ask me out again [chuckles].*

7.3.2 Specific cases of the rape of female inmates in South African prisons

The wardens' designation of a specific inmate who acts as the "leader" in a prison cell is one of the major enablers of the rape of female inmates. These "cell leaders", who are usually inmates with lengthy prison sentences and who has been in prison for a considerable period of time, find sexual partners for her fellow inmates and sometimes for herself. These "cell leaders" often engage in same-sex sexual relations themselves. It is easy for these "cell leaders" to find partners for themselves and their friends because all the new inmates are "initiated" into the cells by the "cell leaders". Initiation into a cell involves all the new inmates coming in contact with the cell leader. During the "initiation" period, the new inmates are informed of the rules and regulations of the cell, amongst other things. The sourcing of sexual partners by the cell leaders is coercive in nature as the prospective and selected new partners have no say in whether they want to engage in such relationships or not. Nomsa elaborates on the role of "cell leaders" as follows:

Nomsa: Every cell has a leader who is also an inmate. The leader is someone who has stayed long in prison. She tells the new inmates the prison rules.

Interviewer: What kind of rules?

Nomsa: Like go and take a cold shower [laughs]. She gives you an orientation; she reads out the rules for the new inmates... what time we get up in the mornings, the routine of the cell. Even if you have never had sex with a man as at the time that you go to prison, like me, you are told to go take a cold shower. Before the leader speaks to you, you must first go and take a cold shower.

Lebohang had this to say about the role of the "leader" of the cell in which she had stayed while incarcerated:

> *There was this lady … her name is … Oh God! Thank God I was not in prison for long; otherwise I don't know what would have happened to me. She was the one that initiated the new inmates into the prison rules, you had to pass though her, especially if you are in her block. Even though I was in her block, I was fortunate not to interact with her as much as she thought she would interact with me. The only times that I interacted with her were at meal times. At such times, she tells me "I still have not spoken to you, you still have not passed through my hands, you are not strong enough to me here, you are still wet behind the ears, you still need to be initiated and so on". She was a full lesbian. She is big and masculine. You think to yourself "If I slap this lady, I will probably die if she retaliates.*

Some of the other female inmates who have been in prison for some time and who are serving lengthy sentences like some of the cell leaders also help to perpetuate the rape of fellow inmates:

> *The senior inmates, the people that have been in prison the longest. They are the people in charge. They are the ones that call the shots. They are the ones who give the rules and make the decisions. So, when they tell you something or give you something to do, you better*

do it. They force you to do it. You are told to do it rather than make a
decision to do it. There are levels in prison. There is the commander,
and the sergeants. A sergeant will like tell the commander that I saw
a female inmate that I like, please organise her for me. Then you get a
call to come to a particular cell and when you get there the
commander tells you "From now on, you are this person's girlfriend"
(Lebohang).

As the narratives of the two participants above indicate, some cell leaders and their cohorts in South African female prisons are feared, highly respected and obeyed. The words of these cell leaders are law and failure to carry out their instructions is extremely dangerous for any inmate who refuses to do so. According to Nomsa:

Interviewer: Can one choose to follow the cell rules or not?

Nomsa: I never went against the cell rules because I was told when I got to prison that if you want to make your stay as comfortable as possible, you do not come with your own rules. You just abide by the rules that you meet in prison. So, I do not know what happens if one goes against the rules.

Lebohang had the following to say about the control and power that some of the cell leaders and their cohorts wield over fellow inmates in female prisons:

Interviewer: What if one says one is not interested in being a female inmate's girlfriend and one says so?

Lebohang: Oh no! Then you are in trouble! I was fortunate because I never got into as much trouble as I could have.

The initiation of the new female inmates into the cell rules is a somewhat subtle process which, as indicated by the following conversation between Nomsa and I, may later result in either consensual or coerced sexual relationships:

Interviewer: What is the function of the cold shower?

Nomsa: They believe that you still smell of a man so you need to get rid of the smell. Why cold shower specifically, I don't know.

The refusal to comply with the instructions of some cell leaders and their cohorts is often extremely dangerous for the inmate who refuses to comply. Lebohang explains:

Interviewer: Were you told to be someone's girlfriend while you were imprisoned?

Lebohang: Yes, I was. I told them "No, I was not interested", and they did not take it lightly with me. Fortunately I was moved to a different block before things got uglier and I left prison soon afterwards. I was being threatened before I was moved. I was told things like "We are gonna get you". They sometimes slap me in the face. You don't fight back, I just stand there and look at them.

Interviewer: Who slaps you?

Lebohang: The person that came to tell me that I am now someone's girlfriend.

It is important to note that consensual sexual relationships among females in prison may not be totally consensual as some of the females, particularly the inmates, may engage in it because of the fear of the harm that refusal to do so may cause them.

Female inmates may also become the victims of sexual coercion because of their ignorance of the inner workings of female prisons, for example, the establishment of "pseudo friendships". I term such relationships "pseudo friendships" because unbeknown to the victim, the initiator of such a friendship or the other party in the friendship is in it because they expect to benefit sexually from the friendship. Nomsa shed more light on this type of situations:

Nomsa: You know, with lesbians in prison, when they do stuff for you they expect you to return the favour. So, if you now don't agree to return their favour and you have been friends with them and taking their stuff … so whatever they ask of you … it becomes a little bit ugly. I have seen it happen to people who are

close to them, who they were doing things for and it later gets ugly because they did not return the favour. It was happening around me even though it never really affected me. I never had anybody force themselves on me, but I could see it happening to people around me. I was never a victim.

Interviewer: When it gets ugly, what are the types of things that happen?

Nomsa: Sometimes it leads to physical fights, rape …

Female prisoners often use inanimate objects to rape their fellow female inmates. Such objects are usually shaped to depict phalluses. One of the participants in this study recounted the rape of a fellow female prisoner that had happened while she was still in prison. Nomsa described:

> *There, there's no male and stuff inside, and so people start dating amongst themselves. If you don't agree to date another female that approaches you, she and her friends can rape you. There was this incident where they had a girl … they take a condom … we were eating samp.[24] If you are not hungry by the time they eat lunch, you are allowed to bring your lunch into your cell so that you can eat later. So, ja[25], this girl … they stuffed the condom up with samp, and so now obviously it looked like the real male organ. They used it to rape the girl. So, when they did that, the condom actually burst and the whole samp was left inside the girl. They had to rush her to the hospital.*

Gail described the hierarchy of power in the prison that she was incarcerated in and how this hierarchy operates in the rape of female prisoners:

> *The hierarchy in prison is like there's the king, then the prime ministers and then the servants. The queen bee, the boss lady, the boss of them all, in female prison, she decides that she wants to rape*

---

[24] *Samp* is a South African staple made from dehusked, coarsely ground maize. It may sometimes be made from unbroken and unhusked maize kernels.

[25] *Ja* means yes in the Afrikaans language. Afrikaans is one of South Africa's official languages.

somebody, and she just calls somebody ["a servant"] *randomly. They stuff pap*[26] *into a condom and they put a broom stick in the pap and condom, and that's how they rape you. The prime ministers hold the person that is being raped down, while the boss lady rapes her.*

When I asked why the victims of female prison rape did not report such happenings to the wardens, Eva and Lebohang had the following to say. Eva: "*Who is gonna report? Nobody reports. Even if they report it, they don't do anything. It is better for you to keep your mouth shut and not make the mistake of reporting to the wardens.*" Lebohang: "*No, they don't* [report cases of rape to wardens]. *The wardens are aware of such happenings but they turn a blind eye to it. The wardens know about the rapes going on, the abuses and violence, but they do nothing about it.*"

As a result of the indifferent manner in which wardens handle reports made to them by female inmates concerning other female inmates, female prisoners tend not to report to the wardens when they are raped in prison. They conclude that they may suffer double jeopardy if they report such occurrence.

Despite the narratives above on the sexual coercion experienced by some female prison inmates, Margarita and Cayla both maintained that they had not experienced such incidences. However, this may be because these participants were incarcerated in different prisons.

The above narratives of the participants suggest that the rape of female inmates does not occur in all South African female prisons. While it is a common phenomenon in some female prisons, it is non-existent or, at least, not as pervasive in others. In the prisons in which the rape of female inmates does occur, the participants indicated that it is perpetrated by the female prison inmates against their fellow inmates.

---

[26] This *pap* refers to a type of food made from maize flour and eaten in the Southern African region. It has a very thick consistency and is usually moulded into lumps and eaten with savoury sauces. It is sometimes referred to as *mieliepap* since *mielie* is the Afrikaans word for maize. It is different from the type of *pap* that is eaten in West Africa, where the consistency is less thick, which is porridge-like.

Rape is a traumatic event for any individual. It is, however, even more traumatic for female prisoners because their confinement in prisons makes it difficult for them to seek help through the "normal" channels that are available to females who are raped outside of prisons. In addition, in the case of rape outside of prison, the victims are able to put some distance between themselves and their abusers unlike when such occurs in the female prisons. Craven (2013: 210) notes that the majority of rapists are known to their victims. Nowhere is this more true than in prisons, where the victims of female prison rape are accessible to their abusers for the greater part of the day because they share the same living space. When Nomsa was asked why the female prisoners did not report to the wardens when they were abused by their fellow inmates, she said "*When you are locked up for twenty hours and only free for four hours, its better you just keep your mouth shut and give them what they want*". Thus, according to her, female prisoners spend considerable time with their fellow inmates and, hence, they may experience a boomerang effect if they report their fellow inmates to the wardens. The power hierarchy in female prisons, as explained above facilitates the sexual domination of inmates by those with power. Thus, this sexual coercion or rape is part of the broader power dynamics in South African female prisons.

The process of being mortified, as explained by Goffman (1961) is seen in the participants' narratives in this chapter. In taking up the role of an inmate there were some changes in the sexual roles of some of the participants of this study. The powerlessness that was pointed out by Stohr and Walsh (2012) in the adoption of the new roles in a total institution is seen in this chapter wherein some of the female prisoners, who sometimes, unwillingly engaged in sexual relationships with other females, were coerced into such relationships or suffered repercussions for choosing not to change the sexual roles that they had before their imprisonment while they were incarcerated.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Sexual relationships exist between females in South African prisons. However, some female prison inmates detest such relationships while others are indifferent to the sexual relationships that exist between their fellow females. Sexual, emotional, social and financial needs were identified as some of the reasons for the sexual relationships in South African female prisons.

Based on the participants' narratives, a distinction was made between consensual and coercive sexual relationships in South African female prisons. Consensual sexual relationships among female prisoners are preceded by the wooing and winning over of a prospective partner by the hopeful partner. On the other hand, a coercive sexual relationships or rape entails forced sexual relations among female prisoners. Intimidation, the fear of incurring the wrath of their rapists as well as the unprofessional attitude of prison wardens often make victims of female prison rape not report their attackers. Jones (1993) noted that the strain, particularly the loss of familial relationships, that is generated by imprisonment make some female prisoners to engage in consensual sexual relationships with other females in prison as a coping strategy.

Socialisation into consensual sexual relationships in female prisons happens in subtle ways, usually by means of gifts (material things) and favours from the interested party to the prospective partner. Although first-time female prisoners may be vehemently opposed to sexual relationships with their fellow inmates, some of them subsequently succumb to such relationships.

Sexual relationships between females in South African prisons are prone to becoming violent as a result of the jealousy inherent in such relationships. It was also revealed that sexual relationships between females in South African prisons are not always consensual and that these relationships may be coerced. It was noted that some degree of coercion exists in the consensual sexual relationships in these institutions. Although focus worldwide is on the rape of male prisoners, this chapter has shown that the rape of female prisoners happens. Female prison rape is a real and serious crime, especially in South Africa, which is said to have the highest prison population in Africa and the ninth largest in the world. The rape of female inmates during their incarceration is a grave crime that has serious and far-reaching consequences for the victims in particular and society in general. The rape of female prisoners constitutes torture and is, thus, in contradiction of the South African Constitution and several International Human Rights Conventions. Prison rape is also a violation of the human rights of female prisoners. The need for sexual relationships, the power wielded by some cell leaders and inmates who are serving lengthy prison sentences and the unprofessional attitude of the wardens are some of the factors that facilitate the rape of female prisoners.

