Breaking Free: Exploring dialogue for collective action in the Footballers 4 Life Intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre

By

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COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, Wandile Sibisi, declare that

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Signed

…… Date: 15 March 2013

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ABSTRACT

Many community development initiatives place great emphasis on the need for the a participatory approach towards development. Here the beneficiaries are expected to engage in dialogue and collective action in order to be empowered and consequently developed. This study therefore seeks to explore the elements of dialogue and collective action in a crime prevention and health promotion intervention that was administered by a non-governmental organisation called Footballers for Life (F4L) at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre (Johannesburg, South Africa) from March to August 2011 amongst a group of 40 male offenders. Premised on the idea that true human development should be participatory and therefore dialogical, this study used Participatory Communication to explore dialogue for collective action within the mentioned intervention. Participatory Communication was applied through the use of the Communication for Participatory Development Model (CFPD), which was used as a guide through which dialogue for collective action was explored. Furthermore, F4L is an organisation that uses retired professional football stars who, acting as role models, offer a unique approach towards effecting behaviour change amongst the communities they work with. Hence in this regard this study used the Social Cognitive Theory to primarily explore the significance of role modelling towards behaviour change in the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Taking a qualitative research approach, this study used interviews, focus groups as well as a participant observation schedule to collect the relevant data. This data was analysed through a thematic analysis which was facilitated through the use of a data analysis software package called NVivo. The study reveals how the offenders were excluded from the initial dialogue that took place between F4L and the prison in the recognition of the problems facing the offenders and planning of the intervention. Upon invitation to join the F4L programme the offenders went into it without any sense of ownership or clear understanding of what the programme was about potentially threatening the envisaged purpose of the programme. However, the study also found that the democratic leadership style and genuine efforts of the F4L head Coach (Silver) were able to play a key role in fostering a sense of brotherhood and therefore ownership of the developmental process amongst the offenders leading to the attainment of certain individual as well as social outcomes, i.e. self-reliance, empathy, budgeting skills, collective efficacy as well as communal trust.

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ATD	Awaiting Trial Detainee
B4L	Brothers for Life
CCMS	Centre for Communication Media and Society
CFPD	Communication For Participatory Development
CFSC	Communication For Social Change
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
DSD	Department of Social Development
DSS	Department of Safety and Security
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
F4L	Footballers For Life
FRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDMT	Interdepartmental Management Team

IM	International Monetary Fund
JHHESA	Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa
MTG	Moving the Goalpost
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PMTCT	Preventing Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV
PSL	Premier Soccer League
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAPS	South African Police Services
SANAC	South African National AIDS Council
TB	Tuberculosis
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YDF	Youth Development through Football Development (English Translation)
WWII	World War II

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Guided by the integrated Communication for Participatory Development Model (CFPD), this study aims to use Participatory Communication to explore dialogue for collective action in a health promotion and crime prevention intervention that was implemented by a non-governmental organisation called Footballers for Life (F4L) at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre located in Gauteng, South Africa. This organisation used sport and the concept of role-modelling as a tool for behaviour change amongst a group of male offenders at the correctional centre from March to August 2011. This study primarily seeks to explore the elements of dialogue and collective action in the intervention. It also aims to investigate how F4L's unique approach of using sport and role-modelling contributes to the achievement of its main objective of behaviour change through health promotion, which is facilitated through peer education at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre (F4L, n.d.). The CFPD model is proposed as a model that demonstrates how Participatory Communication should ideally be prescribed (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Informed by Participatory Communication, the model will thus be used as a framework or lens through which the data collected will be analysed. This model is founded on Participatory Communication, a school of thought pioneered by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970).

Participatory Communication is an approach towards development that "stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratisation and participation at all levels – international, local and individual" (Servaes, 1996:75). Participatory Communication is a strategy that does not only include the receivers of development in the process of development, but is rather a process in which the recipients of development become the main contributors towards their own development, ensuring that their culture and socio-economic standing are taken into consideration in the process. Paulo Freire stresses that the right to contribute and participate in development is a right of all people (Servaes, 1996:75). For the purpose of this study, development can thus be described as a democratic and participatory process towards societal progress. It seeks to broaden people's choices in

terms of accessing services such as health, clean water, education and job opportunities amongst other things (HDR, 1990).

Collective action and dialogue, which are also central to the CFPD model, therefore become critical elements in the process of development. This study therefore seeks to determine if these critical elements towards development were present during the F4L Heidelberg Correctional Centre intervention. What were the outcomes as a result of the intervention? For instance, was there any transfer of skills or attitudes and behaviour change among the offenders? These are the main questions this study aims to explore, and as a model that is founded on the crucial elements of dialogue and collective action in the process of development, the CFPD model provides a suitable framework for this study. Guided by the CFPD model, this study will describe how the intervention was implemented (e.g., how the intervention started, who was involved, how they were involved) and identify what the individual or social end results were (e.g., was there a transfer of skills and/or change in behaviour or attitudes) (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

In this way, this research will be able to provide some insight into how the intervention was carried out, as well as what its outcomes were. Although this study is by no means a monitoring and evaluation exercise, the use of the CFPD model will allow the study to not only explain why the intervention was successful or unsuccessful in achieving its objectives, but it will also permit through its findings, the proposal of possible solutions (these are functions of the CFPD model discussed in greater detail in Chapter three) (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). This should prove fruitful for both F4L and the Heidelberg Correctional Centre to whom the study will be disseminated, and through it they will hopefully learn whether or not this intervention was a worthwhile investment in terms of ensuring that the desired outcomes of behaviour change were achieved amongst the offenders. Beyond this, the study will hopefully also help the two organisations (F4L and Heidelberg Correctional Centre) learn (if need be) how to make future interventions of this nature better and therefore meaningful. Furthermore, this research also indirectly allows for the testing of the applicability of the relatively new CFPD model (developed in 2009) employed in this study in a very unique setting (a correctional centre). This is a task that is not only encouraged by the authors of the model, but one that also aims to contribute towards the small body of literature available on the CFPD model which is essentially an upgrade of its earlier version,

the Communication for Social Change (CFSC) model (developed in 2002) (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Having discussed the research focus and the value of this study, the rest of this chapter will try to position the study by providing its contextual background. Keeping in mind the main research question, this research aims to explore an intervention that was administered to a group of male offenders detained in a South African correctional facility. These offenders are criminals who have committed a variety of crimes in a country that is well-known for crime (CSVR, 2010)[1]. The F4L intervention in question therefore hopes, as will be discussed in greater detail below, to equip the offenders with valuable life skills, in order to rehabilitate them and keep them away from a life of crime especially once they are out of prison. In light of this it becomes important to understand the broader climate in which these offenders in a process of possible transition are situated. This chapter therefore begins with a discussion of what crime is in the South African context, moving on to trace its historical roots post and pre-apartheid. It also looks at some of the steps taken to combat crime, the main step being detention, a step which the offenders participating in this study are all subjected to. The chapter also looks at who the South African male offender is, providing insight into the general profile of male offenders in South African prisons. It then moves on to a discussion on the F4L organisation, who they are and what their objectives are, which then progresses to a background discussion about the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the key research questions of the study, as well as a structural breakdown of the entire thesis.

However it is also important to note at this juncture that the course of this study was not without its limitations. In fact one of the major limitations experienced during the study was that the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correction Centre did not feature the sporting component of the programme (in the form of soccer tournaments) due to a lack of funds. This meant that the impact of this particular aspect of the programme on the overall programme could not be observed during the study. Another challenge experienced during this study

[1] Based on a study conducted by The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) from June 2007 to April 2009 to determine not only why South Africa is a violent country but also how this situation can be remedied.

involved the limited access to the offenders who were imprisoned in a correctional facility. This meant that I could not simply walk in to commence research, but had to observe certain protocols and follow certain procedures in order to gain access to the offenders. Furthermore, during the course of this study I found that there was a lot of personal bias I could not escape, influencing the manner in which the study was conducted. For instance although every care was taken to ensure that the pseudonyms created for the offenders were culturally representative, the black South African offenders were given Zulu pseudonyms because these names came more naturally to me as a person of Zulu descent. A more detailed account of these limitations will be explored further in Chapter four of this study.

Background to study

Crime in the South African Context

Crime is one of the most common social problems that South Africa is faced with today (CSVR, 2010). Social problems can be described as "social conditions, processes, societal arrangements or attitudes that are commonly perceived to be undesirable, negative, and threatening certain values or interests such as social cohesion, maintenance of law and order, moral standards, stability of social institutions, economic prosperity or individual freedoms" (Jamrozik & Nocella, 1998:1). Although crime is easily identified as one of the main social concerns facing South Africa today, it is a term with many varying definitions. For instance whilst Norwegian criminologist Nils Christie (2004) believes that there is no such thing as crime but rather actions that are interpreted differently in different social contexts, McCabe (1983) admits that, "there is no word in the whole lexicon of legal and criminological terms which is so elusive of definition as the word crime" (1983: 49). Hence this section aims to discuss what crime is, especially in the South African context. In light of crime already being recognized as a social problem, this study describes crime as those activities that "are associated with harm and violence; harm to individuals, destruction of property, and the denial of respect to people and institutions" (Morrison, 2009:3), such as theft, rape, assault, trespassing and murder. More succinctly put, crime can be defined as a "conduct which common or statute law prohibits and expressly or impliedly subjects to punishment remissible by the state alone and which the offender cannot avoid by his own act once he has been convicted" (Van der Wait et al., 1985:24). In South Africa crime is believed to be of a violent

nature in the form of a high prevalence rate of crimes such as: rape, murder, robbery and hijacking, resulting in the labelling of the country as one of the most violent countries in the world (CSVR, 2010).

For example, in 2009 an article published in *The Economist* reported that South Africa had one of the highest global rates of murder, "at 37 per 100,000 inhabitants: six times America's rate and nearly 20 times Britain's" (The Economist, 2009). South Africa's legacy of apartheid, "high unemployment and poverty, gaping social inequality, the absence of a father in nearly two-thirds of black homes and the abuse of alcohol and drugs…" (The Economist, 2009), can all be listed as contributing factors to the crime pandemic in South Africa. Although the South African 2010/2011 crime statistics show a decline in the number of violent crimes committed in the country, South Africa remains one of the crime capitals of the world. For instance, following the release of the 2010/2011 crime statistics by the South African Police Services, it was discovered that although the murder rate had decreased by 6.5% and by 50% since 1994, it was still relatively much higher when compared to the rest of the world (Lebone, n.d.).

The high rate and violent nature of crime in South Africa belittles the constitution upon which the country is governed, as it continually restricts South Africans from living in communities where they feel safe and free enough to exercise their constitutional rights. Although the South African Government has had to devise an immediate and effective response to reduce the high level of crime, most of their efforts have largely relied upon the criminal justice system and the police. Thus introducing more police, having more stringent bail terms or even increased sentences versus shorter ones are some of the strategies that have been adopted by government to try and alleviate the crime pandemic. The persistent high levels of crime in South Africa, therefore demand that in addition to the normal approach that has been adopted thus far, more focus also had to be placed on the use of strategies that focus predominantly on the prevention of crime (Albertus, 2010).

An estimated 6,000 offenders are released from South African prisons every month, a large number of these offenders re-offend. Re-offenders are thus believed to contribute quite significantly to the high levels of crime in South Africa, consequently meaning that a decrease in re-offenders could also mean a significant reduction in the rate of crime (Albertus, 2010). Due to the lack of time in which the research must be completed, this study

will not conduct comprehensive research to determine the ability or inability for the offenders who participated in the F4L programme to reintegrate into their communities outside of the Heidelberg Correctional Centre post release. However, as not only a health promotion intervention, but also a crime prevention programme, the F4L programme presents an opportunity to use the main research question of exploring dialogue for collective action to shed some light into how crime prevention interventions, such as the F4L programme, actually contribute towards reducing the high levels of crime in South Africa.

Tracing the roots of crime in South Africa

Apartheid: A violent past

The crisis of crime in South Africa is not a new phenomenon, as it can be formally traced back to the period of apartheid; in fact one cannot begin to study crime in post-apartheid South Africa, without looking at it during apartheid (Shaw, 2002). Apartheid can be defined as legal system that was enforced from 1948 to 1993 by the white government to ensure racial separation between whites and non-whites in South Africa (Smith, 2011). According to the 1950 Population Registration Act passed under the apartheid regime, the South African population was classified into four categories namely; White, Indian, Black and Coloured. This law legitimised the hierarchical classification of these race groups, with White at the top, Indian and Coloured in the middle, and Black at the bottom (Brown, 2000). During the time of apartheid, the levels of criminal activity were very high, but were not recorded accurately or addressed, as crime was mostly concentrated amongst black communities (Shaw, 2002). For instance, during apartheid, crime statistics were published in a document known as the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police*, which captured the amount of both administrative and serious offences reported to the police during the period of the year being reviewed. According to this document most of the offences reported involved black people, and laws concerning the control of their movements (Midgeley et al., 1975). Thus instead of reducing the rate of crime in these areas, the apartheid government perpetuated crime due to their policies of social exclusion, which created an environment that was more favourable to crime (Shaw, 2002). In 1973, apartheid itself was in fact declared a crime against human kind by the United Nations General Assembly, as it (apartheid) contravened the human rights of all non-whites in South Africa, criminalising behaviour that

would otherwise be regarded as normal in other parts of the world, such as interracial marriages or travelling from one place to the next (Dixon, 2004).

In apartheid South Africa, black people were policed with the intention to exercise control over them. As a result the police spent substantial amounts of energy and resources arresting black people for apartheid offences, such as not being in possession of a 'pass'[2] while in 'white only' areas (Shaw, 2002). Whilst some of the offences recorded also included offences such as "the illegal possession of Bantu liquor, the non-payment of Bantu Tax and the contraventions of Bantu labour regulations…" (Midgeley et al., 1975:5), the report of the 'Commissioner of Police' showed that most of the offences reported were actually road traffic offences. According to Dippenaar (1988), a South African Police historian, "only one in ten members of the force was engaged in crime detection and investigation" (1988:374), this is why it becomes so difficult to determine the exact rates of crime under the apartheid regime. In addition, most black people during this period did not trust the police, and were therefore most unlikely to report any criminal activity, even when they were victims. Although information on crime statistics in South Africa before 1994 focused on black people, it does not reflect specific cases of criminal activity occurring within the areas in which they lived (Shaw, 2002).

In retaliation to the apartheid regime and its policies the apartheid era saw a rise in political opposition. Although this resistance amongst the black population was initially largely peaceful and non-violent (i.e., peaceful protest marches, in the beginning of the 1960s), the ineffectiveness of this strategy soon forced resistors to adopt to some degree of violence to their protests. However, these protests were only met with the enforcement of tougher security laws, banning of protesters, threats and torture by the police. For example, in 1976 a group of black high school students marched across the streets of Soweto, Johannesburg protesting against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in their schools. The police responded by firing at the unarmed students, killing many of them and sparking a series of similar protests in black townships across the country (Lötter, 1997). Hence, "the

[2] A 'pass' was an official referential document that all Africans or blacks were required to carry on their persons at all times. Passed as a result of the Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act of 1952, this document contained personal details of its carrier which included his or her history of employment as well as their residential rights (Ross, 2008).

mid-1980s onwards, justified forms of violence as legitimate weapons against the system" (Schönteich & Louw, 2001:1).

Apartheid: Creating areas and social structures that promoted crime

Research reveals that the levels of crime in the 1950s were considerably high in black townships, and only reached a point of stability during the early 1970s. During the years of apartheid, approximately 'three-and-a-half' million people were forcefully removed from the areas in which they lived and resettled in other areas. For instance, major cities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban saw the removal of non-whites from developed areas of the country to smaller underdeveloped areas. Whilst in Cape Town, overcrowding became the main cause of the high levels of crime, as the coloured populations were forcefully removed from areas that were close to the city centre to the dry outskirts of Cape Town, popularly known as the Cape Flats. It was found that townships, particularly those in Johannesburg experienced high levels of crime, due to a lack of street lights, schools, broken homes. In an effort to establish the reasons for the high levels of crime in Johannesburg and its surroundings, a group of journalists visited the affected areas and spoke to local residents (Shaw, 2002). During their study they also found that:

> ill-lit streets, dearth of telephones, insufficiency of schools, broken families and illegitimacy, breakdown of traditional parental control, insecurity of tenure, inferior status in society, disillusionment about enforcement of the law, fear of reprisals of crimes were reported, [and] a lack of community spirit (SAIRR, 1972: 88 cit. Shaw, 2002).

In many cases the forced removals and resettlements produced communities of people who did not know each other, making it difficult for community bonds to be formed quickly. This communal estrangement was also made worse by the high rate of dysfunctional families, alcoholism, unemployment and overcrowding present in these communities. In most cases one found that both parents worked, leaving children on their own during the day. This led to high levels of petty crimes and the formation of gangs as the number of juveniles continued to rise (Shaw, 2002). This is simply because,

> people who grow up with no home life, no home at all but a bundle of sacks and tins, whose parents are separated and both working, who have no school

> to prevent them running wild in the streets, are the stuff of which criminals are made.[3]

For example, describing life in the township of Johannesburg where he stayed as a young man during the apartheid era, Murphy Morobe says,

> In Orlando East, where I stayed … up to ten gangs operated in the area, very vicious … always involved in scams … The worst form of drug I think that was available then was really dagga. They hadn't discovered these fancy things … like crack, acid and so on … Some of the gangsters [were] influenced a lot by American war movies …, especially those that were based on the Second World War events, Kelly's Heroes…[4]

In his research, Crawford (1998) attests to this saying that children raised in such dislocated families and communities are more susceptible to becoming involved in crime. For instance, in a study exploring the break down in the family structure as the main cause of crime amongst young people, one of the participants stated:

> My dad walked out when I was young. Once my mum had a new boyfriend, she had more time for him and less time for me. I started going wrong at school. My head just went everywhere. Come 14 or 15 I dropped out of school. I got into fights hoping that I wouldn't live through. I took drugs. Me and the boyfriend got into a fight. The police were called. She wouldn't leave him. So I walked out (Smith, 2007: 6).

One of the main things that often deter a person from growing up to become violent is having empathy. Family separations or dysfunctions often limit or even prevent the development of

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[3]Dr A.M. Keppel-Jones quoted in Freed, L.(1963). Crime in South Africa: An Integralist Approach. Cape Town: Juta. Quote originally found in Sunday Express, dated 7 September 1947.

[4] Cited in S. M Ndlovu's The Soweto Uprising, originally from Interview with Murphy Morobe, conducted by Ben Magubane and Greg Houston, 4 March 2004, SADET Oral History Project. Also found in Glaser, 'We Must Infiltrate the Tsotsis'. http://www.sadet.co.za/docs/RTD/vol2/Volume%202%20-%20chapter%207.pdf

(Accessed 6 September 2012).

attachment tendencies, preventing the attainment of this empathy. The breakdown in the family structure can also initiate or encourage parents to use and abuse alcohol and drugs, increasing the chances of neglecting their children and exposing them to abuse inside or outside the home (Smith, 2007).

Another contributing factor to this breakdown in the South African family structure was apartheid's migrant labour system. The migrant labour system was a labour arrangement system that dictated that black men in South Africa move from their homes in homeland areas to find work in the cities in order to provide for their families. This system therefore separated black men from their families, as their families forcefully remained behind to continue living in the homelands (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Hence in countries like Lesotho the migrant labour system is believed to have generated, "…economic insecurity, marital disharmony, marital and emotional misery and problems relating to sexual morality and legitimacy…" (Murray,1980:35). This becomes particularly significant in the South African context as the family is recognised as an institution that plays an integral role in teaching socialisation skills, as well as instilling morality and good values (DSD, 2011).

In addition to creating family instability the migrant labour system also perpetuated crime amongst these men in the cities where they worked, as many of them lived in compounds or hostels where "sexual deprivation and loneliness encouraged rape, sexual assault, prostitution, as well as alcohol abuse" (Shaw, 2002:6). In this way the migrant labour system also became a direct cause of crime, and therefore fuelling the crime crises in apartheid South Africa (Shaw, 2002). Although the apartheid system has since been revoked, the migrant labour system is still in existence in South Africa, as many men still work and live away from their homes, working as migrant labourers (Holborn & Eddy, 2011).

Crime in the face of transition (democratisation)

The 1990s and more particularly 1994, saw South Africa abandoning the system of apartheid, becoming a democratic society for the very first time. Here, South Africa changed from being a country governed by an oppressive regime, to one that is founded on a democratic constitution based on human rights and freedom for all South Africans. This change in the way government functioned required a serious make-over of all its institutions and policies. One of government's biggest challenges was to try and bring the nation together whilst

bringing about change during a time when crime levels and people's levels of feeling insecure were very high. In addition to this, the newly elected government also had the challenge to speed up this process while operating within the confines of a new legal constitution based on civil freedoms and human rights (du Plessis & Louw, 2005). However, under the leadership of the new black-led government,[5] South Africa has since strived to readdress the atrocities of apartheid (Smith, 2011). Despite the many milestones gained during this new dispensation, there remains a very close link between politics and crime in South Africa (Dixon, 2004). In fact, figures of recorded criminal activity have increased by 30% in the period between 1994 and 2003 (du Plessis & Louw, 2005:428).

However, despite government's 'zero tolerance' approach to crime, the insufficient crime statistics during apartheid and early post-apartheid make it difficult to measure the real extent of crime in the country (Dixon, 2000). It is for this reason that one cannot simply blame the South African crime pandemic on the new government or on the process of transition, as "there is strong evidence to suggest that its [crime pandemic] roots lie in the apartheid system, which the transition has had to dismantle" (Shaw & Gastrow, 2001:250). However, in the same breath, one cannot deny that high levels of crime are often present in countries that undergo democratic transition. For instance, research shows that "[d]uring the five years following democratic change, [the] crime rate went up by 226% in Bulgaria, 429 % in Chile, 108% in Paraguay, 47% in Russia, 330% in Romania" (Wantchekon & Yehoue, 2002). Nevertheless, while crime is not necessarily an element that is always a part of democracy, the drastic shift from autocratic rule to democracy often decreases the government's control over the nation. This in turn encourages opportunities for organised crime to take place, calling on government to take swift and sophisticated action (White Paper on Safety and Security). On the other hand, Altbeker (2007) points out that this continued connection between South Africa's new political dispensation and crime is very strange as the government's response to the crime pandemic has in his view been very different to that of other countries (2007).

[5] A black-led government refers to a government that is led by the African National Congress (ANC), a party that has been in power ever since South Africa obtained its democracy in 1994 (Smith, 2011).

According to Altbeker (2007), most democratic nations living under such extreme crime conditions, often see their governments not only showing cognisance of the crisis, but these governments also often play on the public's fear of the crime crisis, to appear vigilant and active, by using the opportunity to create new laws against crime. For Altbeker (2007), this has not been the case in South Africa. In South Africa, the government is believed to have entered into a state of denial, mostly because they firstly failed to acknowledge the depth of the crime situation in the country, and secondly because they did not have innovative ideas or tools to fight crime (Altbeker, 2007). In contrast to the views expressed by Altbeker (2007) of an inactive government in a statement written in 1996, the Department of Safety and Security said,

> We accept that some of the causes of crime are deep-rooted and related to the history and socio-economic realities of our society. For this reason, a comprehensive strategy must go beyond providing only effective policing. It must also provide for mobilisation and participation of civil society in assisting to address crime (1996:2).

Despite Altbeker's views on the South African Government's response to the crime situation, this quote is not indicative of a typical democratic government in a state of denial and disillusionment about its crime crisis. However, then again one must be careful as to not pass callous judgment on this situation, without first taking time to trace the significant steps taken to try and curb this crisis in post-apartheid South Africa (Altbeker, 2007).

Unique factors contributing to the crime crises in South Africa post-apartheid

Before looking at some of the significant strides taken to combat crime post-apartheid, it is also important to note that while all forms of crime usually escalate during times of political transition, in South Africa this was more so, as this country presents a unique case of having had to undergo its transition very quickly. As a result of this rapid political transition illegitimate structures of social regulation were dismantled without their immediate replacement with more legitimate ones. This weakness has been exacerbated by the historical deterioration of other drivers of social control such as 'the family,' 'traditional communities' and 'schools.' In 1993, the new government inherited the South African public service system in its entirety and with it the racially-based and unequal distribution of 'Criminal

Justice resources.' Not only did the Criminal Justice system lack sufficient personnel, but these personnel were also not adequately trained and their systems were not up-to-date, leaving the Criminal Justice departments torn and unable to meet the needs of South Africans (DCS, 2005).

The political transition generated with it a large amount of material expectations from the general public, most of which the government could not meet immediately or speedily. These unmet expectations often associated with the period of political transition have often contributed to the reasoning of the crime situation in the country. Another major contributing factor to the crime pandemic in the country is its violent history, which amongst other things has left the country tainted with a 'culture of violence' as already discussed above. In South Africa, violence continues to be an acceptable tool to resolve political, social and economic disagreements (DCS, 2005). This is largely evident in the numerous service delivery and employment wage strikes that have taken place around the country, where vandalism, injuries and loss of human lives become key characteristics. For example, in 2011 residents of Thembelihle, a township situated in the South of Johannesburg, took to the streets to protest against poor government service delivery. Here, residents blocked the streets with burning tyres and rocks, they damaged cars, street lights and threw objects at the police. In response, the police fired rubber bullets to disperse the crowds (News24, 2011).

In another example, likened to the Sharpeville massacre discussed much earlier in this chapter and more recently, South Africa also witnessed a six week mining sector wage strike, which culminated in a massacre on 16 August 2012. During this strike the miners working for a mining company called Lonmin went on strike demanding their employer for a wage increase. However, violence erupted between the strikers and the police, resulting in a shootout between the two (News 24, 2012). The police are believed to have used teargas, fired rubber bullets, as well as live ammunition to try and disperse the lawless crowd of striking miners even after the miners had surrendered their weapons (Sadiki, 2012). A total of forty six people were reportedly killed as a result of this strike (Ledwaba, 2012). In South Africa, the 'normalisation' of violence as way to resolve problems or conflict is perpetuated by a number of things (i.e., the belief that young men must be able to protect themselves from danger through violence in order to gain credibility amongst their peers), perceptions that it is acceptable for men to force women to have sex with them or being exposed to acts of

violence either within the family or in the community (CSVR, 2010). Such incidents are not only indicative of the culture of violence that continues to plague South Africa, but they are also indicative of one the most deeply rooted causes of violence and crime in this country, poverty (DCS, 2005). For instance, "in 2008, the richest 10 per cent of households in South Africa earned nearly 40 times more than the poorest 50 per cent" (CSVR, 2010:3). According to the 2005 White Paper on Corrections, historically the lack of development and poverty has been key elements in the effort to understand the rising crime pandemic (DCS, 2005).

Although on its own, poverty does not directly lead to increased crime levels, but in conjunction with other political, economic, cultural and social elements, it contributes to the creation of an environment that is conducive to the development of gangs and increased levels of crime (DCS, 2005). Thus in South Africa, violence or crime tends to be more prominent in the poorer communities, which are characterized by a "subculture of violence and criminality" (CSVR 2010:2). Here crime becomes a way of life especially for the 'young men' who engage in a variety of violent criminal acts to survive. The use of weapons is very prominent amongst these groups, in fact one's status is often associated or gauged according to their ability to make use of weapons in a violent manner. The easy access to weapons and the central role given to the use of weapons is therefore one of the key drivers behind the violent nature of the South African crime crisis (CSVR, 2010). For example, in a book titled *Crime Wave: The South African Underworld and it foes*, a gang member in a South African prison reports, "…[i]t is easy to find guns in the township. You can find them from disarming a policeman, buy it or find it during a robbery or hijacking" (Segal et al., 2001:112). Another gang member also said "…Getting bullets was also easy. Most people we knew sold them for R2 each" (Segal et al., 2001:112).

South African history records that the young people of this country have been largely marginalised and discriminated against (DCS, 2005). According to the *CSVR study* (2010), many young people in South Africa either grew up or continue to grow up under extenuating circumstances, such as the absence of fathers, poverty, unbalanced living conditions, as well as abuse by parents or members of their families. Hence South African children find themselves inherently exposed to factors that consequently encourage their participation in criminal activities (2010). Coupled with the slow development of job creation, this

marginalisation has led to the existence of a large amount of young people in the country who are regarded as an 'at risk' population (DCS, 2005).

Worsening the situation of this 'at risk' population and exacerbating the crime levels even further is the presence of drug abuse, gender-based violence, the lack of morality and absence of the correct role models for young people to look up to (DCS, 2005). Even the current 2010/2011 South African Police Report on crime lists alcoholism and drug abuse as one of the major precursors of criminal activity (SAPS, 2011). The 2005 White Paper on Corrections on the other hand also recognises the significance and impact of alcohol and drug abuse on crime, which combined with the lack of access to basic services such as employment, infrastructure, shelter and education, encourage criminality and dysfunctional families to continue to stand out as one of the key stimulants for crime. Dysfunctional families also provide a suitable environment for ex-offenders to easily return to a life of crime (DCS, 2005).

The 2010/2011 South African Police Service report records a significant drop in the levels of crime in South Africa since the year 2009. For instance, "[In] 2010-2011 a total of 2,071,487 (approximately 2,1 million) serious crime cases were registered in the RSA [Republic of South Africa], compared to the 2,121,887 cases registered during 2009-2010" (SAPS, 2011). Despite this, South African political parties continue to capitalise on the crime pandemic in an effort to obtain more votes. This has in turn created a false impression that the solution to the crime crisis is simple, and can thus be resolved through more policing and a tougher criminal justice system. Victims of crime also tend to bear the brunt of this crisis as their needs (i.e., counselling) are sometimes not met due to a lack of services. Criminal activities, such as robbery, hijacking, theft and violence, continue to escalate due to the fact that firearms are easy to access in South Africa. Popular beliefs and perceptions favourable towards the dominance of men, together with improper Criminal Justice services allocated towards women, also contribute to the shocking levels of violence against women in this country (DCS, 2005).

Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Battle against crime

Faced with a political urgency to take action against crime, in his speech at the opening of Parliament in 1995, former South African President, Nelson Mandela, spoke about how the

crime pandemic in the country could not be tolerated, and with that announced various initiatives that would be implemented to control the situation. While the police were entrusted with the task of coming up with short-term solutions to deal with critical offences, a group consisting mainly of ordinary South African officials was given the task of devising long-term strategies targeting the fundamental causes of crime. Later that year the police published what is known as the 'Community Safety Plan.' Nevertheless, it was only in May 1996, that the main strategy emerged in the form of a publication known as the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) (Dixon, 2004). Here, the Department of Safety and Security introduced a policy that was to guide and inform all departments, with the determination of moving away from "reactive control 'and' towards a proactive crime prevention" approach (DSS, 1996:3). This meant that instead of merely investing and responding to offences that had already taken place, the focus of the entire government would be to prevent crime from occurring in the first place (Dixon, 2004). What then is crime prevention and what does it really entail?

Theorising the chosen approach: Crime prevention

According to Crime Prevention Theory, prevention can be divided into four different approaches. These are: criminality, community, situational and structural crime prevention approaches. The first approach is a positivist approach, also known as the 'criminality prevention' approach, it is focused mainly on the idea that criminal acts are determined by the attitude and behaviour learned by a person during their own personal development (Tremblay & Craig, 1995). Thus here, crime prevention initiatives tend to focus on the individual, particularly targeting those elements linked to criminal activities that are considered to be risky. These include interventions such as anti-abuse, anti-peer pressure, school education and parent training programmes (Graham, 1998; Farrington, 2002). Community focused crime prevention is the second approach, which refers to initiatives that seek to change the social circumstances that are believed to be supporting criminal behaviour in places where people live. Here, interventions focus on improving the abilities of local social bodies such as social clubs and families through directing and controlling the way members of a community conduct themselves in order to lower the levels of crime (Hope, 1995).

According to Hope (1995), community-based crime prevention takes place along two dimensions. The first is a 'horizontal dimension', which refers to social relations between

people who share a common residential area. The second dimension is a 'vertical dimension', where social relations are seen to exist between institutions and authorities, and resources that go beyond the immediate community. However, Hope also points out that this definition does not encompass macro-scale social and economic policies that have the power to impact the structures of a community and their abilities to lower crime (1995:22). The third type of crime prevention strategy is one that is aimed at minimising opportunities for any criminal activity to occur. This is done through placing emphasis on the dangers that are associated with being involved in crime and trivialising any benefits that the offender might stand to gain by committing a crime, and is known as 'situational crime prevention'. This type of crime prevention involves manipulating, controlling and re-creating the immediate surroundings in a permanent and structured way to achieve the desired outcome (Clarke, 1983). The fourth and final crime prevention approach is known as the 'structural crime prevention approach.' It is much broader and does not only focus on communities, individuals or even environments that present opportunities for crime to take place, but is a system that encompasses all crime prevention strategies (Hope, 2001). Although distinct, each of these four approaches is not permanent. Not only do crime prevention trends change over time, but sometimes the different approaches can also merge. For example, the neighbourhood watch strategy can be seen as both a situational and a community focused crime prevention strategy (Dixon, 2004).

Detention: The main response to crime

As a part of the South African Government's crime prevention strategy, detaining offenders in correctional facilities continues to be one of South Africa's main responses to the crime situation in the country (Makhanya, 2000). Although the Department of Correctional Service was largely militant from the 1950s (the apartheid era), characterised by its hierarchical nature, the department was demilitarized in 1996 as the military approach negated the department's efforts to rehabilitate the offenders (Mail & Guardian, 2001). This put an end to the military parades and ranks of the prison officials as they begun to assume a more citizenry approach. Criticised for improper implementation, the process and purpose of this new approach is believed to have not been relayed well to prison staff resulting in the many challenges that the DCS continues to face today (Sloth-Nielsen, 2003). In fact, "[t]here was no proper contingency planning and correctional officials were not sure about their roles and

responsibilities" (Luyt, 2001:27). Nonetheless, post-1994 the Department of Correctional Services committed itself to preserving and respecting all human life and dignity including those in the prison system, hence their commitment to transform prisons from institutions of ridicule and punishment, to institutions for rehabilitation, presenting an opportunity for offenders to start their lives afresh breaking the cycle of crime (DCS, 2005).

Since 2002, the Department of Correctional Services has developed a mission statement "placing rehabilitation at the centre of all departmental activities in partnerships with external stakeholders" (DCS, 2005). In this context, rehabilitation can be defined as "a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibility and values" (DCS, 2005:37). According to the Department, rehabilitation is not merely a crime prevention strategy, but it is a phenomenon that seeks to achieve holistic development through including and encouraging offenders to actively participate and contribute in the democratic processes of this country. It also encourages the empowerment of offenders through life skills, as well other skills training. This can be achieved through interventions that aim to change the social standing, behaviours and attitudes of all offenders (DCS, 2005). However, South African prisons seem to exacerbate the situation even further, as more violence takes place within prisons than outside of them. For instance, A South African inmate once said,

> I've been in jail several times. That's where we promote crime. It's a school of crime . We discuss the best methods of doing crime and other things such as potential buyers and pricing. The crimes that happen in prison do not differ from outside. We starve and the food is not healthy so we sell dagga and clothes and we steal from within the prison. It all happens in the kitchen. We even assault people for no apparent reason in prison. Weapons are smuggled in by visitors and we also bribe the warders and get knives. Sodomy happens in jail. It's a daily activity and it's also now a business. Some do it for cigarettes (Segal et al., 2001:114).

Hence in this way South African prisons generally do not support rehabilitation efforts, making the behaviour of the offenders much worse as they become involved in criminal activities within the prisons, reinforcing the offenders' violent behaviours (CSVR, 2010). According to Makhanya (2000), violence within prisons occurs as a mere expression of the

harsh living conditions faced by offenders, such as overcrowding that exist in South African prisons (2000).

In a speech delivered on 13 October 2010, the former South African Deputy Minister of Correctional Service, Hlengiwe Mkhize, highlighted how socio-economic ills, such as unemployment, lack of skills and poverty are a direct cause of repeat offenders and overcrowding (Mkhize, 2010) (which currently stands at a rate of 137.25%) in correctional facilities (DCS, 2012). Guided by The 2005 White Paper on Corrections, the Department of Correctional Services remains committed to the rehabilitation of all offenders through a policy called the 'Offender Rehabilitation Path,' which the Deputy Minister announced aims to ensure that offenders not only develop a sense of responsibility for the crimes they have committed, but also acquire morals, values and skills that can contribute positively towards the development of their communities. According to the Department of Correctional Services, crime prevention and the rehabilitation of offenders is not just the responsibility of the department, but is also the responsibility of institutions such as churches, schools, families and the community at large (DCS, 2005). Hence whilst the *2010 CSVR study* calls for South African correctional centres to be made safer in order to make them effective in their efforts to achieve rehabilitation of offenders, it also recognises the importance of incorporating crime prevention strategies that are outside of the criminal justice system to combat the crime pandemic in South Africa (2010).

The DCS currently has 241 correctional facilities across South Africa for young people, male and female offenders. These can be broken down as follows:

- 8 correctional centres allocated to female offenders only
- 13 correctional centres allocated to young offenders only
- 129 correctional centres allocated to male offenders only
- 91 correctional centres allocated to both male and female offenders
- 2 correctional centres are currently closed for 'renovation' purposes

Housing a total of 162,627 offenders, the DCS spends R123.37 a day to house each offender in the various correctional centres across the country (DCS, 2012).

The South African male offender

Shedding some light on who the offenders participating in this study are, necessitates an understanding of the general South African offender profile. An offender can be described as, "a person [who] commits a crime, he[/she] does so in conflict with the norms and laws in force in the community and such a person is therefore a danger or burden to society" (Midgley et al., 1975:254). At the end of the first ten years into democracy, South Africa was believed to have one of the world's highest offender population ratios when compared to the total South African population (DCS, 2005). For example, "four out of 1,000 South Africans are in correctional centres. In the United Kingdom (UK) the total is 1.25 out of every 1,000 UK citizens. In two thirds of the world's countries, there are less than 1.5 out of every 1,000 citizens in correctional centres" (DCS, 2005). According to the 2005 White Paper on Corrections, the profile of the offender has been changing since 1994 (DCS, 2005).