The process of being mortified, as explained by Goffman (1961), was clearly demonstrated in the sexual role changes of some of the participants of this study. The sexual experiences of some of the research participants before, during and after incarceration were similar, although for others there was a distinct discontinuity with same-sex relations relationships being only practised only in prison and not before or after imprisonment.

The next chapter provides insights into the post-incarceration experiences of female ex-prisoners in South Africa with particular emphasis on unemployment, the stigma that results from imprisonment, family breakdown and the psychological effect of imprisonment on female ex-prisoners.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES AFTER INCARCERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five discussed the experiences of women prior to their incarceration in South African prisons. This chapter will examine the experiences of women after imprisonment. These experiences include unemployment, the stigma that results from imprisonment, family breakdown and the psychological effect of imprisonment on female ex-prisoners as identified by the participants in the study. Carlen (1990), and Hesselink and Dastille (2010) note that some of these experiences are generated by the incarceration of females and tend to have adverse effects on females and their family members, particularly their children.

8.2. UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the most significant post-incarceration experiences of the participants was the difficulty in securing employment after their incarceration. In fact, the majority of them were unemployed at the time of the study. Margaret explained her experience in this regard:

> *When you go to hunt for a job. They say you are a criminal, they don't hire you ... Create more jobs for those that come from jail ... Even now, I am trying my best so that I can get a job. Even any job that I can get ...*

Juliet, Emily, Gail and Lebohang all reiterated Margaret's view. According to Juliet:

> *It's difficult getting a job because of my criminal record – possession of drugs, GBH* [grievous bodily harm]*, armed robbery…you know. It's just bad ... It's bad. It's very hard finding a job with a criminal record. It's hard, man, and it's frustrating because I mean, I have come clean ... going to look for a job, and you get turned down because you have a criminal record.*

Micaylah was able to go back to the type of work that she did before her incarceration, but she admitted that she was more fortunate than most female former prisoners. Micaylah stated:

> *I have been luckier than most ex-prisoners. I was able to go back to the kind of job that I was doing before my imprisonment. The fact that I knew a lot of people in my kind of job and because they heard my story and they were willing to give me a second chance helped me get a job soon after my release on parole. The chances of a female ex-prisoner getting a job after imprisonment are very slim. Most of these female ex-prisoners have no money, no jobs, and are often faced with the kind of circumstances that made them commit the crimes that they were imprisoned for.*

Table 1.2 depicts a clear picture of the impact of imprisonment on the employment of female ex-prisoners. The table shows that the few who are able to become gainfully employed after incarceration often had to take a lower paying job than that which they had before their incarceration. This is as a result of their criminal records because both private and public organisations are wary of employing them.

In line with the theoretical model contained in chapter two of this study, some of the participants of this study who were unemployed before they were imprisoned remained unemployment after imprisonment. For this category of participants, securing a job after imprisonment was more difficult due to their criminal records.

8.3 STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION

Former female prisoners often experience stigma as a result of their imprisonment history, especially when they have to disclose this information to other people, for example, when looking for a job. Valerie explained the discrimination that she experienced in her search for a job after her incarceration:

> *I once went to this funeral parlour ... So; they ask question, 'Have you been to prison before? and I told them 'Ja'. They say they don't*

want ex-prisoners to work there because they can steal from them. I told them that I was arrested for assault. So, this guy was like aggressive towards me. So, I left the place ... It made me feel so left out. I felt so small. For a moment there, I felt like a prisoner, after the guy told me those things. He was so aggressive towards me. So, it hurt inside. I had to leave immediately after he told me that. I left, I didn't even say goodbye because my heart was full ... eish! It hurts you see.

The communities in which the female ex-prisoners live often stigmatise them for having been imprisoned. Lebohang stated:

[sighs deeply] *... you know, when you come back* [from prison]*, it's difficult being accepted by your community because you are labelled a criminal, a thief, everything, except your name, and that's tough. Having to keep your head afloat, it's just tough. Having to face people again and trying to do things better is difficult.*

Gina, Margaret and Melissa all shared Lebohang's opinion. Gina and Melissa stated:

People, they were like saying 'She is from prison', you see. Ja, everyone was looking at me. She was in prison ... what, what ... I can say, you know, society, when they [female inmates] *come out* [of prison] *... they* [the society] *can say ... they are a killer ... what what. May be if they can stop saying those things ... Ja* (Gina).

People can treat you like shit once they know that you are from prison [have been to prison]*, and that is not necessary* (Melissa).

Cecelia spoke about the stigmatisation that she experienced as a result of being an ex-prisoner. She maintained that, despite the fact that female ex-prisoners have been punished for the crimes that they committed by imprisonment; society continues to punish them after their incarceration by stigmatising them.

You know what? ... some people outside [prison]*, when you say "I'm a prisoner" then they treat you bad and say, "Oh, you stole money or whatever". I experienced it in my own life. They immediately go and lock up their stuff. I think people can just treat ex-prisoners better ... I was there for ... years. I have lost a lot, my children, my family you know, that's punishment. So, you* [the former prisoner] *are already punished, why do they* [people in the community] *need to punish you more? And they can look down at you ...* (Cecelia).

In addition to the stigma that is experienced from the community, Juliet related her experience of stigma from her family members.

It's a whole new world [after imprisonment]. *It's like a different place. Some people are welcoming you. Some people are judging you…calling you names. I coped very well because I had my mother next to me all the time. She was there for me all these times up until today. Ja. Some of my mother's family members did not want anything to do with me up until today. They say that I'm a criminal, I'm bad, I'm not a good influence on their kids, I'm the baddest of the family, I mustn't come near them and all that, but I don't care, as long as I have got my mother.*

Freda also suffered stigmatisation from her family after her imprisonment:

… the youngest one [her son; her youngest child]*, when we fight, he will always tell, "I wasn't in prison" and then it makes me mad, and then I tell him, "Yes, you know I made a mistake. I have paid my mistake. It's finished now. I don't want to talk about it again". You know, when they see that you are pushing them in a corner, they think, "Oh, now I know what to tell her – After all you were in prison and not me"* (Freda).

Gail discussed the stigma that she experienced from members of her household as well as her community:

> *You know, my younger sisters né?, especially at home, they used to like when they lose their money or they lose anything, they used to treat me like ... eh, this one is a prisoner ... It used to make me feel bad because ... I felt just because I went to prison they have to treat me like this? I am accused of taking anything that goes missing, and then I will just find them gossiping around, you know. So, it was not easy. People in the community, I can't talk about them because they scare me more. They feel this one she is from prison, she will beat us this one, she will kill us.*

Some of the participants of this study experience strain from being stigmatised and discriminated against due to their imprisonment history. The stigma that female ex-prisoners experience is often immense. This is also reflected in their being denied jobs by most members of society. The stigma that results from not being accepted by certain family members and society often results in some female ex-prisoners reverting to their old habits by socialising with the kind of people with whom they socialised before being imprisoned. This adoption of old habits and interactions with old friends, even when they are the wrong crowd, increases the likelihood of recidivism among females and this reason was sometimes a pathway back into crime for some of the participants. One of the major reasons why some female ex-prisoners go back to their old friends (who may have played a significant role in the crimes they committed) is the fact that they feel welcomed and not judged by these people. It takes major efforts on the part of those former female prisoners who did not go back to their "old" circle of friends after incarceration while, in some cases where the friends were not the enabling factors in their incarceration, these people did not want to associate with an ex-prisoner. Hence, although some of the participants of this study wanted to continue relating with the friends that they had prior to their imprisonment, such friends avoided them because of their imprisonment history.

Despite the challenges that the participants of this study encountered after incarceration, some of them expressed their desire to not allow their incarceration mar their lives by

choosing to turn away from a life of crime and do something worthwhile with their lives. Indeed, some of the participants have done this by choosing to go back to school and to stay away from situations that expose them to crime. For example, after her incarceration, Nomsa obtained a nursing degree and has enrolled to study medicine; while Lebohang is currently studying towards obtaining her BCom (Bachelor of Commerce) degree.

8.4 FAMILY BREAKDOWN AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF IMPRISONMENT ON FEMALE EX-PRISONERS

The effect of incarceration is so intense that it often splits families and results in irreparable rifts in familial relationships. This, sometimes, compounds the strain that the participants of this study experienced prior to incarceration. Freda attributed the breakdown of her marriage and her eventual divorce from her husband to her imprisonment, as well as the disintegration of the emotional ties that she shared with her children:

> *I was happily married with my husband, two children* [before incarceration] *and, while I was in prison, things just started…You could see they* [her husband and kids] *were frightened* [when she had to go to prison] *… What's happening now? Mom is going to prison now … and him* [her husband], *my wife all these time, I was trusting her … and he said to me once that if I did this* [committed fraud], *I could have cheated on him with another man, which I would never do. It wasn't in my books. I would never ever do it. We were married for 23 years, it's a long time. So, prison destroys families, relationships, breaks up marriages, and there is no support inside there to help you. Even though there is a social worker, there is a psychologist, but there is nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing they can do for you…while I was in prison, about a year before I got released, we decided that we gonna divorce. We just gonna be friends. I said to him, "Go ahead and do it* [divorce her]*", and he said, "No, I will wait till you come out"… my youngest son, if I am telling him, "… Do this and this", then he'll tell me, "Who are you to tell me I must do this*

and this because you were away from us for three and a half years,
and now you want to come and tell" (Freda).

Coupled with the strain that imprisonment imposes on the relationship between the former female prisoner and their family members, the fear of being stigmatised makes it even more difficult for these former female prisoners to adjust to life outside prison. Micaylah explained:

After I came out of prison, my family, especially my only sister, turned their backs on me because I am an ex-prisoner [sobbing]. *My younger sister told me some shit [!], which she would never have told me, if not for the fact that I had been to prison. She told me that she had lost all respect for me. She and I became estranged after this argument. We have not spoken to each other in five years. My family was disappointed in me when I was arrested, and eventually imprisoned … When I was arrested and imprisoned, I was so ashamed of myself and the crime that I committed, that I could not tell any member of my family immediately … Since I came out of prison on parole, I have never felt free to go to social gatherings. I feel as if I will sort of contaminate other people when I socialise with them. I feel ashamed of myself for having been imprisoned, and I abstain from social gatherings.*

Emily discussed one of the impacts of imprisonment on the daily lives and routine of the participants in this study after imprisonment as follows:

The first few months after I came out of prison, I was still waking up very early. Then I thought I am no longer in prison, why must I wake up so early? Then I go back to sleep. It's not easy to forget the life inside prison. You can't forget prison life.

Mercy's socialisation with other people was affected by her imprisonment.

> *I have never been able to talk freely about my prison ordeal with anybody until recently when I spoke to a close male friend. I poured out my mind to him. Apart from this man, you are the only one that I have spoken to about my prison experience … I do not socialise with people because I am ashamed of myself and my imprisonment. I am afraid that people may somehow find out about my imprisonment and withdraw from me. I feel as if I have something to hide* (Mercy).

Lebohang continued to display the behaviour that she learnt in prison in her daily life.

> *Half of the things you do* [in prison] *you do in the dark. Even now, my bedroom light is always off all the time* [even when she is inside her bedroom at nights] *because I'm used to it. I am used to sitting in the dark. That place* [prison] *is really dark, especially when they switch off the lights. That's when you hear crazy things now. You hear a person crying, begging to go home. It's bad. It's not nice* (Lebohang).

The impact of the stigmatisation that Melissa experienced was so great that she became emotional when she recounted it.

> *My family lives in Pretoria, and I was in Nelspruit, so I didn't see my family, not even once, but my boyfriend was staying in Nelspruit, so I see him about once or twice a week. My husband came to visit me about two or three times. The biggest thing that happened to me is that he* [her boyfriend] *died while I was in prison* [She started crying at this point. I switched off the recorder, consoled her and asked if she wanted to take a few minutes before we continued with the interview, or whether she wanted to stop. She sobbed for a while, and then said it was okay for us to continue.] *When I left prison, I was supposed to go and live with him because I was supposed to get a divorce, and then we were supposed to get married, but then, unfortunately, he*

180

died about a week before I was supposed to come out…What was particularly painful was because I was in prison [sobbing]*, I couldn't go to the funeral. The prison did give me permission to go to the funeral, but his family was very against it because they didn't agree with the fact that I was in prison, they didn't even talk to me till today. Not one of them came to me and gave me their condolences. I have more sympathy from complete strangers* [sobbing]*. I don't know, maybe, they think because I was in prison, I have got no feelings* (Melissa).