For instance prior to the start of South Africa's democratic dispensation South African prisons were mainly featured by political prisoners both young people and adults jailed for contravening the laws of the apartheid system (i.e., pass laws and prohibition of mixed marriages). These offenders were not only also subjected to overcrowding, which for instance forced them to sleep on the floor due to a lack of beds, these offenders were also subjected to harsh corporal punishment. This abuse by prison wardens on the offenders actually took place right up until April 1994 just before the country's first democratic election on the 27 April 1994. Following South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the profile of the South African offender changed as imprisoned offenders were no longer dominated by those who committed apartheid related crimes (i.e., engaging in interracial marriages). In 1991, a substantial amount (57,000) political prisoners were released as a result of a mass pardon and 94,000 were released after receiving special remission in 1990 and again in 1991 (Oppler, 1998).

Since 1994 there has been a significant increase in the number of offenders who serve long sentences (i.e., more than 10 years). There has also been an increase in the amount of sexual and aggressive crimes committed, as well as the number of children who are sentenced into the custody of South African correctional centres. The 2005 White Paper on Corrections goes on to state that this continuous change in the offender profile presents serious difficulties for the department. For example, there is now an increased need for more accommodation to

accommodate the increasing number of long-term and maximum-security offenders. Due to the increased amount of young people who are being prosecuted, there is also a rapid increase in the need for more accommodation with separate youth correctional centres. Making this situation worse is the staggering turnover rate of offenders in correctional centres (DCS, 2005).

According to the *2008 National Offender Population Profile*, there are five main categories of crimes[6] that are committed by South African offenders namely: economic crimes (i.e., petty theft, robbery, and housebreaking),[7] sexual crimes; aggressive crimes; narcotic crimes; as well as other subdivisions of crime. Based on the male offender correctional centre statistics provided above, this study therefore clearly focuses on the dominant portion of the South African prison population (DCS, 2012) as it explores an intervention administered amongst a group of 40 male offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Based on the discussions above, most of these men (as well the rest of the offender population in South Africa) emanate from a country with a culture of violence owing to the violent and segregational policies of the past. This has in turn led to a number of socio-economic factors (i.e., poverty and unemployment), which based on the discussions above continue to act as precursors of violent criminal behaviour (CSVR, 2010).

Footballers 4 Life (F4L) and its partners: Making the link

In South Africa 'social crime prevention' has for the most part been left to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Dixon, 2004). Footballers 4 Life (F4L) is one of these organisations. It is an independent NGO that is committed to assisting the Department of Correctional Services in achieving the goal of combating crime through rehabilitation. The F4L programme known as the Assistant Coaching Programme, is a programme that uses sport and the idea of role modelling to contribute towards the process of behaviour change (see Figure 1.1 below). This is done through discouraging irresponsible and criminal behaviour, and encouraging self-empowerment and individual responsibility amongst men and young boys in

[6] Economic crimes include: theft, fraud etc. Sexual crimes include: rape, intercourse with a minor etc. Aggressive crimes include: murder, assault etc. Narcotic crimes include: drug possession or production etc. Other (National Offender Population Profile, 2008).

[7] Taken from Khoza, G. (2011). Post-evaluation report on F4L programme administered at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre March-August 2011.

an effort to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS as well as TB in various communities, such as schools, the Premier Soccer League (PSL) clubs, community centres, youth academies and correctional facilities, by addressing issues such HIV and AIDS, health, life skills and responsible living. Following extensive research, F4L was established after a need was identified for a programme that related and connected to men and young boys on an individual level concerning the issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS, finance, etc. Using a team of wellness coaches, HIV experts and life skill coaches, F4L developed an accredited curriculum that deals with these social issues. Other social issues also incorporated into the curriculum include: alcohol and drug abuse, stress management, manhood, role-modelling and problem solving. All of these issues translate into various modules that incorporate material used for the Brothers for Life (B4L) campaign (i.e., pamphlets, posters), which F4L is a part of (F4L, n.d.).

Figure 1:1: F4L using soccer as a tool for social change

Source: Photograph supplied by Silver Shabalala, 2011

B4L is a national health campaign that is designed to target men from the age of thirty and above. Launched in KwaMashu, KwaZulu-Natal in 2009, the B4L campaign, "seeks to address the risks associated with having multiple and concurrent partnerships, sex and alcohol, gender-based violence and promotes HIV testing, male involvement in preventing mother to child transmission (PMTCT) and health seeking behaviours in general" (B4L,

2011). This campaign is a partnership effort amongst a number of organisations. These include, the South African National Department of Health, the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa (JHHESA), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Sonke Gender Justice, Interdepartmental Management Team (IDMT), as well as more than forty other partners working as health and HIV prevention agents (B4L, 2011).

To further supplement their training on HIV and AIDS, F4L also makes use of material from the Scrutinize campaign. Scrutinize is a South African national campaign that uses a series of animated adverts to encourage young people (aged between 18-32 years) to examine their behaviour and to act more responsibly in an effort to reduce their risk of being infected with HIV (Pearce, 2011). The 'animerts' "are used in communities to stimulate discussions on topics such as multiple and concurrent partners; alcohol, sex and HIV; transactional and intergenerational sex; and condom use and multiple partners" (Scrutinize, 2011). These are all topics that are very relevant to F4L's agenda (F4L, n.d.).

Taking a unique approach, F4L trained retired professional South African footballers on how to facilitate their curriculum to targeted communities such as schools, youth academies and correctional centres. These footballers include: Silver Shabalala, Enrico Bhana, Edward Motale, Collen Tlemo, and Charles Motlohi. Chosen as ambassadors for the programme were Mark Williams, Doctor Khumalo and John 'Shoes' Moshoeu. Trained as Wellness Coaches, these men are encouraged to draw on their own personal experiences on manhood, as they facilitate and discuss difficult topics with their participants. Other activities administered by the wellness coaches include community outreaches, hosting community dialogue forums and playing soccer. Since 2010, F4L has mainly worked with the Department of Correctional Services offering their programme in eleven correctional centres in Gauteng, Free State and Mpumalanga (F4L, n.d.).

The Heidelberg Correctional Centre is one of these centres (see Figure 1.2 below). Situated in Houtpoort, Rensburg east of Johannesburg, South Africa this centre was established in 1961. A medium correctional centre, Heidelberg houses a total of 969 offenders and 126 officials. Each month the centre processes a total average of 84 releases, 15 bails and 7 fines or deportations. On average, 201 offenders are sentenced at the centre each year. These are men

who have committed crimes ranging from, robbery, housebreaking, assault, rape, murder and fraud. According to the centre, these offenders are allocated into different sections based on variables such as age, mental state, sentencing and crimes committed. In light of these variables, the Heidelberg Correctional Centre has seven sections in total. The A-Section normally houses offenders ranging from those who are newly admitted, those with further charges, those who are in the prison hospital, to those who are long-term inmates. The B-Section is allocated to those who are still awaiting trial and have not been sentenced. This section also accommodates mentally challenged inmates in single cells. The C-Section includes some Awaiting Trial Detainees (ATDs), as well as juvenile ATDs (Heidelberg Correctional Centre Social Worker, 2011).

Figure 1:2: Heidelberg Correctional Centre

Source: Photograph supplied by Heidelberg Correctional Centre, 2012

The D-Section on the other hand is divided into three groups. Not only does it house those offenders who are about to be released, but it also accommodates sentenced juvenile offenders with further charges, as well as those who are attending school in the centre. E-Section consists mainly of single cells, which are reserved for those offenders or patients who are suffering from Tuberculosis (TB). The F-Section is allocated to offenders who are either serving short-term sentences or those who belong to work teams. These are groups of offenders who either work on the prison grounds for external agents doing things such as gardening. The G-Section on the other hand is usually allocated to offenders who work in the

kitchen. Their tasks include, cooking for the other inmates, cleaning, washing and dishing up food. The F4L programme is attended by a total of approximately 40 male offenders, between the ages of 23 to 55 years from the A, D, E and F sections (Heidelberg Correctional Centre Social Worker, 2011). This programme was administered at the centre with this particular group of offenders for a period of five months. It began in March 2011, with two one hour sessions each week, and was completed in August 2011 (Shabalala, 2011). Although a community does not always refer to a group of unified individuals, but instead can be said to consist of individuals or groups who have their own concerns and personal attributes (Bessette, 2004), the word community will be used to describe the offenders who participated in the F4L programme. This word will be used interchangeably with the word offenders and group of offenders.

Key research questions

Guided by the CFPD model, this study seeks to primarily determine if there was dialogue for collective action during the F4L intervention and how this was negotiated. Thus in an effort to answer this broader question the key research questions are as follows:

What catalyst was used to start the intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre by F4L? In other words, how did the project start, who was involved and what aspects formed part of the programme? What role did each of the participants play in the intervention? How were these roles negotiated and what impact did this have on the outcomes of the programme? Were the envisaged goals of the Assistant Coaching/F4L programme achieved? For example, were the offenders able to acquire any life skills as a result of the programme? Did the programme have any impact on their behaviour? Pertinent to the F4L programme is the use of footballers as role models, role-modelling correct behaviour and life skills. In this regard, the study therefore hopes to determine the impact this role-modelling had on the outcomes of the intervention.

Structure of Thesis

Chapter one has outlined the background of this study, therefore problematising the issue of crime, and looking at the crime crisis in South Africa. It looked at the crime situation in South Africa, its history, as well as endeavours or approaches adopted by the South African

Government to overcome the crime pandemic. Seeing that this study aims to investigate an intervention directed at a group of male offenders, this chapter also looked at who the South African male offender is. In this way the chapter provided a broad, but deeper understanding of the context upon which the F4L intervention was conducted. It is also here that F4L, the organisation under study is introduced. A brief background of F4L is presented to provide an understanding of the organisation, and the kind of work they are involved in. This chapter has also provided an overview of what this study seeks to explore. Chapter two will take the form of a literature review, discussing various articles on the use of sport as a tool for social change. Chapter three will present the theoretical framework of the thesis. It is here that the CFPD model will be discussed at length, as well as Participatory Communication from which the CFPD model is developed. The Social Cognitive Theory, which seeks to shed insight into the role of using role models to facilitate behaviour change will also be discussed. Chapter four will focus on the research methods used in this study, such as focus groups, interviews and participant observation, showing how each of these is used during the process of gathering data. It will also discuss how participants were chosen for the study through the use of purposive sampling. The chapter will then discuss how the data will be analysed, and examine issues concerning the validity and reliability of the data collected, as well as the limitations and problems encountered during the study. Informed by the theoretical framework and review of literature, Chapter five then moves on to present and discuss the results of this study, ensuring that all key research questions are addressed. Chapter six is the conclusion, which will provide a summary of research findings, pointing out inconsistencies or weaknesses, as well as the positive elements that have been identified during this study. This chapter will also identify and suggest any opportunities for future research and recommendations resulting from this study.

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

In Chapter one, this study was consequently situated within a backdrop of a country with a legacy of violent criminal behaviour. Despite the South African Governments' efforts to reduce the high crime rates in the country, this social problem persists, calling for the contribution and collaboration of government with other sectors of South African society (i.e., families, schools and NGOs) (DCS, 2005). Aiming to offer their contribution towards this cause is the F4L programme under study. The F4L programme is a unique programme that uses soccer and the principles of this sport as a tool for development in the various communities in which they operate (i.e., youth academies, correctional centres and schools.). Known as the Assistant Coaching Programme this programme uses retired professional South African football players to teach men and boys in the communities mentioned above valuable life skills so that they can live healthy, balanced lives. In taking a more holistic approach towards HIV and AIDS prevention, the F4L programme focuses on a range of social issues that perpetuate the disease i.e. finance, decision-making, stress management, HIV and AIDS, STIs, gender-based violence and Medical Male Circumcision (F4L, n.d.).

Beyond the actual name of the programme, the sport element of the programme is communicated and represented through the presence of the former professional football players who also act and are referred to as Coaches/Head Coaches. Upon completion of the F4L programme, participants also acquire a soccer related title as they graduate to become Assistant Coaches. Furthermore, the F4L programme also makes use of the soccer game as a teaching and reinforcement tool to enhance the attainment of social change within the communities they develop (Shabalala, 2011).

Premised on F4L's strategic use of sport, this chapter seeks to predominantly explore the role of this tool in the advent for development. At face value, sport is not seen as a tool for social change, but if applied strategically, the developmental possibilities of sport become endless (Amara et al., 2005, MacDonald, n.d., & Green, 2008). In fact, according to Crabbe (2007) people have not always believed that sport has the power to do good socially. However, since the 1990s sport has been viewed as a remedy for what is known as the 'social problems

industry' or programmes addressing specific social needs of a particular community, such as the lack of access to basic services, joblessness, abuse and crime (Pitter & Andrews, 1997).

Sport programmes usually designed to alleviate these social problems usually have three main objectives. The first objective of these sport programmes is to bring sport to marginalised and 'at-risk' groups, the second is to substitute or change the focus from deviant behaviour to more socially acceptable behaviours, and the third is to attract marginalised or 'at-risk' groups in order to provide them with basic social services such as healthcare, education and sanitation (Green, 2008). This chapter reviews literature that predominantly demonstrates the role of sport according to these three objectives within various contexts such as schools, communities, and sport clubs. In this way this chapter hopes to therefore provide insight into developmental programmes like the F4L programme as it explores the role played by sport in the advent of development both on an individual and community level. However, the chapter begins with an exploration of the role of health promotion programmes in prisons, which also bears great significance for this study as the soccer related F4L programme was administered in a prison setting. This section shall highlight any similarities, contradictions and lessons learnt from other health promotion programmes conducted in prisons.

Health promotion behind bars

Before an exploration of how sport is specifically used as a tool for development, it is very important to also discuss the notion of development in the form of health promotion and how this takes place in prisons. This is very appropriate as this study examines amongst other things discussed in this chapter, the use of sport as a vehicle for health promotion in a prison or correctional facility. According to the Ottawa Charter (1986), health promotion can be defined as, "the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health" (WHO, 1986). Providing a more elaborate definition, the American Journal of Health Promotion (1989), defines health promotion as,

> …the science and art of helping people change their lifestyle to move toward a state of optimal health. Optimal health is defined as a balance of physical, emotional, social, spiritual and intellectual health. Lifestyle change can be facilitated through a combination of efforts to enhance awareness, change

> behavio[u]r and create environments that support good health practices. Of the three, supportive environments will probably have the greatest impact in producing lasting change. (O'Donnell, 2009:iv).

Introduced into the South African health system twenty two years ago, health promotion practice in South Africa is based on the principles and ideas of the 1986 Ottawa Charter.[8] According to the Ottawa Charter, health promotion practice must be founded on the following five key approaches. It firstly promotes the idea that health problems are best resolved through the involvement of the entire community. Secondly, the charter promotes the idea of creating safe living and working environments for all people. In the South African context this is particularly important as here many health problems are created or worsened by poor living conditions caused by the inability to access basic services such as sanitation and water. Thirdly, the charter believes that it is very important to empower people with personal skills and information to promote good health practices. Fourthly, the charter aims to develop laws and policies that promote good health practices. According to the charter, in most cases the health care system does not serve the interests of those it was created for. Thus the fifth and last key approach stipulated in the charter is that health care must be re-adjusted to meet people's needs. As a result of this five-key areas approach, it was found that it is often more beneficial to implement health promotion outside of the health care sector. For instance, the South African Government's HIV and AIDS strategy takes into cognisance that people are reached far more effectively through various societal avenues, such as schools and prisons, and not just in clinics and hospitals (Coulson et al., 2000).

A very crucial part of health promotion, is the idea of empowerment. In this instance empowerment means that offenders should be given as much of an opportunity as possible to make their own informed health choices, even though this becomes challenging in a prison setting. A prison environment often makes it difficult for any kind of health promotion to take place, as it is an institution that takes away an offenders power of self-governance and freedom and hinders their self-esteem. However, even then prison health promoters need to ensure that their programmes still uphold and respect the human rights of the offenders

[8] Resulting from the very first conference that was held on health promotion in 1986 this is a policy that is used to guide and develop health promotion practices in South Africa (Coulson et al., 2000).

(United Nations office on Drugs and Crime et al., 2006). As according to "...international law [stipulated] in Article 25 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights," (United Nations office on Drugs and Crime et al., 2006), all offenders have rights, and are therefore required by law to receive the best level of mental and physical health care as possible (United Nations office on Drugs and Crime et al., 2006).

However, challenges to the realisation of this right still persist, in fact some of the most common challenges often faced by offenders in prison include intimidation by other offenders, violent and unruly behaviour, as well as idleness (Hayton, 2007). Furthermore, another problem that also infringes on the rights of offenders is overcrowding. Overcrowding often contributes to the corrosion of prison facilities, and also makes it difficult for prison officials to supervise offenders appropriately, making the prison not only unmanageable, but also unsafe. This often results in the escalation of turmoil and gangsterism within the prison taking away offenders right to a free and safe environment where they can exercise their rights (United Nations office on Drugs and Crime et al., 2006).

Overcrowding and unsafe prison conditions also contribute to the spread of HIV and other infectious diseases, such as Tuberculosis (TB) within the prison community (Kantor, 2006). For instance, a study exploring the scourge of HIV prevalence amongst offenders in Sub-Saharan Africa, found that the frustration and stress accumulated by offenders as a result of overcrowding, violence and boredom is usually released through sexual intercourse, which is not always consensual resulting in rape and sexual abuse, infringing upon the rights of those who become victims. Due to the fact that condoms are not utilised during rape and sexual assault, victims often find themselves at a very high risk of contracting HIV. It is for this reason that the close link between rape and HIV infection in prisons has become a critical issue for debate around the world (United Nations office on Drugs and Crime et al., 2006). Indicating the existence of this same link in South African prisons and calling the South African Government to act, the Jali Commission[9] report states,

[9] Named after its chairperson, Judge Thabane Jali, the Jali Commission was a commission that was appointed on 8 August 2001by the South African President at the time to investigate allegations of corruption and improper practices in the Department of Correctional Services (Sekhonyane, 2002).

> If the Department [of Correctional Services] keeps on ignoring the fact that sexual abuse is rife in our Prisons and that there is an extreme likelihood that prisoners who are exposed to violent unprotected sex will in all likelihood contract AIDS, then it is effectively, by omission, imposing a death sentence on vulnerable prisoners (Jali Commission of Inquiry Report, 2005:446-447).

In addition to these challenges, offenders also face social exclusion which upon their release, discover is worsened by their estranged family bonds, weakened by their time away (Hayton, 2007). During a study examining young people released from prisons in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and North West provinces, it was discovered that in addition to estranged family ties, offenders experience a range of other challenges upon release. These include: finding employment, fighting the urge to commit another crime, being financially stable, finding decent housing, community stigmatisation, poor literacy, establishing and maintaining relationships with others, as well as the struggle to attend to physical and mental health issues (Roper, 2005).

This is why health promotion whilst incarcerated becomes important for offenders, as imprisonment can present an opportunity for offenders to receive valuable life lessons that could help them to deal with some of the challenges, such as those described above. In fact, imprisonment or prison also provides health promoters with access to a community that would normally be very difficult to access. For many of the offenders who had led very destructive lives before being in prison, imprisonment becomes their only chance to receive constructive assistance towards rehabilitation (Hayton, 2007). For example in a study exploring offenders views on making healthy choices in English prisons it was discovered that those offenders who wanted to quit smoking saw imprisonment as a rare opportunity to gain access to receiving nicotine patches and attending quitting classes (Condon et al., 2008). Displaying yet another benefit of participating in prison health promotion ventures for offenders, a drug rehabilitation programme based in New York, called *The Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison Programme,* targets offenders who are addicted to drugs and arrested for serious crimes for which they face about four and a half years in prison. Those offenders who participate and successfully complete the programme often have their charges dropped, whilst those who fail the programme are sent back to court where they are re-sentenced and sent back to prison (National Institute of Drug Abuse, 2003).

Although rehabilitation and reintegration is a multi-dimensional process that cannot be measured through a single indicator, interventions are still generally expected to reduce the rate of re-offenders or recidivism. Considerable reductions in the rate of recidivism often allow for interventions to pay for themselves (Muntingh, 2005). In fact, studies show that a recidivism reduction of about one to five percent enables interventions to pay for themselves (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Although the cost benefit to society of some prison health promotion programmes has not been fully established, a longitudinal study on drug rehabilitation programmes run in England found," ... that for every £1 spent on treatment, society is estimated to gain a benefit worth £2.50" (Green Paper Evidence Report, 2010:73). While in this particular study limitations concerning the number of participants and the level at which they participated were present, this quote gives a clear indication of the possible monetary benefits such programmes have on society.

Despite the values and benefits discussed here, the focus of these interventions in respect of this study still remains on rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. But how is the achievement of successful rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders ensured? According to research there are four main principles that serve as a guide to ensure that offender rehabilitation and reintegration interventions are effective. Firstly, interventions should focus on those factors that cause or encourage offenders to re-offend such as drug abuse and unhealthy relationships. Secondly, interventions should also aim to focus more on those offenders who are a high risk as they are often responsible for bigger amount of crimes, besides it is believed that, targeting low risk offenders will only be a waste of limited and scarce resources (Muntingh, 2005).

The third principle involves ensuring that a broader range of issues are considered so that interventions are effective. For instance, programme administrators should ensure that the type of rehabilitation programme chosen and the way it is carried out suits the learning preferences of the offenders. Other factors that should also be considered include an offender's personal trauma, stress, de-motivation to participate in the programme and being anxious. The fourth and last principle is that these interventions should take a behaviour oriented approach in order to change and address criminal behaviour. To make sure that offenders respond well to the intervention and the type of treatment it offers, the intervention must meet the needs of the targeted offenders. These interventions should also be vigorous

and thorough, taking anywhere from three to nine months and ensuring that they occupy most of the offenders time (Muntingh, 2005). According to Muntingh (2005), "[e]ffective cognitive behavioural treatment interventions assist offenders to: define the problems that led them into conflict with the law; identify and describe goals; generate new pro-social alternatives, and implement these alternatives" (2005:34).

During an evaluative study of a South African non-governmental organisations' programme called the *My Path Programme*, seeking to determine how offender reintegration programmes could be made more effective, it became apparent that there are three critical issues that need to be present during the offender integration and rehabilitation process. Firstly, it was discovered that building healthy relationships with families and getting family support during the entire process was very important. Developing ways in which to sustain healthy relationships during imprisonment to encourage the existence of a support structure for the reintegration of offenders following their release from prison also becomes particularly important. Other forms of support such as financial support also need to be addressed durng this process. Secondly, it was discovered that the content of the health promotion programme helped the offenders to become more familiar with themselves and thereby helping them learn how to resolve problems and communicate their feelings and opinions effectively and strategically. Other skills included learning how to set goals and remaining dedicated to achieving those goals, acquiring self-confidence and being able to be more patient and tolerant. To prepare offenders for their lives outside of prison, part of this process of self-awareness included teaching offenders how to set attainable and realistic goals in an effort to avoid being discouraged too quickly. The third and necessary ingredient towards integration involves an offender's ability to have a sustainable financial status, which can only take place if an offender has developed or enhanced their personal skills, have an education, some form of financial assistance and family support (Roper, 2005).

Sport and social change

According to a report from the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, sport for the purposes of social change can be defined as, "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport, and indigenous sports

and games" (2003:2). Social change on the other hand can be defined as "a shift in the fraction of society ascribing to a particular attitude or mode of behaviour" (Greenwood & Guner, 2008:1). Although social change can either be good or bad, sport is mainly seen as a tool that brings about positive personal or social change by teaching and reinforcing certain values and skills such as teamwork, tolerance, interpersonal skills and peace. This is mostly due to the fact that the concept of sport for social change is embedded in the notion that sport has been proven to be a good socialising tool. For example, by participating in sport a person is encouraged to interact and communicate with other individuals and thereby develops valuable interpersonal skills, such as listening and having respect for others, which can be applied in the broader community (Green, 2008).

In fact, the United Nations (UN) has chosen to adopt sport as a prominent component of their development objectives known as the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) (United Nations, n.d.). Emanating from the Millennium Declaration, the MDGs are a list of goals made by the international community in the 1990s as part of their commitment to achieve development in the form of economic and social stability in all countries (South Africa's MDG Report, 2005). Here the UN works with government and NGOs, both locally and internationally to promote peace, human rights and other forms of development through sports. According to the UN, it is the very principles of teamwork, respect for ones opponents, playing fairly, as well as the idea of bringing a group of people together, that comes with playing sport, that is able to contribute towards promoting tolerance, unity, and economic development (Green, 2008). Hence,

> Sport, with its joys and triumphs, its pains and defeats, its emotions and challenges, is an unrivalled medium for the promotion of education, health, development and peace. Sport helps us demonstrate, in our pursuit of the betterment of humanity, that there is more that unites than divides us (United Nations, n.d: 2).

Development is usually defined as a process of bringing about positive transformation or progress for the broader community (Power, 2003). The above quote not only demonstrates that the use of sport in the pursuit of development can achieve positive transformation and progress, but it also shows that it can go beyond just achieving individual empowerment or uniting and uplifting the broader community (Green, 2008). In addition the above quote also

clearly demonstrates a unique feature that differentiates sport from any other development strategies, that of popularity. Unlike other development strategies, such as those that use art and the environment, sport has a much broader appeal and thereby provides a much wider scope to effect change (Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, 2011). It is even noted that sport such as soccer, cricket, rugby, swimming and cricket . tend to have an advantage over other kinds of social and cultural activities because they are readily apprehensible to the masses (Riordan, 1977).

Sport: A tool for crime prevention

As previously mentioned in Chapter one and above, the intervention under study is not only a health promotion exercise, but is also a crime prevention programme that uses sport as a tool to achieve changes in behaviour and attitudes amongst the targeted group of offenders. Crime can be described as an activity that usually consists of the following elements: a stimulated and willing offender, the lack of a suitable guardian and the presence of an appropriate target (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Policies aimed at reducing crime should therefore focus on making criminal activity difficult to commit, reducing the number of stimulated offenders, and creating avenues or structures that increase the guidance of potential offenders. Either one or all of these objectives can be incorporated into a crime prevention strategy. There are four approaches (already discussed in Chapter one) to crime prevention, namely: 'situational,' 'community,' 'developmental and 'structural' crime prevention (Dixon, 2004). These approaches therefore also become important when conceptualising physical activity or sport programmes for crime prevention purposes. Developmental crime prevention sport programmes refer to those programmes that are dedicated to developing people's characters through experience so that they do not commit crime. Evaluations of such programmes have proven that the length of each programme is a critical determinant to the success of the programme (Cameron & McDougall, 2000).

The *Hope Center Wilderness Camp* based in America administers a physical activity programme for young offenders between the ages of 12 to 17 years. Here great emphasis is placed on therapy, as well as teaching about issues of health, safety and education outside of a punitive environment for a period of eight to eighteen months. As soon as the participants leave the camp, one of the coordinators of the programme continues to provide support for the family for up to six months. Eighty-five percent of these participants do not commit

crimes again during this six months period (Clagett, 1989: 85,92). Short-term programmes such as these, even those delivered over a period of just six weeks, are the most effective in reducing minor crimes (Wilson & Lipsey, 2000).

Situational crime prevention on the other hand is more concerned with minimising the opportunities for criminal activity to take place through manipulating, controlling and changing the immediate environment (Clarke, 1995). In a swimming programme based in Western Australia aimed at overcoming theft and vandalism amongst a group of young offenders between the ages of 9 to 12 years, the administrators of the programme enhanced the swimming programme by offering fully accredited scuba diving, snorkelling and lifesaving course certificates. The young offenders were also tasked with the maintenance of the pool, and those who performed well were offered a two week paid job. This project resulted in an 85% drop in vandalism and theft instances, proving that by manipulating what could have been simple swimming lessons, the children's focus was shifted generating positive behaviour change. Even one of the children who participated in the programme said that the decrease in the negative behaviour was due to the fact that he had also told both his friends and other children not to practice vandalism and theft inside the swimming complex. This indicates that he had not only learnt positive behaviour from the intervention, but that he had also developed some form of attachment and loyalty to the complex (Smith, 1993:11).

Similarly in an article discussing the *One Man Can* campaign, a soccer initiative administered in the South African township of Khayelitsha in Cape Town, showed how this initiative, which is dedicated to helping men and young boys who are 16 years and older to achieve gender equality (Palitza, 2008). For example, one of the participants was quoted saying, "you eventually realise that drugs are not solutions to your problems" (Palitza, 2008:4). This shows how through running soccer tournaments and awarding certificates of achievement. the programme provided an alternative and diversion to participating in criminal activities (Palitza, 2008). Despite the obvious success of the programmes mentioned, it is important to note that while diversion programmes are useful, they are not sufficient on their own especially those that aim at achieving crime prevention. For example, in some instances part of their success may be dependent on the receiving positive media coverage (Green, 2008).

In the context of sport programmes, community crime prevention refers to those programmes that engage themselves with communities to achieve specific crime prevention outcomes

(Cameron & McDougall, 2000). Here, interventions focus on improving the abilities of local social organisations, such as churches, social clubs, and families by guiding the way in which they conduct themselves in order to lower the levels of crime (Hope, 1995:21). Leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup recently held in South Africa, the Youth Development through Football (YDF) initiative was established in South Africa. Commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), this project was dedicated to using the educational and social abilities of soccer and sports in general to develop young people in South Africa and other African countries, through working with local NGOs and government agencies. One of their key objectives was crime prevention. Operating in Mamelodi, a small township outside of Tshwane in South Africa, the YDF along with other constituencies including two local NGOs, called *Green Feet* and *Karos & Kambro* were tasked with enhancing a local school soccer team's ability to reach out not only to each other but to their teachers, coaches, families and community. Thus, by improving the abilities of the team, the NGOs caused the soccer team to influence other social bodies within their own community increasing the chances for crime reduction to take place (YDF, 2010).

Taking all of the above mentioned strategies and measures into account, and acknowledging that without doing so may result in their immediate failure, is the fourth and final crime prevention strategy called 'structural crime prevention' or 'law enforcement' (Dixon, 2004). Although this approach normally takes into cognisance the importance of having visible policing to enforce the law and to prevent any opportunities for crime to take place, sport programmes also have the power to perform this role (CSIR, 2000). For instance, the Anangu-Pitjantjatjara Lands of Australia are known to be plagued with an outbreak of petrol sniffing and alcoholism amongst its young people. Taking into account the causes surrounding this problem, such as unemployment and a lack of recreational activities for young people, a series of sports carnivals organised by members of the local communities successfully resulted in the short-term prohibition of petrol sniffing, alcohol and dagga. The rate of both juvenile and adult offenders also dropped significantly as a result of these programmes (Cameron & McDougall, 2000). Thus while the use of sport as a tool for development and social change in an effort to prevent crime are clearly evident, it is also important to understand how sport achieves this by looking at its versatile roles and functions.

Sport: Connecting individuals to communities

Team sport is believed to have the ability to bring communities together, regardless of their ethnic, gender, political, religious or even racial differences (McGuire, 2008). By shortening the distance between people, bringing them together, sport has the ability to co-produce communities through coordinating the development of feelings of belonging and bonding between people (Mitrano & Smith, 1990). Even former South African President Nelson Mandela, a former sportsman (heavyweight boxer), suggested his advocacy or support for this particular role of sports when he said, "sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can create hope where there was once only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand" (Palitza, 2008:7). Soccer is arguably one of the most accessible, comprehensive sports, requiring only the presence of a ball, it is not only affordable but it is also easy to understand, meaning that anyone can play it (Walvin, 1975).

Furthermore, soccer as a part of social change programmes tends to promote tolerance and reliance amongst those involved, but programmes that use soccer must consider other possible influences in order to achieve significant social change. A study that explored a grassroots health promotion intervention based in Australia, *Football United,* uses a soccer based programme to promote tolerance and communal cohesion in refugee settlement areas at a grassroots level. This is done through imparting development skills, mentorship and leadership training to refugee children and young people, under the development and management of the University of New South Wales School of Public Health and Community Medicine (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010). Similarly in another study conducted in Lyon, France about a sporting programme that also sought to encourage the integration of immigrants into the broader society it was stated that, "here, sport is a favoured tool to bring children, adolescents and young adults together around an ambitious project in which they can learn a regulated, collective way of life, aiming to re-socialize them" (Ville de Lyon, 1991:82).

In an effort to play their role in the fight against HIV and AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, the province with the highest HIV prevalence rate in the country, a non-governmental HIV and AIDS prevention, treatment, support and care programme, called *WhizzKids United,* was established in 2006. This programme is dedicated to using soccer amongst a group of vulnerable and orphaned children to facilitate the process of behaviour change in relation to

HIV and AIDS and other related issues, such as gender and sexual awareness. In the process, the programme aims to re-socialise young people to become healthy, responsible and empowered. Over and above the curriculum, which includes soccer games and peer-education workshops provided by *WhizzKids United*, the organisation also has established a youth-friendly health clinic (The Health Academy) next to Edendale Hospital (in Pietermaritzburg), that provides rape and career counselling, free HIV testing, as well as free Anti-Retroviral (ARV) treatment for orphaned and vulnerable youth (SA Good News, 2010). These kinds of projects are often called 'integration programmes' as they seek to reach out to marginalised or minority groups, with the intention of allowing them to adopt the values of the sports practised (Arnaud, 2002).

Serving, initially as a 'hook' or a tool to gain people's attention, sport therefore becomes a safe place where marginalised communities can engage, building their faith in their own abilities and in the process exposing themselves to different people and services that can help them. Through sharing sport experiences, participants from marginalised groups learn over time that they have certain things in common. This shared sense of belonging and acceptance helps to remove the dehumanising effects that come with the negative connotations often attached to marginalised groups (MacDonald, n.d.).

Sport: An inclusive platform?

Although participation in sport can contribute towards helping those involved to forge a new sense of identity and belonging, the question of whether it (sport) is truly inclusive or participatory must be posed (Tonts, 2005). Participation can be defined as "the voluntary and democratic involvement of people in," (Midgely et al., 1986:25) in their own development. Participating in communal projects tends to allow those involved to begin to mobilise the resources available to them as a community, triggering some form of action from the community, and thereby making them feel included and liable to the community (Tonts, 2005). These elements of bonding, belonging and identity provided by the inclusive nature of sport programmes are a form of social capital, and it is this social capital that contributes to team members feeling a sense of communal solidarity. For instance, in a study arguing that participation in sport programmes allows for the 're-engagement' of disenfranchised participants into the community, some participants belonging to a soccer team based in Cape

Town, South Africa, called *Street Socceroos Cape Town Homeless World Cup,* felt that belonging to the team instilled a sense of community, family and intimacy (Sherry, 2010).

Some sport generally tends to offer far more opportunities for participation then just being a player or participant, in addition to being a player, one can be a volunteer or even part of the management team of the club (Cashman, 1995). However, *Football United's* management discovered that community sports do not always allow everyone to participate, as some of the young refugees involved in their programme became excluded from the programme due to socio-economic conditions beyond their control, such as the lack of transport and money (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010). Individuals, who live in an area, but are unable to access or engage in the normal activities enjoyed by its citizens due to reasons beyond their control, are known to be socially excluded. For Barry (2002), a lack of income, transportation and housing, are basic material circumstances that need to be addressed to avoid exclusion from society (2002:14-27). Taking these issues into consideration the *Football United's* programme mentioned above was designed with the aim of counteracting or addressing this exclusion. Hence, in addition to encouraging participation through running soccer competitions between certain schools and clubs, a decision was taken to form partnerships with local schools and clubs, making the *Football United* programme more accessible to disadvantaged youth (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010:92-96). Seeing as this study seeks to explore the concepts and processes or lack thereof, regarding dialogue and inclusivity in the F4L intervention, the above mentioned case studies create a much needed awareness of the different dynamics that may arise towards the process of achieving inclusivity.

Although some programmes might succeed in achieving social inclusion through a clear process of trial and error, it is important to note that social change is not always positive (Green, 2008). In yet another sport programme known as *Belfast United* which sought to achieve social cohesion between groups of Irish Protestant and Catholic youths, who were brought together to form a single soccer club that toured the United States of America, the promoters were not able to achieve social cohesion. This was due to the fact that they tended to focus more on the idea of winning. Whilst winning to some degree is able to bring the team together as they strive towards a common goal, critics noted that too much emphasis on winning can lower the players' interest and enjoyment of the sport (Kohn, 1986). After all players are most likely to commit to a sport if they enjoy it (Scanlan et al., 1993). Focusing

on winning also tends to provide a short lived benefit for the participants, defeating the ideal of sustainable sport development (Green, 2008:130).

In a study analysing two sports-based programmes conducted in Africa, namely the *Yes to Soccer* programme in Liberia and the *Sports for Peace and Life* in southern Sudan, it was discovered that sport-based community development programmes tend to exclude mentally and physically challenged young people. Despite efforts to curb this problem, these programmes perpetuated the idea that physical ability was a prerequisite for participating in the programmes even though they had aimed to build knowledge about HIV and AIDS and promote responsible attitudes, such as abstinence and condom use amongst all young people in the targeted communities (MercyCorps, 2007). Other challenges faced by disabled individuals wishing to participate in sport programmes include: the lack of easily accessible sport facilities, the struggle to find coaches who have the skills on how to adapt the sport to participants' disabilities, as well as the lack to equal access of services and facilities normally accessible to those without disabilities (Right to Play, n.d.). Despite such challenges, there are emerging projects that have successfully accommodated young people with disabilities into their programmes. Through sport's ability to override barriers of speech or even culture, unique opportunities for inclusion are created. For example, during a football match, a hearing impaired individual knows that when a fellow team mate points their hand, this means that they want to receive the ball down the field. When the coaches clap during the match, it means he/she is doing well. Such forms of communication not only allow the integration of a disabled individual, but they also teach him/her and fellow team mates that communication is limited to being able to hear (Right to Play, n.d.). One such participant even said:

> When I was on the athletic fields, I felt normal for the first time in my life. I could do what everyone else could do. I didn't have to worry about struggling to communicate. I just played. My teammates respected me for my playing skills and began to make efforts to include me (Right to Play, n.d.: 184).