Unemployment, stigmatisation and discrimination, the breakdown of family ties and the psychological impact of imprisonment were the issues that the participants in this study grappled with on their release from prison. Some of them found the stigmatisation and discrimination that they experienced from their family members and society particularly disturbing as they did not expect to continue to be "punished" after their imprisonment; hence, they experienced immense strain from these experiences. The high rate of unemployment and underemployment that was mentioned in the participants' narratives is reflective of that their colleagues as well and can keep females in a vicious cycle of crime.

The theoretical model in chapter two of this study shows that some strain, for instance, unemployment and dysfunctional familial relationships, which are present in the lives of some of the participants of this study before incarceration continue after their incarceration. It was revealed that some of these strain, in particular, unemployment and dysfunctional familial relationships, are compounded after incarceration and sometimes result in a "cycle of crime" when some of the participants re-offend.

8.5 CONCLUSION

Although the women prisoners only are incarcerated and experience the pains of imprisonment, their family members also suffer both during and after the incarceration of these females as some of these effects are often shared by members of the women prisoners' families. The effects of imprisonment that were discussed include the high rate of unemployment and difficulty in securing employment, stigma, family breakdown, and

psychological issues of female ex-prisoners. In order to minimise these effects, particularly on those people who are related to the female prisoners, the focus of incarceration should shift from punishment to the rehabilitation of female prisoners with the emphasis on alternatives to incarceration, especially for females who have committed non-violent crimes. Although this is the objective of the DCS in theory, the opposite is the case in reality as was indicated in the narratives of the participants in this study which was quoted in other chapters of the study.

Both GST and the feminist pathways approach propose that women who are incarcerated often experience additional strain in their lives. These strains are believed to facilitate the commission of certain types of crimes. It emerged from the interviews with the participants that imprisonment causes and also exacerbates many forms of strain which continue even after incarceration. Re-offending is, thus, a likely result of imprisonment.

The next chapter contains the conclusion to the study as well as an overview of all the chapters of the study. In addition, the chapter discusses the theoretical foundation of this study, in particular, how it relates to the participants of this study and to South Africa in general, the limitations that were encountered in the process of carrying out the study, recommendations based on some of the issues that were identified in the course of the study, suggestions for future research and the contributions of the study.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter highlights the research questions and the research findings. Also, the chapter discusses the limitations encountered in the course of this study, the contributions of the study, suggestions for future research and recommendations. In addition, the chapter presents a synthesis of the relevant literature, GST, the feminist pathways approach, Goffman's "total institutions" and the findings of the study.

9.2 A SYNOPSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study sought to bring about a greater awareness of the neglected subject matter of female criminality by exploring the life experiences of women who had been incarcerated. This was achieved by examining the experiences of 20 women prior to, during and after imprisonment. In line with the above, the study was guided by three questions, namely, what are the circumstances that lead to the incarceration of females, what are the experiences of females in prison, and what are the post-prison experiences of females?

It was interesting that the participants in the study tended to focus more on their experiences during incarceration than their experiences prior to and after their imprisonment. It is for this reason that the bulk of the study findings are centred on the experiences of females while behind bars. However, the fact that the majority of the participants focused more on their prison experience than on those either prior to or after imprisonment is not surprising, as the findings of the study indicate that these periods in the lives of the participants were extremely traumatic and, indeed, have left indelible marks on their psyche. In fact, these experiences exerted such a significant influence on the participants that they are still reflected in their daily lives today. The overwhelming effect of the experiences of the participants regarding crime also came to the fore during the data gathering phase when some of the participants became extremely emotional as they recounted their encounters with crime and the effect that imprisonment has had and is having on them, their friends and their families.

A qualitative research design was used for the purposes of the study. This enabled the participants to narrate their stories in their own words, thereby providing me with an opportunity to view their experiences "through their eyes" and also to relive these experiences with them through their accounts. This, in turn, ultimately brought about a deeper understanding of their actions, inactions and experiences in relation to crime (see also Creswell et al in Dantzker & Hunter 2012: 56; Adler & Clark in Dantzker & Hunter 2012: 56). The population for the study comprised female former prisoners who had been released in the five years preceding the study. The sampling technique that was used to select the participants was a combination of purposive and snowball sampling procedures. A total of twenty females participated in the study. The data collection technique that was used is in-depth interviews. Two rounds of interviews were conducted with the participants. All of the participants were interviewed in the first round of interviews. The reluctance of the participants to be re-interviewed resulted in only four of the participants being re-interviewed. However, the fact that I was denied second interviews with the majority of the participants suggests that they understood that they had the choice of whether or not to participate in the study. The obvious reluctance may also have been a result of the fact that the participants had divulged considerable sensitive information to me during the first interviews; hence, they may have felt self-conscious about sitting down with me for another interview. The findings of the study are summarised below.

9.2.1 Women's experiences before incarceration in South Africa

It emerged that some of the participants experienced emotional and sexual abuse prior to their incarceration. The emotional abuse that one of participants experienced before prison, which was her pathway into crime, continued after her release from prison. This finding is in agreement with the work of Zaplin (2008) who noted the link between victimization and subsequent offending behaviour of females. Similarly, Haffejee, Vetten and Greyling (2006) noted that physical, emotional and sexual abuses are some of the experiences that precede female offending. These experiences all give credence to the feminist pathways approach which was discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

It was revealed that the strain which resulted from nurturing other people and the gendered response to fairness influenced the criminal activity of some of the participants of this study. Also, it emerged that the desire to financially provide for their families and also fund social

activities was the enabling factors in the crimes that some participants of this study committed. These findings strongly support the contentions of Broidy and Agnew (1997) regarding GST as discussed in chapter 2.

9.2.2 Prison conditions in South African female prisons

The aspects related to the living conditions of the participants that were discussed in chapter seven included medical care, food, hygiene and sanitation, contact with the outside world, education and reading material, prison work and skills acquisition, bedding, clothing and the physical appearance of the female inmates, exercise and recreation, rehabilitation, overcrowding and the torture of female inmates.

It was recounted that the medical care in South African female prisons is both poor and inadequate. This was the result of the lack of medical doctors, insufficient numbers of nurses as well as the unprofessional attitude of the nurses and wardens to the female prisoners' reports of ill-health. The insufficient number of nurses tended to prevent some sick inmates from accessing medical care in the prison clinics. It was also recounted that some of these institutions do not provide obstetrics care for pregnant inmates. Due to the absence of medical doctors in these institutions, inmates who need the attention of medical doctors are often taken to hospitals that are located outside the prisons. These sick inmates who are taken to hospitals experience stigma because they are manacled during such visits and have to walk around the hospital amid non-prisoners in manacles. This stigma is one of the reasons why some sick inmates keep quiet about their ill health rather than report it to the wardens or nurses. The unprofessional attitude of some nurses and wardens and unsuccessful attempts to seek medical attention in the prison clinics make some sick female inmates resort to self-medication to treat their illnesses. In addition, female inmates who suffered from specific ailments before their incarceration experienced difficulty in accessing medical care in prison. However, the narratives of some of the participants also revealed that provisions are made to meet the medical needs of some sick inmates, but that these are often inadequate.

According to some of the participants, the quality of the food that they and their fellow inmates ate during their incarceration was poor. For example, worms in the food, decayed food and food that was not properly cooked were reported. The poor quality of prison food resulted in some inmates starving themselves. Although in some female prisons, "special"

diets were provided for female inmates based on religious and health reasons, the dietary needs of those inmates who suffer from rather uncommon ailments are rarely met. It was reported that prison food is monotonous and often unbalanced. The staple food in female prisons consists mainly of carbohydrates with occasional vegetables and fruits while the same types of foods are served on a daily basis. This monotony made some inmates develop a dislike for certain foods and they avoided them even after their release from prison. The weekly visits by families and friends provided some respite from the poor prison food for the inmates because their visitors are allowed to bring in better quality foods and also a variety of foods.

Similarly, the hygiene and sanitation in South African female prisons are poor and inadequate. This situation is exacerbated by the insufficient quantity and erratic supply of water, toilet paper, cleaning agents and toiletries as well as the presence of rodents and bugs which feed on the body parts of inmates as they sleep.

The contact that female prisoners in South Africa have with the outside world is mainly in the form of telephonic contact, visits from families and friends and electronic telecommunications. The use of personal mobile telephones by the female inmates is frowned upon and a violation of this rule may result in severe penalties, including solitary confinement. Instead of using personal mobile telephones, inmates are allowed to use the telephones that are provided by the prison authorities to call their families and friends. The absence of computers in the facilities means that, for the most part, electronic telecommunications are impossible, hence; the inmates are not able to either send or receive electronic messages. The frequency of visits from families and friends to the participants varied. Some participants enjoyed regular visits on a weekly and monthly basis while other participants enjoyed irregular visits, for example, as few as two visits throughout their entire incarceration. Some of the participants had no visitors during their imprisonment because their families were too poor to afford the transportation cost of coming to see them in prison.

Opportunities for formal education exist in female prisons in South Africa although some inmates experienced difficulty in accessing these opportunities. The reasons that the participants cited for this difficulty included the short lengths of their prison sentences and also not being the wardens' favourites. It emerged that those female inmates who are the wardens' favourites are often given the opportunity to enrol for formal education while in

prison, while those inmates who are not the wardens' favourites are denied this opportunity. Reading material is often either insufficient or unavailable in the facilities. Some of the participants in this study had access to reading material because their visitors brought them reading material. Some of the female prisons have no libraries, while others had their libraries closed down. The books in some of the libraries of the female prisons were reported to be so few that a participant reported that she read them several times over before the end of her prison sentence. In addition, the books in some of the prison libraries were said to be old and outdated.

Most of the work that was done by the participants in this study and their fellow inmates during their incarceration consisted of "traditional feminine work", such as cooking, doing laundry, babysitting, cleaning and sewing or mending clothes. Although this work is often unpaid, one participant indicated that she was paid a monthly pittance for the work that she did during her imprisonment. Some of the participants mentioned that they volunteered to do work in prison despite not being paid so as to dispel the boredom which is often rampant in female prisons. Some female prisons train their inmates in vocational skills, including needle work, beaded jewellery making and tailoring.

It emerged that there is a shortage of beds and beddings for female inmates in South African prisons. Some of these items were reported to be in states of disrepair. As a result of this shortages, inmates were often forced to share these items with one another. Also, it was reported that there is a shortage of uniforms for female prisoners, hence, female inmates supplement the prison uniforms with personal clothes which they ask their visitors to bring to them. Female inmates were allowed to use make-up although some female prisons were considering abolishing make up. Female prisoners were allowed to wear whatever hairstyles they chose and could cut their hair if they so desire.

The participants in the study expressed differing opinions as regards the opportunities that they had to exercise during their incarceration. Some reported that they were given time to exercise, while others claimed that they did not have such opportunities. The recreational activities that were organised by the authorities of some prisons took the form of sports days and celebrating national events such as Freedom Day, Heritage Day and cultural days. The inmates themselves often organised regular recreation inside their cells in the form of cards and board games. However, some of these games were stopped by the prison authorities

because they were promoting bad habits such as gambling. The tension, which often resulted in fights, escalated in these facilities as a result of the insufficient recreational activities.

On the one hand, the narratives of some of the participants contradicted the importance that the DCS is purported to place on the rehabilitation of prisoners. These participants maintained that their imprisonment did not perform a rehabilitative function for them in terms of the crime that they committed and the learning of new skills. Even when the sentences of the female prisoners included that they must be rehabilitated, this is either not done or it is only partially carried out. On the other hand, some of the participants lauded the rehabilitative function of their imprisonment. According to these participants, rehabilitative programmes do exist in female prisons but, in order to benefit from such programmes, it is essential that the female inmates participate in them.

Overcrowding constitutes one of the problems experienced in the incarceration of females in South Africa. However, this is also a characteristic of prisons in some other African countries (Alhas, 2010: 2–34) as well as in certain developed countries (Rabe, 2012: 224–225; Steiner & Daniel Butler, 2013: 153). Overcrowding in prisons leads to pressure on the available resources and this often escalated the tension and violence in these institutions. For example, fights in the shower are commonplace because of the scramble for water, hot water or a place to shower.

Torture in South Africa is rooted in the history of apartheid in the country (see Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1998: 187). This study found that torture does exist in female prisons in South Africa. This torture was found to be either physical or psychological. The torture of female prisoners in South Africa is often perpetrated by other female prisoners or by the wardens. This torture takes the form of "old" inmates forcing "new" inmates to take cold showers, even in winter, solitary confinement during which the inmate is not provided with food, wardens subjecting inmates to potentially physically damaging activities, the rape of female prisoners by other female prisoners as well as wardens instigating fights between the female inmates. Even when the wardens are not directly involved in the torture of female inmates, they are often aware of the occurrence of such abuse but choose to ignore it.

The poor living conditions in female prisons were also pointed out by Pandey and Singh (2006) and Hesselink and Dastille (2010). The authors' views are discussed in detail in

chapter 3. The poor living conditions in South African female prisons that were noted in this study is one of the characteristics of total institutions that was identified by Goffman (1961). The authorities of institutions, such as female prisons, do not make the well-being of the inmates to be of primary concern, hence the existence of deplorable living conditions in such organisations (Goffman, 1961: 4-5). This lack of concern may be rooted in Goffman's (1961) explanation for the establishment of such institutions, which is to protect the society from perceived harm. In essence, the perception that the residents of female prisons are dangerous to the society may be responsible for the lack of concern for their well-being.

9.2.3 Sexual relationships in South African female prisons

The occurrence of sexual relationships among females in South African prisons was discussed in chapter seven. It was found that these relationships are not always consensual and that some of them are coerced. The consensual relationships occur not merely between the female inmates but also between the prisoners and the female wardens. However, the narratives of the participants indicated that the occurrence of consensual relationships is more common between female inmates than between female inmates and female wardens. Sykes (1958) noted that the deprivation which is experienced by the female prisoners in terms of heterosexual relations often informs the formation of sexual relations among them.

The practice of sexual relationships among females in prison reflects the process of being "mortified" that Goffman (1961) discussed. That is, some of the participants of this study modified their sexual roles when they were imprisoned by engaging in sexual relationships with fellow females; some of the participants of this study did not practise such relationships prior to incarceration. However, it was noted that some of these category of female prisoners were involved in sexual relationships before imprisonment (Morgan, 1998). The strain that is experienced during incarceration was noted as being responsible for the sexual relationships that female prisoners practise with their fellow inmates (Otis, 1913; Selling, 1931).

The findings highlighted the powerless position of the victims of sexual coercion in South African female prisons. This powerlessness is predicated by the reluctance of the victims to report such abuse to the wardens because of the wardens' unprofessional attitudes which may, in turn, lead to repercussions for the victims from the abusers. This powerlessness is further compounded by the fact that the victims share the same carceral spaces with their

abusers, hence, they are, to an extent, "trapped" because they are not able to escape from either their abusers or the abuse.

9.2.4 The experiences of women after incarceration in South Africa

The experiences of former female prisoners in South Africa, as revealed in this study, include high levels of unemployment, stigma, the psychological effects of imprisonment and family disorganisation. These experiences are indicative of the "damaging and debilitating" effects of imprisonment on females (Carlen, 1990: 17).

The task of securing employment is extremely daunting for females who have been to prison in South Africa. Employers in both the private and the public sectors are wary of employing females who have criminal records. Some employers are subtle in turning away prospective employees who are former prisoners while others are not as subtle and even threaten to use force when trying to communicate the fact that they do not want to employ ex-prisoners to the former female prisoners. There is always the possibility that those female ex-prisoners who were fortunate to secure employment without revealing their criminal records may lose these jobs as soon as their employers learn about their criminal records. However, some female former prisoners still choose not to mention their criminal records to prospective employers unless they are asked. In general, the remuneration of the few female ex-prisoners who are fortunate enough to secure employment after their incarceration is significantly less after imprisonment as compared to what they received prior to their imprisonment.

Some of the participants also experienced stigmatisation as a result of their history of imprisonment. This stigma emanated from within their families and from society as a whole. This stigmatisation often manifested when the ex-prisoners went job hunting and were rejected because of their criminal records. If not effectively addressed, the stigma that female ex-prisoners experience may increase their chances of recidivism as they may become involved in the circle of friends or activities that played a role in their imprisonment because they are accepted and not judged within these circles.

In addition, some of the participants often experienced family break-ups and disorganisation after incarceration. Imprisonment may even result in divorces which have adverse effect on

children in these families. Some participants also suffered psychologically after their imprisonment and experienced difficulty in adjusting to life after incarceration.

If not adequately addressed, the above experiences of the participants after incarceration may lead to recidivism as they may generate some of the strains that GST postulates is conducive to criminal behaviour (see chapter 2 for details).

9.3 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Robert Agnew's GST can be adopted to explain female criminality in South Africa because the three main causes of strain which culminate in crime and which are cited in GST were also the motivating factors for the crimes committed by some of participants in this study. According to GST, crime is committed when aspirations, ideal goals and/or expectations are unattainable, unfair and unjust treatment occurs; there is a loss of positively valued stimuli and negatively valued stimuli are available (Agnew, 1992: 50; Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 277). Some of the participants of this study cited these causes of crime, as identified in GST, as the influencing factors in their criminal behaviour. For example, the inability to achieve their ideal individual goals had resulted in the crimes committed by Lebohang, Freda, and Melissa, the perceived unjust and unfair way in which Gina, Duduzile, and Erin had been treated were directly responsible for their criminal behaviour while the loss of positively valued stimuli and the availability of negatively valued stimuli had motivated Emily, Valerie, Micaylah, Juliet, Margarita, Emelia and Ashley to commit crimes. However, despite the fact that the causes of criminal behaviour of the participants in this study are in line with the contentions of GST, it has been observed that not all females who are subjected to strain resort to crime (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 293; Agnew, 1992: 71–74). One of the determinants of an individual's response to strain and eventual participation in/refraining from committing crime is the interaction between the mediating and conditioning processes (Broidy & Agnew, 1997: 281–287). As was pointed out in chapter two, GST was deemed to be appropriate for the purposes of this study as regards explaining the criminal behaviour of the participants because of the strain that South African women experience as breadwinners (Smit, 2002: 401–402) and the accompanying financial strain, as well as the other strains they experience. Thus, all these strains may be responsible for the increasing involvement of South African women in crime (see section 2.3.2 for details).

The feminist pathways approach, which is a specific expression of feminism, guided this study in establishing a link between the historical antecedents and subsequent offending behaviour of the participants in the study. The pathways into criminal offending of the participants were identified as poverty, emotional abuse, opportunities to commit crime, perceived unjust and unfair treatment, drug addiction, marital problems, peer pressure as well as pressure to fulfil perceived familial obligations and attain ideal goals. The experiences of the participants prior to imprisonment lend credence to the feminist pathways approach.

The strains, as identified in GST, which the participants of this study experienced prior to incarceration, were compounded by their experiences both during incarceration and after incarceration. The strains were also exacerbated after incarceration by the stigma of a criminal record.

The explanations of Goffman (1961) on "total institutions" were observed in the lives of the participants of this study, particularly during incarceration. Goffman's (1961) process of being "mortified" was observed in the practise of sexual relationships in South African female prisons. The lack of attention to the well-being of prison inmates, which Goffman (1961) pointed out is characteristic of prisons, was seen in the accounts of the poor living conditions that were narrated by some of the participants of this study. The social strata which Goffman (1961) noted that exist in prisons was noted in this study in the division of people into female prisoners and prison staff in the prisons that the participants of this study were incarcerated in.

9.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The main limitation of this study is its lack of representativeness. In view of the fact that random sampling was not used and a representative sample of female ex-prisoners was not selected, it is not possible to generalise the findings of this study to all female ex-prisoners in South Africa. However, this is not a limitation per se because the aim of this study was not to find a representative sample. This notwithstanding and albeit the experiences of some female former prisoners in South Africa may differ from those of the participants of this study, this study provides invaluable insights into the experiences of females in relation to crime in South Africa.

9.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The narratives of the participants revealed that the living conditions of female prisoners in South Africa differ from the ideals that are set out by the DCS with overcrowding and pressure on the available resources in such institutions being experienced (Gordon & Cloete, 2012: 1170). Thus, there is an urgent need to combat overcrowding in South African female prisons by implementing effective measures to reduce such overcrowding. One such measure should, as a matter of priority, include reducing the numbers of both awaiting detainees and sentenced prisoners by focusing on alternatives to incarceration, especially for non-violent offenders. In addition, alternatives to incarceration, such as rehabilitation programmes – drugs and other treatments programmes – which would help to address some of the root cause of females' offending behaviour should be made available to all female prisoners. These programmes may also be more cost-effective than imprisonment in the long run (see, for example, The Corston Report, 2007: 87). Furthermore, the introduction of shorter prison sentences for certain offences, the decriminalisation of certain acts, as well as increasing parole possibilities, may also help to address the problem of overcrowding in South African female prisons.

The narratives of the participants suggested that the existing medical care provided to female prisoners is poor and, in some cases, non-existent. There is, thus, a need to improve the quality of the medical care that is provided to female incarcerates in South Africa and to introduce such care into female prisons where it is lacking. Central to this improvement is the need to increase the current staff strength of the medical personnel in female prisons. The prison authorities should also endeavour to protect the dignity of the ill female prisoners who are taken to medical facilities outside of the prisons. It is anticipated that implementing these measures may encourage more female inmates to speak up about their health problems and preventative measures may be taken to safeguard their health.

In order to reduce the instances of ignorance of the pregnancies of female prisoners – as it emerged in the narratives of some of the participants – it is essential that the procedure for the admission of females to prisons in South Africa, as contained in chapter two of the Correctional Services Act, 1998 (which was amended on 1 March, 2012 and in the Government Gazette, Republic of South Africa, 2012) be strictly adhered to. This would

ensure that the prison authorities make pregnancy tests available to all female inmates at the point of admission to prison.

It also emerged that the prison staff often maltreat the female prisoners. The attitudes of the prison staff members, particularly those who have regular contact with female inmates, for example, the wardens, should be improved by organising regular training sessions for them on appropriate behaviour when relating with the female prisoners. The prison staff should be made aware that, although the female inmates have committed criminal offences, their human rights and dignity must still be protected.

One of the major difficulties that the participants experienced was the inability to find work after imprisonment because of their criminal records. This, in turn, places an enormous financial burden on these female ex-prisoners and their families. In order to address this problem, female ex-prisoners should be given a stipend on their release from prison which would enable them to meet their basic needs for a few months while they seek work. Their chances of finding work would also be significantly enhanced if the prison authorities focused on improving the skills of female prisoners during their incarceration. Female prisoners would benefit greatly from their newly acquired skills as they could even become self-employed on their release from prison, and this would, ultimately, reduce the rigour and rejection inherent in their search for jobs as well as the stigmatisation that they encounter in the process.

Some of the participants referred to the challenges that they faced after their release from prison because of the fact that they had no family member or a friend with whom to live with after their release from prison. Emily remarked that the fear of not having a place to stay after imprisonment is so intense among those female prisoners who do not have friends or family members with whom to live with after their release that some female prisoners resort to using any means to remain in prison, even assaulting other inmates so as to extend the length of their prison sentences. The provision of halfway houses for female ex-prisoners on their release from prison would provide a safe haven for them while they sort out their lives. This measure may also reduce recidivism among the female ex-prisoners as, by staying in such places, they would be protected from those factors and/or circumstances that resulted in their imprisonment.