Presenting even further opportunities for social inclusion,

> …participation by persons with disabilities in sport provides a means of deconstructing disabling images that portray persons with disabilities as

> passive, inactive and lacking capacities to participate in the wider life of the community. In breaking down stereotypes of disabilities, participation in sport helps build more inclusive communities and therefore greater social cooperation and cohesion (Walker, n.d.:16).

In addition to creating a healthy environment where physically challenged individuals feel safe and accepted sport is also seen to provide a safe and supportive space where participants with disabilities can learn how to take chances, as well as how to deal with winning or achievement and failure, valuable skills for everyday life (Right to Play, n.d.).

It is common knowledge that participating in sport should always be fun. In an effort to ensure enjoyment in sport, eliminating the elements of discrimination and harassment become crucial as indicated above. In fact, an Australian study demonstrates the importance of this issue by pointing out how it is the role of The Disability Sport Unit of the Australian Sports Commission to make sure that all disabled Australians are given the opportunity to participate in sport at a level chosen by them. Another NGO, known as Recreational Link also based in Australia takes this mandate a step further ensuring that not only the disabled are given equal access to sport, but those who suffer from mental illness, unemployment, drug abuse and homelessness as well. Thus it is only once an equally accessible environment is created that true fun and enjoyment of sport can be achieved (Bliss, 2010).

It is this very dimension of sport that encourages participation and inclusiveness in sport for social change programmes. During the *Sports for Peace and Life* programme administered in southern Sudan mentioned above, it was discovered that 25% of the participants admitted that they would not have participated if sport was not a part of the programme. However, while sport was what motivated young people in southern Sudan to participate in the programme, initially the study also showed that this element did not contribute to retaining participants. Instead, learning about HIV and AIDS was what kept these participants in the programme (MercyCorps, 2007). In another study of a UK-based sports-for-inclusion of refugees and asylum seekers programme an interviewee described sport as a 'hook' that permits the occurrence of so much more than the sport that people are initially attracted to (Amara et al., 2005). Even Green (2008) points out that it is not sport in particular that is responsible for the outcomes reached, but the way in which the sport is implemented (2008:131). Thus while sport is fun and in this way, often appealing to participants, it is hardly ever a retention factor

(MercyCorps, 2007). Programmes that use sport as 'a hook' therefore normally use sport as an attraction factor, and then offer counselling, mentoring, tutoring and other services to educate participants (Green, 2008).

Although sport is sometimes seen as providing a space where differences are reinforced (i.e., gender discrimination or racism) (FRA, n.d.), research shows that programmes that consistently provide its participants the opportunity to develop close human relationships with their peers, develop decision-making and problem-solving skills, and that improved participants' value in themselves, were often successful (Witt & Crompton, 1996).

Many sport sociologists operating from a Marxist[10] stand point, have also often criticised the inclusive role of sports. According to them sport encourages alienation and prevents the power of human ability. For instance, by focusing too much on the athletic and competitive nature of sports, most athletes miss the opportunity for personal conscientisation and individual growth. They therefore purport that instead of engaging in sport as a platform for intrapersonal growth and self-expression, athletes are rather driven by market influences. Although participating in sport may be empowering and liberating, when it takes on this isolating capitalist mode of producing, then the positive attributes of sport become hard to materialise (Henricks, 2006).

Corporate Sponsorship vs. Genuine Interest

In addition to participation and inclusiveness another important element to community development is the issue of relationship dynamics that tends to exist between the various stakeholders involved in such projects. This is an important aspect to explore for any community development programme, and thus relevant to this study as the nature of the relationship between the various parties involved also has a bearing on the outcomes reached. The integrated Communication For Participatory Development Model (CFPD), to be further discussed in greater length in the chapter that follows, and forming the conceptual framework of this study, also tends to place great emphasis on the need for the relationship and

[10] Pioneered in the 19th century by two German philosophers, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Marxism is an ideology founded on the ideals of economics and social politics. It is a method of enquiry that advocates for a capitalist and materialist interpretation of the world (Engels & Marx, 2012).

perceptions of each stakeholder involved in a project to be clarified before a project begins, in order to obtain a clearer sense of direction going forward (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). In fact, the *Football United* study proposes that the relationship between the corporate sponsor, in this instance, JP Morgan and the social change or health promotion agents, *Football United*, need to go beyond the bounds of mere financial contribution, to achieve meaningful development. Thus it proposes that employees of the corporate sponsor become more involved in the programme through volunteering and going beyond the corporations social responsibility (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010).

According to Bunde-Birouste et al.'s (2010) study the direct involvement of the corporate sponsor in the social change intervention would firstly enhance the corporation's profile, which could provide a positive financial stimulus, as they begin to get exposure through the media for their involvement in the project, appearing as an organisation that cares about their community. Furthermore, this would also open up opportunities for individual development, team building and enhanced job satisfaction within the work place for the corporate sponsor. It would also strengthen the relationship between the sponsor and the social change organisation, making the relationship more sustainable, as they both begin to engage with each other and the programme on a similar personalised level. A stronger sustainable relationship between the two stakeholders suggests sustainable funding for the programme, which translates into its growth. On a more subliminal level, having more volunteers, means having more resources or human-capital. It also creates greater opportunities for networking and exposure for the programme (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010). Insights such as these form an important part of any evaluative research, as evaluations do not simply seek to assess whether a project was effective or not, but also try to propose solutions or highlight problems that can be used to make future projects better (Atkin & Rice, 2001). The F4L organisation under study is also an organisation that is completely reliant on the funding provided by USAID and PEPFAR through JHHESA which acts as F4L's partner. It would therefore be interesting for the purposes of this study to find out what the relationship dynamics between F4L and these organisations, and what direct or indirect impact they had on the outcomes of the project.

Sport: Creating opportunities for situated learning

In an Australian study exploring the benefits of belonging to a swimming club for a group of children between the ages of 9-12 years, Light (2010) suggests that sport provides a platform for situated learning to take place. According to Lave and Wenger (1991), situated learning is a process where learning is an on-going social procedure that is found within a certain cultural or social setting. Here, learning is not always intellectual or deliberate, but by merely belonging to a sports club and participating, opportunities for learning are created. Furthermore, whilst learning, this environment also allows for the formation of an identity. These two elements cannot be separated. This means therefore that "[m]eaningful learning is [thus] transformative and involves learning 'how to do' practices through participating in them. It also involves gaining access to the culture of communities with learning as an 'inseparable part of social practice'" (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 32). Thus in the context of the study, the children learn far more than just how to swim, they also learn very valuable personal and social developmental skills (Light, 2010). Unlike the *Football United* study, where the skills gained by the refugee youth mainly centred around acquiring a sense of social inclusion, the study involving the swimming club discussed above tends to focus on how, beyond acquiring a sense of belonging and identity, belonging to the club equips the participants with valuable interpersonal skills as they begin to learn how to relate with other people developing meaningful relationships. For example one of the participants said:

> Well, first (way I got to make friends) is talking to each other before going into (club) races. We started talking before the race, and we kept on seeing each other afterwards, and we started to get to know personal things about them, and then whenever we saw them we just would run up to them and say "hi!" (Light, 2010:387)

Pointing out some of the visible results of a community soccer-based crime prevention programme called *Ambitious Youth of Khayelitsha* that took place in a South African township for young men; a facilitator was quoted saying, "The youth stop going to the shebeens and hanging out on the streets without purpose. I've seen lots of youth being calmer and more positive about life" (Palitza, 2008). On the other hand too much focus on sports in these types of development projects also runs the risk of diminishing this very environment for situated learning. This can take place in two scenarios. In the first scenario we see

mentors neglecting their responsibilities as a mentor, leader and messenger, opting to focus on their role as a swimming instructor or soccer coach. In the second scenario, we see the participants showing disinterest in the curriculum and excited only by the sporting activities. As a result of this, participants do not gain valuable information, meaning that their attitudes are not influenced, making it difficult for any behaviour change to take place (MercyCorps, 2007).

Sport: The role of Coaches/ Facilitators

Whilst the different examples discussed above clearly demonstrate the healing, educational and developmental potential of sport programmes, it is also clear that the success of most these depends largely on the role of the coordinators, coaches, mentors, administrators or facilitators of the programmes (Cameron & McDougall, 2000). In the context of this study who then is a sport facilitator or coach? A coach can be described as a person who guides athletes or participants develop their complete potential. Their role often involves creating an environment where learning and development can take place and to find ways to keep participants motivated (Topend Sports Network, n.d.). Their role therefore varies from "instructor, assessor, friend, mentor, facilitator, chauffeur, demonstrator, adviser, supporter, fact finder, motivator, counsellor, organiser, planner and the Fountain of all Knowledge" (Topend Sports Network, n.d.: 1). According to the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) key to the role of a facilitator is his/her emphasis on dialogue, building partnerships and sharing knowledge (UNOSDP, n.d.). Often seen as role models, coaches are "perceived as exemplary, or worthy of imitation" (Yancey, 1998:254). Such a person inspires individuals or groups through personal engagement with them (Ingall, 1997). Teachers, spouses, parents, sport stars and peers are all examples of individuals who can be considered as role models. As a mentor, a role model becomes a person who is able to share their experience and knowledge with those that they mentor with the aim of developing them (Starcevich, 1998). The Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1989) is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter as part of the theoretical framework of this study, forming an important part of this study as F4L claims to use role modelling as part of their development strategy (F4L, n.d.).

Although both children and adults can have role models or coaches, for most children these can be described as any adult who is caring and acts as a positive role model (Moran, 2011).

However, in 2004 a Kenyan sport programme called *Moving The Goalposts* (MTG), used a peer education strategy to teach both teenage and pre-teenage girls about health issues such as HIV and AIDS, menstruation as well as how to practice safe sex. The idea behind using other young girls to teach the teens was driven by the belief that because they are of a similar age group the participants would be more comfortable to talk about such personal and sensitive issues. Furthermore, girls who are chosen to become peer educators are required to have been members of the MTG programme. Thus having been just ordinary members they are usually in a position to understand some of the anxieties or challenges that the girls face in relation to the programme (Women Win, n.d.). One such peer educator was quoted saying,

> The girls they don't like to have a male coach because sometimes they have their own problems, like when they have their periods and they can't tell the male coach or sometimes they are hungry and they can't tell the male coach. They are not comfortable telling such things to male coaches. Sometimes the male coaches can even start to take the girls as women and have sex with them (Women Win, n.d.:17).

It is for this reason that the belief that female participants, especially young girls should be coached by female coaches emerges. Furthermore, females coaching females is believed to encourage participation. For example, in a similar programme based in Rwanda, pointing out the significance and importance of gender in sport programmes, one of the coaches said, "having a woman coach, it motivates other girls to come" (Women Win, n.d.: 17). Coaches do not however always have to be of the same age group as the participants, in fact during the *MercyCorps* sport-based programme in Liberia and Sudan, it was discovered that peer education is not always the best option as young people can find it difficult to discuss sensitive topics with adult coaches, they can also find it difficult to do the same with their peers. In addition to soccer, here coaches were forced to adopt a 'participatory game-based' method, where each game was deliberately created to teach young people about issues surrounding sex and HIV and AIDS (MercyCorps, 2009).

According to Meier (2005) children and adolescents usually develop close relationships with their coaches, viewing them as friends and role models. These relationships often lead the children and adolescents to become emotionally dependent on the coaches, giving the coach more power over them, and in this way making the children and adolescents vulnerable to

physical and emotional exploitation (2005:11). Based on these negative connotations, one can see that the role played by coaches as role models, mentors and teachers is not always positive. Sometimes through negative role modelling, as indicated here, coaches may stimulate deviant and non-participatory behaviour (Payne et al., n.d.:4). However, even then one cannot ignore the diverse and effective roles of sport as a tool for social change (Green, 2008).

Sport: A tool for advocacy

Historically, sport has always been used to publicise or to encourage certain political outcomes or support (Bloomfield, 2003). For example, at the beginning of the 20th century sport became a tool for 'Americanisation' and 'socialisation.' During this period children were taught about the 'American' way of sport, meaning that they were taught how to be obedient and patriotic through sport. This was more so amongst athletes during World War I as they became one of the key groups through which the United States gained its strength. Similar examples can be found in the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany and China (Gorn & Goldstein, 1993). Although sport is by no means a remedy for the world's problems, it has often proven to be effective in encouraging humanitarian acts such fighting against inequality (Maguire, 2004). Here too one can see the notion of initially using sport as an attention grabber in order to convey a particular message (Green 2008:135). For example, Kaufman and Wolff's (2010) study illustrated how an American football team from the University of California once decided to protest against discrimination of black people in sport by wearing black arm bands during a nationally broadcasted match. Over and above the powerful image of communicating their stance on the racism issue on a national stage, this team also demonstrates how in so doing or participating in sport in support of a common goal conjures a sense of belonging, purpose and comradeship amongst the players (Kaufman & Wolff 2010:159) However, one must ask, how were these players transformed from normal football players to activists?

The shift from being ordinary players to potential activists usually occurs through the development of a social consciousness, which is formed through the process of reflexivity. Reflexivity can be described as a process where one is able to acknowledge their own biases (i.e., race, gender and social class) and then work towards transforming those biases in order to avoid producing oppressive or damaging effects on other people (Bourdieu, 1996).

Although not all of the team mates where non-whites or disadvantaged, it was during a talk given to them by the Black Student Union, and a well-known black athlete who spoke about his own experiences of discrimination as a black sportsman that they became forced to relate their own identities with what they were learning (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010:159-160). One of the players was quoted saying:

> [They] made us more aware of the situation and how it would hurt people who are already from underprivileged backgrounds. They reminded us that some of us were from an under privileged background and not everybody has the power, you know, media's power and not everyone has that power to even make a statement (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010:160).

By having listened to the Black Student Union representative and the well-known black athlete team members immediately related what they heard to their own underprivileged backgrounds, and even sympathise with those underprivileged people who lacked the power to stand up for themselves in the face of oppression. It was at this point, that the team realised that they actually had the power to do something about this matter (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010:160). In another example, Joey Cheek, an American Olympic gold-medallist and activist against the Darfur genocide, mentioned how travelling around the world for competitions broadened his world view and subsequently informed his decision to become an activist. This shows that as an athlete one often travels to different locations, where they experience different cultures, and see not only how other people live, but how they experience sport. By travelling to these different locations an athlete is exposed to different gymnasiums, fields, equipment in varying conditions. This alone can be an enlightening experience, one that can help each athlete gain a new understanding of their history and background (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010: 160-161).

In 2007, the Gender Equity in Sport for Social Change Conference was held in Casablanca, Morocco to discuss how the role of women in sport can be enhanced in an effort to achieve social change. This conference held the position that women's participation in sport was also an indication of their position and participation levels in society. For example, in a women's sport intervention that took place in Afghanistan, the Captain of the Afghanistan Women's National Team was quoted saying, "Today we are free to play soccer and hope to inspire more girls in Afghanistan to play. We want girls in Afghanistan to see what is possible for

them now that they can play soccer and go to school and be whatever they want to be" (Gender Equity in Sport for Social Change Report, 2007:11). Thus it is evident how indeed women's participation in sport becomes more than just about overcoming conflict, abuse and violence. However, it becomes in itself not only a movement for change within the broader society, but an indication of endless possibilities of inclusion for women in other sectors of society. Here, sports acts as an advocate for the empowerment, recognition and integration of women into the broader society. Advocacy can be described as "...the act of arguing on behalf of a particular issue, idea or person" (Gender Equity in Sport for Social Change Report, 2007:28). However, whilst trying to argue in support of gender or even racial equality, the use of sport is sometimes known to have achieved the opposite result. In fact, Rees and Miracle (2000) also argue that partaking in sport actually reinforces existing racial and gender inequalities, often fuelling the status quo, meaning that instead of eliminating existing barriers of inequality and discrimination sport sometimes only makes the situation worse. For instance, most sport continues to be dominated by men perpetuating masculinity and sexism. By reinforcing existing stereotypes it becomes even more difficult to overcome ethnic and racial differences that often restrict sport participation (Henricks, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the versatile nature of sport for social and behaviour change. It has explored how sport is used, not just as a tool to attract participation, but how it has the ability to teach people in different social contexts valuable skills. The studies discussed in this chapter demonstrate how sport is used in conjunction with tutoring and counselling to teach participants of sport-based development projects. In addition, one can see sport being used as a diversion tool, offering an alternative to destructive behaviours. Hence this chapter presents the possibilities and challenges offered by sport in its role as a space for social inclusion, situated learning, advocacy, health promotion and crime prevention. It also explores the role of the facilitator or sports coordinator, as well as the role of corporate sponsorship and the possibilities and ambiguities it presents.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Chapter two has presented a case of the role of health promotion interventions in prisons (i.e., Hayton, 2007; Muntingh, 2005), as well as the role of sport interventions as a unique approach towards development. Here sport is largely presented as an inclusive approach towards development, bringing together the marginalised, allowing them to form bonds and thereby presenting an opportunity for social change to take place (i.e., Wilson & Lipsey, 2000; Mitrano & Smith, 1990; Sherry, 2010; Tonts, 2005). Hence, based on the arguments presented in Chapter two, it can be argued that sport interventions offer a participatory approach towards development (Sherry, 2010; Tonts, 2005). Participatory communication is seen by development practitioners and scholars as the most effective approach towards achieving development. In fact, the word participation has become synonymous with the word development. Today, every development project is expected to make use of this trendy word as donors are inclined to fund projects that focus on people's participation (White et al., 1994).

In the context of prisons, which is the focus of the present study, the very mention of the term developmental programmes conjures questions of access and participation of inmates, as prisons are regarded as institutions created upon the idea of creating barriers and lack of access (Dissel, 1996). Whilst the involvement of disenfranchised groups, such as offenders is critical to the process of development, the nature and level of their participation is never simple. Described as 'kaleidoscopic', participation is often 'contextual,' meaning that the degree and type of participation in one area is always different to another area. For example, the same degree and nature of participation in a developmental intervention facilitated with a group of young boys living on the street, cannot be the same as the degree of participation that would be found in a similar intervention administered with a group of young boys in juvenile detention. However, in both instances a participatory approach towards their development remains critical nonetheless (White et al., 1994).

In light of this ambivalent characterisation of participation, this chapter attempts to outline a conceptual framework within which the present study has been constructed and must be

understood. It unpacks the kaleidoscopic nature of participation explaining how participation can be applied to achieve development. The overall objective of this study is to explore the nature of participation in a development initiative administered by an organisation whose approach is centred around the idea of role-modelling to achieve behaviour change. The study is therefore informed by a development strategy which speak to participation and behaviour change. The first part of this section discusses a behaviour change theory known as Social Cognitive Theory (Miller & Dollard, 1941; Mowrer, 1950; Bandura & Walters, 1963; Miller, 1983; Bandura, 1982; 1986; 1989; 2001) which will be used to explain the use of role models in the behaviour change process. The second part moves on to discuss Participatory Communication for Development (Freire, 1970/1972; Servaes, 1999; Gumucio-Dagron, 2001; Figueroa et al., 2002; Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009), which will be mobilised to explain the need for the disenfranchised groups or the marginalised to participate in their own transformation. Emanating from Participatory Communication, the integrated Communication for Participatory Development model (CFPD) has been labelled as a model that offers a guideline on how participatory communication should ideally be implemented (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The CFPD model will therefore serve as a framework through which Participatory Communication will be discussed in the analysis of this study. The final part of this chapter will therefore discuss the different steps found in the model in the hope to illustrate what is participatory communication, and how it should ideally be implemented.

Social Cognitive Theory

The idea that socialisation or behaviour is learned can be traced back to the birth of social learning theory in the 1930s led by Clark Hull. His disciples: O.H. Mowrer, Neal Miller, John Dollard, Robert Sears, Leonard Doob and John Whiting are leading theorists in social learning theory (Miller, 1983 cited in Wells-Wilbon & Holland, 2001). Fundamental to all these theorists is the common belief that a person's personality is learned (Miller, 1983).

During the 1940s and 1960s there were two main theoretical changes in social learning theory, both of these were guided by the idea that imitation, learnt through simulative behaviour, was a powerful element to how people are socialised, a stance evident in the works of Dollard and Miller, 1941; Bandura and Walters, 1963; as well as Dollard and Miller, 1941 (Miller, 1983). Taking the power of imitation further, Bandura and Walters

(1963) believed that new behaviour could be gained through watching and observing a model, and in this way the observer also receives the same punishment that is received by the model for their behaviour. However, in the 1970s Bandura became less concerned with mere imitative behaviour as a tool for socialisation, and took on a more cognitive approach to the causes of behaviour, which focused on the power of observational learning (Wells-Wilbon & Holland, 2001). Hence the relabeling of the Social Learning Theory to the Social Cognitive Theory (Rosenstock et al., 1988).

Human behaviour has often been explained in terms of a single sided determinant. In such instances, behaviour has always been believed to be carved or influenced either by one's environment or by their internal qualities. Social Cognitive Theory on the other hand believes that human behaviour is controlled and shaped by three groups of reciprocal determinants (Bandura, 1989:2). Hence, "in this model of reciprocal causation, behaviour, cognition and other personal factors, and environmental influences all operate as interacting determinants that influence each other bi-directionally" (Bandura, 1989:2), meaning that human behaviour is not just influenced by the environment one is situated in or their personal qualities but also by their thought processes, which affect and influence each other in a reciprocal manner (1989).

This however does not suggest that the reciprocal causal factors of influence occur simultaneously or are equal in strength, as others can be stronger than others. It also often takes time for these factors to actually stimulate reciprocal effects. A two-way process of influence thus takes place between a person's behaviour and their environment, meaning that a person's behaviour has the ability to impact their environmental situation and vice versa. The environment is not a permanent structure that consequently affects individuals. In fact, when movement is limited, some elements of the environment can gradually intrude on individuals irrespective of whether they like it or not. But most elements of the environment do not act as agents of influence until they are stimulated by suitable behaviour. For example, a teacher cannot praise a learner for doing well in a test unless the learner has taken the test and achieved good results. Thus in this way people become both 'products and producers' of their own environment, creating and selecting their environment through their actions. In the quest to determine whether behaviour change or skills transferral outcomes were achieved during the F4L programme, this study hopes to explore the interplay between these three

reciprocal determinants amongst the offenders, looking at how their immediate environment both tangible and intangible, their cognition, as well as their internal qualities all reciprocally affect their behaviour (Bandura, 1989).

When viewing human development from the so called 'lifespan perspective' the powers of influence that determine the direction in which a person's life takes are often a series of life events that take place in their life. These influential determinants can vary in significance (Brim & Ryff, 1980). These forces of influence include family and educational institutions, to unpredictable changes to the physical environment and unexpected life events, such as accidents, divorce, career and technological change. Knowing about these life changing factors, whether unexpected or planned can change the course of one's future (Bandura, 1989). At a personal level, this calls for one to develop "competencies, self-beliefs of efficacy to exercise control, and self-regulatory capabilities for influencing one's own motivation and actions" (Bandura, 1989:7). Having these personal tools allows individuals to obtain control over their own lives, and the direction their life takes (Bandura, 1982).

By having these skills they are empowered to take advantage of planned and unforeseen opportunities and to avoid detrimental situations. However, while having a sense of personal control is important for one's development, social support also becomes a necessary ingredient, especially during those 'formative years' when one can still be easily influenced. Social support helps give meaning and value to a person's life, and without it one becomes exposed to dangerous and damaging circumstances. Thus societal structures help increase people's influence over their own lives (Bandura, 1982). In this way this study also hopes to determine if the F4L programme was able to increase the offenders' self-efficacy or control over their own lives. Was this sustainable? If so, was there any form of social support to ensure the sustainability of this empowerment amongst the offenders?

Although the Social Cognitive Theory asserts that people are controlled or shaped by inner elements, cognition or consequently by their environment it therefore consequently posits that it is people themselves who act as "contributors to their own motivation, behaviour and development within a network of reciprocally interacting influences" (Bandura, 1989:8), making their ability to believe in themselves and their ability to change their lives critical. It is from this theoretical view that the concept of participation, as shown later in this chapter, becomes pertinent as participatory development calls for and often results in this same level

of self-efficacy (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Bandura (1989) considers this element of participation as 'people's capabilities' whose process is described below.

Learning through symbolisation

Human beings have the amazing capability to utilise symbols as tools that help them to control and make sense of the environment. In most cases outside influences affect behaviour through what is known as a 'cognitive process.' In part, it is cognitive elements that determine which part of the environmental occurrences will be observed, how they will be interpreted, what kind of emotional and stimulating effect they have, and whether or not they have a permanent impact. People often process and make meaning of their life experiences through symbols that act as a guide for future action and reasoning. Symbols therefore act as the driving force of thought, and in so doing cognitive markings of one's experiences form the basis for thinking (Bandura, 1989).

However, the fact that many people base their actions and decisions on their thoughts does not mean that they are always objectively reasonable or logical because their ability to be rational tends to rely on reasoning abilities that are not always impactful or well formed. For instance, a person can take action based on their own biases or misconceptions that appear completely rational to them, but unreasonable and maybe even foolish to others. Thus while human thought can lead to accomplishments, it can also lead to their dysfunction and failure. This also happens through a person's constant focus on negative thoughts of self-doubt, anxiety, painful past and stress, and by acting on these negative misconceptions they get themselves into trouble (Bandura, 1989). As pointed out earlier that this study concerns the disenfranchised, the marginalised, the ostracised. Bandura's (1989) views above are pertinent in explaining the relationship between perceived self-doubt, anxiety, a painful past and stress among the offenders as an ostracised group, and their efficacy to transform after being exposed to a particular environment.

Learning through 'vicarious learning'

Another extraordinary human quality that forms part of the Social Cognitive Theory is that of 'vicarious learning.' Most psychological theories have put great emphasis on the idea that people learn through their actions and individual experiences. However, it is argued that learning from personal experiences, trials and errors, would mean that learning through

social influences and through the cognitive process were not effective, but harmful, non-existent or a complete waste of time, making the process of learning purely from direct experience a bad idea (Bandura, 1989).

This is firstly because sometimes expecting people to learn from their mistakes is not ideal, as these mistakes can either be very costly or lead to death. Secondly, solely dependent on life actions acquiring knowledge can also prove to be constrained by the lack of time, materials, adequate flexibility and movement imposed on the situations that one is meant to learn from (Bandura, 1989). Human beings have now developed so much, that they are now able to broaden their skills and knowledge through modelled influences. Learning can thus occur vicariously through observing other people's life experiences and behaviours, the consequences, as well as their response to their circumstances (Bandura, 1986; Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 1978).

A lot of knowledge about patterns of behaviour and the impact they have on the environment is obtained from models that are symbolically shown verbally through or through pictures. "Unlike learning by doing, which requires altering the actions of each individual through repeated trial-and-error experiences, in observational learning a single model can transmit new ways of thinking and behaving simultaneously to many people in widely dispersed locales" (Bandura, 1989:22). The power to reach and influence many people in different locations at the same time is the most distinct feature of 'symbolic modelling' (Bandura, 1989).

Previously modelling influences were largely restricted to one's immediate surroundings, but with the introduction and advancement of technology people are now exposed to a wider range of models that exist beyond their immediate environments. For example, through television, ideas, lifestyles, attitudes and values are spread within communities and across various other communities (Bandura, 1986; Pearl et al., 1982). Symbolic modelling influences can have varied psychological impact. Firstly, it can encourage people to acquire new skills and new behaviours. Secondly, by arousing an emotional reaction from its observers, models vicariously cause observers to acquire, values, attitudes and to form emotional connections to people and places (Bandura, 1989:23). This study therefore seeks to determine the impact of F4L's use of role models as models in their intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

Unlike most community development programmes seeking to achieve social change, F4L uses six retired professional football players to equip offenders with important life skills, through their role as role models and mentors (F4L, n.d.). Originating from Greek mythology, the word mentor referred to a guardian and good friend who taught and took care of Odysseus's son in his absence during the Trojan wars, (Grossman & Valiga, 2012). Although this basic conception of a mentor still persists today, the role or definition of a mentor has since varied according to different contexts (Lamb, 2005). However, a successful mentoring programme can only be achieved when there is a clear definition of roles between the mentor and those being mentored. Failure to do this may cause confusion, leading to conflict, and to the overall failure of the programme (Andrews & Wallis, 1999).

According to the Social Cognitive Theory, during the relationship between the mentor and mentee, each person is forced to suspend their own views and opinions, and develop an understanding of the others perspective of the world (Schultz, 2004). If this is achieved successfully, then both the mentor and mentee, are able to achieve a relationship based on trust and understanding (Lamb, 2005). In essence, role modelling is a process where the mentor helps the mentee to obtain and maintain valuable knowledge and skills through worthy interventions and by leading by example (Schultz, 2004). By imparting his/her wisdom, the mentor is expected to help the mentees to learn from the mentors mistakes (Lamb, 2005), a process that takes place through symbolic modelling (Bandura, 1989).

In this study, the role of the coaches involved in the programme as both role models and mentors will be explored in juxtaposition to that of the mentees (offenders) whose training as Assistant Coaches is envisaged to enable them to not only acquire skills and behaviour change, but to also become role models for other offenders. Understanding how observational learning takes place between the mentor and the mentee takes place thus becomes very important for this study.

Learning through observing models: The breakdown

According to Bandura (1989), there are four processes that govern observational learning, these are, 'attentional,' 'retention,' 'motor reproduction' and 'motivational processes.' As part of the attentional processes learning can only take place if the learner pays careful attention to the model and understands the messages accurately. Such messages are mediated

through the model's own characteristics, the observer's characteristics and through various features of the behaviour that is being modelled. In the first occurrence, models may influence learners through status, features of sameness and similarity and attractiveness. As a second instance, a learner's features of race, gender and social or economic status may also be integral to the process of learning through observation. In the third instance this process believes that the way in which a model presents or portrays his behaviour is very important. For example, people cannot be influenced by anything if for instance they found that the model and the behaviour they were trying to model was confusing and boring (Bandura, 1989).

The second process that governs observational learning is the 'retention processes', which deals with the idea that the observation process is pointless if learners cannot remember what they have observed. In order to retain information, one must therefore be assisted by symbols, which can be verbal or imagery. By stimulating one's senses repeated exposure to symbols enables one to form certain perceptions of certain events as they learn to associate the events with particular images. Unlike imagery symbols, verbal symbols have the ability to accommodate more loads of information. To increase the ability to retain information mental practices can also be used. For example, when learners are asked to visualise a famous football star offering a free kick, by painting a picture in their minds, using descriptions that are familiar to them to teach a certain behaviour or lesson, models are more likely to help the leaners remember more easily (Bandura, 1989).

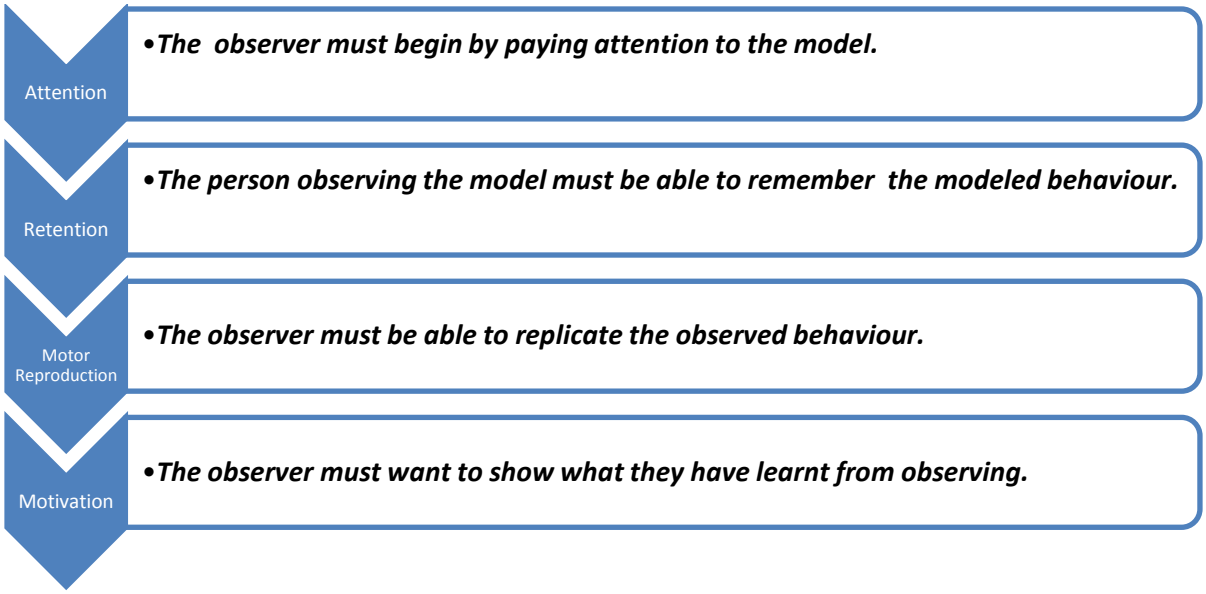
The third process governing observational learning is that of 'motor reproduction', which involves the process of translating symbolic messages into behaviour or actions. Doing this involves a cognitive arrangement of reactions, it also involves learning how to monitor and contrast actions or behaviour against a symbolic model, identifying and correcting any inconsistencies that need to be refined (Carroll & Bandura, 1985; 1987). It is important to note that not all symbolic cues are necessarily understood during modelling and this may require extra effort to ensure that effective and relevant behaviours are executed. In the event that this is not achieved there lies a risk of creating "a developmental lag between comprehending and performing" (Bandura, 1989:29). The fourth and final process that controls observational learning is the 'motivational process', which is basically based on the idea that acting out modelled behaviour is dependent on whether or not a person has a strong

feeling to commit to doing so. Usually when the consequence of modelling a certain behaviour is beneficial or rewarding rather than detrimental then people are definitely more keen to enact that behaviour, meaning that people are usually more keen to adopt modelled behaviour if they know that the result will be rewarding (Bandura, 1989: 29). Based on this discussion it can be summarised that modelling performs the following functions (Ormond, 1999):

a) It can encourage or influence the regular occurrence of past behaviours.
b) It can teach the observers new forms of behaviours.
c) It can encourage the observer to practice behaviours they were previously not allowed to perform.
d) It increases occurrences of similar behaviours.

Figure 3.1 below provides an illustration of how the process of modelling should ideally take place. It summarises all the different conditions needed for effective modelling to take place during observational learning. It is pertinent to point out that these four conditions are not the same for every individual as people can model the same behaviour but through different processes (Ormond, 1999).

Figure 3: 1: Diagram showing the process of modelling



Source: Adapted from Ormond (1999).

As discussed above, all these factors associated with the Social Cognitive Theory and its approach to role modelling have a precise and valuable role to play in the world of sport and physical activity. In fact, it can be argued that the way in which models communicate, the symbolic meaning of the words and pictures elicited from observing them, and the way in which these are interpreted during observation can assist towards understanding why individuals take part in sport (Payne et al., n.d.).

The fact that observational learning plays an important role in understanding people's participation in sport is particularly significant for this study as it investigates an intervention that not only uses role modelling to initiate behaviour change, but also uses soccer, as part of its strategy. According to the Social Cognitive Theory, learning results from self-efficacy which will be discussed below (Bandura, 1997).

The Role of Self-Efficacy

Self-Efficacy Theory is a knowledge or skills-based theory, which has been applied to many studies (McCauley & Mihalko, 1998). Self-efficacy refers to one's belief or regard in their own capabilities to learn or to do something. Unlike learners who do not believe in their capabilities, those with high self-efficacy do not only achieve greater results, but they also display greater resilience, are hard workers, and show more interest to learn. To put it more simply, the Self-Efficacy Theory purports that individuals who believe in themselves tend to achieve greater results then those who lack self-belief (Bandura, 1997). The role of this theory has therefore been widely explored in different spheres such as sport, education, health and careers. (Wentzel & Wigfield, 2009). The theory believes that the way that people perceive their capability to do something plays a big role in determining their level of accomplishment, motivation and self-control (Bandura, 1997; Multon et al., 1991; Pajares, 1997; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998).

According to the Social Cognitive Theory, self-efficacy is believed to have an impact on people's behaviours and their environments and in this way also be affected by them (Bandura, 1986, 1997). For example, a student with high levels of self-efficacy towards learning would set goals and set effective measures to ensure that these goals are met. They would also ensure that they create an environment that is conducive for learning, such as minimising or removing any distractions or find a study mate. However, in turn self-efficacy

can be influenced by the results of this behaviour in this case it can be impacted by the progress of the goals that have been set, and also by the environment which could be in the form of responses from educators or peers (Wentzel & Wigfield, 2009:35).

According to Bandura (1997) self-efficacy is associated with three mediating factors namely: (a) 'self-efficacy expectancy', which involves the learners perceptions of how capable they feel they are to achieve a certain behaviour, (b) 'outcome expectancy', which is concerned with the idea that if the chances are high that a behaviour would lead to the achievement of a certain outcome then the learner is most likely to adopt this behaviour, and (c) 'outcome value', which states that if the outcome of the behaviour is enticing then the probability of the learner carrying out that behaviour is very high (Bandura, 1997 cited in Payne et al., n.d.).

The aspects of Social Cognitive Theory discussed above are useful in understanding and examining how the F4L case study utilised for this study uses former professional soccer players as part of their strategy to facilitate behaviour change. Whilst the word behaviour can refer to the adoption of a new behaviour, or the change in perception, the process of which is discussed above, participatory development communication, the concept within which the study is framed, involves assisting people or communities to voluntarily develop themselves (Servaes, 2008) in order to achieve self-efficacy (Figueroa & Kincaid, 2009). This process of communication becomes critical as it facilitates the envisaged development and, "becomes important in informing, persuading, listening, data gathering, educating, training, and managing change" (Colle, 2008:96).