The experiences of the participants in the study suggest that they faced daunting challenges as a result of the reactions of their family members and communities to their incarceration. Some of these challenges could have been averted if counselling programmes for both female prisoners and their families are offered so as to help them cope with life after imprisonment and the possible absence of family members during this period. If such programmes were put in place, they could do much in cushioning the effects of incarceration for these people, thereby helping to ensure that families remain together and familial bonds intact.

9.6 AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

From a methodological standpoint, similar studies to this one could be replicated using a larger number of participants so as to obtain more information on the experiences of female former prisoners. An ambitious but attainable project would be to carry out this study at a national level in South Africa and/or in other countries. This may generate information on the experiences of female former prisoners which may be more diverse than the information obtained from the findings of this study and also allow for the findings of such a study to be generalised to a broader population. In addition, the opinions of wardens and other prison staff could be included in similar studies as this would provide more robust research findings.

9.7 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has contributed in no small measure to the existing literature on female criminality in general, an area of study that has been relatively ignored as compared to research on the criminality of men. In particular, this study provides a wealth of knowledge on the criminality of women in South Africa. Unlike the criminality of women in developed countries, such as the United States of America, which has witnessed a proliferation of literature on female crime over the years, there is a paucity of literature on the criminality of women in South Africa. This study has made a significant contribution with its examination of the reported conditions under which female prisoners are housed in South Africa, the sexual relationships that takes place in female prisons, the non-sexual interactions between and amongst female inmates and wardens as well as the experiences of women before, during and after incarceration in South Africa.

9.8 CONCLUSION

There should be efforts made to reduce the number of females sentenced to imprisonment as the incarceration of women, especially those who are mothers and breadwinners, has a tremendously negative impact on families, particularly the children (Silvestri& Crowther-Dowey, 2008: 42, 43; Hesselink& Dastille, 2010: 65).

There should, thus, be less emphasis placed on punitive measures for female offenders. Steffensmeier and Allan (1995: 87–88) noted that the cause of female crime may often be traced to poverty. However, although some of the participants in this study had committed crimes because of poverty, the criminal behaviour of other participants had been influenced by the opportunity to commit crime and not by poverty. Nevertheless, avenues for teaching females prisoners how to become financially empowered should be explored. These would, ultimately, help to reduce the overcrowding in female prisons and its attendant problems, as well as recidivism. While female prisoners are sentenced to imprisonment in order to make them realise the magnitude of their offenses by depriving them of their freedom, in particular, and to ensure that they desist from such criminal acts in the future, the rights of female prisoners should not be violated in the process. In addition, the DCS should make adequate provisions for females that will equip them for their lives after incarceration and also assist them to live meaningful lives after their release from prison.

REFERENCES

Adler, F. 1975. *Sisters in crime: The rise of the new female criminal.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Adler, F. 2007. The gendering of criminology: Feminist theory. In: *Criminological theory: Context and consequences* edited by Lilly, J.R., Cullen, F.T. & Ball, R.A. California: Sage.

Adler, F. & Simon, R.J. 1979. *The criminology of deviant women.* Boston, MA: Houghton and Mifflin.

Agger, I. 1989. 'Sexual torture of political prisoners: An overview'. *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 2(3): 305–318.

Agnew, R. 1985. 'A revised strain theory of delinquency'. *Social Forces* 64(1): 151–167.

Agnew, R. 1992. 'Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency'. *Criminology* vol. 30: 47–87.

Agnew, R. 1997. 'Stability and crime over the life course: A strain theory explanation.' In: *Advances in criminological theory* edited by Thornberry, T.P. New Jersey: Transaction, 101–132.

Agnew, R. 2001. 'Building on the foundation of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency'. *Journal of Crime and Delinquency* vol. 38: 319–361.

Agnew, R. 2006. *Pressured into crime: An overview of general strain theory.* Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.

Agnew, R. and Brezina, T. 1997. 'Relational problems with peers, gender, and delinquency'. *Youth and Society* vol. 29: 84–111.

Agnew, R., Brezina, T., Wright, JP. and Cullen, FT. 2002. 'Strain, personality traits and delinquency: Extending general strain theory'. *Criminology* 40: 43–71.

Agnew, R. and White, HR. 1992. 'An empirical test of general strain theory'. *Criminology* 30: 475–499.

Agozino, B. 2002. 'African women and the decolonisation of victimization: Dazzling crime figures'. *Critical Sociology* 28(1–2): 123–142.

Alhas, M. 2010. The challenges of overcrowding and correctional programming. A plenary paper presented at the ACSA Biennial Conference, Accra, Ghana.

Anderson, E. 1975. 'The chivalrous treatment of the female offender in the arms of the criminal justice system: A review of the literature'. *Social Problems* vol. 23: 109–120.

Andrews, D.A. and Bonta, J. 2010. 'Rehabilitating criminal justice policy and practice'. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 16(1): 39–55.

Andrews, P.E. 2006. 'Violence against women in South Africa: The role of culture and the limitations of the Law'. *Temple Political and Civil Rights Law Review* 8(425): 430–437.

Babbie, E. 2013. *The practice of social research*. 13th edition. New Zealand: Wadsworth.

Banks, C. 2009. *Criminal justice ethics: Theory and practice.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Banwell, S. 2010. 'Gendered narratives: Women's subjective accounts of their use of violence and alternative aggression(s) within their marital relationships'. *Feminist Criminology* 5(2): 116–134.

Barkan, S.E. 1997. *Criminology: A sociological understanding.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Becker, S. and McCorkel, J.A. 2011. 'The gender of criminal opportunity: The impact of male co-offenders on women's crime'. *Feminist Criminology* 6(2): 79–110.

Belknap, J. 2007. *The invisible woman: Gender, crime and justice.* 3rd edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bell, D., Binnies, J., Cream, J. and Valentine, G. 1994. 'All hyped up and no place to go'. *Gender, Place and Culture* vol. 1: 31–47.

Bell, K.E. 2009. Gender, race, intersections of gender and race, and changes in criminal offending across time. Unpublished PhD thesis. Ohio State University.

Bender, K. 2010. 'Why do some maltreated youth become juvenile offenders? A call for further investigation and adaptation of youth services'. *Children and Youth Services Review* vol. 32: 466-473.

Boddy-Evans, A. 2013. *Cape Town's infamous Robben Island.* [O] Available at: http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/p/RobbenIsland.htm (Accessed on 19/07/2013).

Booyens, K. 2011. 'The South African criminal justice system'. In: *A South African perspective on fundamental criminology* edited by Bezuidenhout, C. Cape Town: Pearson, 57–90.

Booyens, K., Hesselink-Louw, A. and Mashabela, P. 2004. 'Male rape in prison: An overview'. *Acta Criminologica* 17(3): 1–14.

Botha, S.A. 2006. *The cycle of violence and abuse in women who kill an intimate male partner: A biographical profile.* Johannesburg: Centre for Psychological Services and Career Development.

Box, S. 1983. *Power, crime and mystification.* London: Tavistock.

Broidy, L. 2001. 'A test of general strain theory'. *Criminology* vol. 39: 9–35.

Broidy, L. and Agnew, R. 1997. 'Gender and crime: A general strain theory perspective'. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 34(3): 275–306.

Brown, M. 2006. 'Gender, ethnicity, and offending over the life course: Women's pathways to prison in the Aloha state'. *Critical Criminology* vol. 14: 137–58.

Burgess-Proctor, A. 2006. Intersections of race, class, gender and crime: Future directions for Feminist Criminology. *Journal of Feminist Criminology*, 1(1): 27–47. [O]. Available at: http://fcx.sagepub.com/content/1/1/27.full.pdf+html (Accessed on 20/07/2012).

Burgess-Proctor, A. 2012. 'Pathways of victimization and resistance: Toward a feminist theory of battered women's help-seeking'. *Justice Quarterly* 29(3): 309–346.

Burke, R. 2005. *An introduction to criminological theory*. 2nd edition. Devon, UK: Willan.

Butler, J. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity.* London: Routledge.

Cain, M. 1989. *Growing up good.* London: Sage.

Carlen, P. 1985. *Criminal women.* Oxford: Polity Press.

Carlen, P. 1988. *Women, crime and poverty.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Carlen, P. 1990. *Alternatives to women's imprisonment.* Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Carlen, P. 1992. 'Criminal women and criminal justice: The limits to, and of, feminist and left realist perspectives'. <u>In</u>: *Issues in realist criminology* edited by Mathews, R. and Young, J. London: Sage.

Carlen, P. and Worrall, A. 1987. *Gender, crime and justice.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Cavan, R. 1962. *Juvenile delinquency*. Philadelphia, PA: JP Lippincott.

Cernkovich, S.A., Lanctôt, N. and Giordano, P.C. 2008. 'Predicting adolescent and adult antisocial behavior among adjudicated delinquent females'. *Crime & Delinquency* vol. 54: 3–33.

Champion, D.J. 1993. *Research methods for criminal justice and criminology.* New Jersey: Regents/Prentice Hall.

Cherukuri, S., Britton, D.M. and Subramaniam, M. 2009. 'Between life and death: Women in an Indian state prison'. *Feminist Criminology* 4(3): 252–274.

Chesney-Lind, M. 1986. 'Women and crime: The female offender'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 12: 78–96.

Chesney-Lind, M. 1989. 'Girls' crime and woman's place: Towards a feminist model of female delinquency'. *Crime and Delinquency,* 35(1): 5–29.

Chesney-Lind, M. 2006. 'Patriarchy, crime and justice: Feminist criminology in an era of backlash'. *Feminist Criminology,* 1(1): 6–26.

Chesney-Lind, M. and Pasko, L. 2004. *Girls, women and crime: Selected readings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chesney-Lind, M. and Pasko, L. 2013. *The female offender: Girls, women and crime.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Chesney-Lind, M. and Shelden, R.G. 1992. *Girls, delinquency and juvenile justice.* California: Brooks/Cole.

Chigwada-Bailey, R. 2004. 'Black women and the criminal justice system'. In: *Women who offend* edited by McIvor, G. New York: Jessica Kingsley, 183.

Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E. 1960. *Delinquency and opportunity.* New York: Free Press.
Cohen, A.K. 1955. *Delinquent boys.* New York: Free Press.

Coyle, A. 2005. *Understanding prisons: Key issues in policy and practice.* New York: Open University Press.

Craven, S.A. 2013. 'Rape in South Africa'. *South African Medical Journal*, 103(4): 210.

Daly, K. 1992. 'Women's pathways to felony court: Feminist theories of lawbreaking and problems of representation'. *Review of Law and Women's Studies* vol. 2: 11–52.

Daly, K. 1994. *Gender, crime and punishment.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Daly, K. 1997. 'Different ways of conceptualising sex/gender in feminist theory and their implications for criminology'. *Theoretical Criminology* 1(1): 25–51.

Daly, K. and Chesney-Lind, M. 1988. 'Feminism and criminology'. *Justice Quarterly*, 5(4): 497–538.

Dankwa, V. 2008. 'Overcrowding in African prisons.' <u>In</u>: *Human rights in African prisons* edited by Sarkin, J. Cape Town: HSRC, 83–90.

Dantzker, M.L. and Hunter, R.D. 2012. *Research methods for criminology and criminal justice*. 3rd edition. Ontario: Jones and Barlett.

Dastile, N.P. 2011. 'Female crime'. <u>In</u>: *A Southern African perspective of fundamental Criminology* edited by Bezuidenhout, C. Cape Town: Pearson, 288–304.

Day, A. and Doyle, P. 2010. 'Violent offender rehabilitation and the therapeutic community model of treatment: Towards integrated service provision?'. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 15(5): 380–386.

Delmar, R. 1986. 'What is feminism?' <u>In</u>: *What is feminism?* edited by Mitchell, J. and Oakley, A. New York: Pantheon.

Department of Correctional Services. 2005. *The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa.* Pretoria: Department of Correctional Services. [O] Available at:

https://www.google.co.za/search?q=WHAT%20IS%20REHABILITATION?+site:www.dcs.gov.za#q=WHAT%20IS%20REHABILITATION%3F%20site%3Awww.dcs.gov.za (Accessed on 15/01/2014).

Department of Correctional Services. 2012. *Regulation Gazette* Vol. 562 No. 9739. Pretoria: Department of Correctional Services. [O] Available at: http://www.dcs.gov.za/Publications/Legislation/Correctional%20Services%20Regulations%202%202004%20as%20amended%20on%2025%20April%202012.pdf (Accessed on 11/02/2014).

Department of Correctional Services *Annual Report 2012-2013.* Available at [O]: http://www.dcs.gov.za/docs/landing/DCS%20Annual%20Report%202012-2013.pdf Accessed on 23/03/2014).

Department of Correctional Services Strategic Plan 2013-2017. Available at [O]: http://www.dcs.gov.za/docs/landing/Strategic%20Plan%202013%20-%202017.pdf (Accessed on 15/01/2014).

Department of Public Service and Administration. 2002. *Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy*. Pretoria: Department of Public Service and Administration. [O] Available at: http://www.westerncape.gov.za/text/2004/4/psa_anti_corruption_strategy_2002.pdf (Accessed on 10/05/2014).

Dirsuweit, T. 1999. 'Carceral spaces in South Africa: A case study of institutional power, sexuality and transgression in a women's prison'. *Geoforum* vol. 30: 71–83.

Dissel, A. 2001. *Prisons conditions in Africa*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. [O] Available at: http://admin.ppja.org/regional-information/africa/Prison%20Conditions%20Africa.pdf (Accessed on 22/01/2014).

Drapeau, M., Körner, C., Brunet, L. and Granger, L. 2004. Treatment at La Macaza Clinic: A qualitative study of the sexual offenders' perspective. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 46(1): 27–44.

Dunkle, K.L., Jewkes, R.K., Brown, H.C., Gray, G.E., McIntryre, J.A. and Harlow, S.D. 2004. 'Transactional sex among women in Soweto, South Africa: Prevalence, risk factors and association with HIV infection'. *Social Science and Medicine,* vol. 59: 1581–1592.

Einat, T. and Chen, G. 2012. 'Female inmates' perspectives toward consensual same-sex relationships in an Israeli prison'. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 36(1): 25–44.

Erez, E. and Berko, A. 2010. 'Pathways of Arab/Palestinian women in Israel to crime and imprisonment: An intersectional approach'. *Feminist Crime* vol. 5: 156–167.

Estrada, F. and Nilsson, A. 2012. 'Does it cost more to be a female offender? A life course study of childhood circumstances, crime, drug abuse and living conditions'. *Feminist Criminology* 7(3): 196–216.

Evans, R.D., Forsyth, C.J. and Gauthier, D.K. 2001. 'Gendered pathways into and experiences within crack cultures outside of the inner city'. *Deviant Behavior* vol. 23: 483–510.

Finkel, M.L. 2011. *Public health in the 21st century: Global issues in public health. Volume 1*. California: Praeger.

Fleder, R., and Friedman, D. [Sa]. *Inmates' rights & sexual abuse in South Africa's prisons.* [O] Available at: http://www.genderjustice.org.za/issue-12/resources/sonke-newsletter/issue-12/issue-12-articles/inmates-rights-sexual-abuse-in-south-africa-s-prisons (Accessed on 27/02/2013).

Forje, G.H. 2009. 'Combatting torture in Africa: A call on governments and civil society', *International Journal on World Peace* 26(3): 97–101.

Forsyth, C.J., Evans, D.R. and Foster, D.B. 2012. 'An analysis of inmate explanations for lesbian relationships in prison'. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 38(1): 66–77.

Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and punishment: The birth of the prison.* Middlesex: Peregrine.

Fulcher, J. and Scott, J. 1999. *Sociology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gaarder, E. and Belknap, J. 2002. 'Tenuous borders: Girls transferred to adult court'. *Criminology* vol. 40: 481–517.

Gabbidon, S.L. 2007. *Criminological perspectives on race and crime*. New York: Routledge.

Garland, D. 1990. *Punishment and modern society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gear, S. 2007. 'Behind the bars of masculinity: Male rape and homophobia in and about South African men's prisons'. *Sexualities* 10(2): 209–227.

Gear, S. 2010. 'Masculinity and sexual abuse: A view from South African prisons'. *SA Crime Quarterly*, vol. 33: 25–33.

Gelsthorpe, H. 2002. 'Feminism and criminology". <u>In</u>: *The Oxford handbook of criminology* edited by Maguire, M., Morgan, R., and Reiner, R. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Giallombardo, R. 1966. *Society of women: A study of a women's prison.* New York: Wiley.
Gilfus, M. 1992. 'From victims to survivor to offenders: Women's routes of entry into street crime'. *Women and Criminal Justice,* 4(1): 63–89.

Ginn, S. and Robinson, R. 2013. *Health care in prisons: Women prisoners*. [O] Available at: http://www.birthcompanions.org/media/Public/Resources/Extpublications/BMJ_article.pdf (Accessed on 31/12/2013).

Giordano, P.G., Cernkovich, S.A. and Rudolph, J.L. 2002. 'Gender, crime and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation'. *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 107: 990–1064.

Goffman, E. 1961. *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates.* Doubleday: New York.

Gora, J.G. 1982. *The new female criminal: Empirical reality or social myth.* New York: Praeger.

Gordin, J. and Cloete, I. 2012. 'Imprisoned before being found guilty: Remand detainees in South Africa'. *University of Cincinnati Law Review* 80(4): 1167–1177. [O] Available at: http://scholarship.law.uc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1137&context=uclr&seiredir=1&re ferer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.co.za%2Fscholar%3Fq%3Dprisons%2Bin%2Bafrica %26btnG%3D%26hl%3Den%26as_sdt%3D0%252C5%26as_ylo%3D2013%26as_yhi%3D2 014#search=%22prisons%20africa%22 (Accessed on 22/01/2014).

Government of South Africa. 1996. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108.* Pretoria: Government Printers.

Government of the Western Cape. 1998. *The Truth and Reconciliation of South Africa Report*, *2*. Cape Town: Government of the Western Cape.

Goyer, K.C. and Gow, J. 2002. 'HIV/AIDS policies, practices and conditions in South African prisons: Criticisms and alternatives. Towards a research agenda'. *African Journal of AIDS Research* 1(1): 69–74.

Greer, K. 2000. 'The changing nature of interpersonal relationships in a women's prison'. *Prison Journal* 80: 442–467.

Guthrie, G. 2010. *Basic research methods: An entry to social science research.* New Delhi: Sage.

Haffejee, S., Vetten, L. and Greyling, M. 2006a. *Violence and abuse in the lives of women incarcerated in three Gauteng women's prisons.* Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) Gender Programme, Research Brief No. 03. Available at [O]: http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24- a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=104793 (Accessed on 10/ 05/ 2014).

Haffejee, S., Vetten, L. and Greyling, M. 2006b. *Minority report: The imprisonment of women and girls in Gauteng.* Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR)

Gender Programme, Research Brief No. 04. Available at [O]: http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/correctional/minorityreport.pdf (Accessed on 09/ 05/ 2014).

Hagan, F.E. 2005. *Essentials of research methods in criminology justice and criminology.* Boston, MA: Pearson.

Halleck, S. and Hersko, M. 1962. 'Homosexual behaviour in a correctional institution for adolescent girls'. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* vol. 32: 911–917.

Hanser, R.D. 2013. *Introduction to corrections.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Harner, H.M. and Riley, S. 2013. 'The impact of incarceration on women's mental health: Responses from women in a maximum-security prison'. *Qualitative Health Research* 23(1): 26–42.

Hay, C. 2003. 'Family strain, gender, and delinquency'. *Sociological Perspectives,* vol. 46: 107–135.

Heffernan, E. 1972. *Making it in prison: The square, the cool, and the life*. New York: Wiley.

Heidensohn, F. 1985. *Women and crime.* London: Macmillan.

Heimer, K. 1995. 'Gender, race, and the pathways to delinquency.' In: *Crime and inequality* edited by Hagan J. and Peterson, R. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 140–173.

Henriques, Z. and Manatu-Rupert, N. 2004. 'Living on the outside: African American women before, during and after imprisonment.' In: *Girls, women and crime: Selected readings* edited by Chesney-Lind, M. & Pasko, L. India: Sage, 221.

Hensley, C. 2002. *Prison sex: Practice and policy.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Hensley, C., Castle, T. and Tewksbury, R. 2003. 'Inmate-to-inmate sexual coercion in a prison for women'. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 37(2): 77–87.

Hensley, C., Struckman-Johnson, C. and Eigenberg, H.M. 2000. 'Introduction: The history of prison sex research'. *The Prison Journal* 80(4): 360–366.

Hesselink, A. and Dastille, N.P. 2010. 'The reality of babies and toddlers behind bars'. *Acta Criminologica* vol. 1: 65–79.

Home Office. 2007. *The Corston Report.* [O] Available at: http://www.justice.gov.uk/publications/docs/corston-report-march-2007.pdf (Accessed on 12/05/2014).

Ignatieff, M. 1978. *A just measure of pain: The penitentiary in the industrial revolution 1750–1850.* London: Macmillan.

Irwin, J. and Cressey, D.R. 1962. 'Thieves, convicts and the inmate culture'. *Social Problems*, 10 (2): 142-155.

Jang, S.G. 2007. 'Gender differences in strain, negative emotions and coping behaviours: A General Strain Theory approach'. *Justice Quarterly,* 24(3): 523–553.

Jeffreys, S. 1996. 'The essential lesbian.' In: *All the rage* edited by Harne, L. and Miller, E. London: The Women's Press, 90–113.

Jefthas, D. and Artz, L. 2007. 'Youth violence: A gendered perspective'. In: *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into the causes of youth violence in South Africa* edited by Burton, P. Monograph series 3. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.

Jewkes, Y. 2007. *Handbook on prisons*. Devon, UK: Willan.

Johnson, E.J., Carney, T., Kline, T., Browne, F.A. and Wechsberg, W.M. 2012. 'Incarceration history relative to health, substance use, and violence in a sample of vulnerable South African women: Implications for health services in criminal justice settings'. *Substance Abuse and Rehabilitation*, 3(1): 59–69.

Johnson, L.B. 2008. 'Food service' <u>In</u>: *Prison and jail administration: Practice and theory* edited by Carlson, P.M. and Garrett, J.S. Sudbury: Jones and Barlett, 149–158.

Jones, R.S. 1993. 'Coping with separation: Adaptive responses of women prisoners'. *Women and Criminal Justice* 5(1): 71–96.

Joseph, J. 2006. 'Drug offenses, gender, ethnicity, and nationality: Women in prison in England and Wales'. *The Prison Journal* 86(1): 140–157.

Kehler, J. 2001. 'Women and poverty: The South African experience'. *Journal of International Women's Studies,* 3(1): 41–53.

Khalid, A. and Khan, N. 2013. 'Pathways of women prisoners to jail in Pakistan'. *Health Promotion Perspectives* 3(1): 31–35.

King, R. and Wincup, E. 2000. *Doing research on crime and justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klein, D. 1976. 'The etiology of female crime: A review of the literature.' <u>In</u>: *The female offender* edited by Laura Crites. Atlanta: Heath and Company.

Kline, S. 1993. 'A profile of female offenders in state and federal prisons'. <u>In</u>: *Female offenders: Meeting the needs of a neglected population* edited by Laurel, M.D. American Correctional Association, 1–6.

Koscheski, M. and Hensley, C. 2001. 'Inmate homosexual behaviour in a southern female correctional facility'. *American Journal of Criminal Justice,* vol. 25: 269–277.

Koski, S.V. and Bantley, K.A. 2013. 'Coping with reentry barriers: Strategies used by women offenders'. *InSight: Rivier Academic Journal* 9(1): 1–17.

Kumpfer, K.L., Smith, P. and Summerhays, J.F. 2008. 'A wakeup call to the prevention field: Are prevention programs for substance use effective for girls?' *Substance Use & Misuse* vol. 43: 978–1001.

Laforest, J. 2009. *Safety diagnosis tool kit for local communities: Guide to organising semi-structured interviews with key informant.* Québec: Institut national de santé publique du Québec. [O] Available at: www.crpspc.qc.ca/Guide_entretien_versionWEB_eng.pdf (Accessed on 22/04/2014).

Larsen, J. and Nelson, J. 1984. 'Women, friendship, and adaptation to prison'. *Journal of Criminal Justice* vol. 12: 601–615.