In the section below, Participatory Communication will be discussed, the concept of which informs the research question of this study. Cognisant of the fact that participatory communication is ambivalent, the key elements of the concept, which inform the conceptual framework of this study, will be discussed. The last part of this section shall provide an exploration of the CFPD model to provide an understanding of what the model entails in relation to Participatory Communication, showing its relevance for this study as it provides the themes through which the data collected for this study will be analysed. However, in an effort to understand the underpinnings of this approach the next section will begin with a historical background showing how development evolved from an economic development driven concept (Melkote, 2006) to one whose ultimate goal is human development (White et al., 1994). In the context of this study an understanding of this evolvement is key as it frames

a context within which the F4L programme as a development initiative takes place situating the programme within the broader realm of development. This history is also important in that it reinforces the justification of using Participatory Communication to explore participatory development in the form of dialogue for collective action in the F4L intervention.

Participatory Communication for Development

Background: Tracing the roots of development

Many approaches have been employed in an effort to understand and improve the development challenge. However, consensus remains regarding three main factors surrounding this controversial issue of development. The first is that development should not only focus on economic growth, but that the very method employed in the process of development should be informed by the social and cultural dimensions that characterise those in need of development (Adedeji, 1993). The second is that development projects must focus on decreasing the levels of poverty in order to achieve continuous and sustainable development (Chambers, 1997). The third is that valued development should ensure that it involves those who stand to benefit from the development initiative in the decision-making process. This means that they should be involved in the planning of development, as well as being able to decide on how the development is going to be carried out (Escobar, 1995). Geared towards a more democratic, inclusive and empowering form of development, many scholars, politicians and policy makers, as well as development practitioners have placed greater emphasis on the third approach towards development (Manyozo, 2007). Hence in this light, development can be defined as,

> a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment (Rogers, 1978:68).

However, it is important to note that the face of development has not always been this participatory, it is for this reason that the history of how development evolved over the years will now be discussed.

Civilising the uncivilised: Modernisation theory

The origins of communication and development fields lie in the emergence of development interventions after World War II (WWII) (Melkote, 2006).In fact, ever since the 1950s the approach towards development has thus focused on modernising developing countries through economic expansion strategies that are forcefully introduced by developed countries (Rogers, 1976/ 2006). One of the dominant theories that influenced this economically focused approach towards development during the 1950s was "Walter Rostow's take-off or stages of growth model" (Chitnis, 2005:37). This model was basically based on the premise that the traditional or even 'backward' developing countries could become developed like developed countries through industrialisation. Around the same time, another popular communications scholar, Daniel Lerner, also argued that to become modern, developing countries would need to become urbanised, learn how to read and write, partake in the political activities involved towards achieving democracy, and become exposed to mass media (Lerner, 1958).

Mass media was believed to play a crucial role towards achieving modernisation. According to Schramm (1964), there are three reasons why this was so. Firstly, mass media could replicate information, ensuring that a large number of people were reached using different mediums. Secondly, it created an environment in which change was favourable. Thirdly, mass media had the ability to create a sense of 'nation-ness' as it could be used to transmit the same message to every sector of a population within a given location (1964).

Explaining how people adopted new ideas over time, Everett Rogers proposed the 'diffusions of innovations theory.' The word innovation usually means an idea of technology and diffusion refers to the spread of this idea from the top down and thus diffusion of innovations refers to the spread of a technological idea from the top down. Thus making it a process through which the receivers are told of an idea or ideas of development by an external source, and persuaded to accept these ideas (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). During the 1930s and 1940s, studies on the role of mass media proved that it was a powerful tool that could be used firstly as a tool for propaganda, secondly to persuade people to adopt certain ideas, and thirdly to change or influence their behaviour. Influenced by this research the first development decade, which ended in the late 1960s thus saw communication for development scholars advocating for a horizontal way of changing people's behaviours and

attitudes, a process achieved through the dissemination of ideas using mass media as a means of communication (Chitnis, 2005).

Dependency Theory

Criticised mainly by Latin American theorists in the early 1970s, the Modernisation Theory gave way to the emergence of the Dependency Theory. Events such as the oil crisis of 1973, as well as the flaws of the UN's Economic Commission assigned to Latin America were some of the events responsible for the criticism of the modernisation paradigm. However, the Dependency Theory essentially emerged following developing countries' realisation that they were dependent on developed countries to achieve not only economic freedom, but to access new technologies, as well as to achieve political change (Servaes, 1996). One of the main scholars responsible for this theory was Andre Gunder Frank (1969), who believed that in their efforts to modernise developing countries, developed countries made developing countries too dependent on international aid, making themselves (developed countries), more wealthier as a result of their bias trading methods (Chitnis, 2005). Dependency can thus be described as, "...a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others..." (Dos Santos, 1970:231). This ultimately meant that in their quest to develop developing countries, developed countries actually underdeveloped them (Graaff & Venter, 2001), exploiting them and causing them to become even more 'backward' and therefore dependent on developed countries (Servaes, 2003).

Based on the idea that the biggest challenges to development were not situated within developing countries, but outside of them, dependency theorists proposed developing countries develop their own development plan, distancing themselves from the global market in cultural and economic terms. This called for major political change within all developing countries, a task that became almost impossible as many of these countries had very poor economies and were too deep in debt to stand on their own (Servaes, 2003). The dependency theory further argued that access to mass media in developing countries was limited to the elite, making the adoption of new technologies only available to the rich, widening the gap between those who had access to these things and those who did not (Servaes, 1999). This explains why this theory is seen as, "...good on diagnosis of the problem...but poor on prescription of the cure" (McAnany, 1983:4). Questions relating to the absence of effective

communication channels in the process of development led to the establishment of two important operations. The first took place in 1976, at a communication for development scholars conference held at the University of Hawaii. During the conference many flaws related to mass communication towards development were pointed out (Schramm & Lerner, 1976). During the 1970s UNESCO led many debates concerning who had the right to distribute information and regulate the media. This led to the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), which condemned the dominance of media and new communications systems, which took over 'traditional media' and global news flow. This prompted the McBride Commission to call for changes that would not only ensure, culturally relevant communication approaches during development, but they also looked at ensuring that these changes would introduce even more global and national news flows (Servaes, 1999).

In response to these events, some theorists such as Everette Rogers and Wilbur Schramm saw it necessary to augment their original communication theories to accommodate the needs of the people in developing countries. For instance, in his work, *The Passing of the Dominant Paradigm*, Rogers discloses the fact that the diffusion of innovations theory had wrongly assumed that the non-adoption of new innovations by people in developing countries was simply a result of individual or communal opposition. Realising that the model did not explore the reasons why people sometimes resisted new innovations, Rogers thus later made changes to the Diffusions of Innovations Theory, this time acknowledging people's cultures, taking into cognisance that this element plays a role in the process of communication for development. Therefore, he posited that diffusion interventions merge both local and new media, making use of community leaders, as well as local change agents (Rogers, 1976). The period starting from the 1970s and beyond, therefore saw the communication industry acknowledging the fact that people's exposure to media did not necessarily mean that they would change. The industry began to acknowledge the fact that there are other 'social' or even 'psychological' factors that are needed to stimulate change. It therefore became important to change the definition of communication, as a process where information is delivered horizontally, to one where communication is a more dialogical process that actively allows the recipients of development (the audience) to arrive at their own interpretations (Chitnis, 2005).

Another Development

Although criticisms of the Dependency Theory did not result in any structural solutions that could be implemented by those working in the field, they did however revolutionarise the approach towards development. Due to the political and socio-economic changes that were taking place around the world, development scholars began to realise that all nations were dependent on each other, and that it was not just the developing countries that were dependent on the developed countries as posited by the dependency theory. Focused on the idea of eradicating poverty, development thus strived towards the provision of basic human needs such as food and shelter. This type of development is known as 'Another Development,' 'Multiplicity' or the 'Alternative Paradigm.' (Chitnis, 2005).

In the late 1970s Dag Hammarskjold, the former Secretary-General of the UN, also advocated for this change in the approach towards development. In response to the high levels of poverty in third world countries he urged that as a process that involves a person's entire being, who they are both physically and spiritually, as well the society in which they live, development needed to be more than just about industrialisation and economic gain. This meant that development needed to place individuals at the centre of development, these individuals would then become self-sufficient and in control of their own development (White et al., 1994). This called for community members to actively engage in their own development: a type of development that, " involves a process of change in which people gain greater control over their environment to bring about social, as well as material advancement for the majority of the people" (Rogers, 1976:42). Hence, Another development can be described as a concept that is based on the principles of 'self-esteem', 'life-sustenance', and 'freedom' (Vilanilam & Lent, 1975:15).

This is why it became an approach where instead of taking a prescribed global approach towards development, development would be more localised, taking into account the unique factors found in each area (i.e., culture, politics, levels of poverty, prevalent diseases and employment rates). Here each community needs to rely on its own abilities and resources in order to develop. Each community's usage of local resources would need to be rational and responsible, taking into account both local and global restrictions imposed on current and prospective generations, protecting and preserving their ecosystem. This type of development also takes into consideration the fact that these resources are interdependent in terms of space

and time. Democratic participation where people govern their own development is a key factor in this type of development. To realise this level of participation and self-regulation each community often needs to undergo structural changes, for example, in the way that power or space is distributed (Servaes, 2003). The Alternative Paradigm thus caused communication scholars to begin to introduce a two-way form of communication to be administered amongst all those involved in a development project using both modern and traditional forms of communication. The participatory way of communication during development was the most significant outcome of the Alternative Paradigm Approach (Chitnis, 2005). Furthermore, as a fundamental element in this study, attention will now be turned to the Participatory Communication approach , which will be discussed in great detail.

Exploring the chosen approach

There are two widely accepted approaches towards participatory communication, the first is the dialogical education approach discussed by Paulo Freire, a Brazillian educator (1970, 1973,1983, 1994, 2006), "and the second involves the ideas of access, participation, and self-management articulated in the UNESCO debates of the 1970s" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005:96). The main difference between these two approaches is that whilst the latter amplifies and supports the use of media i.e. radio and television to achieve participatory communication, the former is largely grounded on the use of dialogue amongst groups of people. Despite criticisms of its focus on group dialogue, Freire's dialogical approach has dominated the development industry since the 1970s as the standard Participatory Communication approach (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005).

Paulo Freire (1970) believed that a pedagogical way of education should be replaced with a more liberating, dialogic form of communication. With his focus mainly on adult literacy programmes based in Brazil and Chile, Freire emphasises that education does not merely involve transmitting knowledge from those who possess this knowledge to those who do not have it. In other words, Freire does not believe that during the process of education, the role of those with the power is to merely deposit knowledge to those who do not have this knowledge. He believes that this process is supposed to be a creative discovery of the world between the two parties involved. In fact, Freire proposes that individuals have the ability to develop themselves (Servaes, 1996). Rooted in these principles and teachings participatory communication is thus an approach towards development that "stresses the importance of

cultural identity of local communities and of democratisation and participation at all levels – international, local and individual" (Servaes, 1996:75), therefore making development participatory and localised. Although the idea of participatory communication evolved in the 1970s, it only fully merged into the field of development from the 1990s (Jacobson & Storey, 2004), this resulted in the creation of an entire discourse on what participation ideally means. This has in turn led to the creation of many definitions of participatory communication by scholars and development professionals (Muturi & Mwangi, 2009).

For UNESCO, participation involves, "self-management, access and participation" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005:96). Access refers to the fact that the public should be able to have access to a wide variety of media, be able to use these media platforms to relay their own responses. Participation suggests the publics' involvement in the production and organisation of 'communication systems.' Here, participation does not extend beyond "representation and consultation of the public in decision-making." (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005:96). Self-management refers to the public's ability to exercise their power to make decisions within communication organisations and be involved in the process of developing communication strategies and policies (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). Similarly, others have described participation as the process of building messages collaboratively within a group of people who hope to improve their social status (Mody, 1991).

Participation therefore encourages the production and dissemination of information, cooperation and interpretations of different stakeholders involved in a project. It also ensures that the recipients of the developmental project are enabled to become actively involved at all levels of a development initiative (Piotrow et al., 1997). It is for this reason that participatory communication is often associated with the term empowerment (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Allowing development beneficiaries to become actively involved in the development process also presents an opportunity for them to voice what they believe to be their most urgent needs, avoiding the imposition of predetermined ideas by an external agent (a top-down approach) (Ascroft & Masilela, 1994).

According to Deshler and Sock (1985), there are two levels of participation that can take place during development. The first level of participation known as 'genuine- participation,' is a process through which an equitable distribution of both political and economic power takes place. This is called implementing structural change, a strategy which many

communications experts believe should take place first in order to implement participatory communication interventions (Molwana & Wilson, 1987). This means that participation is not merely limited to the concept of 'consultation,' nor should it be equated to 'mobilisation' of people who are recruited to merely support a development initiative organised and designed by external agents. According to the participatory communication strategy the beneficiaries of development should instead be seen as partners (Bessette, 2004). This therefore calls for development initiatives to,

> …be anchored on the faith in the people's capacity to discern what is best to be done as they seek their liberation, and how to participate actively in the task of transforming society. The people are intelligent and have centuries of experience. Draw out their strength. Listen to them (Xavier Institute, 1980:11).

The second level of participation is called 'pseudo- participation'. Here people's participation involves merely listening to how the project planned for them will be administered to them. During this type of participation the power to make decisions lies solely with the organiser or with the elite members of that particular community, who by so doing displays a lack of faith in the abilities of those being developed (Deshler & Sock, 1985). According to Servaes communication now tends to focus more on "process and context" (2000:52). The ability or inability to understand how participatory communication should be implemented often determines the success of participatory development projects. Ascroft and Masilela (1994) point out that in the African context for example, it becomes very difficult to measure individual participation as it remains to be an evasive and abstract concept opening itself up to different interpretations (1994).

The present study explores dialogue for collective action in the F4L intervention, which is the case study under exploration, as the concept of participatory development is an element that is highly encouraged by the F4L organisation. Using Participatory Communication as an algorithm, this study examines how the F4L programme interprets participation and implements its intervention in the quest to achieve behaviour change amongst the offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

According to Paulo Freire all human beings inherently long to be human in every sense of the word, and thus ultimately desire to be free from any form of oppression. In light of this, the fundamental goal of development should therefore be focused on liberating people from oppression. Melkote and Steeves (2001), point out that this kind of oppression is not the same as disgruntlement or discontentment, but a much more complicated concept.

Oppression takes places, "…when individuals are systematically subjected to political, economic, cultural, or social degradation because they belong to a social group…results from structures of domination and subordination and, correspondingly, ideologies of superiority and inferiority" (Charlton, 1998:8). Oppression can also be described as an environment where one is subjected to systematic powers or limits that restrict their movements or ability to make choices (Frye, 1983). Suggesting that the definition of oppression is not limited to institutional and structural limitations, Johnson (2000) defines oppression as those "social forces that tend to press upon people and hold them down, to hem them in and block their pursuits of a good life. Just as privilege tends to open doors of opportunity, oppression tends to slam them shut." (2000:39). As a health promotion and crime prevention intervention, the F4L programme under study also seeks to assist the offenders acquire new skills or behaviours that will allow them to live healthy and crime free lives. This study therefore seeks to explore what socio-economic issues oppress or prevent the offenders from living the 'good life' that increases the offenders' choices, as mentioned by Johnson (2000).

Hence, in light of Freire's proposition, one can still argue that so long as development is the goal, even if an initiative is administered in a correctional facility (as is the case in this study) amongst a group of individuals (offenders) whose movements and choices are systematically restricted and regulated, the liberation of these individuals remains the key. According to Freire, the process of conquering oppression is called conscientisation, a central component of participatory development (Freire, 1983).

Breaking away from oppression through conscientisation

For Freire, conscientisation means "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970:17). This means that conscientisation is a process where the oppressed as an informed individual, achieves a state of becoming aware of their reality and of their ability to change that reality (Freire, 1970). "To activate consciousness and critical awareness of one's situation and

environment, one's identity, one's talents, and one's alternatives for freedom of action is an imperative to participatory action" (White et al., 1994:24). Conscientisation is thus not only a process that involves critical reflection and awareness, but also one that causes people to take action as they break away from a passive 'culture of silence' (Servaes, 1991:75).

The culture of silence refers to a situation where the oppressed feel so overpowered by the control of the oppressor that they are driven into a state of silence, regarding the oppressor as the only knowledgeable ones (Abdullah, 1999). Breaking away from this culture into a process of conscientisation can also be described as 'free dialogue', which dictates that emphasis be placed on elements of "cultural identity, trust and commitment" (Waisbord, 2003:19).

Trust is critical part of participatory communication as it helps to dissolve barriers and anxieties discouraging the culture of silence (Servaes et al., 1996). In fact, "[w]hoever lacks this trust will fail to initiate (or will abandon) dialogue, reflection, and communication, and will fall into using slogans, communiqués, monologues, and instructions" (Freire & Macedo, 2001:64). This also indicates, as is posited by Freire, that reaching a state of awareness or knowing alone is not enough as it needs to be followed by action. In fact to achieve conscientisation these two elements of awareness and action cannot be separated, but they must also include a deep form of 'reflection' in order for state of praxis to be reached (Freire, 1970).

Conscientisation is therefore a process which leads to critical thinking, a stage that usually involves the procession of three unique steps. The first step sees individuals going through what is known as the 'intransitive thought' a stage where people feel incapacitated, lacking the belief that they have the power to transform their situation. Here people believe that only God can change their lives, and thus continue to live in a state of disempowerment, subjecting themselves to the power and dominance of the elite (McLaren & Leonard, 1993). The next step is called, the 'semi-transitive' thought. Armed with only some knowledge of how to develop themselves, this level of thought sees people carry out some activity and thought in order to achieve change. So in their quest to try and change their situation, this level involves people attempting to resolve issues by viewing them in isolation, neglecting other influential factors present in the entire system. People with this level of thinking may be too trusting, and may even resort to following a single charismatic or strong individual in the

hope that that individual can resolve their problems instead of resolving those problems themselves. Individuals who have a more critical and comprehensive approach towards resolving their problems on the other hand, display what is known as 'critical transivity,' the third and final step. A person who thinks in a critically transitive manner, is a person who believes that they have the power to change their problems, and are also able to relate these problems to the larger context of factors that may be of influence (McLaren & Leonard, 1993).

In light of this, conscientisation is thus characterised by four main qualities. The first is the notion of knowing that you (as an individual or group) have the power to change your circumstances. The second involves knowing that you have the ability to think, read, write and even speak critically, rationalising issues, objects and images. beyond face value and being able to apply the broader socio-political context to your individual situation. The third quality of conscientisation is called 'desocialisation.' This is a system where one begins to not only identify, but also challenge societal myths, values and beliefs (i.e., racism and democracy). The fourth quality of conscientisation is one that calls for 'self-organisation/self-education.' Encouraging individuals to become proactive, this quality of conscientisation sees it as a system where individuals begin to take the initiative, changing both education and their societies from authoritarian led systems where there is an unequal distribution of power (McLaren & Leonard, 1993).

Participatory communication therefore demands "that the social structures, social relationships, and interpersonal relationships that interfere with it must be changed" (Servaes, 1991:75). Changes in these structures thus calls for a re-allocation of power and control where the marginalised equally share in this power. It is only upon implementation of this shift that true participatory communication for social change to occur (Molwana & Wilson, 1987). This calls for an approach towards development that not only provides a platform where both the student and teacher are equal, but one that is also dialogical (White et al., 1994).

Moving towards a dialogical praxis

According to Shor & Freire (1987) dialogue is a fundamental part of human development as human beings have become increasingly interactive and critical. Dialogue can thus be described as "... a moment where humans meet to reflect on the reality as they make and

remake it" (Shor & Freire, 1987:98). It is thus a process of critical inquiry about the world involving the art of communication, reflection and action (Shor & Freire, 1987). Forming therefore the basis of participatory development dialogue cannot be entered into alone. In fact, as those engaged in dialogue communicate, reflect and take action one person cannot assume the role of simply depositing information into the other nor can they both merely partake in the absorption of this information especially given the fact that no one has the right to interpret the world for the other (Freire, 1974).

Dialogue is thus "an encounter between men mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire, 2006: 88), where each man must partake in their own naming of the world. However, this cannot take place if those trying to enter into this critical inquisition are opposed or act alone. Dialogue is thus a two-way process that takes time to establish, and in which dehumanisation through exploitation and inequality can take place. Freire even argues that in an event where a teacher is oppressive, dehumanising the participants, the teachers is also oppressed because they might not realise that their act of dominating are actually dehumanising the participants. However, students can prevent this dehumanisation by ensuring that they claim the right to voice their opinions so that they are not dictated to or oppressed, especially since dialogue is a vehicle through which humans gain validation and dignity as human beings (Freire, 2006).

To avoid any form of exploitation and inequality during the dialogical process, Freire thus calls for the presence of love as the foundation of dialogue. If one cannot love people or love life they are unable to enter into dialogue with others. Dialogue also cannot exist without the presence of humility, which requires mutual respect and understanding for each other. Another important element of dialogue is that it requires one to have faith in other people as one cannot form any meaningful relationship if they do not trust them (Freire, 2006) In fact,

> it is in the actual reaching out to the other , in the affirmation of the otherness of the other, that genuine dialogue takes place. And the act of dialogue is the act of making oneself whole, of freeing oneself from the shackles of individualism and emerging in the full personhood in a community (Thomas, 1993:53).

Love, humility and faith in dialogue therefore help to forge a relationship built on mutual trust allowing the parties involved to interpret and discover the world together (Freire, 1970). Thus for Freire development communication is not just about communicating a certain message, but is a practice where liberation through dialogue is the order of business (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Hence during development the true participation of those being developed is believed to only be achievable through dialogue. Freire's idea of dialogue is particularly founded on Martin Buber's 1958 book titled *I and Thou.* In this book Buber differentiates between the *I-Thou* and the *I-It* relationship. Whilst the *I-Thou* relationship is based on the idea of equality, free sharing and mutual understanding and action the *I-It* relationship between the teacher and the student is the exact opposite and hence is self-seeking and promotes inequality. Although Buber (1958) argues that the *I-It* relationship can liberate and give participants the power to do something about their situation, it also ultimately reinforces the existing imbalance of power between the student and the teacher. Freire's notion of dialogue is thus not based on the latter self-seeking *I-It* relationship, but rather on the former *I-Thou* relationship. Hence,

> Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the one-who-teaches, but one who is [themselves] taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow (Freire, 1974:67).

With openness and equality and mutual acceptance as the key drivers, here dialogue is premised on the idea that both the student and teacher learn together, and that as they learn go through a process of posing problems as opposed to solving them (Freire, 1973). During this process both teacher and student are enabled to learn from their own life experiences, think critically about the problem and then act upon a decision taken collectively. This practice results in students gaining faith in their ability to overcome oppression (Chitnis, 2005).

Problem-posing education thus involves a creative process of self-discovery, prompting individuals to become authentic beings as they become liberated from their oppression. This form of education is the exact opposite of what is known as 'banking education', a concept

criticised and discouraged by Freire. The 'banking concept' is an educational system where the educator simply deposits information into the student, the student receives this information and merely regurgitates it without interrogation or reflection. This method does not allow the student to engage in any creative process or contribute any of their own initiatives towards the information received, instead it simply dictates that the student receives the information from the educator, who is seen as the one who possess's all knowledge (Freire, 1970).

The banking pedagogy of simply depositing information, also takes away from students, the opportunity to learn how to be accountable for their own conduct (Costa & Marzano, 1987). The banking form of education thus opposes dialogue whilst the problem-posing form of learning sees it (dialogue) as a central element in the process of critical reasoning (Freire, 1970). But how exactly does this dialogue take place? Seeing that this study hopes to not only establish whether there is dialogue during the F4L intervention, but also seeks to determine how the dialogue in pursuit of collective action takes place, understanding exactly how the process of dialogue takes place becomes very important.

During problem-posing learning dialogue takes place when the teacher uses stimulating words or themes to arouse discussion amongst a group of learners in an effort to clarify certain issues or to stimulate action as a result of these clarifications. Freire (1970) proposed culture circles as an alternative to the schooling system that existed at the time, which he believed was too passive and traditional. A 'culture circle,' approach involves the problematisation of the issues evoked by the stimulating words or themes that are presented by the teacher (Freire, 1970). A culture circle is thus a stage where students get a chance to air their views and thereby actively engage in their own development (Abdullah, 1999). Furthermore, culture circles also allow students the opportunity to, "practise their interpersonal skills - arguing, listening and speaking, working collectively, respecting other people's views and trusting in others" (Abdullah, 1999:1). The students thus engage in a process of having to decode the circumstances symbolised by these stimulating words or themes. Codification is a practice of coding and decoding that takes place through reflecting and engaging in dialogue (Freire, 1970), normally using pictures that depict real life situations that are familiar to participants (Schugurensky, 2011).

Using images that depict the student's reality during problem-posing education is an important part of codification as it ensures that students can critically engage in the topics in relation to their current circumstances. Stimulated by the evocative words or themes used, participants begin to become aware of their oppression, dialogically reflecting and taking action to alleviate this oppression and consequently changing their lives. However, of equal importance during codification is the teacher's ability to identify and describe those key words or themes, depicting the chosen circumstances adequately to the students (Freire, 2006). It is only then that students can begin to transform their relationship with their environment (Masilela, 2000). Thus using images, words and even everyday encounters, codification is a way of learning that enables students to discover and learn about themselves, and about where their oppression comes from. Freire's approach to learning is thus centered on the idea of becoming self-reliant. (Chitnis, 2005).

The power of self-reliance

Being able to control and rely on one's self is an important part of participatory communication during development, as both an end result and as part of the course of development. In fact self-reliance is the ultimate goal of human development. Participation is very well an exercise of self-reliance, an act that must always go together with self-confidence. This is an important element as it gives people the ability to move away from depending on others serving as catalyst for development (White et al., 1994). Self-reliance is also known as 'generative power', which refers to "an ability to challenge cultural and structural deprivation or oppression" (Nair & White, 1994:162). In the world of development, "self-reliance often refers to conditions of economic stability and policies which in turn impact on country-level' political stability" (White et al., 1994:25). In this kind of environment people's participation and level of influence is limited as they normally can only express their desires via a 'political process', which is sometimes only available in the presence of a democratic system (White et al., 1994:25-26).

On a more local level, self-reliance tends to focus on human development, which also compliments the economic interpretation of self-reliance described above. With the focus of self-reliance on human development, participation turns its attention to meeting people's basic needs. Although challenging this process involves developing individuals who are able to come together as a community to identify and confidently define what their needs are, and

in so doing are able to dictate the plan of action. This also includes controlling the media and its messages (White et al., 1994). “When individuals become self-reliant, their behavio[u]r will change from apathy to action, from dependence to independence, from alienation to involvement, from intolerance to tolerance, from powerlessness to assertiveness, from defensiveness to supportiveness, from manipulatable to self-determined, from other-directed to inner-directed, from ignorant to knowledgeable” (White et al., 1994:26).

Self-reliance is also similar to empowerment, the lack of which is simply recognised by the presence of ‘powerlessness’ and ‘helplessness’ (Rappaport, 1984:3). Indicating their stance towards the promotion of self-reliance during a similar past prison programme in another prison, one of the F4L coaches was quoted saying, “The successful offenders who finished the programme and received the certificates are now empowered and will be able to get employment when they are integrated back into their societies” (Boksburg Advertiser News, 2011). A self-reliant, empowered community is thus one that is able to identify its own problems, develop its own solutions, whilst remaining mindful of its traditions and culture (White et al., 1994).

Based on the ideals proposed by Paulo Freire, it is very clear that participatory communication, is thus a dialogical approach towards development that is not only centred on the idea of ensuring the empowerment of the oppressed, but also one that views the oppressed as critically conscious people who have the ability to think critically and generate their own knowledge. Participatory communication acknowledges the fact that the oppressed are often unable to exercise their liberation due to certain socio-political structures that are present within their communities, allowing the culture of silence to continue. To counteract the culture of silence, participatory communication thus supports Freire’s idea of changing the balance of power, valuing local knowledge over the knowledge of experts. This therefore calls for development experts to enter into an equal platform with the oppressed, both parties allowing themselves to learn from the other. Moving away from the top-down way of communication posited by the old model of development communication, participatory communication demands a dialogic two-way form of communication. The role of the development agent is to facilitate this process, inherently assuming therefore the role of being the communicator. Unlike a person who is a champion of an external plan, a facilitator’s job is to make sure that local community being developed not only develops its own solutions to

its problems, but that these solutions are sustainable and ensuring that the local community is accountable (Chitnis, 2005).

Inspired by Freire's culture circles, a facilitator is usually an individual from within that local community. This person is usually trained on how to bring a group of people together and facilitate dialogue, which eventually leads to them taking action collectively. This task can also be allotted to an external change agent. This is a person who is sent by government or an external organisation to facilitate development within a particular community. The role of a change agent is critical to understanding the process of participatory development (Chitnis, 2005). According to Connor and Lake (1988) change agents are catalysts, they are also those individuals who are tasked with coming up with solutions, helping the community during the process of development and connecting them with whatever they need. Taking a more inclusive and democratic approach on the other hand, Bracht (1999) and Green and Kreuter (1991) believe that the role of the external change agent involves the following:

1. Facilitating and helping communities to engage in discussions and agreements about how they should better their lives.
2. Knowing that people are capable of assessing themselves and recognising what they need.
3. Knowing that people can decide on their own plan of action.
4. Knowing that people have the ability to take part in the political activities that concern their livelihood.

Although Freire's ideas on participatory development were originally contrived in Brazil, they are believed to have a universal appeal, making them appealing even to the African context. The fact that Freire also built in the socio-political context of African countries into his participatory development theory further made this approach towards development that much more appealing. However, this participatory approach towards development is not without its criticisms (Okigbo, n.d.).

Critiquing the participatory development approach

Whilst Freire's approach towards participatory development presents an inclusive and dialogical approach towards development where the voice of the marginalized takes centre

stage (Servaes, 1996), this approach is not always realized in practice (Sanderson & Kindon, 2004). In fact, participatory development projects are quite susceptible to glitches, which often negate their ability to encourage a more interactive and participatory project. The first distortion is known as 'participationitis,' a condition where participation means that everything has to be run through every person involved in the project before a decision is made. This results in frequent meetings and discussions, and less time on execution and implementation of the project, leading to 'inefficiency' and chaos. Tired of attending endless meetings sometimes participants resort to choosing a leader to ensure that things are done. The second distortion is 'participatory-planning,' where the recipients of the development are usually not involved in the identification of the problems they face. Here participation is merely granted as a way to make the developmental process cheaper and more acceptable. Hence, without any real ownership of the developmental process participation becomes something that given to the recipients with real ownership remaining in the hands of external agents (White et al., 1994).

The third distortion is called 'manipulated participation,' this a kind of participation where people are made to believe that they are participating of their own free will, when they are instead helping to carry out government development projects that were planned and commissioned without their input. Here too power over development remains in the hands of project administrators. In the same way that participation can be blown out of proportion and falsified, it can also be abused and used in a very bland manner where it begins to lose its meaning. This occurs when everything is referred to as participation (i.e., donating money for a breast cancer awareness campaign or requesting a song on radio) (White et al., 1994). To avoid this, the word participation should therefore be strictly reserved only "for the joint efforts of people for achieving a common, important objective previously defined by them" (White et al., 1994:46), calling for their participation even at the planning stages of development (White et al., 1994).

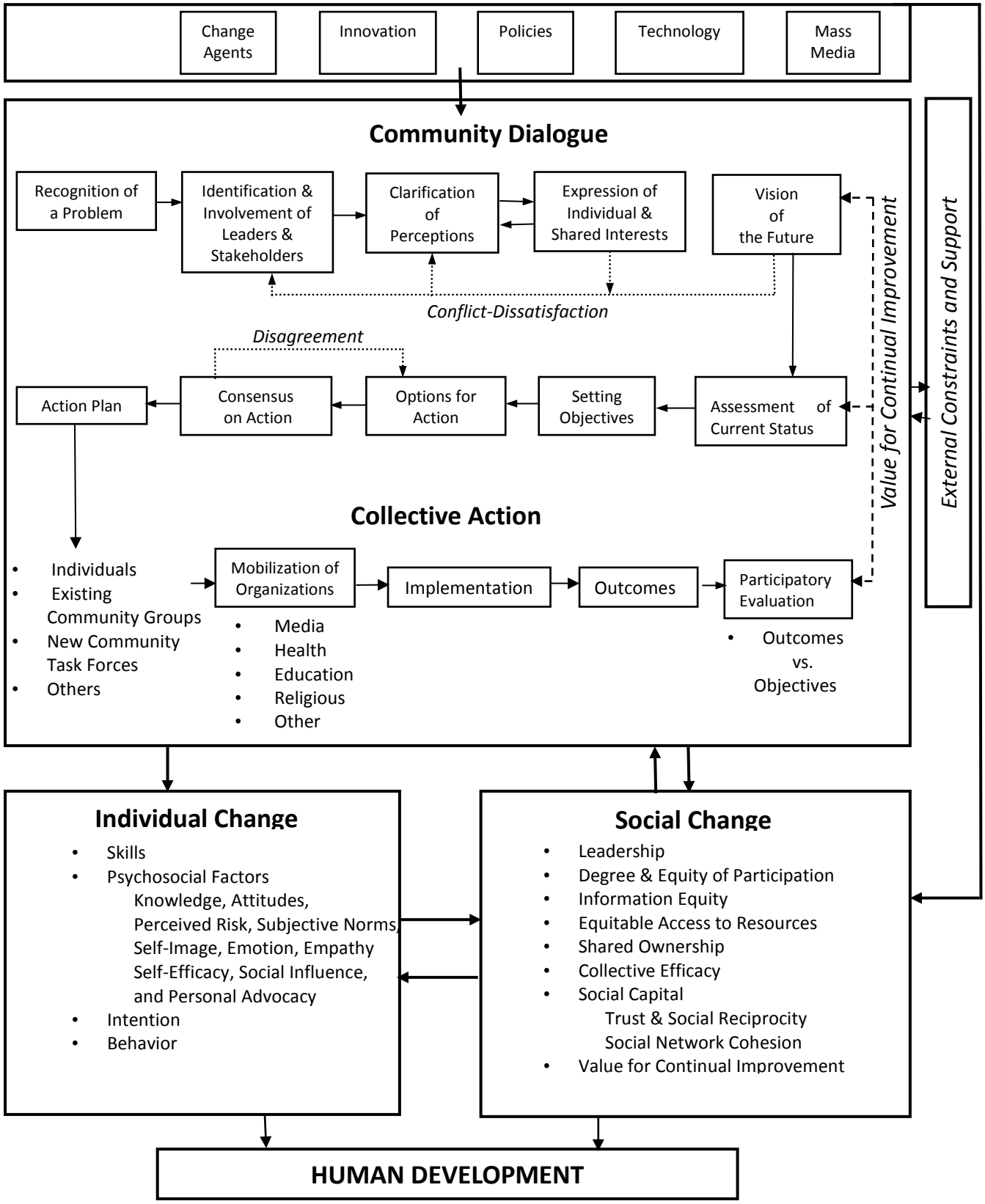
A fourth distortion within the participatory development discourse is the very notion of a 'group of people' also referred to as a community. In an effort to achieve inclusive participatory development, communities are often viewed as a single uniformed entity expected to work as a collective disregarding the fact that communities are in fact the opposite of this. A community consists of individuals or groups who have their own

concerns, visions, interests and personal attributes. Communities can therefore be characterised by disagreements, strain and lack of equality (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009). Although "[c]ommunity participation is a social process whereby specific groups with shared needs living in a defined geographic area actively pursue identification of their needs, take decisions and establish mechanisms to meet their needs" (Rifkin et al., 1988:933), the notion of community needs to be approached with great caution. This distinction becomes very important to avoid making decisions under the guise of the word community or group when they in fact only reflecting the opinions of a particular group or individuals within a community (Bessette, 2004).

Communication For Participatory Development Model: An illustration of the chosen approach

Despite efforts to change communication models from undertaking a linear approach (Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Berlo, 1960) or even a top-down, persuasive approach (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971) in the 1990s some of these approaches still persisted especially in the health sector (Piotrow et al., 1997). This therefore called for a new model of development communication, a model that embodied the ideals of participatory development (i.e., self-reliance, equal participation and dialogue) discussed in this chapter. The initial model that was conceptualised in response to this demand was called the Communication for Social Change model (CFSC). This model was established by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1999 defining it as, "a process of public and private dialogue through which people define who they are, what they want and how they can get it" (Gray-Felder & Deane, 1999:15). However, in 2009 Lawrence Kincaid and Maria Elena Figueroa developed an updated version of the CFSC model, which they renamed the integrated Communication for Participatory Development model (CFPD) shown in Figure 3.2 below (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Figure 3: 2: CFPD Model



Source: Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009

Although very similar the main difference between these two models is that while the first focused on 'social change' as the end result, the latter focused on 'human development' as the end result of participatory development (Kincaid, 2010). Therefore, placing greater emphasis on development as a gateway to achieving an increased quality of life in terms of having access to basics such as: water, sanitation, employment, health and freedom of choice (Sen, 1998). Human development can thus be described as a process where economic advancement is only part of enriching human life. Hence here, improving the quality of human life becomes the key goal (Sen, 1998). Whereas the CFSC model was largely about community dynamics, as well as the social dynamics involved in the quest for social change, this new version of the model is largely focused on the process towards change. Though still very similar to the old, this new model focused on illuminating not just the relationship between the structural components involved in the development process but how these structural facets facilitate this process. The CFPD model is therefore, a very descriptive model, and in this way can be used to describe how a development initiative took place from the beginning to the end (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

By allowing one to practically navigate through each step of a developmental process describing how each one took place, the model provides insight into how and why each of these steps was executed or not executed. In this way the CFPD model is an 'explanatory model' as it can be used to explain why an intervention was or was not successful. By highlighting the positives and negatives, as well as their impact on the overall developmental process, the CFPD model allows one to gain an insight into the different ways in which the process can be improved. The model is thus a 'prescriptive model' as it can be used to propose solutions (Kincaid, 2010; Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). This model is beneficial to both practitioners and scholars. It helps scholars in the conceptualisation and implementation of effective development interventions, as well as assist scholars to carry out logical, theory based research on those intervention. Furthermore, the authors of this model also encourage scholars to apply the model when conducting research on community development programmes to test its applicability (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). This study therefore also serves this purpose as it explores the F4L programme using the CFPD model as a guide.

During a study conducted in Decatur, in the United States the CFSC model was used in the assessment of health-related perceptions among a group of individuals. Although the model

was successfully applied, the study found that the model failed to offer a comprehensive account of how community dialogue was obtained (Reardon, 2003). In another study conducted by Moodley (2007) assessing whether the HIV and AIDS campaign known as the Abstain, Be faithful and Condomise (ABC) prevention campaign was effective amongst students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa, a different result was obtained. Through the use of the CFSC model, this study was for instance able to assess or explore how these students utilised some of the steps involved in the process towards achieving dialogue, such as the identification of all the key role players and the clarification of how each of these role players perceive the problem (Moodley, 2007).

In fact, the study revealed the importance of clarifying perceptions during the process of dialogue. For example, "[w]hile 59% of students who were part of the survey found the ABC message effective, this was not the case with respondents in the focus group" (Moodley, 2007:112). This was largely due to the fact that unlike those who participated in the survey, students who took part in the focus groups were able to express their opinions and share their concerns about the ABC messages through dialogue. By doing so, these students were given an opportunity to not only voice, but also clarify how they perceived this strategy (Moodley, 2007:112).

Similarly, in another study conducted by Sibisi (2010), the recent version of the model, namely the CFPD model, was used to evaluate the effectiveness of a body mapping intervention administered at a school based in Durban, South Africa to a group of learners between the ages of 13 to 14 years with the aim of helping them to overcome conflict. Through the use of the CFPD model, Sibisi (2010) discovered that activity-based programmes do indeed help the participants develop interpersonal skills, as well as intrapersonal skills. Furthermore, by following the various steps illustrated in the CFPD model such as, identifying a catalyst, identifying stakeholders and leaders and initiating dialogue, this study was able to evaluate how the intervention was implemented, as well as how it unfolded. For instance, guided by the model the researcher was able to establish that although the body mapping intervention was administered to a group of learners, the actual programme and need for the programme was identified and initiated by a member of the organisation that administered the intervention. Contrary to the definition of development as "a widely participatory process of social change in a society" (Rogers & Shukla, n.d.:1), the

study revealed that the learners, who were the beneficiaries of the development intervention, were inadvertedly denied the opportunity to prescribe their own solutions to their own problems (Sibisi, 2010). Based on the idea that dialogue and participation amongst all the stakeholders involved in the project are critical throughout the process of development and thus reflected in the CFPD model (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009), the model allowed the researcher to examine and explore these specific elements sequentially during the research study. This allowed the researcher to not only gain valuable insight into the developmental process administered, but to also prescribe solutions to the administrators on how to make future projects better based on this insight (Sibisi, 2010).

Although the CFPD model is informed by other theories, such as the Conflict Management Theory (Yankelovich, 1999) and the Convergence Theory (Kincaid, 1988), which largely accounts for dialogue and its management, it is largely guided by the Participatory Communication approach as proposed by Paulo Freire. The model is thus founded on the idea that development needs to be participatory in nature, therefore putting people first. It focuses on the local communitie's achievement of human development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Based on the definition of human development already established above, the CFPD model thus sees capacitating local communities to not only have access to basic services, but also freely be able to make decisions that improve their quality of life beyond economic means as the end result (Sen, 1998). Key to the model becomes the contextualisation of the developmental approach according to the needs of each targeted local community. Local communities are therefore encouraged to determine their own developmental goals, but funding for these projects is often from external agents, who being the funders often seek to impose their own development agendas necessitating for their role to be that of facilitators and catalysts, taking away from the local communities the power to set their own agenda. Instilling a sense of ownership, dialogue and social change are all necessary ingredients in ensuring a local communities sense of self-reliance. However, the achievement of this self-reliance through dialogical, localised means does not rule out the possibility of conflict amongst those involved as they try to pursue a common goal (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

According to Bates (2000) conflict, usually in the form of disagreements, is an inevitable part of development, as development calls for the reallocation of power and materials challenging the status quo. Nonetheless, participatory development often fails to acknowledge the role

that conflict can play during development, calling for a model that not only recognises this problem, but one that also proposes solutions on how to handle this conflict. In order for local communities to be able to adequately determine their own developmental objectives, they should have access to local forms of media such as cell phones, community radio and posters, so that they can be able to generate their own content and not depend on outside sources for the production of content (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Another gap identified in participatory development communication is that there is a need to incorporate the kind of self-evaluation that not only facilitates the development process, but also encourages and leads the local community to take action collectively. Based on a review of literature on this approach (i.e. Díaz & Bordenave, 1976; Nair & White, 1993; Servaes, Jacobson, & White, 1996; Rice & Atkin, 2001), it was also discovered that there is no model that accommodates the demand for development at both community and individual levels. It was these gaps and inconsistencies within participatory development communication that led to the development of the CFPD model. The model therefore seeks to fill these gaps based on the premise on a form of participatory development that puts people first, and thereby focuses on ensuring dialogue, the resolution and management of conflict or any other issues that obstruct progress and forging common understanding (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Communication for participatory development can be described as, "a planned activity, using local media and dialogue among various stakeholders about a common problem or shared goal to develop and implement activities that contribute to its solution or accomplishment" (Bessette, 2004:6). The CFPD model therefore proposes that participatory development should start with dialogue amongst the community members involved. This dialogue should then progress to collective action leading the community to the attainment of human development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). What then does dialogue in the quest for collective action entail?

Dialogue in the quest for collective action

Rooted in the Convergence Theory, one of the theories that actually contributes towards the philosophy behind the CFPD model, dialogue can be described as, "a conversation between two or more people in which participants seek to clarify what each one thinks and believes" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009:1313). Although there is always the assumption that dialogue is

always converged, meaning that cooperation and mutual understanding are always present, these elements are not always present resulting in a diverged type of dialogue (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). This is why dialogue can also be described as, "a fluctuating, unpredictable, multivocal process in which uncertainty infuses encounters between people and what they mean and become" (Anderson et al., 2004:16). This unpredictable nature of dialogue which sparks new and unexpected issues is described as 'emergent dialogue' (Hammond et al., 2003).

The Convergence Theory is based on the idea that if people are involved in a process or flow of exchanging knowledge, they move towards one another and over time reach a greater state of sameness. Hence it purports that during dialogue most people or groups eventually converge, tied by some form of commonalities that exist between them. This is sometimes known as 'local cultures.' However, this arrival at a common state is never just given or simple as many unexpected factors can disrupt the smooth flow of information between those engaged in dialogue (Kincaid, 1988). For instance, this smooth flow of communication becomes disrupted when someone or both parties stop listening or enforce their views on others or leave the group where the dialogue is taking place. The pace at which the convergence is taking place can in this way become decreased or reversed, resulting in divergence where differences become illuminated, sparking conflict (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

When a person leaves a group during the process of dialogue, more unification is created amongst those who remain in the group (Kincaid, 2004). This process of convergence is encouraged by "the tendency of social norms to influence behaviour within relatively bounded, local subgroups of a social system rather than in the system as a whole" (Kincaid, 2004:38). Although the formulation of different sub-groups within a community creates converged subgroups, broader social convergence within the broader community is not achieved as the broader community becomes segregated as a result of the subgroups formed. The creation of these different sub-groups therefore reduces a community's ability to resolve its challenges through collective action. If the lack of unity is extreme then it can either result in a sub-group being forced to continue on its own without the rest of the community members, or cause any form of action to come to a complete stop due to a lack of collective collaboration (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

To resolve or decrease the presence of divergence as a result of differing views or beliefs, even more dialogue needs to take place until a certain level of mutual agreement is reached so that common problems can be resolved collectively. This process thus calls for the presence of tolerance, respect and listening skills from the community members as they negotiate their difference in search of a common view. Hence, dialogue for collective action can only take place when community members learn to listen to each other effectively, respect each other's view points and learn to come to an agreement. It is here that the presence of leaders chosen within the community becomes critical as the task of facilitating these negotiations becomes their responsibility (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Furthermore, as community members negotiate their differences through this dialogical approach of finding solutions they are also permitted to develop firmer bonds with one another (Hammond et al., 2003).

Whilst there is sometimes the assumption that community dialogue occurs spontaneously during development, the CFPD model is able to pinpoint the exact cause of this dialogue. In other words, the CFPD model is able to expose that thing that causes a community to engage in discussions about a particular issue. This dialogical process is not always smooth, resulting in conflict due to difference in opinions, non-acceptance or complete oblivion amongst community members concerning the identified problem. According to the CFPD model, the identification of the catalyst is usually followed by a series of steps which take place (sometimes at the same time) within the community dialogue and collective action phases (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

During a development project community dialogue means community members should be given a platform where they are able to express themselves freely. It is only when each members views are aired or expressed that a common understanding can be reached amongst participants. It is also only through this process that a common plan of action clearly stating how the community proposes to achieve the desired outcomes is obtained (Bessette, 2004). Therefore it is through dialogue that social or individual change within a community are achieved. Whilst individual change sees individuals forming emotional connections with the developmental process, on a broader scale, social change sees community members develop a sense of ownership over it. Social change can thus lead community members to acquire communal efficacy and to the discovery of new leaders within the community. There are ten steps outlined in the CFPD model that take place during community dialogue leading to

collective action, a five step process, these will be discussed and explored in greater detail in the findings chapter of this study to illustrate exactly how this model proposes that participatory communication be ideally implemented in relation to the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre (Kincaid & Figueroa 2009).

CFPD: Identifying the gaps

As a recently integrated model, the CFPD model presents many gaps and unanswered questions. Although many of its components have been tested across various scenarios, it is only now that the entire model is being applied and tested, necessitating further evaluation. It is important to firstly determine the relevance, relationship and effects of social outcomes, and to specify which ones are the most beneficial to the CFPD model. To gain a full understanding of the level of participation that takes place, it is important for researchers to observe how and to what level the community interacts with each other and with their leaders within the CFPD process. Further research is required to explain the kind of relationship that exists between these two changes. There is also a need to test the proposed explanation that these two types of changes together lead to a kind of development that one can sustain. Intense research is also required to ascertain how the steps in the model take place, and how these are related to the overall outcome. Here, future research should aim to discover whether any of the steps can be skipped and what the consequences of this are, as well as to what degree each step should be implemented for effective results (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Although the CFPD model accounts for conflict and how it is managed, many questions still remain: for example, how conflict is managed in different cultural, social and economic settings? How does its management affect the future of the CFPD model? It is also not clear at this point how effective sustainable development is in the absence of the external change agents. Research is needed to determine the equilibrium required in this relationship for development to be sustainable. Another split in views that exists concerns the use of community action projects and mediated communication in the form of television and radio. These two approaches are usually seen as exclusive and separate whereas they can be merged. For example, community members can hold discussions about their community projects on radio and television, initiating dialogue in their own communities and educating other audiences about their project (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter is divided into two parts, discussing a theory and an approach fundamental to this study. The first part of this chapter explores the Social Cognitive Theory, a theory founded on the idea that behaviour change takes place through observing modelled behaviour (Bandura, 1989). This theory will thus be used to investigate if and how the F4L proposed process of role modelling takes place between the F4L Wellness Coach and the participants (offenders), and whether any behaviour change amongst the offenders is achieved as a result. The second part of this chapter discusses Paulo Freire's Participatory Communication approach, which bears great relevance for this particular study as a strategy founded on the principles of empowering the marginalised, a process which must not only be a collaborative effort amongst those involved, but also dialogical in order for true emancipation to be obtained (Freire, 1971). This approach will therefore primarily be used to address the main research question of exploring dialogue and collective action in the F4L intervention under investigation. Emanating from the proposed Participatory Communication approach, and in fact posited as an ideal expression of how this approach should be practiced is Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) CFPD model, which is used as a guide during the process of exploring dialogue and collective action in an intervention. The CFPD model provides a clear step by step outline of how each of these two elements should ideally be carried out in the quest for human development, and therefore allows a very structured and clear form of investigation of the process dialogue and collective action.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Emanating from the Participatory Communication approach discussed in the previous chapter, this study aims to use the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model as a framework upon which the elements of dialogue for collective action in a social change intervention that was organised by Footballers 4 Life (F4L) at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, Johannesburg will be investigated. The intervention, which focused on coaching a group of offenders on how to become responsible and productive members of their communities through teaching them about how to practice safe sex, gender-based violence, HIV and AIDS, financial, as well as stress management amongst other things was administered to a group of 40 male offenders between the ages of 23 to 55 years by two F4L facilitators. Guided by the CFPD model this study seeks to determine how the intervention was initiated, identify who the various stakeholders were, how these stakeholders worked together, as well as how the overall intervention programme was facilitated. This study seeks to investigate whether dialogue in pursuit of collective action was present in this intervention, and if so, how this was negotiated and implemented. With these objectives in mind, it was crucial for the researcher (Wandile Sibisi) to be present during the administration of this intervention to collect the required data. This chapter therefore not only discusses how data was collected, and why specific methods for data collection were chosen, but it begins with a discussion of the chosen qualitative approach, moving on to a discussion on the overarching research employed for this study. It also aims to discuss how the data was collected, how this data were analysed, as well as highlight some of the limitations identified during the research process.

Exploring the research process and its methods

Introducing qualitative research

Bearing in mind that the primary objective of this study is to explore the elements of dialogue for collective action in the F4L intervention, this study hopes to determine the following: How was the intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre initiated? Who was

involved? What were the roles of each of the participants and how were these roles negotiated to ensure the envisaged outcomes were met? What were the outcomes of the programme? What impact did role-modelling have on these outcomes? Following a case study research design approach which is qualitative in nature, this study used methods such as participant observation, individual interviews and focus groups to explore the objectives of this study. These are qualitative research methods, meaning that quantitative research methods were not used during this study (Mack et al., 2005). Described as "systematic and objective in its ways of using numerical data from only a selected subgroup of a universe (or population) to generalise the findings to the universe that is being studied," (Maree et al., 2007:145), quantitative research methods proved to be unsuitable for this study making qualitative research more appropriate.

Qualitative research can be described as a type of research that systematically uses a predetermined set of methods to answer questions and involves collecting information, and producing findings that are not predetermined and are applicable beyond the boundaries of the study. Qualitative research helps to elicit information about the human side of a research issue. These include aspects, such as behaviours, opinions, beliefs and relationships between people. They are also useful in identifying factors that are not tangible, such as ethnicity, religion, socio-economic positions and gender functions (Mack et al., 2005). Seeing that this study also investigated an intervention that hoped to initiate changes in behaviour and attitude amongst a group of offenders participating in the programme, the qualitative research approach seemed more suitable as it helped determine for instance, how the (offenders) perceived what they were taught during the programme, their opinions and beliefs. Hence, one can say that the research objectives of this study actually dictated that a qualitative research approach be taken, as opposed to a quantitative one. After all, whilst quantitative research is more focused on testing phenomena, qualitative research is a process of exploration and discovery, permitting the researcher to determine for example, how research participants make meaning of the developmental project they are participating in. Qualitative research thus presents an opportunity for researchers who enjoy working with people to engage with their research participants on a human level, a trait shared by most researchers who opt for this type of research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Whilst quantitative research methods are fixed and inflexible, and therefore inappropriate for this study, qualitative research techniques are the most suitable for this study as they allow for flexibility, permitting the researcher to adapt to unprecedented events during the research process (Bernard, 1995). This was a very critical aspect for this particular study for various reasons. For instance, during the focus group discussions with the offenders I had initially prepared the same set of questions for each group. However, due to the fact that the wardens' process of collecting all the participants from their respective sections took a little longer than usual, it reduced the amount of time that was allocated for the focus group discussions. This meant that I had to then divide the long list of questions in the schedule into three sets, each group tackling a different set of questions. This way I was able to elicit all the data I needed that day in time.

Unlike quantitative research methods, qualitative research methods focus on an interpretation of data collected instead of focusing on the measurement of data collected. In order to make any interpretations this meant that the interviews conducted had to be in-depth through asking open ended-questions, which allowed participants to respond as freely as possible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). An in-depth interview can be described as "face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and an informant, and which seek(s) to build the kind of intimacy that is common for mutual self-disclosure" (Johnson, 2002:103). Here, the researcher seeks to gain the same kind of understanding as the participants, calling for the researcher to become the student, whilst the participant becomes the teacher. This type of interview calls for the establishment of trust between the two parties involved, an element that is not easy to achieve, often taking time to obtain (Johnson, 2002).

Based in a correctional centre in Johannesburg, a different city from my own, this study dictated that I could not be present for the entire duration of the intervention, but had to visit the intervention a few times in order to gather data, permitting for some degree of trust (however minimal) to be obtained between me and the research participants. In-depth interviews were thus suitable for the study because though long, they could be conducted over a number of different occasions allowing for the gathering of as much information as possible as participants were encouraged to provide descriptive answers in relation to the topic (Johnson, 2002).

Unlike quantitative research that produces 'thin descriptions', which "...simply reports facts, independent of intentions or circumstances" (Holliday 2001: 79) qualitative research produces 'thick descriptions' of data. A 'thick description' refers to an account of the topic under study, "(a) that is coherent and that (b) gives more than facts and empirical content, but that also (c) interprets the information in the light of other empirical information in the same study, as well as from the basis of a theoretical framework that locates the study" (Henning et al., 2004:6). To capture these thick descriptions, all interviews and focus group discussions were recorded using note-taking and a voice recorder (Gunter, 2000).

Choosing a research design: The Case Study

Based in Johannesburg the intervention under study meant that I could not be present at the research site as frequently as I wanted due to the fact that I was based in Durban. This therefore eliminated the possibility of this research taking on an ethnographic research design as this type of research not only stems from anthropology (Creswell, 1994), but is usually conducted "to obtain a holistic picture of the subject of study with emphasis on portraying the everyday experiences of individuals by observing and interviewing them" (Creswell, 2007: 195). Similar to the objectives of this study an ethnographic approach places great emphasis on the need to reveal any changes in the behaviour of the participants in relation to the topic at hand, as well as to establish how the participants make sense of the world. However, despite this, this particular research design proved impossible as it required that I live with the research participants for a substantial amount of time (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1983).

It was not only impossible for me to live in Johannesburg for the five month period in which the intervention was administered, but it was also impossible for me to live with the research participants as they were imprisoned. Considering the distance and projected travelling costs required for this type of research I therefore decided that the best option would be to visit the research site over three regular intervals. This I believed would allow me enough time to collect enough data to help reveal patterns of change over a period of time amongst the offenders (Kumar, 2005), providing a 'motion picture' rather than a 'snapshot' of the [intended] process of 'social change' (Berthoud & Gershuny, 2000). Research involving the visitation of the research participants at regular intervals over a substantial time frame to gather the necessary data is usually called longitudinal research (Kumar, 2005).

Whilst this particular research design seemed like the natural choice, it was unsuitable for this particular study as longitudinal studies arguably refer to those studies that are conducted over a long period of time. Much debate exists concerning how long a study has to be in order to qualify as a longitudinal study. For instance, while Saldańa (2003) believes that whilst this is completely contextual, the minimum period would have to be nine months, *The Inventory of Longitudinal Studies in the Social Sciences* maintains that the minimum period required for a study to qualify as a longitudinal study is a year (Young et al., 1991).

Based on these arguments, the fact that the F4L intervention was set to take place over a period of five months, thus discounted the longitudinal research design as the suitable research design for this study. It therefore became very clear that this study needed to employ an alternative research design that would not only allow for the collection of relevant data, but one that would also allow the collection of this data within the specified time period of the intervention, whilst accommodating the problematic issue of distance. The case study research design thus became the most appropriate choice. This was due to the fact that as, "…a holistic inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its natural setting" (Harling, n.d.), a case study is usually conducted within a designated time period, and makes use of relevant research tools to collect data (Creswell, 1994).

The word phenomenon not only refers to a certain problem, but it can also be used to refer to an 'event,' 'programme,' a certain occurrence or even people. The word natural setting refers to the conditions or environment where the phenomenon under study exists (Harling, n.d.). Although some researchers choose to view a case study as a methodology or strategy of inquiring about a certain phenomenon (Merriam, 1998), others disagree with this conception, seeing it only as a selection of what is going to be studied (Stake, 2005). In support of the former researchers' understanding of a case study as a methodology, Creswell et al. (2007) sees a case study as a research design located within qualitative research, an approach that undertaken by this research.

Despite the fact that many researchers tend to generally refer to a study researching a small sample as a case study, there are other clearer distinctions that call for a study to take on a case study research design. For instance, a case study must have parameters that are easy to identify, hence any data that is irrelevant to the case study is usually not used unless that data has some indirect impact on the case study (Henning et al., 2004). Sharan Merriam (1998)

thus says that case studies are different from other forms of study in that they are "intensive descriptions and analyses of a single unit or bounded system such as an individual, event, group, intervention, or community" (1998:19). Furthermore, unlike narrative research designs which focus on the exploration of an individual, event or group, case studies focus on the issue concerning the chosen individual, event or group in order to provide a deeper meaning about the issue. Hence this case study research is not about the stories and the lives of the offenders, but is rather about examining how the intervention (the case), that the offenders are involved in is implemented, taking into consideration the context under which the intervention is carried out, and how this then affects their individual attitudes and behaviours (Creswell et al., 2007). In fact, "[y]ou would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions—believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study" (Yin 2003:13). This study therefore uses a single type of case study known as an intrinsic case study design (Creswell et al., 2007).

Similar to the narrative research design, the intrinsic case study design is a type of case study that focuses on the actual case due to its uniqueness, but unlike the narrative design, the intrinsic research design tends to take on a descriptive and analytical approach that encompasses the context of the case (Creswell et al., 2007). There are three different types of case studies, namely, the intrinsic and instrumental case studies, these are two different types of single case studies, and the third type of case study is known as the multiple case studies (Harling, n.d.). An instrumental case study on the other hand usually begins with a researcher deciding to focus on a particular issue and then selecting a case that allows him/her to provide insight about that issue (Stake, 1995). Here, the cases chosen can either be unique, to illuminate inconsistencies or they can be typical, illuminating consistencies. Similarly, the multiple case study is when the researcher chooses to research on a certain issue, but then selects a number of case studies to create a deeper understanding about the issue, highlighting different views that exist about that issue (Creswell et al, 2007).

Seeing that this study aims to use Participatory Communication as exemplified through the CFPD model to explore primarily how the F4L intervention was administered, and the impact this has on the outcomes of the intervention, undertaking a case study research design also becomes most suitable in this regard as it also focuses on providing a "description of how, where, when and why things happen in the case" (Henning et al., 2004:41), making the

process of the intervention an important part of the end results. Furthermore, in order to obtain a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon, a case study dictates the employment of a number of different methods to collect data, which also helps in making the study more valid (Henning et al., 2004).

This is achieved through the use of in-depth questions during data collection (Creswell et al., 2007). A case study can thus be described more precisely as, "a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audio-visual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes" (Creswell et al., 2007:245). The question of which type of case study to use (single or multiple) is dependent on the type of case that best supports the purpose of the researcher's study (Harling, n.d.). The intrinsic case study was thus chosen for this research mainly because the F4L intervention in particular presented an opportunity for me to conduct research on a unique approach of using footballers and football to promote social change within a prison environment. This unique case was also chosen because it fell within a time frame that was suitable enough for me to complete my thesis in time. The next section will focus on sampling and how the research participants were selected.

Choosing participants: Purposive Sampling

Sampling usually refers to the procedure that is used to select a specific population for the purpose of a study. There are three sampling methods that are often used by most researchers, these are: snowball, criterion and purposive sampling. Snowballing is often used as a means of gaining access to populations that are hard to reach. Here the researcher normally uses certain participants they already have existing contact with to connect them to other participants who could become a part of the study. Criterion sampling on the other hand is when the researcher who determines the kind of participants according to certain criteria (i.e., race, height, religion, and so forth). He/she then goes out into research area to find people who meet this criterion until he/she has obtained enough participants or data. The kind of criterion that is used often guides the researcher to select participants who will have an understanding of the study being conducted. Similarly to criterion sampling, purposive sampling also involves the process of choosing participants based on a number of

predetermined criterion related to the research topic. However, here sampling is not only restricted to choosing participants, but also includes selecting locations, occurrences and events. The size of the sample is often dependent on the amount of time and materials that are available to the researcher, and can thus be fixed prior to collecting their data, or be changed accordingly (Maree et al., 2007).

Purposive sampling was therefore the most suitable and the chosen sampling method for this research study. This study seeks to explore an intervention that was being facilitated by a particular organisation, F4L in a specific area, which in this case was Heidelberg Correctional Centre. The timeframe within which this intervention would take place also had to fit within the eighteen month period I envisaged to complete my thesis. Hence, the chosen intervention at Heidelberg Correctional Centre was selected because it fell within a timeframe that would allow me to complete my thesis in time. Secondly, the participants who included the F4L Coordinators and Director, the Donor Representative, the prison Wardens, the Social Worker and the offenders, were all directly or indirectly involved in the project, and they together with the venue or setting were all chosen based on their relevance to the topic.

Purposive sampling is sometimes criticised for its inability to exhaust data, meaning that sometimes the chosen sample size often limits the amount of data collected, limiting the amount of insight possible in relation the topic. To prevent this from happening, one should not limit or fix their sample size, instead the sample size should rather be in such a way that it allows for as much data to be collected reaching a point where new data can no longer provide new insight into the topic. This method is thus most successful when the process of going over your data, analysis, and collection of data are done simultaneously (Maree et al., 2007).

This process has also been applied during this study, and through it I have been able to identify areas where I still needed to collect more data. For instance, during the process of data collection I realised that it was very difficult to obtain information about whether or not the skills (if any), that were acquired from the F4L programme could be applied by the offenders outside of prison as all the targeted sample of offenders were, at the beginning of this research, imprisoned. However, during the course of this research I learnt that two of these offenders had since been released, providing me with an opportunity to not only determine whether these offenders gained any skills or behaviour change as a result of the

programme, but also to determine the role of the programme on the lives of the offenders post-release. After all the main objective of the programme is to not only rehabilitate the prisoners through the impartation of valuable skills, but in line with the goals of the Department of Correctional Services, the programme also hopes that through rehabilitation, the offenders will be empowered with skills that would allow them to successfully reintegrate back into their communities post-release. The flexibility afforded me by purposive sampling thus allows me to enter into new research settings to obtain the necessary data without a problem (Maree et al., 2007).

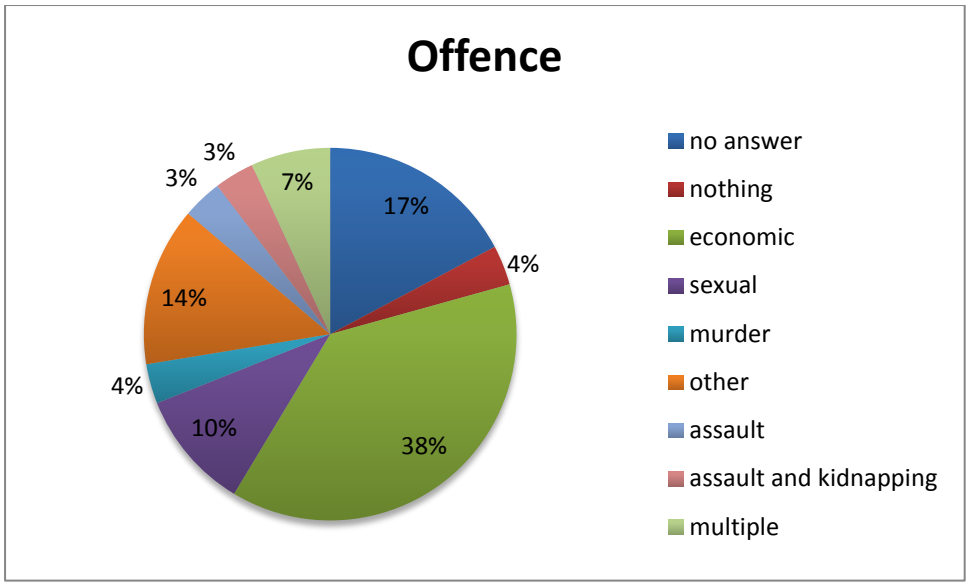
Unveiling the Research Participants:

The offenders: The main participants

The main participants of this study were a group of 40 male offenders, detained at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre in Johannesburg between the ages of 23 to 55 years. Whilst most of the offenders were black, there were a few white offenders. Although they were detained in Johannesburg, some came from foreign countries (i.e., Nigeria, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) and others from other provinces like KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. During the time of this study most of these offenders had already been imprisoned for an estimated period of about three to six years. For the purposes of this study all the offenders who took part in the focus groups and interviews were given pseudonyms to protect their identity. Zulu names were given to South African offenders, English names were given to white offenders and double barrelled names were given to foreign nationals (i.e., Nigerians, Zimbabweans and Mozambican).

38% of the offenders participating in the F4L programme had committed economic criminal activities, such as house breaking, theft and armed robberies. 10% of the offenders were detained for having committed sexual crimes (i.e., rape). Other offences include murder (4%) and assault (3%) (Khoza, 2011) (see Figure 4.1 below). In an effort to protect the identities of the offenders, pseudonyms were used during this study.

Figure 4: 1: Graph showing the variety of crimes committed by the offenders participating in the F4L programme



Source: Image extracted from Khoza, 2011.

Whilst all 40 offenders participated in the focus groups, five offenders from this same group were later randomly selected by one of the wardens and interviewed individually to provide more insight into the impact of the F4L programme on the offenders. These five offenders were: Jabulani, Mlungisi, Mr Majozi, Scelo and Vukile. During the time of this study one of the offenders (Joe-Joe) who had participated in the F4L programme was released from the Heidelberg Correctional Centre presenting an opportunity for me to explore the impact and effects of the F4L programme for an offender outside of prison. Hence in addition to the five randomly selected offenders, Joe-Joe was also interviewed even though he was no longer imprisoned at this stage.

Joe-Joe

Joe-Joe was a Nigerian national who had been imprisoned at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. It is important to highlight that Joe-Joe was an offender and participant at the time of the focus groups held at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, but he was also released during the time of the study and was thus further interviewed in his capacity as a former offender.

Silver Shabalala: Head Coach/ Facilitator

Born and bred in Johannesburg, 41 year old Silver Lee Shabalala, a father, divorcee and one of the founding members of F4L, was the Head Wellness Coach/Facilitator of the Heidelberg

intervention. During his professional football career, Silver played for Jomo Cosmos, Dynamos, Black Leopards and Amazulu. Together with the other five wellness coaches, Silver was trained in life skills and wellness. These six wellness coaches, "use [their]...own life experiences (good and bad) to share with [targeted] communities and individuals some of the hard facts of living successfully'' (F4L, n.d.). Although these coaches do not suggest that they have all the answers, they believe that by sharing with other men and young boys about issues that they are also dealing with such as how to live free from HIV, parenting, finance and relationships they too can make a meaningful contribution towards the development of this country (F4L, n.d.).

Assistant Facilitator

In an effort to protect the identity of this participant they will be referenced as Assistant Facilitator based on their role during the F4L intervention. During the period of this study the Assistant Facilitator was living with his family in Vosloorus, Johannesburg, an area he pointed out to have a lot of violence. Out on parole since June 2011, the Assistant Facilitator had been detained at the Boksburg Correctional Centre for a period of about eighteen months on charges of malicious damage to property. It was here that he attended the Assistant Coaching Programme offered by F4L. Having completed the F4L programme offered at the prison, he graduated and qualified as a F4L Assistant Coach.

Social Worker

The Social Worker is a 41 year old married woman who lives in Nigel, which is located in the East Rand, Johannesburg. She has a Social Science degree, obtained at the University of Fort Hare. She has worked at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre for 12 years. Her job entails counselling, rehabilitation and reintegration of the offenders. For the purposes of this study she will be referred to as the Social Worker.

Wardens 1 and 2

These are the wardens in charge of the sections or units of the offenders who participated in the F4L programme. Warden 1 is a 39 year old male, who is married with two children and lives in Ratanda located within Heidelberg, Johannesburg. He has a BA degree with majors in English and Psychology, as well as a Diploma in Higher Education. Due to his current job description as a student Social Worker at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre (under the supervision of a Senior Social Worker), he is also currently pursuing qualifications in Social

Work. His job description entails: offering correctional programmes to the offenders and counselling of the offenders. Although he never thought that he would work for the DCS and only started working for the department because he needed a job, Warden 1 has now been working for the Heidelberg Correctional Centre for a period of five years.

Warden 2 is a female warden. She is also married and has two children. Like Warden 1, Warden 2 resides in Ratanda, Johannesburg. Employed as a Human Resource (HR) Clerk, Warden 2 is currently pursuing a diploma in HR. She started working at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre in 2007 where she was initially employed as the Case Officer. In addition to handling staff related or HR matters Warden 2's job description also entails working in the sections where the offenders are located, looking after their well-being. Here some of her duties include dishing up food for the offenders and taking those who are sick to the hospital.

To protect the identity of the two Wardens who participated in the study they will only be referred to as Warden 1 and Warden 2. Their real names will not be utilised.

Gloria: F4L Monitoring and Evaluation Coordinator

Gloria Khoza is a single 26 year old woman who lives in Honeydew, Johannesburg. She was the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer for F4L. Hence her duties included monitoring and evaluation, as well as research concerning all F4L programmes including the Assistant Coaching Programme administered at all the relevant correctional centres. She had worked for F4L for a period of eighteen months.

Claire: F4L Director/Project Manager

Claire Rademeyer is a single 33 year old woman who lives in Melville, Johannesburg. Initially employed as the Project Manager, during the time of this study Claire was the Director of the F4L organisation. Her role involved amongst other things ensuring that the organisation not only had funding to implement their programmes, but to also ensure that the programmes were implemented successfully. She had worked for F4L for a period of three years.

JHHESA Representative

Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa (JHHESA) is non-profit organisation whose goal is to contribute towards healthier South Africa, especially in the areas of HIV and

AIDS. Funded through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United States President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief (PEPFAR), JHHESA acts not as a partner of Footballers for Life (F4L), providing technical assistance to F4L. They also b play an oversight role, guiding the implementation of F4L programmes (JHHESA, 2012). The JHHESA representative interviewed during this study was Mandla Ndlovu, in his capacity as Project Manager of the F4L programmes.

Wandile Sibisi: The Researcher

My name is Wandile Sibisi, a 28-year old Zulu woman who grew up in one of the oldest townships in the country, Inanda, north of Durban. As with most townships in South Africa, here I would say I was exposed to a lot of poverty, and though there was crime in the form of occasional house break-ins or pick-pocketing, it wasn't as prominent as it is today. Today, the area is plagued with crime, which is perpetuated by growing numbers of young people who take drugs, the most popular (and most accessible in the area) being what is known as whoonga.[11] House break-ins, pick-pocketing and even murders as a result of these activities have become a norm. Although I grew up here, I spent a significant part of my life away from this environment, temporarily living in Port Shepstone, a relatively safe small town located in the south coast of KwaZulu-Natal, where I attended a multiracial boarding school. I later went on to further my studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, where I am currently a Masters student. My family and I have also since moved to the suburbs situated in the south of Durban, an area which is also increasingly becoming infested with similar criminal activities as those that are presently occurring in Inanda.

I am the eldest in my family, having only one brother and one sister. Although I was raised by my mother for most of my life, (as my father passed away when I was still quite young), I was exposed to a fairly middle-class upbringing. I was also raised in a Christian home, influencing my decision to later choose to become a Christian. It is from this that my love for working with people emanates. Hence, I have constantly been involved in community development projects where I have voluntarily worked with street children, school children from a very young age.

[1111] Whoonga is a toxic drug that is fast becoming very popular in South African townships. This drug is a mixture of antiretroviral drugs, washing detergent and rat poison (Fihlani, 2011).

I strongly believe that my genuine interest in helping people played a big role in assisting me to decide on embarking on this particular research topic. My goal was to research about a project that was not only meaningful in terms of effecting change in people's lives, but I also wanted my research to hopefully be able to contribute in some way towards making such a project (or even future projects of this nature) more meaningful, a hope that is also shared by some researchers (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Ethical considerations

Although the goal to conduct a study that would hopefully bring about positive change amongst its participants can be viewed as noble, conducting the study in an ethical manner remained critical, especially since ethical considerations must be made during all kinds of studies. Simply put, this means that researchers must always ensure that their research does not cause any form of harm to participants a task that can be achieved through the observation of certain principles (Orb et al., 2001). Hence in an effort to protect and prevent harm to participants, participants in this particular study were asked to fill in an informed consent form, indicating that they were not only agreeing to participate in the study but that they also understood what their role in the study was as well as what the study was all about.

Furthermore, in order to observe and respect the policies of the correctional centre where the study was conducted, permission to conduct the study was sought through F4L.

Data Collection

Having chosen to employ an intrinsic case study research design, the study dictated that I not only make use of qualitative methods to collect data, but that I also make use of more than one method of collecting data to gain as much knowledge and understanding about the phenomenon under study as possible (Creswell et al., 2007). Hence, three methods of data collection were utilised, these were; interviews, participant observation and focus groups, these were all used with the purpose of giving the data collected more depth and variety (Henning et al., 2004). These methods were also chosen on the basis of appropriateness and relevance. For example, the method of collecting archival documents as a form of gathering data would have been irrelevant for this study, as I wanted to investigate elements of dialogue and collective action within an intervention that was actively being implemented. This meant that I had to be present during the intervention in order to observe whether these elements

were present. The form of observation also had to be guided by the approach and model that underpin the study. Due to the fact that I lived in Durban while the research site and participants were located in Johannesburg it was not possible for me to be present during the administration of the intervention as frequently as I wanted. The data was thus collected in three different stages (see Figure 4.2 below). The word stage refers to the different intervals in which I collected data from the research participants in Johannesburg.