Leger, R.G. 1987. 'Lesbianism among women prisoners: Participants and nonparticipants'. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 14(4): 448–467.

Leonard, E. 1982. *Women, crime and society: A critique of theoretical criminology.* New York: Longman.

Lombroso, C. and Ferrero, W. 1979. 'Criminals and prostitutes'. In: *The criminology of deviant women* edited by Adler, F. and Simon, R.J. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Lopez, K.C. and Miller, J. 2012. 'Precocious role entry as a mediating factor in women's methamphetamine use: Implications for life-course and pathways research'. *Criminology* 50(1): 187–220.

Lundberg, U. and Frankenhaeuser, M. 1999. 'Stress and workload of men and women in high-ranking positions'. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 4(2): 142–151.

Mallicoat, S.L. 2012. *Women and crime: A text/reader.* California: Sage.

Mann, C.R. 1984. *Female crime and delinquency.* Alabama: University of Alabama Press.

Marsh, I., Melville, G., Morgan, K., Norris, G. and Walkington, Z. 2006. *Theories of crime.* Oxon: Routledge.

Mason, J. 2002. *Qualitative researching.* 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Mazerolle, P. 1998. 'Gender, general strain, and delinquency: An empirical examination'. *Justice Quarterly*, 15(1): 65–71.

McDaniels-Wilson, C. and Belknap, J. 2009. 'The extensive sexual violation and sexual abuse histories of incarcerated women'. *Violence Against Women* 14(10): 1090–1127.

Melossi, D. and Pavarini, M. (eds) 1981. *The prison and the factory: Origins of the penitentiary system.* London: Macmillan.

Merton, R. 1938. 'Social structure and anomie'. *American Sociological Review* vol. 3: 672–682.

Messerschimdt, J.W. 1986. *Capitalism, patriarchy, and crime.* New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield.

Miller, B.A. and Mancuso, R.F. 2004. 'Connecting childhood victimization to later alcohol/drug problems: Implications for prevention'. *The Journal of Primary Prevention* vol. 25:149–69.

Miller, S. 2011. 'Torture'. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. [O] Available at: http://stanford.library.usyd.edu.au/entries/torture/ (Accessed on 06/01/2014).

Mitchell, J. and Oakley, A. 1986. *What is feminism?* New York: Pantheon.

Monyane, C. 2013. 'Is ukuthwala another form of "forced marriage"?'. *South African Review of Sociology* 44(3): 64–82.

Morgan, D. 1998. 'Restricted love'. *Women and Therapy* 20(4): 75–84.

Morris, A. 1987. *Women, crime and criminal justice.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Morris, R.R. 1964. 'Female delinquency and relational problems'. *Social Forces* vol. 43: 82–89.

Mumola, C.J. and Beck, A.J. 1997. *Prisoners in 1996*. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Mutchnick, R.J. and Berg, B.L. 1996. *Research methods for the social sciences.* Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Naffine, N. 1987. *Female crime: The construction of women in criminology.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Ndebele, S. 2013. Ministerial speech on World TB Day in Pollsmoor Correctional Centre, Cape Town. [O] Available at: http://www.dcs.gov.za/UploadedFiles/Remarks%20by%20the%20Minister%20Mr%20%20S ibusiso%20Ndebele%20MP%20on%20World%20TB%20Day%20at%20Pollsmoor%20Corr ectional%20Centre.pdf (Accessed on 21/01/2014).

Newburn, T. 2013. *Criminology.* 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

Niehaus, I. 2002. 'Renegotiating masculinity in the South African Lowveld: Narratives of male-male sex in labour compounds and in prisons'. *African Studies* 61(1): 77–97.

Nolen-Hoeksema, S. 2001. 'Gender differences in depression'. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 10(5): 173–176.

Organisation of African Unity. 1981. African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights ("Banjul Charter") [O] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/type,MULTILATERALTREATY,OAU,,3ae6b3630,0.html (Accessed on 01/03/2013).

Otis, M. 1913. 'A perversion not commonly noted'. *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 8(2): 113–116.

Owen, B. 1998. *In the mix: struggle and survival in a women's prison*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Painter, K. and Farrington, D. 2004. 'Gender differences in crime'. *Criminal Justice Matters* 55(1): 6–7.

Pandey, S.P. and Singh, A.K.R. 2006. *Women prisoners and their dependent children: The report of the project funded by planning commission of India, New Delhi.* New Delhi: Serials.

Pardue, A., Arrigo, B. and Murphy, D. 2011. 'Sex and sexuality in women's prisons: A preliminary typological investigation'. *The Prison Journal* 91(3): 279–304.

Piquero, N.L. and Sealock, M.D. 2000. 'Generalizing general strain theory: An examination of an offending population'. *Justice Quarterly* 17(3): 449–484.

Piquero, N.D. and Sealock, M.D. 2004. 'Gender and general strain theory: A preliminary test of Broidy and Agnew's gender/GST hypotheses'. *Justice Quarterly* 21(1): 125–158.

Pogrebin, M.R. and Dodge, M. 2001. 'Women's accounts of their prison experiences: A retrospective view of their subjective realities. *Journal of Criminal Justice* vol. 29: 531–541.

Pogrebin, M.R. and Dodge, M. 2006. 'Women's accounts of their prison experiences: A retrospective view of their subjective realities. In: *Behind bars: Readings on prison culture* edited by Tewksbury, R. New Jersey: Pearson, 28–46.

Pollak, O. 1950. *The criminality of women.* New York: Barnes.

Pollock-Byrne, J.M. 1990. *Women, prison, and crime*. Belmont, CA: Brooks.

Propper, A.M. 1978. 'Lesbianism in female and coed correctional institutions'. *Journal of Homosexuality* 3(3): 265–274.

Punch, K.F. 1998. *Introduction to social research*. California: Sage.

Rabe, K. 2012. 'Prison structure, inmate mortality and suicide risk in Europe'. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* vol. 35: 222–230.

Rabe, M.E. 2006. Black mineworkers' conceptualisations of fatherhood: A sociological exploration in the South African gold mining industry. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of South Africa, South Africa.

Ratele, K., Shefer, T. and Clowes, L. 2012. 'Talking South African fathers: A critical examination of men's constructions and experiences of fatherhood and fatherlessness'. *South African Journal of Psychology* 42(4): 553–563.

Reckless, W.C. 1961. *The crime problem.* 3rd edition. New York: Appleton.

Rembe, S., Chabaya, O., Wadesango, N. and Muhuro, P. 2011. 'Child and forced marriage as violation of women's rights, and responses by member states in Southern African Development Community'. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 25(1): 65–74.

Richter, L.M. 2003. 'Baby rape in South Africa'. *Child Abuse Review* 12(6): 392–400.

Roberts, D. [Sa]. *Rape 'Justification' in South Africa.* [O] Available at: http://www.asafeworldforwomen.org/womens-rights/wr-africa/wr-south-africa/3107-rape-justification.html (Accessed on 16/03/2013).

Salisbury, E.J. and Voorhis, P.V. 2009. 'Gendered pathways: A quantitative investigation of women probationers' paths to incarceration'. *Criminal Justice Behavior* 36(6): 541–566.

Sandelowski, M. 1995. 'Focus on qualitative methods: Sample size in qualitative research'. *Research in Nursing and Health,* 18(2): 179–183.

Sarri, R.C. 2009. 'Maintaining and restoring family for women prisoners and their children'. In: *Working with women offenders in the community* edited by Sheehan, R., McIvor, G. and Trotter, C. Devon, UK: Willan.

Schmalleger, F. 2004. *Criminal Justice.* Pearson: New Jersey.

Schwartz, M.D. and Hatty, S.E. 2003. *Controversies in critical criminology*. Ohio: Anderson.

Scott, S. 2010. 'Revisiting the total institution: Performative regulation in the reinventive institution'. *Sociology* 44 : 213-231.

Selling, L. 1931. 'The pseudo-family'. *American Journal of Sociology* 37(2): 247–253.

Severance, T.A. 2005. 'The prison lesbian revisited'. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 17(3): 39–57.

Shisana, O., Rice, K., Zungu, N. and Zuma, K. 2010. 'Gender and poverty in South Africa in the era of HIV/AIDS: A quantitative study'. *Journal of Women's Health* 19(1): 39–46.

Silvestri, M. and Crowther-Dowey, C. 2008. *Gender and crime: Key approaches to criminology*. California: Sage.

Simon, R.J. 1975. *Women and crime.* Lexington, VA: Lexington Books.

Simon, R.J. 1979. 'A look to the future'. <u>In</u>: *The criminology of deviant women* edited by Adler, F. and Simon, RJ. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Simon, R.J. and Landis, J. 1991. *The crimes women commit the punishments they receive.* Toronto: Lexington.

Simpson, S.S. 1989. 'Feminist theory, crime and justice'. *Criminology* 27(4): 605–631.

Simpson, S. and Gibbs, C. 2006. 'Making sense of intersections'. <u>In:</u> *Gender and crime: Patterns in victimization and* offending edited by Heimer, K. and Kruttschnitt, C. New York: New York University Press, 269–271.

Simpson, T.L. and Miller, W.R. 2002. Concomitance between childhood sexual and physical abuse and substance use problems: A review. *Clinical Psychology Review* vol. 22: 27–77.

Smart, C. 1976. *Women, crime and criminology: A feminist critique.* London: Routledge.

Smart, C. 1977. *Women, crime and criminology: A feminist critique.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smart, C. 1990. 'Feminist approaches to criminology or postmodern woman meets atavistic man'. <u>In</u>: *Feminist perspectives in criminology* edited by Gelsthorpe, L. and Morris, A. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Smit, R. 2002. 'The changing role of the husband/father in the dual-earner family in South Africa'. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* 401–415.

Snider, L. 2003. 'Constituting the punishable woman: Atavistic man incarcerates postmodern woman'. *British Journal of Criminology* 43(2): 354–378.

Sokoloff, N.J. 2005. 'Women prisoners at the dawn of the 21st century'. *Women and Criminal Justice,* vol. 16: 127–137.

South African Law Commission. 2002. Project 107: Sexual Offences Report. [O] Available at: http://us-cdn.creamermedia.co.za/assets/articles/attachments/00350_salcreportonsexualoff.pdf (Accessed on 16/03/2013).

Statistics South Africa. 2011. *Gender statistics in South Africa*. Statistics South Africa. Available at [O]: http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-05/Report-03-10-052011.pdf (Accessed on 10/ 05/ 2014).

Steffensmeier, D. and Allan, E. 1995. 'Criminal behavior: Gender and age'. <u>In</u>: *Criminology: A contemporary handbook.* 2nd edition. Edited by Sheley, JF. Belmont: Wadsworth, 83-113.

Steiner, B. and Daniel Butler, H. 'Why didn't they work? Thoughts on the application of New Jersey day reporting centers'. *Criminology and Public Policy* 12(1): 153–162.

Sterk, C.E. 1999. *Fast lives: Women who use crack cocaine*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Stohr, MK. And Walsh, A. 2012. *Corrections: The essentials.* Sage: Canada.

Struckman-Johnson, C. and Struckman-Johnson, D. 2002. 'Sexual coercion reported by women in three Midwestern prisons'. *The Journal of Sex Research* 39(3): 217–227.

Struckman-Johnson, C., Struckman-Johnson, D., Rucker, L., Bumby, K. and Donaldson, S. 1996. 'Sexual coercion reported by men and women in prisons'. *The Journal of Sex Research* 33(1): 67–76.

Sykes, G.M. 1958. *The society of captives: A study of a maximum security prison.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Tapiwa, Z.M. 2004. 'African women, violent crime and the criminal law in colonial Zimbabwe'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30(3): 499–517.

Tapscott, C. 2008. 'Challenges to good prison governance in Africa' <u>In</u>: *Human rights in African prisons* edited by Sarkin, J. Cape Town: HSRC, 67–80.

Taylor, R.J., Chatters, L.M., Tucker, M.B. and Lewis, E. 1991. 'Developments in research on black families: A decade review.' <u>In</u>: *Contemporary families: Looking forward, looking back* edited by Booth, A. Minneapolis: National Council on Family Relations.

Tewksbury, R. and West, A. 2000 'Research on sex in prison during the late 1980s and early 1990s'. *The Prison Journal* 80(4): 368–378.

Toch, H. 1975. *Men in crisis.* Chicago, IL: Aldine-Atherton.

UN General Assembly. 1966. *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.* [O] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b3aa0.html (Accessed on 05/11/2013).

UN General Assembly. 1984. *Convention against Torture and other Cruel or Inhuman Punishment.* [O] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b3a94.html (Accessed on 11/03/2013).

United Nations. 1977. *Standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners adopted by the first United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders,* held at Geneva in 1955,and approved by the Economic and Social Council by its resolution 663C (XXIV) of 31 July 1957 and 2076 (LXII) of 13 May 1977.

Valier, C. 2007. *Theories of crime and punishment.* London: Pearson.

Van der Bergh, B.J., Gatherer, A., Fraser, A. and Moller, L. 2011. *Imprisonment and women's health: Concerns about gender sensitivity, human rights and public health.* [O] Available at: http://www.scielosp.org/scielo.php?pid=S0042-96862011000900016&script=sci_arttext (Accessed on 31/12/2013).

Van Zyl Smit, D. and Dünkel, F. 2001. *Imprisonment today and tomorrow.* 2nd edition. Deventer: Kluwer.

Vetten, L. 2008. 'The imprisonment of women in Africa'. In: *Human rights in African prisons* edited by Sarkin, J. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Walkate, S. 2012. *Textbook on criminology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walsh, A. 2011. *Feminist criminology through a biosocial lens.* North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Ward, D. and Kassebaum, G. 1965. *Women's prison: sex and social structure.* Chicago, IL: Aldine-Atherton.

White, R. and Haines, F. 2001. *Crime and criminology*: *An introduction.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, K.S. 2012. *Textbook on criminology*. 7th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, A. 1996. *Imagining crime: Textual outlaws and criminal conversations.* London: Sage.

Young, V.D. 1981. Patterns of female criminality. Unpublished PhD thesis, State University of New York, Albany.

Young-Jahangeer, M. 2013. '"Less than a dog": Interrogating theatre for debate in Westville female correctional centre, Durban, South Africa'. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 18(2): 200–203.

Zaplin, R.T. 2008. *Female offenders: Critical perspectives and effective interventions.* Ontario: Jones and Barlett.

APPENDIX A: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

My name is Caroline Agboola and I am currently working towards obtaining a doctoral degree in Sociology at the University of South Africa.

My research centres on female crime and the personal experiences of former female prisoners in relation to crime. I will like to conduct an interview with you, by asking you some questions; particularly about your experiences of crime. I want to interview a number of female ex-prisoners with diverse backgrounds, so as to enable me gain insights into their experiences, before, during and after incarceration, and that is why you were selected for this research. The interview will take about an hour. Your participation in this research is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question(s). You can also opt out of this research at any stage. The interview will be recorded with the aid a tape recorder.

I will treat all the information you provide in the course of this research as confidential. Your name will not be linked with the information you provide or in any part of this study.

Consent

I, Caroline Agboola, will abide by the guidelines that I outlined above during this research.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

I, _____, the interpreter of this interview will not divulge any of the information of this interview to other people.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

I have read this consent form and I understand it.

I agree to take part in this research ☐

I agree that our conversations can be recorded ☐

Signed: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B: DRAFT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FEMALE EX-PRISONERS

As you just read in the consent form, my name is Caroline. My interest is in the experiences of women before, during and after incarceration.

1. *Family background and significant influences*

Tell me about yourself.

Are you a South African? If no, what is your nationality?

If you are a South African, what ethnic group do you belong to?

What was your childhood and growing up like?

How has your childhood experiences shaped your current life?

What is your highest level of education?

How old are you?

What religion(s), if any, do you practice?

Are you married?

Do you have children or dependents?

Before, your incarceration, had anyone in your family been imprisoned? If yes, which family member?

2. *Life before incarceration*

Tell me about your life before you were imprisoned.

Were you employed?

How much was your income before incarceration?

Did your children live with you before you went to prison?

3 *Life during incarceration*

What was life like for you in prison?

What was your daily routine in prison?

Were there any events that took place while you were imprisoned, which has shaped your life?

How often did you see your family and friends when you were in prison?

4. *Life after incarceration*

What has life been like for you after your release from prison?

What are some of the challenges you face/faced upon your release from prison?

5. *Solutions to the problem of female crime*

What steps do you think can be taken to improve the lives of female offenders, both during and after incarceration?

6. *Is there anything you would like to ask me?*

7. *Is there anything you would like to add to what you have told me so far?*

Thank you for granting me this interview. I am very grateful.

APPENDIX C: A LETTER FROM UNISA'S ETHICS COMMITTEE

<div align="right">

Department of Sociology

College of Human Sciences

8 August 2012

</div>

Proposed title: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF GENDER AND CRIMINALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Principal investigator: Caroline Aderonke AGBOOLA (Student number 48546070)

Reviewed and processed as: Class approval (see paragraph 10.7 of the UNISA. Guidelines for Ethics Review)

Approval status recommended by reviewers: Approved

The Higher Degrees Committee of the Department of Sociology in the College of Human Sciences at the University of South Africa has reviewed the proposal and considers the methodological, technical and ethical aspects of the proposal to be appropriate to the tasks proposed. Approval is hereby granted for the candidate to proceed with the study in strict accordance with the approved proposal and the ethics policy of the University of South Africa.

In addition, the candidate should heed the following guidelines:

- To only start this research study after obtaining the necessary informed consent
- To carry out the research according to good research practice and in an ethical manner
- To maintain the confidentiality of all data collected from or about research
- participants, and maintain security procedures for the protection of privacy
- To work in close collaboration with her supervisor and to record the way in which the ethical guidelines as suggested in her proposal has been implemented in her research
- To notify the committee in writing immediately if any change to the study is proposed and await approval before proceeding with the proposed change
- To notify the committee in writing immediately if any adverse event occurs.

Regards

_____

Dr Chris Thomas

Chair: Department of Sociology

Tel + 2712 429 6301

BESTPFE.COM

List of research project topics and materials

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.1: FAMILY BACKGROUND

NAME	AGE	RELIGION	RACIAL CATEGORY	HOME LANGUAGE	OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF CHILDREN/ DEPENDENTS	MARITAL STATUS	HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION
MARGARET	26	NONE	PEDI	SEPEDI	UNEMPLOYED	2	SINGLE	GRADE 11
GINA	22	CHRISTIANITY	NDEBELE	NDEBELE	UNEMPLOYED	2	SINGLE	GRADE 1O
EMILY	47	CHRISTIANITY	GREEK	GREEK	UNEMPLOYED	2	MARRIED	GRADE 1O
VALERIE	29	CHRISTIANITY	ZULU	ZULU	UNEPLOYED	0	SINGLE	GRADE 11
NOMSA	26	CHRISTIANITY	ZULU	ZULU	STUDENT NURSE	1	SINGLE	TERTIARY EDUCATION
MICAYLAH	50	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	WORKS IN A LAW FIRM.	0	SINGLE	TERTIARY EDUCATION
JULIET	23	CHRISTIANITY	COLOURED	AFRIKAANS	UNEPLOYED	0	SINGLE	GRADE 9
DUDUZILE	30	CHRISTIANITY	PEDI	SEPEDI	UNEMPLOYED	2	SINGLE	GRADE 12
GAIL	37	CHRISTIANITY	SHANGAAN	TSONGA	VOLUNTEER WORK	0	DIVORCED	GRADE 12
LEBOHANG	23	CHRISTIANITY	PEDI	SEPEDI	UNEMPLOYED	0	SINGLE	TERTIARY EDUCATION
FREDA	46	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	MEDICAL DOCTOR	2	DIVORCED	TERTIARY EDUCATION
CECELIA	36	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	UNEMPLOYED	3	DIVORCED	GRADE 12
MELISSA	53	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	UNEMPLOYED	0	SEPERATED	TERTIARY
GERALDINA	63	CHRISTIANITY	TSWANA	TSWANA	PRIVATE SCHOOL OWNER	5	WIDOWED	GRADE 1O
MARGARITA	61	CHRISTIANITY	ZULU	ZULU		3	SINGLE	GRADE 12
CAYLA	49	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	CASHIER	2	MARRIED	GRADE 1O
EMELIA	52	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	BOOK KEEPER	0	SINGLE	GRADE 12
ASHLEY	46	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	UNEMPLOYED	2	DIVORCED	GRADE 12
ERIN	33	CHRISTIANITY	NDEBELE	NDEBELE	CLEANER	0	SEPERATED	GRADE 4
MERCY	57	CHRISTIANITY	AFRIKANER	AFRIKAANS	SELF-EMPLOYED	0	WIDOWED	TERTIARY

TABLE 1.2: INCARCERATION INFORMATION

NAME	TYPE OF CRIME COMMITTED	LENGTH OF LAST PRISON SENTENCE	NUMBER OF PREVIOUS PRISON SEN-TENCES	OCCUPATION BEFORE INCARCE-RATION	INCOME BEFORE INCARCERATION (PER MONTH)	CURRENT OCCUPATION	CURRENT INCOME (PER MONTH)	PRIOR INMPRISONMENT IN THE FAMILY	HISTORY OF ABUSE (PHYSICAL AND MENTAL)
MARGARET	PUBLIC DRINKING	3 MONTHS	1	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	YES(WAS RAPED)
GINA	ASSAULT	3 MONTHS	0	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	YES(WAS BEATEN BY BOYFRIEND)
EMILY	CREDIT CARD FRAUD	16 MONTHS	0	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
VALERIE	SHOPLIFTING	4 MONTHS	1	HAIR PLAITER	R800.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
NOMSA	FRAUD	6 WEEKS	0	ACCOUNTANT	R18 000.00	STUDENT NURSE	R6 500.00	NONE	NONE
MICAYLAH	FRAUD	16 MONTHS	0	WORKED IN A LAW FIRM	R13 000.00	WORKS IN A LAW FIRM	R13 000.00	NONE	NONE
JULIET	SHOPLIFTING	24 MONTHS	10	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	UNEPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
DUDUZILE	ASSAULT	12 MONTHS	0	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
GAIL	SHOPTLIFTING	6 MONTHS	0	SHOP ASSISTANT	R2 000.00	VOLUNTEER WORK	R2 500.00	YES (MUM)	YES (WAS RAPED)
LEBOHANG	FRAUD	2 MONTHS	0	BANKER	R9 000.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
FREDA	FRAUD	36 MONTHS	0	ACCOUNTANT	R40 000.00	MEDICAL DOCTOR (LOCUM WORK)	R15 000.00	NONE	NONE
CECELIA	FRAUD	48 MONTHS	0	BANKER	R30 000.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
MELISSA	POSSESSION	24 MONTHS	0	MEDICAL	R26 000.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE

	OF ILLEGAL SUBSTANCES			SECRETARY					
GERALDINA	SHOPLIFTING	12 MONTHS	0	PRIVATE SCHOOL OWNER	R1 000.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
MARGARITA	SHOPLIFTING	9 MONTHS	0	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	NONE	NONE
CAYLA	FRAUD	42 MONTHS	0	CASHIER	R10 000.00	CASHIER	R2 800.00	YES (SISTER-IN-LAW)	NONE
EMELIA	FRAUD	10MONTHS	0	BOOK KEEPER	R15 000.00	BOOK KEEPER	R5 000.00	YES. SISTER AND COUSIN'S CHILD	NONE
ASHLEY	FRAUD	10MONTHS	0	SELF-EMPLOYED	R23 000.00	UNEMPLOYED	R0.00	YES. SISTER AND COUSIN'S CHILD	YES. MENTAL (FROM HUSBAND)
ERIN	MURDER	36 MONTHS	0	CLEANER	R350.00	CLEANER	R250.00	NONE	YES. MENTAL AND PHYSICAL. (RAPED).
MERCY	FRAUD	78 MONTHS	0	WORKED IN A DIAMOND MINING COMPANY	R250 000.00	SELF-EMPLOYED	R15 000.00	NONE	NONE