Figure 4: 2: Table showing stages/sequence of the research process

Sequence of Data Collection	Method	Participants
Stage 1 **(Conducted a few weeks after the F4L programme started)**	Participant Observation: Interviews:	Offenders Claire (F4L Director) Silver (F4L/Head Coach Facilitator) Gloria (F4L M&E Coordinator)
Stage 2 **(Conducted about a month after completion of programme)**	Interviews: Focus groups:	Warden 1 and Warden 2 (Heidelberg Correctional Centre) Social Worker (Heidelberg Correctional Centre) Mandla (JHHESA) Silver (F4L Head Coach/Facilitator) Assistant Facilitator Offenders
Stage 3 **(Conducted about four months after completion of programme)**	Interviews:	**Offenders:** Jabulani, Mlungisi, Mr Majozi, Scelo and Vukile Joe-Joe (former offender)

Stage 1:

Participant Observation

The first stage of data collection took place within a few weeks the F4L programme was implemented at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. During this first stage I used interviews where I interviewed Silver, Claire and Gloria as well as participant observation to collect the

data required. This first stage of data collection sought to allow me to gain a clearer picture of what the intervention entailed, who was involved, where and what the expectations were from all the stakeholders involved. However, I felt it inappropriate to simply walk into the intervention and start asking the offenders questions through interviews or even focus group discussions upon our very first meeting. I wasn't sure at this stage how the intervention was practically administered (i.e., the whole set up, what the offenders were like, the level of their involvement in the programme and how they responded to the programme). Seeing that the programme was facilitated in a male prison by male facilitators talking about sensitive male-related issues I was unsure about how the offenders would respond to my presence as a woman and a researcher. I therefore felt that I needed to use a data collection method that would not only be able to give me an understanding of how each of the sessions of the programme were administered, but one that would also allow me to gain insight into what the offenders generally thought of the programme at that stage and perhaps maybe even what their expectations were. I therefore needed a method that would provide all of this insight, whilst remaining non-invasive and respectful of the offenders and their space. This is why I decided to use participant observation to collect data amongst the offenders during this phase. Participant observation is a qualitative research method, its main objective is to help researchers learn the views of those being studied. Therefore, "observing and participating are integral to understanding the breadth and complexities of the human experience – an overarching research endeavour for any public health or development project" (Mack et al. 2005:14). Staying true to its qualitative nature, this method is not necessarily concerned with the size and measurement of a research phenomenon, but the understanding of its characteristics (Mack et al., 2005).

In fact, this method of inquiry calls for the researcher to participate "in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002:1-2). It is for this reason that participant observation usually takes place in communities or places that are related to the topic. Thus this method requires the researcher to be the one who goes into the participants' environment instead of requesting that the participants come into the researchers' environment. I was able to gain access into the Heidelberg Correctional Centre through the F4L organisation who had obtained permission to conduct their training at the centre. Although there wasn't much for me to do, in terms of participating I did introduce

myself to the rest of the participants, I also assisted the F4L Facilitator, Silver and the Assistant Facilitator, to distribute some learning material they were handing out to the rest of the group. The ability to enter into the research participant's natural environment allows the researcher to understand what life is like as an insider whilst remaining an outsider. During this time the researcher makes detailed field notes about everything that they encounter including informal conversations with the participants. I have done this using a participant observation research schedule, which served as a checklist that helped me to remember what I needed to observe (Mack et al., 2005).

This was done through participant observation using a research schedule, a guide that allowed the exploration of specific elements that are relevant to the study. The design of this schedule was guided by the CFPD model, and thus ensured that everything that I observed was relevant to the Participatory Communication approach, and to the overall study. Although field research usually requires observation and participation, the method of participant observation also involves the use of the information obtained from it, which is clearly recorded and then analysed (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002).

Interviews

Unlike participant observation where data is collected through observation, an interview is a qualitative research method that seeks to enquire about the research topic through verbal engagement with participants (Bailey, 2007). Interviews thus often seek to enquire about those aspects of behaviour that cannot simply be understood through observation (Myers & Shaw, 2004). There are three different types of interviews that are normally used by researchers. These are unstructured, semi-structured and structured interviews. The first is, an unstructured interview, where the nature of the conversation between the interviewer and interviewee is often very casual and spontaneous (Bailey, 2007), allowing for the emergence and exploration of other issues that are still relevant to the study. Here both the interviewer and interviewee have the freedom to fully express themselves without much restriction (Myers & Shaw, 2004). Unstructured interviews are therefore not about order and organisation, but about exploration (Neuman, 1991). Due to the fact that the participants of this study are located in Johannesburg, which is far from where I am, this type of interview was not appropriate as the time and the distance factor alone demanded that all interviews be arranged prior to my going to Johannesburg. This meant that once in Johannesburg, I only

had the allocated time in which to see participants, leaving no room for spontaneity or time wastage.

The second type of interview is a structured interview. This type of interview calls for an interviewer to enter into an interview with a set of pre-determined questions and probes that are asked in a specific sequence. Each interviewee is interviewed in the same way. This type of interview is therefore very organised as they also usually take place in a pre-determined venue at a pre-determined time. Here, it is the interviewer who possesses control, as it is he/she who asks the questions, determines their sequence and rhythm. As a result, this type of interview does not allow for much flexibility (Bailey, 2007). The constrained nature of structured interviews make it very difficult for interviewers to clarify questions for the interviewees in cases where they do not understand, nor does it make it any easier for the interviewers to seek clarity from interviewees regarding their responses (Myers & Shaw, 2004).

Seeing that these interviews were going to take place in an environment where I had no control, as every scheduled interview was dependent upon participant's availability and willingness to participate, I had to consider the fact that anything was possible. The main participants of this study were offenders who could only be interviewed for a very specific period, a period dictated by the policies and itinerary of the centre where they were incarcerated. In addition, most of the other participants I planned to interview were working people with very busy schedules. This demanded that though structured my own interviewing methods had to have some element of flexibility in order to accommodate any unexpected events, making a semi-structured interview the most appropriate form of interview for my study ((Bailey, 2007).

The third and final type of interview is called a semi-structured interview, a type of interview where the sequence and pace of the questions asked are dependent on the progression and flow of the interview. Although this kind of interview is scheduled and arranged in advance to take place at a certain place at a certain time, for a specified period, it can be more interactive, allowing for the interviewer to engage in a conversation with the interviewee rather than just asking the stipulated questions (Bailey, 2007). It therefore allows the interviewer room for further investigation and clarification of responses. However, to be able to probe and seek further clarity, the researcher needs to pay close attention to these

responses so that they can be able to spot different emerging ideas that are related to the topic under study. Even here the researcher needs to tread very carefully as they can easily get distracted from the main topic, calling for the researcher to then guide the person being interviewed to focus on the topic at hand (Maree et al., 2007).

For the purposes of this study, I conducted approximately seventeen semi-structured interviews over the three stages of data collection, which were all recorded using note-taking and a voice recorder. At the beginning of the intervention I interviewed the Director of F4L (Claire), the F4L Monitoring and Evaluation Coordinator (Gloria), and the F4L Facilitator/Head Coach (Silver) who facilitated the programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. These interviews took place for approximately 45 minutes each using a set of predetermined open ended questions to guide and encourage the participants to share their experiences and views (Mack et al., 2005). The purpose of this first stage was basically to obtain an understanding of who F4L was, who the various stakeholders involved were, what the programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre was all about and what they hoped to achieve from it.

Stage 2:

Interviews

Continuing to employ interviews to gather data, about a month after the completion of the F4L programme I interviewed the two prison wardens, the Social Worker and the F4L Facilitator/Head Coach (Silver) and the Assistant Facilitator for approximately 45 minutes each. A similar type of interview was also held with a Mandla from JHESSA, a partner of the F4L organisation. This was to determine what JHHESA's role had been in the programme, over and above providing technical support and guidance, and how this then affects the implementation of the project. I also hoped to establish what JHHESA's expectations were from the programme administered at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. The purpose of this second stage of data collection was to help me to determine what the impact of the F4L programme had been following the implementation of the intervention. Hence in addition to the interviews held with the facilitators, partner agency and prison staff I felt it necessary to also find out what the impact of the F4L programme had been from the offenders themselves.

Focus Groups

During the second stage of data collection I therefore also used focus groups to gather data from the offenders. A focus group can be described as a qualitative research method where the researcher meets with a group of participants to discuss the questions related to the research topic at hand (Kumar, 2005). Thus "[t]he purpose of a focus group is to listen and gather information. It is a way to better understand how people feel or think about an issue, product, or service" (Krueger & Casey, 2000:4). These participants are not chosen randomly, but are chosen because they share similar characteristics, that are relevant to the research topic. A focus group is not conducted once, but a few times with the same or similar type of participants so that the researcher is able to identify any constants (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

During a focus group, the researcher guides the discussion by asking questions that require in-depth responses. These are called open-ended questions. These sessions are often recorded using a tape or video recorder and note-taking. The main advantage of this method is that it allows for a large amount of information to be elicited in a very short period. This was very important, especially since I only had about 45 minutes to an hour to conduct three focus groups with the offenders, after which they had to return to their cells. Focus groups also help obtain a broader range of views on a certain topic, making them very useful in acquiring information about the social norms and opinions of a certain community. However, in this kind of setting, participants can influence each other's views, distorting the data collected. Focus groups are therefore unsuitable for situations where personal matters are being discussed (Kumar, 2005).

During this study, three focus group discussions were held with the forty male offenders (two groups of 13 offenders and one group of 14 offenders) at the second stage of data collection. These focus groups allowed me to determine what the group norms were in terms of the project. It helped me to not only learn how the project was conducted from the perspective of the offenders, but also how they perceived the overall purpose and impact of the F4L programme (Mack et al., 2005).

Stage 3

Interviews

Having reviewed the data collected at that point I realised that I needed to collect more detailed data to particularly determine what the impact of the programme was on the offenders. I felt that although I had spoken to the offenders during the focus group discussions some of them might not have been able to talk freely as a result of more dominant individuals in the group, a disadvantage that often comes with this method of data collection (Kumar, 2005). Hence about four months following the completion of the programme I conducted 45 minute individual interviews with five offenders and one former inmate. The five offenders were: Jabulani, Mlungisi, Mr Majozi, Scelo and Vukile. All of these offenders including Joe-Joe, the former inmate had not only participated in the programme, but they had also participated in the focus group discussions that were held as part of the second stage of the data collection. These five offenders were all randomly selected by one of the prison wardens who had been a part of the programme. The one-on-one interviews with this particular group were therefore to try and fill in the gaps of information I felt were still missing in relation to the research question.

During the time in which this third phase of data collection was conducted Joe-Joe who had participated in the programme had been released from prison for close to three months. This presented an opportunity for me to find out about the impact of the programme on his life post-release. Through the assistance of Silver who was in contact with this individual, I was able to meet with Joe-Joe, the former inmate in the Johannesburg city centre, where he now lives; the interview took place for about 45 minutes.

Data Analysis

After having gathered the data using the three different qualitative methods discussed above, the next step becomes the analysis of that data. Qualitative data analysis is usually based on an interpretative paradigm, meaning that "it tries to establish how participants make meaning of a specific phenomenon by analysing their perceptions, attitudes, understanding, knowledge, values, feelings and experiences in an attempt to approximate their construction of the phenomenon" (Maree et al., 2007:99). For the purposes of this study this section explains how I analyse the research data collected using Participatory Communication, which

will be guided by the CFPD model. This analysis took the form of a thematic analysis, guided by the key research questions mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. A thematic analysis can be defined as an analysis that, "focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour" (Aronson, 1994:49). Here, the researcher uses transcripts of the data collected during interviews and focus groups to identify similar patterns of experiences. When viewed in isolation, these experiences are often meaningless, but when brought together they form a comprehensive image of their collective encounter (Aronson, 1994). The process of identifying common themes from the data collected is done through creating and applying codes to the information that has been gathered. Coding can be defined as "the creation of categories in relation to data; the grouping together of different instances of datum under an umbrella term that can enable them to be regarded as of the same type" (Gibson, 2006:1). Although this procedure can involve the manual identification of themes by the researcher, there are many 'Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis' programmes that are specifically designed to conduct coding according to themes (Gibson, 2006).

The decision on which computer programme to use largely depends on the compatibility of the computer programme with regards to the needs of the study (Weitzman, 1999). Other guiding circumstances include; how much competence the computer programme requires, how much the actual programme costs, it also depends on an individual's choice, as well as on referrals by other people (Bailey, 2007). All the data collected for this study has been transcribed manually by the researcher, it is from this data that similar themes have been identified in the hope of making meaning of it and in so doing answer the research question (Aronson, 1994). However, the process of identifying emerging themes has not been done manually, but was done using a qualitative data software package called NVivo. NVivo is recognised as the most preferred software package because unlike other packages, this particular one is user friendly and enables one to manage large amounts of data in a relatively simple manner. For instance, by using NVivo, I was able to extract large amounts of data directly from Microsoft Word (the format in which the transcribed data was written in) and coded these without much effort on my computer screen (Welsh, 2002).

Through this process, "[c]oding stripes can be made visible in the margins of documents so that the researcher can see, at a glance, which codes have been used where" (Welsh, 2002:3). With data now classified or categorised into different themes, the next step involved forming

connections between these classifications and making meaning of these connections using the research objectives as a guide. Once this had been done consistencies and inconsistencies emanating from the data were identified building a clearer and more descriptive picture of the phenomena under study (Henning et al., 2004). The process of sorting, summarising, highlighting and discounting data is called data reduction. Data reduction is an on-going process that takes place throughout the entire research process, for example, the theoretical framework chosen for the study often sharpens the focus of the researcher highlighting or discarding certain elements of a research phenomenon. Data reduction is however also a form of data analysis, as it involves the same process of sifting through large volumes of data in a similar fashion (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Although this study analysed data based on the themes that emerged, it is important to note that in addition to the context of the research phenomena, data also does not carry meaning in isolation of the researcher as it is he/she who interprets it as the researcher is also often present as part of the findings (Henning et al., 2004). Unlike quantitative research that tends to exclude the researchers engagement with the research as an integral element, qualitative research considers this to be an important part of the research process (Flick, 1998). This is due to the fact that a " [r]esearchers' reflections on their actions and observations in the field, their impressions, irritations, feelings and so on, become data in their own right..." (Flick, 1998:6). The process of acknowledging the personal opinions of the researcher and the subjects during research is known as reflexivity (Flick, 1998). Reflexivity can be described as a process whereby,

> the producer deliberately, intentionally reveals to his or her audience the underlying epistemological assumptions that caused him or her to formulate a set of questions in a particular way, to seek answers to those questions in a particular way, and finally, to present his or her findings in a particular way (Ruby 2000: 156).

By being able to use reflexivity, this study allowed me to ask any question and arrive at 'open ended conclusions' (Dyll, 2003). This is because, as a methodology and mode of writing, reflexivity permits the acknowledgement that this study is an interpretative study informed by my own subjectivities (Dyll, 2003). The idea that knowledge can be built not only through observation but also through description of individual beliefs, meaning-construction, opinions

and values is called the interpretive paradigm (Henning et al., 2004). The interpretive paradigm therefore assumes firstly that people are not idle and passive members of society, but rather assumes that they have an inner ability to make decisions, pass judgements and be able to form their own opinions. Secondly, it welcomes the idea that absolute objectivity is very difficult to obtain, especially when one is observing people who tend to make meaning of the world based on their individual belief system. Thirdly, it assumes that there is an explanation for every action according to a number of interdependent factors. Fourthly it believes that the world's reality is multi-layered and has many different aspects and therefore no aspect of it can be studied in isolation of other factors, making the study of the context within which an event or experience takes place crucial. The fifth assumption is that the purpose of research is not to acquire an understanding of the entire universe or to make predictions about it, but to understand individual instances. The sixth and last assumption is that research is always loaded with value which in turn shapes the way in which that research is conducted (Garrick, 1999).

Reflexivity thus dictates that the researcher reveals their cultural identity, as "we all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific" (Hall, 1990). Cultural identity usually refers to a shared or common experience amongst people, for instance in South Africa, black people share a common history of oppression, hence it can be argued that this has become a part of their cultural identity. However, although cultural identities have a history, emanating from somewhere, they are not fixed as they are constantly under transformation. But identity is not just about how we see ourselves, but also how we are seen by others (Tabouret-Keller, 1997). It therefore forms a very important part of this study as I believe that the way in which I perceive myself and the offenders, as well as how each of the participants perceive themselves and me or the F4L coordinators had some bearing on this research experience. Henning et al. (2004) believe that although the researchers voice is always present during the interpretation of data, they should make the data to 'mean what they want it to mean'. Although this always stands as a risk during interpretive research, experienced researchers know that in order to counteract this, they need to not only acknowledge their bias, but they also need to support their descriptions with strong coherent arguments based on empirical evidence and relevant theory or approach which in this case is the Participatory Communication approach.

The role of the chosen theoretical approach

The word 'theory' is often open to different interpretations depending on the field of study one is researching on. However, for the purpose of this study a theory can be described as "... an organized body of concepts and principles intended to explain a particular phenomenon" (Leedy & Ormond, 2005:4). It is therefore "… [a] process of systematically formulating and organizing ideas to understand a particular phenomenon. Thus, a theory is the set of interconnected ideas that emerge from this process" (Boss et al., 1993:20). However, even then the role of theory varies according to the chosen research design. Given the fact that this study uses a qualitative case study research design, where a particular programme was studied within a specified period thus meant that the use of theory had to be appropriate for the chosen research design. For instance, unlike other qualitative research designs, the case study research design calls for the researcher to identify a suitable theoretical perspective at the very beginning of their study, as it is from this theoretical perspective that the research questions, data analysis and findings are formulated. Thus although the case study research design sets out to explore certain phenomenon within a bounded case, the researcher goes into the field with a pre-determined focus and structure, knowing exactly what they need to observe. These (theory and observation) must therefore go hand in hand (Yin, 2008). Hence even Silverman says, "[t]heory without some observation to work upon is like a tractor without a field" (2001:294). Based on an existing knowledge theory therefore provides a point of reference from which the researcher can start their research, using the relevant theory to filter through the data that has been collected. It is used to explain the observed phenomena in relation to the theory, providing verifications or inconsistencies with existing knowledge, stimulating the need for further research (McMillon & Schumacher, 2000).

Although the research should ultimately validate existing theory, researchers need to be careful that the theory does not limit or pre-determine the results of the study, by paying careful attention to and addressing any contradictions that occur between the theory and the case (Harling, 2012). Guided by the topic of this study, which seeks to explore the elements of dialogue for collective action with the F4L case, I therefore chose to use the Participatory Communication approach as dialogue and collective action are believed to be the key ingredients in participatory development. This view is best expressed in the Communication for Participatory Development model (CFPD), which is not only labelled as providing a guideline of how participatory communication should ideally be implemented, but is also

founded on the these two principles of dialogue and collective action in pursuit of human development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). It was from this theoretical perspective and model that the research questions and observations schedule and other research instruments were designed, allowing me to observe those elements that were relevant to the chosen approach. The data analysis and findings of this study was thus also guided by this theoretical approach. Although the Social Cognitive Theory discussed in Chapter three is not the overarching and driving theoretical perspective, as it not directly linked to the main research question, it was used in a similar fashion, and was also utilised during the data analysis and discussions of findings where relevant.

Is it valid and is it reliable?

The question of whether or not a research study is reliable and valid is a critical one, in fact all research studies should be valid and reliable. What kind of research can then be described as valid and reliable research? Valid research is research that is able to identify and use the appropriate methods of collecting and analysing data. These methods must be administered properly and must have been used before (Biggam, 2008). In qualitative research, research is said to be reliable when other researchers are able to review, analyse the data collected, and obtain similar results (Kirk & Miller, 1986). In fact getting confirmations or reviews from more than one observer is one of the ways of ensuring that research is reliable (Brink, 1989). This is called 'cross-checking', a very important tool in qualitative research, especially because people are susceptible to making wrong judgements (Franklin & Jordan, 1997).

This study not only used common research methods that have been tried and tested to gather data, but to ensure reliability, the progress of this thesis has been monitored by my supervisor. I have also participated in the regular research seminars hosted by our centre, The Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of Kwazulu Natal, Durban. Here I presented on each phase or chapter of my research on a number of occasions from the very beginning of this study to a group of fellow postgraduate students and lecturers who at the end of each session would provide detailed and constructive feedback about my study. This form of 'cross-checking' or seeking assistance from fellow peers or colleagues you can trust is known as 'peer debriefing,' a process that should take place at the beginning of the research process and occur regularly (Creswell, 1998).

Furthermore, transcripts of the data collected were also reviewed or cross-checked by my supervisor. Through the analysis of the collected data, my supervisor was able to determine whether or not I applied the appropriate research methods in an appropriate manner and whether or not this correlates with the research findings, making this study reliable or dependable. In qualitative research these two words (reliable and dependable) are synonymous (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Hence, dependability can be described as "the degree to which the reader can be convinced that the findings did indeed occur as the researcher says they did" (Durrheim & Wassenaar, 2002: 64). The NVivo software package that has been utilised to analyse the data, has also assist in making this study more reliable or dependable as the use of these programmes usually allows the researcher a more steady and systematic way of managing data (Welsh, 2002).

Thus in this way the validity of the study was ensured, as the different measures mentioned above made sure that the findings of this study are accurate and credible (Guba, 1981). This part of qualitative research is therefore concerned with whether or not "the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees" (Kirk & Miller, 1986:21). However, validity can still be jeopardised in one of three ways. The first is through the potentially misleading effects of the researcher's own presence in the research location. The second is through the researcher's own bias, while the third way is through participant's bias. Both of these biases can alter research findings (Padgett, 1998).

To be biased means to be 'subjective' (Maxwell, 2005:108). According to Maree et al. (2007) the risk of bias becomes greater as the researcher becomes more and more involved with the research subjects and with the project as a whole. This is due to the fact that as the researcher's involvement in the project increases, the closer they become with the research participants, forging relationships with them. It is these relationships that begin to cloud their judgement, running the risk of ignoring crucial information that does not support their own perceptions and beliefs.

However, even Carter and Delamont (1996), mention that research is rarely ever just a 'clean experience' as researchers bring with them into the research experience, their own baggage, which consists of their 'emotions' and 'feelings. Furthermore, participants sometimes forget or feel compelled to portray themselves in a positive light, and in so doing provide false responses. To overcome such threats to validity it therefore becomes important for the

researcher to ensure that they firstly increase their sample size to get varied responses, and secondly to rely on other sources of information either than just the participants (Thyer, 2001). Although I realise that my own bias and that of the participants may have influenced this study, I tried to ensure validity by increasing my sample size to obtain more varied responses. I interviewed other participants who were not directly a part of the F4L programme such as the correctional centre's Social Worker and Wardens who looked after the offenders and knew them well. I have also used participant observation as another method of collecting data without getting direct responses from the participants. Furthermore, it is important to remember that qualitative research is also not primarily focused on trying to eliminate bias, but instead is more concerned with trying to understand how a researchers bias influence or affects their approach to conducting research, the way they analyse data and the conclusions which they reach (Maxwell, 2005).

Limitations

Even though this study is valid and reliable, it did not play out without its limitations and problems. Some researchers tend to assume that the research process would be relatively simple especially at the early stages of their study (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1983). I however did not have this luxury, even at the very beginning of my research, in fact to the contrary, I was very nervous about my research. Although I had strategically chosen to use qualitative research methods to allow flexibility during data collection, I was also very nervous at this stage about the applicability of these methods in a prison setting. For instance: I wondered if the offenders would agree to participate in the focus group discussions or how my gender and maybe even my age would affect the manner in which they responded to the questions asked during data collection. Furthermore, due to the fact that my research was based on a project that was going to be administered far away from my immediate location, by an organisation I didn't know much about I felt very nervous about having no control over how the process was going to unfold. I by no means believed that I could dictate how the research process and findings were going to occur, but was very aware that unexpected limitations and problems were part of the process.

Stepping into the unknown

Firstly before the project even begun I was made aware by one of the F4L facilitators that the commencement and duration of the intervention was dependent on funding. This meant that

they (F4L) too had no absolute power over how things were going to play out. There are many factors that often lead to the fluctuating nature of funding of such projects leading to their unpredictable nature. For example, in an article discussing the highs and lows of donor funding and its consequences, Parks writes,

> …donor priorities are constantly shifting. For bilateral donors, the political, strategic, personnel, and economic factors that influence funding decisions are always changing, bringing inevitable shifts in funding levels among countries, programme areas, and recipient organisations. While private foundations are more insulated from these external factors, their funding also fluctuates in response to changing approaches, personnel, and financial realities (2008:214).

I was therefore very concerned about working on a project that could either find itself running over a long period of time (more than a year), because it started or finished much later than anticipated. I was also worried about the project being brought to a halt or never start at all due to issues related to funding, delaying and affecting my own study and time in which I would like to complete my dissertation. The best I could do in this situation involved ensuring that I collected as much data as I possibly could during the given time in which I had the opportunity to collect data.

However, confirming my fears, the programme did experience a major setback, one that affected my own study significantly. Following the training workshops, the F4L programme was scheduled to follow up with a soccer tournament, but this did not take place. In fact, the project came to an end earlier than anticipated due to lack of funding, and as a result of this I was unable to observe the sport element of the F4L programme. This was a very important part of the programme, as the entire programme is based on the idea of using football, but more specifically footballers in an effort to achieve social change (F4L, n.d.). It would have been interesting to observe how this part of the programme was carried out, who or what was involved and the role the sport element played in supplementing the programme to achieve the desired results.

Limited access to offenders

Another great challenge I experienced during my research was the fact that I had very limited access to the offenders who were the main research participants in this project. The fact that they were in a correctional facility meant that one could not simply walk in and be able to begin research. Due to the fact that the F4L organisation had obtained permission to gain access to the offenders and to the centre meant that I could only gain access to the offenders through the F4L Facilitator, whose very presence as the administrator of the programme during my visits at the centre could have influenced the responses of the offenders. Each time I had to visit the Heidelberg Correctional Centre to meet with the offenders, Silver was always present as I could only access the offenders through the F4L programme. Even though he was never present in the room as I conducted each of the interviews, he was always just outside of this room, engaging with the offenders who had either just completed their interview with me or still waiting to be interviewed. I believe his presence at the Correctional Centre during my interviews or focus group meetings with the offenders could have had some impact on some of their answers. For instance, his presence could have indirectly compelled or influenced the offenders to only say good things about him or the F4L programme out of loyalty, especially since the offenders generally felt so grateful to him for introducing them to the F4L programme.

Another limitation of this study was the fact that I was unable to conduct more in-depth research where I could thoroughly examine each and every single step of the entire intervention. Whilst I certainly would have liked to have attended many or even all of the sessions of the F4L programme or even had more time with the offenders, this was not possible due to issues of distance, money, time and lack of access to the offenders.

Due to the fact that the F4L programme became non-operational as a result of discontinued funding from their donor, it became very difficult to fill in any gaps of information that needed to be filled during the process of writing this thesis, especially since F4L was my point of entry and access to the offenders/participants at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Hence the fact that I only transcribed my interviews many months after data collection became problematic as it became difficult to suddenly go back to the participants to fill any gaps identified whilst listening to the interviews as the participants were no longer easily accessible.

Furthermore, the fact that the project had come to an end also meant that I was not be able to go back to the correctional centre to ask the offenders who participated in the study to review their transcripts in an effort to achieve greater reliability and validity as I could only obtain access to the offenders through F4L.

When I started this research I had planned to take photographs of the offenders as they participate in the F4L programme to record the entire research experience. However, I was informed by the staff at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre that I am not permitted to take any photographs of the offenders preventing me from collecting any visual evidence to add to my study.

The bias barrier

According to Carter (1995), the 'emotional baggage' all researchers bring into the research experience is a build-up of their cultural and social background. This history often makes it difficult for them to become impartial and neutral when collecting data, influencing the kinds of questions they pose to their participants and sometimes even the responses they receive. Hence, I believe that my own background as a young educated black female who is Christian and grew up in a township, north of Durban definitely influenced my research experience. I also found that the fact that I had been in a correctional centre accompanying a friend who had gone to visit someone many years ago, also played a role during my own visits at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. For instance, although prior to this study I had only been at such an institution once in my life, I found that, that experience enabled me to enter into the centre without much fear. I found that that first experience had made such an impression on me that it never left me. Although it was a different centre and my purpose was different, I had an idea of what the prison environment was like and was thus not too intimidated by the offenders or by the centre with its tall fences and isolated environment.

However, the first time I met the offenders I was very aware of the fact that they were criminals, some of whom had committed heinous crimes. I also like most people carried the perception that offenders are often very manipulative and therefore could to some degree be untrustworthy. Despite these perceptions I found that my religious beliefs, my natural passion for working with people and the fact that I was doing research, insisted that I try to be impartial and non-judgemental. This enabled me to pose to them questions that were relevant

and directly related to the overall research question and in turn allow them to give their own answers.

In addition to the 'emotional baggage' I found that I carried another obvious form of bias or baggage into the study. The theoretical framework that underpins this study was chosen based on the fact that I had learnt about it and used it as part of a course I had done during my honours degree. This was due to the fact that researchers tend to investigate a certain phenomenon based on their own academic orientation (Hockey, 1993).

Although every attempt was made to make the pseudonyms created for the offenders culturally representative, I found it more natural and easier to give the black offenders Zulu names, as I am also Zulu, and therefore more familiar with names from my own culture. Hence most of the black offenders were given Zulu names.

Furthermore, at the beginning of this research journey I feared that the fact that this study was funded by USAID and PEPFAR through JHHESA, the same organisation that had funded the F4L programme would be problematic. At first I was worried that JHHESA would seek to influence the research process so that they, together with USAID and PEPFAR are portrayed in a positive light, especially since during the first year of my research I was expected to write monthly reports to JHHESA informing them of my progress at every stage. Each month these reports would be submitted to someone at our department (CCMS) and they would forward the report to JHHESA. Secondly, I was also worried about my own moral obligation to this organisation. After all, I would not have been able to travel to Heidelberg, pay for accommodation or purchase any of the equipment used during the study without their contribution.

However, either then the monthly reports that I submitted to my department (CCMS), I had no direct contact with JHHESA or USAID and PEPFAR as my sponsors. This allowed me to maintain a certain level of distance and detachment from them, thereby allowing me to maintain a degree of objectivity when it came to them. Despite this I still cannot however deny this personal allegiance to JHHESA going into the research experience.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter does not only highlight the fact that this study is a qualitative study that took the form of a case study research design, but it also shows how as a result of this certain qualitative methods were used to collect the necessary data. Despite all the steps that have been taken to ensure that the study remains valid and reliable, the collection of this data did not however go without its limitations. Taking all of these elements into consideration the next chapter will discuss how the data collected using the methodology explored here, will be analysed.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSING THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

According to Bogdan and Biklen, the research findings and discussion chapter involves, "working with data, organising it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (1982:145). This chapter thus seeks to describe, synthesise and discuss the findings of the Footballers for Life (F4L) case study described in Chapter four. During the period March to August 2011, F4L, a non-governmental organisation based in Johannesburg, South Africa administered a crime prevention and health promotion intervention called the Assistant Coaching Programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre amongst a group of 40 male offenders. Through the F4L programme, the offenders were trained to become Peer Educators known as Assistant Coaches. Premised on the idea that true human development should be participatory and therefore dialogical, this study uses Participatory Communication (discussed in Chapter three) to explore dialogue for collective action within the F4L intervention. The Participatory Communication strategy will be applied through the use of the Communication for Participatory Development model (CFPD), which will be used as a guide through which dialogue for collective action will be explored.

Through the use of Participatory Communication the study therefore seeks to answer the following research questions: What catalyst was used to initiate the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre? In other words, the study hopes to not only determine how the programme started, but it hopes to determine which stakeholders were involved in this intervention, and the role each of them played during the intervention. This study aims to also investigate how these roles were negotiated and the impact this had on the outcomes of the F4L programme. Were the envisaged goals of the Assistant Coaching/F4L programme of behaviour change or skills transfer achieved? Furthermore, key to the F4L organisation's strategy is the use of ex-professional soccer players as role models, who role model correct behaviour and life skills. In light of this, the study therefore seeks to establish the significance of this strategy on the outcomes of the intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre using the Social Cognitive Theory discussed in Chapter three. This chapter will therefore describe, synthesise and discuss the data collected during this study with a goal of answering

all of these research questions, while making reference particularly to Participatory Communication, as well as the Social Cognitive Theory discussed in Chapter three, and literature on the use of sport as a tool for social change discussed in Chapter two.

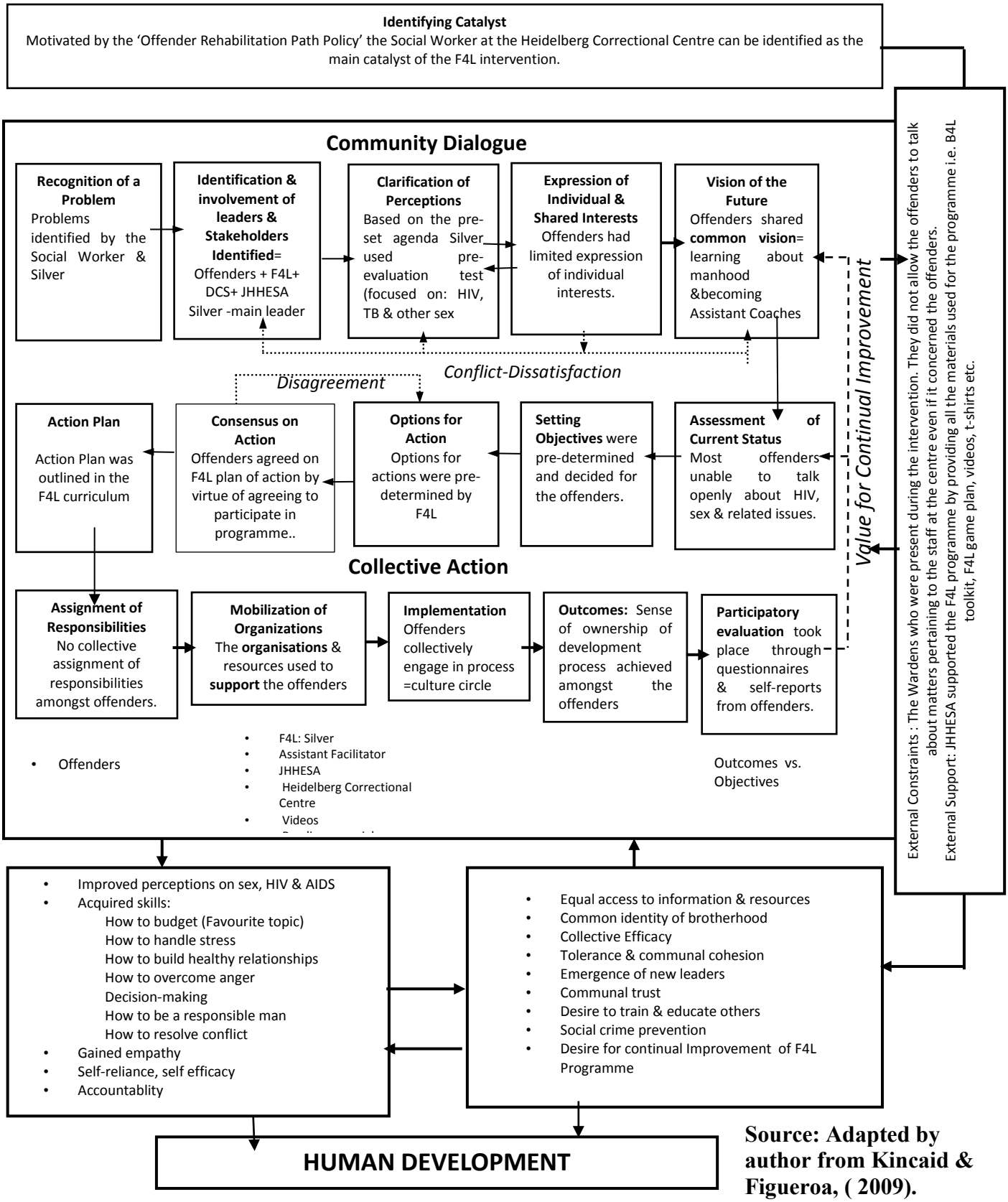
The data presented in this chapter was collected from different stakeholders that were directly or indirectly involved in the F4L intervention, initially through the use of a participant observation schedule (see Appendix A) and then also through interviews and focus group discussions. Data was therefore collected from the offenders (who are the main participants of this research study) through interviews and focus group discussions. Interviews were also conducted with Claire Rademeyer (F4L Director), Gloria Khoza (F4L Monitoring and Evaluation Coordinator) and the Facilitator and the Assistant Facilitator. Further individual interviews were conducted with Mandla Ndlovu, a representative of the partner agency, Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa (JHHESA) in his capacity as Project Manager of the F4L programme, the Social Worker from the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, as well as the two Wardens in charge of the offenders at the centre. The interview schedules for the individual interviews with the offenders can be found in Appendix B, while the interview schedule with the former offender is attached as Appendix C. The focus group schedule used to conduct the focus group discussions with the offenders can be found in Appendix D. The interview schedules for interviews with the F4L Director and F4L Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Coordinator are attached as Appendix E. Interview schedules for the interviews conducted with the F4L Facilitator and Assistant Facilitator are available in Appendix F, while the interview schedule of the interview with the JHHESA representative is found in Appendix G. The interview schedules of the individual interviews with the three officials from the Heidelberg Correctional Centre are found in Appendix H.

In an effort to analyse the data collected during this study, similar patterns of experiences amongst the participants were identified in the form of a thematic analysis. This was conducted using a qualitative data analysis software package called NVivo (discussed in Chapter four). This software package was used to identify common themes in the data gathered, a process known as coding. Coding can be described as, "the grouping together of different instances of datum under an umbrella term that can enable them to be regarded as of the same type" (Gibson, 2006:1). This chapter therefore aims to describe, synthesise and discuss this coded data according to the themes or steps found in the CFPD model (see Figure

5.1 below), which is informed by the Participatory Communication strategy, and provide a clear guideline of the different steps involved towards the attainment of participatory development through dialogue and collective action. As a model that is founded on the Participatory Communication strategy and dubbed as providing an ideal practical guideline of this strategy (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009), the themes provided by the CFPD model therefore become suitable in guiding this discussion, which also ultimately seeks to explore dialogue for collective action in the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Furthermore, the CFPD model, also posits the attainment of human development in the form of behaviour change, having a shared sense of ownership or transferal of skills amongst other things. as the ideal end result of participatory development interventions. In this way the model also accommodates the Social Cognitive Theory, which will be used to explore the significance of using ex-professional soccer players as role models on the outcomes of the intervention.

As already mentioned in Chapter one of this study the word community will be used to describe the offenders who participated in the F4L programme. This word will be used interchangeably with the word offenders and group of offenders.

Figure 5:1: CFPD Model showing findings of study



Source: Adapted by author from Kincaid & Figueroa, (2009).

Exploring dialogue in the quest for collective action: The findings

Identifying the catalyst and recognising the problem

Most written literature on development communication is often unclear about how the process of change begins within communities. In fact, "it is unclear…how a particular issue ever becomes a problem if a community sees it as something that is a normal part of life, such as a particular level of maternal mortality or girls not going to school" (Kincaid & Figueroa 2009:1316). The CFPD model on the other hand makes sure that it exposes the catalyst, or the element that leads the community to discuss a particular problem as they try to find a common solution of the problem they are faced with in the community. Identifying the catalyst before the project even begins is a very important step in participatory development, as there can be many different types of catalysts that trigger the discussion of a problem within a community. This can often lead to the eruption of conflict, lack of satisfaction or harmony within the targeted community (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). During this study it became very clear that JHHESA had steered F4L towards offering their services in South African prisons.

> *…in 2010 our funder Johns Hopkins decided, that you know what guys, there is a community that is being neglected, which is the prison community, which unlike a lot of people is faced with a lot of challenges, so they said we supposed to focus mainly on the prisons…(*Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

However the catalyst of the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre was the Social Worker based at the centre, who said:

> *Initially, I met Silver at Boksburg [Correctional Centre], he did a presentation to the social work component about the project and it is then that I felt that we need something of that nature. Because here at Heidelberg we don't have so much of external service providers that are rendering services for us. So I felt that it would be a good start for our inmates to get such information* (Social Worker, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The Social Worker's decision to appoint F4L to render a service at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre was solely guided and prompted by the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) *Offender Rehabilitation Path Policy*, which is a policy that aims to ensure that South African offenders not only develop a sense of responsibility for the crimes they have committed, but also acquire morals, values and skills that can contribute positively towards the development of their communities. According to the DCS achieving this task is not only the responsibility of the department, but is also the responsibility of communities, schools, families, churches and non-governmental organisations like F4L (DCS, 2005).

This intervention was therefore not initiated by the offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Although the initiation of development within a community by an external agent is quite normal, it is very important for the agent to ensure that the beneficiaries are engaged throughout the process of development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Even Bracht (1999) and Green and Kreuter (1991) mention that the role of an external change agent involves ensuring that communities engage in discussions where they identify what their challenges are, and reach agreements about how they should improve their lives. Hence, even at this stage, the role of a change agent means that they should have an understanding of what the concerns of the participants are. Due to the fact that the very nature of the Social Worker's job description at the Correctional Centre involves consulting with the offenders to ensure their social and emotional well-being, it can be argued that they are in a position to have a good understanding of some of the challenges that are faced by the offenders at the centre. For instance,

> *You know, talking under general we have a problem, a very serious problem with sodomy, sodomy within our environment, in the prison system. So I felt that topics like sexuality and health could have an influence on the way they perceive the issue of sodomy. We understand their needs, they have that mentality, I'm not supporting it, I'm just saying that they have that mentality to say, a man can't hold himself, he cannot stay without having sex, thus they end up opting for sodomy because maybe they feel they are too pressed* (Social Worker, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Although the offenders were never asked if they felt they needed the F4L programme, or what issues they felt needed to be addressed during the programme, this statement from the

Social Worker suggests that a certain degree of prior engagement with the offenders had taken place in order to try and understand what some of the prevalent issues at the centre were. According to the CFPD model, community dialogue is essential throughout the entire process of development as it is through this that any consensus about a plan of action can be achieved (Kincaid & Figueora, 2009).

This has the ability to bring about individual change as individuals become emotionally involved and attached to the process of development; it also leads to social change as the community's involvement in the process of development from the very beginning, through dialogue, fosters a sense of communal ownership over their own development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). By denying the offenders an opportunity to engage in the initial dialogue that seems to have taken place between the Social Worker and Silver, who was not only the F4L Head Coach, but also the main Facilitator of the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, the offenders were immediately denied, on an individual level, the opportunity to become emotionally attached to the project. On a social or community level, the offenders were denied the chance to feel that they owned their development. Thus from the very beginning an atmosphere of distance and exclusion from the F4L development programme was created amongst the offenders. It is for such reasons that it is sometimes argued that true communicators for development seem to be very rare, as most of them choose to rather engage in a vertical planning and implementation process of development that excludes the input of the beneficiaries. This kind of development often leads to the failure of projects aimed at providing development (Gumucio-Dagron, 2001).

This detachment and lack of knowledge or ownership of the programme was particularly evident, especially right at the beginning, during the planning stage of the programme. For example, one of the offenders explained how they were recruited to participate in the F4L programme without knowing much about the programme. In fact it was not until they met Silver for the first time that they were given an opportunity to gain insight into the programme.

> *There is this guy, one of our Social Workers here in the prison, he just came to me and said Elethu you know what, there is this course and if you can just find, maybe thirty people and register their name, even you, even me I must be involved in that programme. I said it's for what? He said Footballers for*

> *Life. I say, I don't know how to play soccer. He said, let's go and see when we reach there. The first time I come here then Silver come and introduced himself to us and then answered each and everything* (Elethu, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Although Silver did conduct a pre-evaluation test amongst the offenders before the intervention began, this pre-test was designed to ascertain what the offenders perceptions were in relation to HIV and AIDS and other related issues, and not necessarily identify what the offenders thought their problems were. F4L therefore entered into this intervention having already decided that HIV and AIDS and other related issues were the main problems faced by the offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Development programmes that exclude their beneficiaries from identifying the problems they face are said to engage in a distorted approach towards development known as 'participatory planning'. This approach is usually selected to make the developmental process cheaper and more acceptable (White et al., 1994).

This results in what is known as, 'pseudo- participation'. During this kind of participation beneficiaries are merely told how the project, was planned for them, and how it will be administered by those in power. Hence, the power to make decisions lies solely with the organiser or with the elite members of that particular community, who by so doing display a lack of faith in the abilities of those being developed (Deshler & Sock, 1985). This therefore suggests that an unequal and oppressive relationship between the offenders, the F4L facilitators and the Correctional Centre officials was present at this stage of the F4L intervention. In this instance oppression can be described as an environment where one is subjected to systematic powers or limits that restrict their movements or ability to make choices (Frye, 1983). According to Freire (1970) liberation from oppression and therefore development can only be achieved when those who are oppressed undergo a process of becoming critically aware of their oppressive reality, and then take action towards eliminating that oppression. This is called conscientisation (Freire, 1970).

Mutingh (2005) suggests that one of the key requirements to ensuring that offender rehabilitation and re-integration interventions are effective, involves making sure that these interventions focus on those factors that cause or encourage offenders to re-offend so that they can discourage negative behaviours such as drug abuse and unhealthy relationships. This

means that administrators of such interventions have to ensure that they visit the targeted correctional centre to find out from the offenders what issues challenge their ability to rehabilitate before the intervention is administered. This is particularly important, because according to Freire's (1970) notion of conscientisation mentioned above, unless the offenders become critically aware of what oppresses them, it becomes very difficult for them to take any kind of action towards change. In fact, "[t]o activate consciousness and critical awareness of one's situation and environment, one's identity, one's talents, and one's alternatives for freedom of action is an imperative to participatory action" (White et al., 1994:24). According to F4L ensuring that the programmes they offer are contextually based is a vital part of the organisations mandate, as each programme is designed in accordance with the needs of the community in which they are working at that time.

> *As much as we say we've got a five month programme, we don't really say. This is what we gonna discuss, we're also open to the issues that the different prison facilities are faced with. So it's more context specific* (Gloria, F4L M&E Coordinator).

However, despite its mandate to deliver context specific programmes, the study found that F4L still used the same curriculum and learning materials used when running the programme in other communities. Although F4L was able to ascertain what problems the offenders faced prior to the administration of the F4L programme, the offenders did not partake in the identification of the challenges that oppressed them.

Identifying leaders and other stakeholders

The identification of leaders is a very critical step in the CFPD model as these individuals become responsible for managing conflict and curbing the advancement of individual interests during development. Leaders can include those individuals involved in the development process, appointed by an external change agent, or they can be individuals who already occupy a role of leadership within that community (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Limited by security concerns, as well as the size of the venue where the F4L programme could be implemented, 40 offenders were chosen to participate in the programme.

> *We had a challenge with the venue and also maybe with the security because it's easier to handle a smaller number…* (Warden 1, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Beyond initiating and facilitating behaviour change amongst the 40 offenders who participated in the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, this programme hoped to ultimately train these individuals with the hope that they would become F4L Assistant Coaches, who

would then train other inmates (as Peer Educators) who were not a part of the programme within the centre. Thus by virtue of participating in the programme, these men or offenders were seen as leaders within the broader offender population at the centre. This was indicated in a statement made by Silver, who explained the criteria used to select participants.

> *The participants are chosen on a voluntary basis but we prefer somebody that can be able to read and write...Also we look at prisoners that have got influence in prison so that they can be listened to when they have these conversations when we are not there* (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

The fact that 76% of the offenders who participated in the programme had some level of secondary education, and 17% had tertiary level education is an indication that the requirement for literate participants was communicated well to the offenders who joined the programme (Khoza, 2011). This was particularly important as,

> *... at the end of the day we've got manuals that they need to read, somebody that has got the basic you know, that can read and write* (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

Furthermore, this approach towards selecting and identifying these potential leaders in the form of potential Assistant Coaches is based on the implementation model stipulated by F4L's donor agency JHHESA. According to the JHHESA representative interviewed during this study the F4L implementation model was as follows:

> *Our intervention was that a footballer would look for promising inmates within the institution, so promising in terms of they want to do this, they can do this, they want to be part, not only keeping themselves busy but they want to challenge themselves. So they would look for those and then train those, and those would implement the Footballers for Life programme within the facility. So that is the model, so you've got, initially we call them the Assistant Coaches to go with the football theme. But the recruitment of Assistant Coaches to implement the programme and the support of the Assistant Coaches by our footballer as well as linking hat to the internal life skills programme within the institution, so that is the basic model* (Mandla, Project Manager from JHHESA).

Thus on a broader scale a process of identifying leaders within the broader Heidelberg Correctional Centre certainly took place based on this implementation model. This process began when Warden 1 decided to identify certain individuals (i.e., Elethu) within the correctional centre to enlist other offenders who were interested in joining the F4L programme.

> *There is this guy, one of our Social Workers here in the prison, he just came to me and said Elethu you know what, there is this course and if you can just find, maybe thirty people and register their name, even you, even me I must be involved in that programme. I said it's for what? He said Footballers for Life. I say, I don't know how to play soccer. He said, let's go and see when we reach there. The first time I come here then Silver come and introduced himself to us and then answered each and everything* (Elethu, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Another offender who had also been appointed by Warden 1 to enlist other inmates was 56 year old Mr Majozi, also affectionately referred to by the offenders during one of the sessions as *Vader*, an Afrikaans word meaning Father. Mr Majozi was the oldest member in the group, which could explain why other offenders in the group saw him as a father figure. This suggested that they respected him and trusted his opinion, especially since he stood out as one of the dominant figures within the group of offenders participating in the F4L programme.

However, it also became quite apparent why the rest of the group seemed to respect him so much and why he appeared as a leader.

> *I'm a church leader. The whole of this centre, the inmates are depending on me spiritually, mentally. Whenever they've got problems they come to me. In this institution as we've got recreation, sports and recreation they are depending on me also because I am the leader even there. So in the section they are still depending on me because I am the one who is in a position to negotiate for them...* (Mr Majozi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

It is important to also state that although Mr Majozi particularly stood out as a leader or one of the leaders within the group of participants, in terms of his opinions and influence, he was not appointed by the other members of the group as the official leader. However, he was able to command a certain level of respect from the rest of the group. During the sessions other leaders also emerged within the group of offenders as Silver would occasionally ask for volunteers to offer a prayer at the beginning of the programme or hand out some of the materials that they were going to use during that session, encouraging participation and dialogue among the participants. Despite these efforts, the CFPD model stipulates that leaders of a development project are not limited to individuals within the said community, but can include external agents (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009), and in this case Silver, as well as the Assistant Facilitator can definitely be identified as the external leaders.

Although during the F4L sessions dialogue was present, meaning that the offenders were encouraged to share their opinions and debate the different topics discussed, this dialogue was not always smooth or converged as participants sometimes had different opinions. It is the role of leaders within the community of people being developed, to resolve disputes and facilitate effective dialogue. Mr Majozi thus emerged as one of the main individuals within the community of offenders who often played this role. As the main leader and facilitator of the F4L programme, Silver's role also entailed ensuring converged dialogue, settling disagreements amongst the offenders through encouraging the offenders to engage in even more dialogue. This often proved fruitful as, in order to resolve or decrease the presence of divergence as a result of differing views or beliefs, even more dialogue needs to take place until a certain level of mutual agreement is reached, so that common problems can be

resolved collectively (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). For Freire, "leaders who do not act dialogically, but insist on imposing their decisions, do not organise the people-they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated: they oppress" (1970:159). According to Freire (1970) leaders who do not liberate, but oppress people, also indirectly oppress themselves, as they may not be in a state where they are conscientised or aware of the fact that they are oppressing others, and are therefore in that way oppress themselves. Despite the initial lack of dialogue where the offenders were denied the opportunity to identify and define their own problems, the F4L Coordinators displayed a very democratic leadership style that did not discriminate against the offenders. Referring to Silver, one of the offenders, a Nigerian, said:

> *He doesn't discriminate you know, when he came, the first day, he welcomed everyone both we that are foreigners, because a lot of us there we are foreigners as well. So he said no, no, no he just want to know, we are brothers and you know, we are one. He hugged everyone* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Thus although the style of leadership started out very autocratic, meaning that those in power had all the authority and were the bearers of all knowledge as only they knew more about the programme, and the offenders were subordinates who had to submit to this authority (knowing very little about the programme), the style of leadership certainly became more participatory as soon as Silver met with the offenders. By hugging and referring to the offenders as his brothers right at the beginning of the programme, Silver immediately broke down the existing state of inequality that existed between him and the offenders. By referring to them as his brothers, he suggests that they were the same, sharing the same power and authority. This was a symbolic step towards participatory communication, which demands "that the social structures, social relationships, and interpersonal relationships that interfere with it must be changed" (Servaes, 1991:75). In fact,

> it is in the actual reaching out to the other , in the affirmation of the otherness of the other, that genuine dialogue takes place. And the act of dialogue is the act of making oneself whole, of freeing oneself from the shackles of individualism and emerging in the full personhood in a community (Thomas, 1993:53).

Furthermore, by giving the offenders hugs and calling them brothers, Silver communicates humility, love and faith in the abilities of the offenders, these are all very critical elements that help forge a relationship built on mutual trust, and allowing the parties involved to interpret and discover the world together (Freire, 1970). The Social Cognitive Theory, also posits that during this kind of relationship between the mentor and mentee, each person must strive for an understanding of the other (Schultz, 2004) in order to establish trust (Lamb, 2005). This kind of relationship, based on trust, equality and mutual understanding is called the *I-Thou* relationship (Buber, 1958). Silver's style of leadership right at the beginning of the F4L programme thus informally encouraged an environment where the offenders could share freely. Creating this kind of an environment is an important duty of external change agents dedicated towards a democratic and equal development (Bessette, 2004). Despite Silver's efforts of communicating to the offenders that he was not there to judge them, they were brothers and were all equal, some of the offenders still initially treated him with great suspicion, unsure if his act was genuine.

> *In the first place I was seeing him pretending as if he likes us* (Joe-Joe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This was very normal because while trust is an important element of participatory development, it takes time to establish, calling for the external change agent or Silver to spend a lot of time with the offenders to develop a relationship of trust. This kind of a relationship was fostered through Silver's consistency and keeping of commitments made to the offenders, a process that required a lot of patience from both parties (Waisbord, 2003). "Whoever lacks this trust will fail to initiate (or will abandon) dialogue, reflection, and communication, and will fall into using slogans, communiqués, monologues, and instructions" (Freire & Macedo, 2001:64). Trust is therefore an important part of dialogue, and consequently of the entire F4L programme, as it breaks down barriers and fear of the unknown and consequently the culture of silence (Servaes et al., 1996).

This trust was also forged through the presence of the Assistant Facilitator, another leader in the F4L programme, who beyond being Silver's Assistant was a former inmate whom the offenders trusted, as they believed that his status as a former inmate placed him in a position to understand their challenges and position as offenders. This was particularly key, as a few offenders also expressed the need to have programme facilitators who not only understand

their situation, but facilitators who have actually gone through what they are going through in terms of imprisonment. Although this trust was eventually established, the fact that it was initially questioned by the offenders is indicative of the fact that human behaviour change is a cognitive procession, meaning that it involves a thought process which is informed by one's beliefs, cultural identity, etc. In other words people do not just change; they often question the development initiative, the person administering it and their intentions. The fact that the offenders already shared a misconception that all external agents that came to administer programmes to them at the prison did not care about them, were not genuine and therefore untrustworthy shows that they had not only thought about this, but that Silver had to break down this wall of mistrust amongst the offenders and gain their trust before he could even start implementing the programme. Fortunately, Silver was able to do this as already discussed.

Clarifying perceptions, expressing individual and shared interests, and sketching a common vision for the future

The next step according to the model dictates that the leaders engage in a process of clarifying the perceptions of all community members, so that they can begin to set goals and take the appropriate steps towards fulfilling those goals (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). This is a very important part of dialogue, as dialogue is "based on people sharing their own perceptions of a problem, offering their opinions and ideas and having the opportunity to make decisions or recommendations" (Narayanasamy, 2009:291). This is a very important part of dialogue, especially since the way that people perceive their capability to do something plays a big role in determining their level of accomplishment, motivation and self-control (Bandura, 1997).

Freire, says that "… consequently no one can say a true word alone – nor can he say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words" (1983:76). Each participant involved must voice their own interests in efforts to determine common interests. As already indicated in the first step of this discussion, the offenders were not given the opportunity to voice their opinions with regards to what they may have perceived as their problems or challenges before the F4L programme begun. Despite this, Silver did conduct some research to ascertain what the offender's perceptions were with regards to HIV and AIDS, as already mentioned. Therefore even though it was only at this stage that the opinions or voices of the

offenders were accommodated, concerning the F4L programme, the agenda was already predetermined by F4L, denying the offenders the opportunity to identify their own prevalent issues and concerns. "I think the reason why we use that questionnaire we just want to find out where they are at the moment given the spread of HIV in prison, so we just want to know where they are" (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

The scourge of HIV and AIDS and risky sexual behaviour is undeniably a prevailing issue in South African prisons, as even the Jali Commission reports.

> *If the Department [of Correctional Services] keeps on ignoring the fact that sexual abuse is rife in our Prisons and that there is an extreme likelihood that prisoners who are exposed to violent unprotected sex will in all likelihood contract AIDS, then it is effectively, by omission, imposing a death sentence on vulnerable prisoners* (The Jali Commission of Inquiry, 2000/2005).

However, this does not necessarily mean that the offenders shared the same perception. The only recognisable common interest shared by all the participating offenders at this stage, was their common interest to learn about issues related to their social status as men, as well as the common goal to become Assistant Coaches.

> *...what I understood was that we were there to be trained to understand in most cases manhood and how to take care of yourself well as a person and the information we were to get from there...* (Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Instead of the more horizontal and dialogical approach indicated by Silver's leadership style, this statement once again suggests a very top-down approach towards development called Diffusion of Innovations. Diffusion of Innovations is a process where receivers are told of an idea or ideas of development by an external source, in this case Silver, and persuaded to accept these ideas (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Although there was a general common understanding amongst the offenders that the F4L programme was about HIV and AIDS, woman abuse and other issues pertaining to manhood, some offenders came with different perceptions and expectations. This was largely due to the programme's association with the Brothers for Life (B4L) campaign. In fact this study found that during the recruitment of the

offenders, the Warden, as well as some of the offenders who were recruiting other offenders at the centre, often incorrectly referred to the F4L programme as the B4L programme. Many of the participating offenders were familiar with the B4L campaign as they had seen it via the television whilst in prison.

> *In this programme, what I can say is, okay right I've seen it from the TV first, so I've heard alright what they were talking about. On TV I saw written that we mustn't abuse women and children, it was a Brother for Life. So that is what made me decide to come here…* (Themba, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Other offenders joined the F4L programme because they felt they lacked knowledge about HIV and AIDS, and therefore felt that the programme could help them become more knowledgeable in that area, others joined or believed the programme would help them learn how to help other people or how to relate with other people better. "*I didn't know maybe what is a person, I couldn't think for another person at that time that's why I saw that maybe it's better if I talk to, join this course*" (Mlungisi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Whilst other offenders clearly joined the F4L programme because they had serious concerns such as stress, others simply joined because they associated the name of the organisation 'Footballers for Life' with soccer. "We thought that being an Assistant Coach means to coach soccer, you see. We started getting information when we arrived here you see, that's when Silver explained to us nicely" (Sipho, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Similarly to the *Sports for Peace and Life Programme* administered in southern Sudan, where it was discovered that 25% of the participants admitted that they would not have participated if sport was not a part of the programme, the sporting element suggested by the very name of the F4L organisation thus also played a huge role in attracting the offenders to participate. Although it initially created an inaccurate perception amongst some of the offenders of what the programme was all about, as they thought that they were going to be trained to become assistant soccer coaches, the deliberate use of the names Footballers for Life and Assistant Coaches worked in as far as arousing the interest of some of the offenders.

Assessment of the current status and setting realistic objectives

In order to achieve a common vision of development, there needs to be an understanding by the community of the magnitude of the problem they are dealing with. Thus an assessment through qualitative or quantitative means is required. This process enables the community to establish measurable goals as it enables the community to determine where it is, and how much further they have to go to realise these future goals (Zander, 1996 cit. Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Hence as already mentioned, Silver was able to ascertain from the offenders, what their perceptions were with regards to TB, HIV and AIDS and condom use in an effort to ascertain what their understanding of the problems they face. This was done through the use of questionnaires that were given to the offenders at the beginning of the programme. Although the findings of these questionnaires showed that a large number of participants had some basic knowledge about HIV and AIDS, for example 83% of the offenders participating in the intervention knew that being HIV positive meant that you had a weakened immune system and thus prone to opportunistic infections, a significant number of participants (55%) also indicated their fear of discussing HIV and AIDS, out of fear of being rejected by other inmates. This suggests the presence of stigma attached to this subject amongst the offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, meaning that the subject of HIV and AIDS was a taboo amongst the inmates at the centre. The offenders were thus initially unable to talk openly about HIV and AIDS, sex or any other sex related topics (Khoza, 2011). An indication of this negative perception towards HIV and AIDS was also quite evident during an interview with one of the offenders, who participated in the F4L programme.

> *…I was a person, and I was a person who was too ignorant…Cause now I can even stay with a person, and even though with these people who are sick I am now able to confront a person you see and say if you HIV sharp…* (Vukile, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Based on these findings one of the main goals of the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre was to ensure that a large number of the participants were able to talk about HIV and AIDS, and about sex more freely by the end of the programme (Khoza, 2011). This agenda was clearly an influence of F4L's partner agency JHHESA whose agenda is not

only also directed or guided by their own funders (USAID and PEPFAR), but by the South African Government's policies.

> *The directives do not come from JHHESA, they come from our national plans…HIV implementation is guided by the national strategy plan, the national strategy plan guides also how funding is provided by funding partners, and then those plans from funding partners then guide, guide implementation* (Mandla, Project Manager from JHHESA).

Although this perception and goal was clearly aligned to that of the Social Worker who instigated the intervention at the Correctional Centre, again it was not necessarily the main concern of the offenders. Especially because the offenders joined the programme driven by different concerns (mentioned above) and perceptions of what the programme was to offer, but also to pursue a common goal of learning about manhood and becoming an Assistant Coach. The use of questionnaires allowed each of the participants to express their views openly and freely, eliminating the influence or intimidation of dominant characters who could easily try to impose their own interests within the group particularly during group discussions. However, the stigma attached to the subject still persisted, affecting the offenders' ability to answer questions related to sex and HIV even though each offender could fill in the questionnaire independently, without any influence or domination from other offenders. For instance, 22% of the offenders did not answer the question: 'Why does dry sex increase your risk of HIV?' (Khoza, 2011). Even Silver indicated the offenders' usual reluctance to openly talk about their sexual orientation indicating the existence of this stigma.

> *Well sometimes there are those questions that are tricky, like 'have you had sexual intercourse in the last two to three months?' So sometimes those kind of questions you know, some say, 'I mean I'm in prison how am I gonna have sex?' But some are open so they talk freely about their sexual orientation* (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

Whilst the attempt to ascertain the offenders' perceptions of HIV and AIDS and sex, the use of questionnaires allowed all of the offenders an opportunity to participate and voice their opinions regarding these topics, the agenda or problems faced by the offender had already been decided and prescribed by F4L. According to the F4L curriculum, in addition to the

HIV and AIDS topic, the F4L programme was designed to tackle an array of topics such as: how to handle money, how to handle stress, drinking and drugs, problem solving, how to be a role model and how to be a man. Thus an assessment focused only on HIV and AIDS not only provided F4L with a limited assessment of the offenders' current challenges, but it also limited the offenders freedom of expression, and is thus reminiscent of the pseudo-participation approach that was adopted right at the beginning of the planning stages of the programme (Deshler & Sock, 1985). Here again the offenders should have been allowed to express their views on issues chosen by them, with the guidance of the external agent. Had this been achieved then the offenders would have been able to work together to achieve a vision decided upon by them. Establishing a common goal amongst the participants, allows each one of them to see what and how they stand to benefit from the development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Choosing options for action, reaching consensus and the action plan

There is absolutely no doubt then that had the offenders decided on what they wanted to achieve through the F4L programme as a collective, the task of drawing out a plan of action stipulating how they can go about achieving these goals would have been easier, as they would have had a clearer understanding of the goals to be achieved. After all, these goals would have been identified and decided upon by them. Decided upon by the community being developed, this plan of action would have specified who was responsible for what, outlining the time limits and thereby helping the community to organise themselves strategically (Kincaid & Figueroa 2009). Due to the fact that the plan of action was already set out in the curriculum that was to be used by F4L to implement the programme, the offenders were denied the power to determine or design their own action plan. If the offenders had this power, and felt that they had this power, then they would have felt that they owned this development initiative, increasing their level of dedication and commitment to the programme, especially given the fact that the failure of such programmes carried out at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre is often attributed to the offenders lack of commitment to the programmes.

> *You know when you render such programmes, you find people will come first session, second session, third session they start slacking; the other will have a*

headache, the other running tummy, another this and that... (Social Worker, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

In this instance, had the offenders been given an opportunity to participate more and have more input in the planning process of the F4L programme, they would have seen the proposed idea of becoming Assistant Coaches as their own idea, which would then guarantee their commitment to work towards making sure the programme is implemented successfully. It is the dialogue that leaves the beneficiaries of development feeling that they completely or partially own a project as it raises their levels of commitment and participation creating sense of collective efficacy especially if the project is a success (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Collective Action: Assignment of Responsibilities, Mobilization of organisations and implementation

Whilst the first part of the CFPD model places a great deal of emphasis on the need for community dialogue throughout the process of change. The second part of the model highlights the importance of collective action, which is also facilitated through dialogue. By agreeing to participate in the F4L intervention the offenders fulfilled a fundamental part of participatory communication as discussed by Freire (1970) as it is only through taking action and participation that one can be truly liberated from oppression. Freire, states that, "Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift" (1970:47), meaning that you need to be active and take the initiative and not be passive, as freedom from oppression does not occur without action. However, it may not always be necessary for the community to be solely responsible for carrying out all the tasks, especially if they are a community of offenders whose capability to access the necessary resources is non-existent. Such communities may mobilise the support of external sources to help them implement the intervention, especially if there are organisations, individuals or even media that can be of assistance (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

The F4L programme was implemented at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre twice a week over a period of about twenty weeks, from March to August 2011. The F4L programme was facilitated by the Head Coach and Facilitator, Silver Shabalala who was also assisted by an Assistant Facilitator, under the presence of Warden 1 and Warden 2. All of these individuals including JHHESA, the partner agency, were identified as having either directly or indirectly

offered their support to the offenders during the implementation of the F4L programme. According to the CFPD model, the participation of these organisations is supposed to contribute towards making the offenders feel a sense of ownership of the project, encouraging the spirit of cooperation and working together (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The F4L programme was implemented in three phases. The first phase of the programme was the introductory phase, where the role of the Assistant Coaches was explained to the offenders. During the second phase of the programme the F4L curriculum is explored, after which the B4L toolkit is used as part of the third phase of the five-month long programme.

> *...We use the F4L game plan, the Assistant Coach game plan, this is the introduction, I mean it gives you an idea of what kind of an Assistant Coach we are looking for, what kind of a person that we looking for to send the message to other inmates. So it entails, what you need to have, what you need to do so that people can listen to you. You don't need to be judgemental you need to be very patient, be somebody that is honest with integrity, so that's the first phase. And then the second phase we go to the F4L curriculum where we go through all the nine modules, and then the third phase is the Brothers for life toolkit which is like a bible which is something that you need every day, which guides you each and every day of your life: How you need to respond to your partner? How you need to respond to issues of violence...* (Silver, Head Coach and Facilitator).

The Assistant Facilitator a former inmate at the Boksburg Correctional Centre offered his support to the F4L programme by volunteering as an Assistant Facilitator. He had previously attended the F4L programme at Boksburg Correctional Centre, where he qualified as a F4L Assistant Coach. This is where he met Silver, who was the Head Coach and Facilitator of the F4L programme at the Boksburg Correctional Centre at the time. "When I was out I contacted Silver, I phoned him. And he said ja, you can come and assist me there's no problem" (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

As a former inmate and graduate of the F4L programme, the Assistant Facilitator's presence presented a unique opportunity for the offenders to witness for themselves, the benefits of participating in the F4L programme.

> *Really, really it showed us that we still have life outside because [Assistant Facilitator] is also, was able to get this knowledge from prison, then he went outside and continued with his thing. That means that it can happen even to us, that we can still do the same. So he motivated us,* [Assistant Facilitator] (Bongumusa, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Using himself as an example, the Assistant Facilitator's presence and participation in the programme not only gave the offenders a sense of hope that they could also live a positive crime free life. It also inspired them to take the F4L programme more seriously, and use it in order to achieve similar results. His involvement definitely encouraged participation amongst the offenders, and also reinforced the idea that this was their programme.

Although the F4L programme normally uses soccer in the form of soccer tournaments that take place amongst the offenders as a way of demonstrating a certain issue, encouraging participation and stimulating conversation amongst participants about a particular topic, this did not take place during this particular programme, due to the lack of funds. The fact that the F4L funding from USAID and PEPFAR through JHHESA was discontinued towards the end of the programme meant that the organisation could not fund the running costs, purchase or even supply the resources normally used during the soccer tournaments. These soccer games were an important part of the F4L programme as they normally helped the F4L Facilitators to not only reinforce the lessons taught in the different communities that they worked with, but also keep the programme fun and interesting.

> *It's very difficult to educate adults because they get bored very quickly...so what I usually do is come up with games. Soccer related games. Maybe for instance we do an exercise about HIV but on a soccer activity. Sometimes I bring videos, I bring in a projector and my lap-top and we watch videos that stimulate conversations* (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

Videos were used during this intervention to perform this very task. These videos were educational videos based on some of the topics (i.e., family values) covered during the programme.

> *You see another thing that made me let go, is those videos that we watched of lifestyle, during the course...it's about family values, ja, it was about family values. How do you value your family? About managing your life, ja, things like that* (Mr Majozi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

These videos were normally used to initiate dialogue about a particular topic during the intervention. Hence it is quite clear that it was not until the actual lessons started that the approach towards sharing information started to move away from what Freire (1970) calls the banking system of education, where information is disseminated from the top-down as it largely happened during the planning stages of the F4L intervention. However, a problem-posing approach began to take place at this point. Problem-posing education is a dialogical form of learning where the teacher uses procreative words or themes to arouse discussion amongst a group of learners in an effort to clarify certain issues or to stimulate action as a result of these clarifications (Freire, 1970).

The videos were thus deliberately used in an evocative manner to spark dialogue amongst the offenders, allowing them the opportunity to decode the themes presented by the videos. Codification can be described as a process that involves using pictures that depict real life situations that are familiar to the recipients of development (Schugurensky, 2011). This process allowed the offenders to begin to question and discuss the topic at hand, and to think and discuss the topic in relation to their broader social circumstances. For instance, this particular video on family values allowed some of the offenders to begin to discuss and think about their own families in relation to their current circumstance, as well as their roles as fathers, brothers, husbands, boyfriends and sons within these families. In relation to this topic on family values, one of the offenders mentioned how he was concerned about how he was going to rebuild the element of trust between him and his parents.

> *Me, I've got that thing for, for trust because when I was growing my parents they trust me a lot, but now I am in prison, I don't know can I get that trust again. That thing that's bothering me now* (Njabulo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This statement suggests that this particular offender really thought about the topic under discussion, identifying a very important element of family values, which is trust. He was

worried that he had broken his parents trust by engaging in criminal behaviour and landing himself in jail, and was therefore afraid that he will never get them to trust him again. This statement alone suggests that this particular offender was able to engage in the topic at hand, long enough to comprehend what the topic meant in relation to his own circumstances. He was therefore able to undergo the two stages of codification. The first involved being able to identify and describe various elements which make up the notion of family or good family values, which in this case was trust. Secondly, he was able to relate the topic to his own family situation, as well as to the fact that he was currently imprisoned. In this way the offender was able to learn more about himself and about where his oppression comes from (Freire, 2006).

During the implementation of the intervention two Wardens from the Heidelberg Correctional Centre were always present whilst the F4L sessions were being carried out. Their duty was to firstly, escort the offenders from their respective sections to the room or venue where the F4L intervention was administered, this venue was located within the grounds of the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Secondly, the two Wardens had to ensure that the intervention was administered safely, and that all of the security policies of the institution were upheld during the intervention (i.e., making sure that none of the offenders tried to escape from the centre). Despite the wardens' authoritative role during the intervention they did not feel that this role hindered the offenders' participation in the F4L programme. This was particularly evident when one of the wardens mentioned that he thought an open environment had been created amongst the offenders, allowing them to participate freely in the discussions, without any limitations. "*They [offenders] were part, they were actively involved in the topics, in the discussions, you know I think they were also free to say what came to their mind*" (Warden 1, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

However, despite the fact that their presence during the implementation of the F4L programme was officially necessary, it did sometimes create a degree of discomfort amongst the offenders, hindering their ability to engage freely and openly during discussions.

> *…I remember the other time here in this discussion, there is a time where I was very much cross because one of the members [Wardens] who was here, one of the members who was here made it impossible for us to be open as far as the discussion was concerned. He told us, she told us that now we are*

> *discussing about the management and of which it was not about that we are only voicing what we are experience as far as the management is concerned* (Mr Majozi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Unable to express themselves freely, the offenders therefore felt oppressed by the wardens as even in an environment where they were supposed to talk freely, they were still subjected to the systematic powers of the wardens that restricted their freedom of expression (Frye, 1983). In fact, there seemed to be a general feeling amongst the offenders that the officials at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre did not trust them, and therefore constantly oppressed them. "But there is no assistance from the members, even the Head, he cannot let us do that thing, they don't have trust in us" (Dumi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This was in direct contradiction to the culture circle environment that the offenders were trying to establish through Silver's assistance who merely facilitated the discussions encouraging the offenders to lead these discussions. Having initially established a 'brotherhood' kind of a relationship with and amongst the offenders, Silver allowed for a different power relation to exist, in the form of 'power with' instead of 'power over' (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). However a 'power over' type of relationship existed and was communicated by the wardens as they exerted their power and authority over the offenders during the F4L programme (see above statement). The official's presence and statement did pose a threat to dialogue, collective creative discovery of the world and consequently collective action amongst the offenders. However, it also did not diminish the culture circle that had been established as the offenders continued to share their views actively engaging in their own development (Abdullah, 1999). After all, staying true to his participatory leadership style (indicated before the programme begun) Silver had explained to the offenders that his role was just to facilitate the discussions, and that the offenders were going to come up with their own solutions, meaning that he was not going to simply deposit information to the offenders, but they would collectively discuss the topics and come up with their own solutions.

> *Alright the Coach explained to us when the programme started that just because he is standing in front of us he is not the one who is here to tell us what to do, but he is here to guide us. To give us guidelines, the solutions will*

> *come within ourselves* (Thokozani, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This was indeed evident when this same offender related a story about a particular day where they helped one of the offenders in the group figure out how he was going to survive outside of prison.

> *In our group whereby an inmate made a suggestion about his situation, since he's inside prison, incarcerated, so that what is he going to do if he is reintegrated within the society again because since he is here his life is messed up. So he wanted to know what's he's going to do when gets outside of prison into the community, since we were a group we came up with different suggestions and different opinions a solution came out from different individuals so in that way. In that way I saw that when we associate as a group causes sometimes that's where you get solutions to your problems if you don't get it from any other places* (Thokozani, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

After all, even Freire says, "[t]he task of the educator is to present to the educatee as a problem the content which mediates them, and not to discourse on it, give it, extend it, or hand it over, as if it were a matter of something already done, constituted, completed and finished" (1993:153). Reminiscent of a true culture circle during the F4L programme the offenders therefore got the opportunity to, "practice their interpersonal skills - arguing, listening and speaking, working collectively, respecting other people's views and trusting in others"(Abdullah, 1999:1).

This shows that the initial use of soccer or football stars as a hook (Amara et al., 2005; Green, 2008) to encourage the offenders to participate in the programme, presenting an opportunity for the offenders to do so much more than what they initially thought they would do took place. Hence in this way an environment for situated learning was created during the F4L programme, as the offenders were able to learn valuable life skills by merely participating in a programme, which some had participated in thinking they were going to learn how to play soccer (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This space presented an environment where the group of offenders, a marginalised community, could engage, build faith in their own abilities and in

the abilities of the other offenders in the group as they began to learn and grow from each other. Through sharing sport experiences, participants from marginalised groups usually learn over time that they have certain things in common. This shared sense of belonging and acceptance helps to remove the dehumanising effect that comes with the negative connotations often attached to marginalised groups, such as offenders (MacDonald, n.d.).

As already indicated above, another organisation that played an indirect, yet instrumental role in supporting the offenders to achieve this culture circle was JHHESA. Although JHHESA prefers to be recognised as a partner of F4L, rather than a donor, (since JHHESA also receives their funding from USAID through the PEPFAR programme), it was very clear that the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre would not have taken place without JHHESA's support. In fact, the sport or soccer component of the programme did not take place during this particular intervention due to the fact that JHHESA was no longer able to support the F4L programme.

> *Yes as of the end of, our plan was that as of the end of our financial year which is end of September we were not in a position to renew funding moving forward and it's not just them, last year we lost some partners, this year it's the footballers. The funding pools are getting smaller; we are getting less money, much less than we used to get…* (Mandla, Project Manager from JHHESA).

The sport component of the F4L programme usually used soccer techniques (i.e., dribbling) to reinforce messages taught by F4L (i.e., STI prevention).

> *… we use football skills in terms of maybe dribbling as a way of having many partners you have like to dodge a few obstacles along the way, like your STIs all those things, we use them as tools for education. Always they're having fun at the same time they're learning about some of these things, ja…(*Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

Enacting real life situations, these soccer tournaments are therefore normally used in other F4L programmes as a reinforcement tool, as the offenders decode the circumstances that are symbolised through the soccer related activities. Had these soccer tournaments taken place at

the Heidelberg Correctional Centre the offenders would have been enabled to further become critically conscientised about some of the topics tackled during the F4L sessions. By engaging in these games over and over again, the longer the process of problematisation would have taken place as the offenders are continually forced to firstly critically think about the topic in relation to their position as inmates at the Correctional Centre, and secondly about their position in relation to the topics of discussion out of prison (Freire, 1970). This was particularly significant as problematisation is a process that involves the affiliation of, "an entire population to the task of codifying total reality into symbols which can generate critical consciousness and empower them to alter their relations with nature and social forces" (Goulet, 1974:ix). For instance, in the quote above where dribbling (which symbolises having multiple concurrent partners) is used to dodge STIs, can force the offender to not only actively engage or think about their own sexual behaviour in prison, but to also think about how it affects them and their partner or partners. Although the videos, such as the one on family values, were also able to perform this task (visual stimulation), by denying the offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre the opportunity to participate in these soccer tournaments they were automatically denied an additional chance to engage in this active, coding and decoding experience, which served as a visual reinforcement of the messages taught during the F4L programme (Freire, 2006).

Furthermore, according to the Football United study conducted in Australia it is always advisable for funders to go beyond the boundaries of making a financial contribution towards developmental programmes, and get physically involved in the projects that they fund through volunteering in the programmes (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010). This is believed to not only enhance the funders' corporate profile, but the study also proposes that this would lead the funder to develop a personal relationship with the project, potentially increasing the chances of prolonged funding for the project (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010). JHHESA did not provide this level of support during the F4L programme, as none of their members were physically involved during the programme.

> *Not much really, I know more about, I don't know about the institution, I've probably been there only once, we've been to the others maybe once, twice as well, but I just know the implementation model maybe from our side but I*

don't know about that particular prison (Mandla, Project Manager from JHHESA).

JHHESA's level of support did exceed the bounds of mere technical support. Hence in this particular F4L intervention it can be said that in addition to providing the resources required for the intervention, JHHESA was also quite instrumental in developing the content used by the offenders through the B4L component of the F4L programme. Although Mandla, the Project Manager from JHHESA, clearly states above that he only visited the Heidelberg Correctional Centre once, he described that his role in the F4L programme involved monitoring that the programme was implemented as was envisaged and ensuring that it received the necessary support.

My role is that of a guiding role…We need to support the programme with material, we need to support the programme with building capacity so also organisational development which includes the monitoring of the programmes, the monitoring of finances, and just the growth of the programme so that's been my job (Mandla, Project Manager from JHHESA).

JHHESA therefore did not actively participate in the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, but was certainly instrumental in helping the offenders to participate in the programme.

Collective Action: Stating the outcomes of the F4L programme and participatory evaluation

Following the collective participation of the offenders in the F4L programme, the CFPD model proposes that the next step that they should engage in is the assessment of the successes and failures of the F4L programme. This is a very important exercise, as reviewing their achievements can motivate participants to continually improve the project, reinforcing their confidence in their leaders. In most cases when the community members are able to conduct the assessments themselves, it reinforces their motivation towards ensuring that the project is a success (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

However, in order to know whether the F4L intervention was a success or not, a clear understanding of what the envisaged outcomes were becomes necessary. Summing up the

envisaged outcomes of the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, Gloria the F4L M&E Coordinator explained how this intervention set out to first and foremost create knowledge and awareness about HIV and AIDS, TB and other sex related issues. Based on the pre-evaluation report conducted by F4L following the completion of the programme in August 2011 at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, F4L found that a significant number of offenders within the group were afraid to talk openly about sex and HIV and AIDS, out of fear of being rejected by other offenders. The organisation thus hoped that a larger number of offenders would be able to talk more openly about these issues at the end of the F4L programme (Khoza, 2011). The F4L programme also hoped to equip the offenders with knowledge and skills that would promote positive behaviour change amongst the offenders to enable them to sustain themselves not just inside prison, but outside as well.

> *I think in general everybody knows that HIV and AIDS and TB are rife within prisons because of your overcrowding. It's much easier for diseases to travel because there's not much space to move around. Also we found that inmates are also neglected and marginalized because they are criminals so why should we do anything for them. So it was initiated as a thing of empowering inmates to have the skills and knowledge so that once they're out they don't go back and repeat their former crimes. So it was a thing of basically equipping them with knowledge around HIV and AIDS and also with skills so that should they leave prison they should be able to start their own businesses through our entrepreneurship module or how to handle their own money because you find that a lot of inmates once they leave they don't have the resources or the knowledge and the know-how on how to survive outside. And often they end up going back to prison. And it is also a thing of trying to make sure that they don't go back and giving them the skills and the material to start something better in terms of their own personal lives* (Gloria, F4L M&E Coordinator).

This vision is in line with the Department of Correctional Service's vision of transforming South African prisons from institutions of punishment, to institutions where offenders are rehabilitated (DCS, 20005). Rehabilitation can be described as, "a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social

responsibility and values" (DCS, 20005:37). The Social Worker therefore approached F4L to administer this intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre due to the department's and consequently the centre's vision to fulfil this vision of rehabilitating the offenders. This was to be done through the F4L programme, formally known as the Assistant Coaching Programme, where a limited number of offenders from the Heidelberg Correctional Centre would be trained by Silver according to the vision explained above. In order to broaden the impact of the programme at the Correctional Centre, this group was then expected to train other offenders within the Correctional Centre.

> *...And sustainability means that we are not going to be doing this forever, we can't go into a prison and be expected that we are going to be permanent residents there for the next ten years. So the involvement of the inmates, involvement of the people within the facilities, who are doing life skills or education, is very key because that points to sustainability. Once these guys are out the guys themselves, these Assistant Coaches assisted by the institution can be able to continue with this* (Mandla, Project Manager from JHHESA).

Although the offenders who volunteered to participate in the F4L programme initially had varied perceptions of what the programme was all about, they all joined because they wanted to learn about manhood and become Assistant Coaches. At the beginning stages of the F4L programme this was the common vision they all shared. However, by virtue of deciding that they wanted to become F4L trained Assistant Coaches, the offenders also consequently accepted or approved of the joint (F4L, JHHESA and DCS) vision of rehabilitation expressed above. The important task is to now establish whether this vision was achieved during the implementation of the F4L intervention.

In an effort to determine whether this vision was achieved, I was able to establish that a post-evaluation exercise amongst the offenders did take place after the F4L programme had been implemented at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. In fact, a month after the F4L programme had been completed a post-evaluation of the intervention was conducted by Silver with the offenders to determine whether the intervention was successful or unsuccessful in achieving any of the envisaged outcomes mentioned above. Similarly to the pre-evaluation done before the intervention to ascertain the perceptions of the offenders,

questionnaires were once gain distributed by Silver to the offenders to gauge the success of the F4L programme. According to Silver, the one month lapse was of great significance, as it gave the offenders an opportunity to reflect on their experiences in the F4L programme.

> *…But I think also we giving them time to reflect on what they've experienced for the past five months so that we come back we actually ask them what has been their challenge, what has been happening in their lives since you know it's like a period of reflection, self-introspection kind of thing…(*Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

Unlike the pre-evaluation that was conducted at the beginning of the study where the offenders simply filled in questionnaires without any discussion amongst the offenders or prior engagement with them to try and ascertain what their problems were, this post-evaluation exercise was much more participatory as it really incorporated the offenders' voices. Although the questionnaires were still only centred around HIV and sex, a group discussion was held in addition to the questionnaires to try and determine what the impact of the programme was on the lives of the offenders in other areas (i.e., manhood, relationship with their families or relationship with each other). These were shared through the offenders own self-reports. This is a very important part of the CFPD model, a step that must take place after the intervention has been implemented. This process must involve the members of the community, as it can contribute towards motivating participants to continually improve the project, reinforcing their confidence in their leaders. One of the ways in which this can be done involves using the locals' own testimonies or self-reports on how the project has affected or changed their lives (Kincaid & Figueroa 2009).

A general outcome: An enjoyable, inclusive encounter, the retention factor

During the interviews many of the offenders reported that they enjoyed the F4L programme mostly because it was not just focused on one specific topic or area, but encapsulated a variety of other topics that they found interesting. This is a very important element as people's behaviours cannot be influenced by boring or confusing content (Bandura, 1989).

> *I can say that it's one of the best courses I've ever done in my five years in prison...Whereas the other courses that the DCS actually give that you must*

> *do before you go home, like life skills courses they can really consider Brothers for life as a permanent life skills course before people go home because you learn about small business, everything, everything is there...* (John, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Although the offenders were not involved in the planning of the F4L intervention or even the identification of their problems, they were able to identify with the topics covered by the F4L curriculum. Some of the most popular topics amongst the offenders included: budgeting, how to handle stress, how to take care of your women, how to be a responsible man, and HIV and AIDS. Despite the fact that the very same F4L curriculum has also been implemented in other communities like youth academies and corporate companies, the offenders still felt that it was also quite relevant to their daily lives inside prison, as well as to their prospective lives outside of prison. "*Ja, even in prison. We talk everything, not everything as such but what is happening in prison and what is happening outside...*" (Sizwe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Whilst the sporting connotations associated with the F4L programme certainly encouraged participation, this was not what kept the offenders committed to the programme for the entire five month period, something that is reportedly very rare at the Correctional Centre.

> *Even their response when they are being called, you know when you call them from their sections and say come: 'it's life-skills course or whatever', they drag their feet to come, one will be bathing, another will be ironing but then when you phone and say Brothers for Life, Footballers for Life people are here they just, 1 -2-3, they are here* (Social Worker, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

However, like the *Sports for Peace and Life* programme administered in southern Sudan where learning about HIV and AIDS was what sustained the participants participation kept the in the programme and not sport (MercyCorps, 2007), sport was also not responsible for the sustained participation of the offenders for the duration of the F4L programme. This means that the level of commitment displayed by the offenders during the programme was not because the offenders enjoyed playing soccer, especially since the soccer games that usually become part of the F4L programme were not carried out at the Heidelberg

Correctional Centre. The retention factor during this intervention was the information, the topics covered and lessons learnt. "*It was knowledgeable; we enjoyed it because it will help us for the future*" *(*Dube, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Some of the offenders expressed that one of the downsides of being imprisoned is that they become out of touch with developments in the outside world in terms of technology, infrastructure, law, health and government policies. Hence they really enjoyed the course because it provided information about a variety of issues, allowing them that glimpse into what is happening outside of prison, and thereby bridging that gap of social exclusion created by imprisonment.

> *But seriously I'm five years in prison I'm scared to go out because we don't know what's waiting on us on the outside, how the community changed, how the infrastructure changed...the law changes a lot on the outside while you are in prison...* (John, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The information provided by the F4L programme therefore also helped to minimise the offender's fears of going back into their communities upon release as they now had some idea about what to expect in terms of the issues mentioned above. One of the main challenges faced by the offenders at the Correctional Centre was that of idleness.

> *...I see myself as a laggard here, I am lazy so my brain from outside I like to always be multi-tasking doing a lot of things so when I'm here I don't get to exercise my brain the way I was doing outside...(*Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The offenders also enjoyed the F4L programme because they felt that the information they received stimulated their brains, keeping them active, giving them something to do, something they viewed as a huge reliever of stress, as it prevented them from thinking too much and focusing on the negatives (i.e., the stress of being imprisoned, the crimes they committed or the fear of not knowing whether they will be accepted by their families and communities after prison). The fact that they were also given reading material that they could read and refer to during their own time when the classes are not taking place also played a big role in alleviating this boredom and stress. While all the offenders did enjoy the F4L

programme as a result of the information gained during the programme, there were those who expressed that they did not enjoy all of the subjects covered during the programme.

> *The only thing that is negative there that I see is when it comes to these things of gays you know, personally I don't like it because where I come from we were not taught man can have, you know, sex with same sex* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

According to the Participatory Communication approach development initiatives need to accommodate the cultural identity of the community receiving development (Servaes, 1996). This statement indicates that this particular offender comes from an environment or culture where issues of gays and lesbians are not a norm. If the offenders had been given an opportunity to voice their opinions about what they think their problems are, then this situation could possibly have been avoided. Due to the fact that there is a huge problem with sodomy at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre (as mentioned by the Social Worker), the topic of gays and lesbians could probably not be discounted, but had the offenders been given an opportunity to communicate their opinions about the topics before the F4L programme started, then maybe both Silver and the offenders would have been aware that there are individuals to whom the subject is not just a source of discomfort, but a cultural taboo and therefore try to find ways to accommodate them.

Another offender also communicated that whilst he enjoyed the F4L programme, he felt that there was too much focus on women abuse and nothing about men getting abused by women.

> *...What it does only, it concentrates on the fact that women must be protected. And vice versa, if you look at it, we men we also get abused, so there should also have been an activity that is put there that whenever that thing comes how are we going to handle it, how do we protect ourselves cause the only weapon that we know is violence...* (Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

However, whilst there were certain aspects or topics that the offenders did not enjoy (i.e., the topic on gays and lesbians or women abuse), they all certainly enjoyed the F4L programme as they remained in the programme for the entire course to qualify as Assistant Coaches by

staying committed to the programme and actively participating in all the activities involved. But did this enjoyable participatory encounter lead to any kind of change? According to the CFPD model both individual and social change are the expected outcomes of dialogue and collective action during a participatory development intervention. The following parts of this chapter will explore the individual and social change outcomes of the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Individual outcomes: Creating awareness, changing perceptions & behaviours

During the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, the offenders who participated in the programme became aware or were conscientised about a number of issues concerning manhood. There was thus an increased level of awareness amongst the offenders about issues such as: how to handle your money, what it means to be a man, as well as HIV and AIDS amongst other things.

> *I'd say what I learnt about HIV, I really learnt a lot of things about it, and I know how, I learnt to live my life in prison because not only outside you can contract HIV as well in prison. Sharing other things in the prison like shaving stick, shaving machine like clipper and not to do other things, activities inside the prison. How to avoid myself, how to contract HIV* (Shaun-Doe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Due to the fact that the pre-evaluation of the offenders' perceptions on HIV and AIDS and sexually related issues revealed that many of the offenders were scared to talk openly about HIV and AIDS out of fear of being discriminated against by other offenders at the Correctional Centre changing this perception became one of the main objectives of the F4L programme. Confessing to previously being discriminatory towards people with HIV or AIDS prior to attending the programme and then changing as a result of the F4L programme, an offender provided an indication that the programme had succeeded in so far as encouraging them to talk openly about this issue.

> *…I was a person, and I was a person who was too ignorant, so it changed me, it made a very very good impact in my life. Cause now I can even stay with a person, and even though with these people who are sick I am now able*

> *to confront a person you see, and say if you HIV sharp, you have told of this and this and this. I can face challenge every day, every challenge I am able to face* (Vukile, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This particular participant therefore displays a change in attitude towards his perceptions of people with HIV. Unlike before where he used to stigmatise them and even keeping far away from them, he was now able to come close to them and talk to them as a result of the F4L programme. The F4L post-evaluation report also revealed that the increased level of awareness about HIV and AIDS and surrounding issues was not the only thing that was achieved amongst the offenders, as there was also a reduction in risky sexual behaviour amongst the offenders For instance, the post-evaluation report reveals that while 3% of the offenders reported that they had had sex in the last three months of the F4L programme, 91% reportedly did not have penetrative sex, opting for abstinence as a preventative measure against HIV infection (Khoza, 2011). Another offender even indicated that through the F4L programme he was encouraged to go for an HIV test at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre as a result of the programme, and that he plans to ensure that he continues this responsible sexual behaviour even when he is out of prison.

> *… I was a person who didn't use a condom and would just do and tell myself that these are small children who will grow up all those things. But since having done this course I saw a lot of things, that, I was able to do a test here and that when I get out a person must use a condom now…* (Okwakhe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The intention or desire to adopt responsible sexual practices, such as HIV testing, abstinence and even condom use during sex, as a direct result of the F4L programme was thus evident during the study. This is an indication that the F4L programme had succeeded in influencing the offenders to talk more openly about HIV and AIDS, sex and other related issues. Having influenced the offenders' perceptions and behaviours the F4L programme therefore acted as a symbol of influence. Symbols often act as the driving force of thoughts, which informs the behaviour and decisions a person makes (Bandura, 1989). In this way human beings, and in this case the offenders, displayed that they have the capability to symbolise, acting as "contributors to their own motivation, behaviour and development within a network of reciprocally interacting influences" (Bandura, 1989:8). A further discussion explaining how

the F4L programme managed to facilitate this process will be discussed under the 'Modelling role models' section below.

Individual outcomes: Other skills and further behaviour change gained

In addition to transforming some of the offenders perceptions and behaviours towards risky sexual behaviours and HIV and AIDS, some evidently also learnt how to handle stress, how to budget, how to develop healthy relationships, how to overcome anger, how to make decisions and some even stopped smoking due to the programme. In fact, it seems that over and above the topic of HIV and AIDS, these were the topics that had the most significant impact in terms of not only their popularity and appeal amongst the offenders, but also in terms of effecting behaviour change amongst the offenders. For instance, fuelled by idleness, stress was cited as one of the biggest challenges that the offenders are faced with at the Correctional Centre, leading them to end up engaging in drug and alcohol abuse, which are used as a means of reducing their stress levels.

> *Like there some people smoke ganja, they drink Bamba, all these things, but to hide their brain you know, not to be feeling bad or having pains in heart…(*Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Another offender also described how idleness and the lack of activity at the prison was a big source of stress.

> *For me the problems that I face being here, they are psychological…when I'm here I don't get to exercise my brain the way I was doing outside…(*Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

After the F4L programme this same offender reported that he was now able to handle stress due to the programme. His biggest source of stress was his relationship with his girlfriend. Prior to the attending the F4L programme, he said that he used to constantly worry about her whereabouts and about whether or not she had moved on. However, from attending the F4L programme he learnt to firstly accept that he was in prison, something that he was struggling to do, and secondly try to accept that his girlfriend could move on and that this was something he had no control over. From the F4L programme he also learnt that over and

above recognising what is stressing you, another way of managing your stress involves taking action to manage the conditions of your environment.

> *So I had this tendency of liking to phone, "where are you sweetheart, what are you doing?" "I've called this and this." And when I'm done it causes us tension too much, so now I deal with the stress how? I make her to miss me not for me to miss her. So if she was meant for me she will come, if she leaves then that thing that makes her leave she will come back. So I play far away from the phone. Number two I focus on the people I engage with, with the topics* (Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Hence, not only did the F4L programme help him to identify what was oppressing him, but it also motivated him to find his own solution to this problem, taking action towards his liberation from stress (Freire, 1970).

Budgeting was by far the most popular topic covered during the F4L programme amongst the offenders, who despite being in prison felt that this part of the programme made them aware of some of the mistakes that they had made prior to imprisonment when it came to handling their finances, many of which had led to their imprisonment. Once again the F4L programme helped the offenders become conscientised about what was oppressing them (Freire, 1970).

> *Alright sister for me this course helped me a lot in things like budget. Because outside I was a person who when with money, I was spending it badly with girls and all these things* (Okwakhe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Following his release from Heidelberg Correctional Centre, Joe-Joe, the former offender who was unemployed and making a living out of selling second hand clothing, also indicated how he was applying what he had learnt from the F4L programme outside of prison. These included things like how to budget and save, how to relate to others including how to be a good father and husband.

> *I can budget, how to spend money I have, the little I have. Then I don't spend unnecessarily, unlike before. Like I would spend on drinks, buy drinks for friends anyhow. But now before I spend any little money, no matter how much*

it may be, I must think twice. So if it's gonna be expense that is going to be a benefit to me, so that is it. Then I know also how to make savings right now (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Although this budgeting seems like an insignificant in a prison context, as offenders are not allowed to handle money, it bared great significance for this offender who shared that he was able to utilise the budgeting skills acquired from the programme even whilst he was still in prison.

There in prison you are not meant to deal with money, when it comes to the provision I had in my locker there, I started economizing you see, how to like I say Tuesday I'm gonna use this let me just keep this for me, but before I don't know, I eat any how I want…But from the course I decided no, I'm not gonna eat the way I used to eat before, I'm gonna economize life and know how I, but before if my brothers they come to see me. They gonna buy about five or four hundred stocks in the shop there, give that thing they bought, those groceries two weeks, it's finished, you see I eat anyhow. Then I decided no, if they come in I tell them no put the money cause I still got those stocks, ja, from there I learnt how to manage many things (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The F4L programme also helped discourage the offenders from bad behaviours, such as drug abuse and smoking. In fact Mr Majozi, an offender even mentioned how the F4L programme encouraged him to stop smoking.

And the programme itself it shows me that now the little money I'm wasting on cigarettes is the money that now I can build my future. This portion which was talking about money, not misusing money because I've realized that now by buying cigarettes is wasting money. So I've taken a decision there and there that now I'm quitting smoking (Mr Majozi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Similarly to a study exploring 'prisoners' views on making healthy choices in prisons in England, where offenders who wanted to quit smoking saw imprisonment as a rare

opportunity to gain access to receiving 'nicotine patches' and attending quitting classes (Condon et al., 2008), this programme therefore also provided a rare opportunity for this group of offenders to learn valuable skills. For many of offenders who had led very destructive lives before being in prison, imprisonment becomes their only chance to receive constructive assistance towards rehabilitation (Hayton, 2007).

Individual outcomes: Modelling role models

Due to the culture circle environment created amongst the offenders, vicarious learning took place. This means that over and above learning through the set F4L curriculum the offenders were also able to learn through observing other people's life experiences and behaviours, the consequences, as well as their response to their circumstances (Bandura, 1986; Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 1978). The offenders were thus enabled to learn from each other's life experiences.

> …*So that individual experience is different to the next person so by sharing you get to learn a lot from those people, so by participating I think you are helping the nation, not an individual but the nation. Because your opinion, your experience, because maybe it might be unique, you might be the only one who has experienced that particular experience, so by sharing your views with other people they will learn from them. I think it's a good thing so, and as an individual you also feel good by helping the next person, I think it's a good thing. So seeing other people get help from you, yeah* (Senzo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

In fact, Joe-Joe, the former offender, confessed to applying a specific business idea that he had learnt from one of the offenders during the F4L programme post-release as a means of survival.

> *You know we were discussing on this savings and budgeting and there's another topic we were discussing that day. So he has everyone a chance to speak so out of people's opinion then I pick. You see how I learnt. Like there's another white guy there. He taught us that he owns a business, these are things he does, these are ways he started, he started expanding, so I*

> *learnt that idea. I got it from the meeting. If not that meeting of Brothers for Life I wouldn't have known about things like that* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Acting as a verbal symbolic model the 'white guy' mentioned here was clearly able to influence this former offender by encouraging him to acquire a new business skill just through sharing about his own life experiences. Joe-Joe thus clearly paid attention to the white guy's story, a fellow inmate whom he now viewed as a brother. Hence here although Joe-Joe and the 'white guy' he mentions belonged to different race groups and even and different nationalities (Joe-Joe was Nigerian and the 'white guy' South African) he was able to listen to him because they not only shared a similar social status as offenders, but they also viewed each other as brothers. The sharing of a similar social status between the model and the observers is a very important stimulant for observational learning to take place (Bandura, 1989).

Joe-Joe's ability to further remember the modelled behaviour of this business idea, even post-release, proves that Joe-Joe had gone through the first two stages of observational learning, which are the 'Attention' and 'Retention' stages. Proving that there was no "… developmental lag between comprehending and performing" (Bandura, 1989:29), Joe-Joe was able to not only consider the symbolic message offered by the 'white guy', but he was able to implement the idea motivated by his need to earn a living outside of prison. In this way Joe-Joe was able to fulfil the next two steps involved in the process of observational learning which are, the 'Motor Reproduction' and 'Motivation' (Bandura, 1989). Although individuals can model behaviour through different processes (Ormond, 1999), Joe-Joe's process of learning this new behaviour sequentially went through the four stages of observational learning as posited by Bandura (1989). This provides an example of and is testament to the fact that observational learning through role modelling took place amongst the offenders who participated in the programme.

In addition, the F4L programme also deliberately made use of Silver a former professional soccer player, strategically using his celebrity status as a key factor in achieving the desired results. Silver therefore went into the F4L programme as a role model hoping to impart knowledge and skills to the offenders by leading by example, drawing from his own mistakes

and general life experiences as a former soccer star. This came as no surprise as a model's social status can often influence the behaviour of his observers (Bandura, 1989).

> *I think my role as an ex-professional footballer, also as the facilitator of the programme I think it's important because I have made mistakes as a man I'm giving them my experiences of being in the lime light and having through a phase where I had everything, I've done everything to show them that as a man you need to have certain skills for you to be able to balance your everyday life* (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

When the F4L programme started at Heidelberg Correctional Centre, Silver was able to successfully establish an environment where he and the offenders were equal, and could thus share information and learn from each other. "*He learnt also from us. A lot of niggers or a lot of guys there had hard experience of life as well. They will tell. You know we learnt from each other*" (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The offenders also saw him as an advisor, a motivator, a mentor, a friend, someone that they could share their personal experiences without the fear of judgement or discrimination. This came as no surprise as a role of a facilitator in development often varies between, "instructor, assessor, friend, mentor, facilitator, chauffeur, demonstrator, adviser, supporter, fact finder, motivator, counsellor, organiser, planner and the Fountain of all Knowledge" (Topend Sports Network, n.d.:1). According to the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace (2011), key to the role of a facilitator is his/her emphasis on dialogue, building partnerships and sharing knowledge (UNOSDP, n.d.). As already indicated above this clearly took place as the offenders felt free to converse with Silver and with each other, and thus learning and developing each other. Furthermore, it seems like while a minority of offenders felt that Silver's celebrity status had no bearing on the outcomes of the project, a majority of the offenders admitted that Silver's celebrity status was mostly responsible for their initial participation in the programme. This means that most of the offenders were initially attracted to the programme because they heard that Silver, a former soccer star, someone some of the offenders had only seen on television was going to facilitate the programme.

> *That's why I think Brothers for life did well by choosing people who sort of have a status on TV. Because you see a normal person from out of the blue,*

> *who just comes to talk to inmates and tells them to behave it's just a waste of time* (Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Although this factor originally acted as a hook (Amara et al., 2005; Green, 2008), for these offenders it also became a retention factor as it developed a certain degree of respect for this celebrity and role model who the offenders admired for being able to humble himself, bringing himself down to their level. This was particularly crucial as role modelling can only take place when the mentor is able to help the mentee achieve behaviour change by leading by example. Hence, by treating the offenders with respect and humility, Silver set a precedent of humility, tolerance and respect that the offenders wanted to emulate (Schultz, 2004).

> *Then he brought himself down and got to this stage where now he is able to speak maybe to us who are inmates, it's rare to see someone who lets say like a celebrity to come and talk to inmates. So for us it made us to be interested to do the course* (Charlie-Charles, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Comparing Silver to other facilitators of other programmes that they had attended at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, an offender mentioned how Silver was different to other programme facilitators who clearly did not care about them as he did.

> *Other ones they are not free, they're not friendly, they're not, they just you know, I don't know how I put it, they don't feel okay with us. Like I can remember when we did, there's another HIV course we did there, they guy that was teaching there, was not, he's only, he does like I don't care. He doesn't come close to people; he's only just there to teach. Then when he's done he is packing is gone. So he's not like that. So he is a different person* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The offenders therefore very strongly expressed the fact that they appreciated Silver's genuine concern for them. This is pertinent as Freire (1970) also stipulates the importance of love and humility during development in order to establish dialogue and therefore true development.

> *…. He motivated a lot of us, the soccer is nice, this and that. If you can concentrate, then you're gonna get your goals, you see. He advised us in many things. Anything we do in life apart from soccer ja he's very good. That focus your mind and be bound to it, to that, you know, a hard worker. I really liked the way he treated us, he's a nice guy. He's a nice a guy, you know he has that real feeling of a human being, he feels for people to be in there…* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

However, one thing that was key to the offenders in terms of influencing their behaviour was Silver's role as a man, as they were men themselves. According to Bandura's Theory of Self-Efficacy, if a model shares characteristics that are similar to those of the observing learner, and displays an activity that is highly skilled, then the learner is most likely to be keener to perform that behaviour (McCauley & Mihalko, 1998). During a Kenyan sport programme called *Moving The Goalposts* (MTG), using a peer education strategy to teach teen and pre-teen girls about reproductive health issues such as HIV and AIDS, menstruation and how to practice safe sex one of the coaches said,

> The girls they don't like to have a male coach because sometimes they have their own problems, like when they have their periods and they can't tell the male coach or sometimes they are hungry and they can't tell the male coach. They are not comfortable telling such things to male coaches. Sometimes the male coaches can even start to take the girls as women and have sex with them (Women Win, n.d.).

Similarly during the F4L intervention the offenders felt that the fact that Silver was a man impacted their ability to communicate and participate in the programme more freely, especially given the fact that the programme was about manhood.

> *Silver was right because as a man we were able to talk everything and then if maybe it was a woman there might have been things that we were not gonna be able to talk about maybe, you understand. But because he was a man we were free with everything, there was nothing we didn't talk about* (Buhle, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This too formed an integral part of the offenders' observational learning process, as having models who share some form of sameness with their observers helps influence their behaviours. The fact that the majority of the offenders were black just as Silver was black also played a role in reinforcing this established common ground as it meant that he could also speak some of their African languages, encouraging dialogue amongst the offenders. Furthermore, by portraying some of the topics through relating his own personal stories or using videos, Silver was able to make the intervention interesting and enjoyable, further influencing the offenders behaviours. In this way, Silver was able to fulfil the three different ways through which models attract the attention of their observers. The first involves models influencing learners through status, features of sameness and similarity and attractiveness. The second sees race, gender and social or economic status as playing a role in observational learning. The third believes that the way in which a model presents or portrays his behaviour is very important (Bandura, 1989). Attesting to having learnt not just from the F4L programme but from Silvers own personal experiences, Joe-Joe indicated that he had also undergone through observational learning. "…You see, not only the programme, him personally, his personal life it contributed to my life" (Joe-Joe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

According to this offender observing Silver's genuine acts of compassion towards him and the other offenders in the group influenced the way he related to people.

> *He wants to know about me. He said what crimes I committed? I say I didn't commit any crime. This is what happened to me, then he felt for me then he asked me do I have family here this and that? How do they come to see me am I having visitors you know? He feel for me. So he made me, if not him, there are things that I hate in there that I would've done something bad that will keep me again in there* (Joe-Joe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Here, Joe-Joe pointed out that prior to participating in the F4L programme he had trouble trusting people, this he found often made it difficult for him to relate or communicate to others. However, through watching Silver's own behaviour towards him and the rest of the offenders in the F4L programme he found himself relating very differently to people even outside of prison.

> *I'm a player, I play keyboard, I play guitar and I sing in church there I don't, I just finish and then. But these days I can shake, how are you? Before I'm not good in doing that* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Here we see that the offender has once again gone through the four critical stages of observational learning described by the Social Cognitive Theory, but this time the model was Silver. This offender began by observing Silver, paying attention to what he was doing and was drawn to Silver by his humility and compassion, this is the 'attention stage.' The second stage known as the 'retention stage' sees the offender retaining this information, the retention of the observed behaviour was reinforced by Silver's consistency in terms of keeping his commitments and displaying this compassion for the offenders throughout the F4L programme. During the third stage, called 'motor reproduction' is where the offender clearly translated the messages of compassion observed in Silver into action (Bandura, 1989). Impressed by Silver's behaviour towards him and fellow offenders this offender was encouraged to trust people again and to gain his own sense of compassion and interpersonal skills, which translated into him learning to reach out to others, showing kindness and compassion through shaking people's hands, something he admits to previously struggling to do. In this way he fulfils the fourth stage which is the 'motivation' stage as he was motivated enough to display what he had learnt from Silver . This is due to the fact that by arousing an emotional reaction from its observers, models such as Silver, and the Assistant Facilitator. vicariously cause observers to acquire, values, attitudes and to form emotional connections to people and places (Bandura, 1989).

Another level of observational learning occurred through the offenders' observation of the Assistant Facilitator, a former inmate. Although there was no specific behaviour change amongst the offenders as a direct result of his participation the Assistant Facilitator participation played a very important role in the F4L programme and may have even contributed to motivating the offenders to remain and participate in the programme. This was particularly due to the fact that the Assistant Facilitator had not only been a former inmate who had been exposed to challenges that were similar to those facing the offenders, causing the offenders to relate to him well, but the Assistant Facilitator had also attended the F4L programme as an inmate at the Boksburg Correctional Centre. The Assistant Facilitator was

thus a symbol of hope for a better life outside of prison for the offenders. Meaning that he gave a hope that their negative behaviours could really change and they could become better people, free from a life of crime. It also made them believe that they too could find jobs outside of prison upon release. Hence even though the offenders were very keen to listen and learn from the Assistant Facilitator, particularly because they too shared certain similarities, this study found no evidence that any behaviour modelled by him was replicated by the offenders. However, there was a strong desire and motivation amongst the offenders to replicate his behaviour of keeping busy, volunteering, and finding work post release in order to keep away from a life of crime. Nonetheless, I can arguably say that even though there was no evidence of execution of the learned behaviour amongst the offenders, the offenders engaged in all four stages of observational learning as a result of the Assistant Facilitator who acted as yet another verbal symbolic model (Bandura, 1989).

> *Really, really it showed us that we still have life outside because [Assistant Facilitator] is also was able to get this knowledge from prison, then he went outside and continued with this thing. That means that it can happen even to us, that we can still do the same. So he motivated us,…* [Assistant Facilitator] (Bongumusa, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

In the past modelling influences were mostly limited to one's immediate surroundings, but with the advancement of technology, people have become exposed to a wider range of modelling influences (i.e., television) (Bandura, 1986; Pearl, Bouthilet & Lazar, 1982). Hence this intervention also saw the use of videos and reading materials, such as the F4L game plan and the B4L toolkit as models modelling different forms of behaviours, indicating that yet another level of observational learning had taken place amongst the offenders, but this time via imagery symbolic models. One of the offenders related how this process of observational learning took place directly from the reading material provided during the F4L programme.

> *Ja, he gave us these things, when we enter into the sections we sit on our own and read. After they lock us in, then we sit down and learn that this is how we are supposed to treat one another as people* (Mlungisi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This was also evident in the example provided above when Mr Majozi decided to reconcile with his children after having watched a video teaching about good family values. Mr Majozi's example provides a good illustration that he too had undergone the four stages of observational learning to the point where he was not only motivated to replicate the lessons learnt in the video, but he also carried out the learned behaviour as he was motivated by the prospect of reconciling with his children, bringing his family back together again (Bandura, 1989). Although this study did not extend its research into the broader prison community at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, due to limits in the access to the offenders, some of the offenders who participated in the programme reported that they were able to influence the behaviours of some offender in their sections or cells. This constitutes another level of observational learning that took place at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. This was also evident when Jabulani, one of the offenders who managed to resolve conflict that had erupted in his cell amongst other offenders emerged as a leader and motivator to one of his peers. Although the observing offender clearly paid attention, was able to retain what he saw from Jabulani there is no indication that he also wanted to replicate or actually replicate this behaviour. He therefore arguably only underwent the first two stages of observational learning (Bandura, 1989).

> *I mean there is another one, last week we were talking in our cell, and he said to me. So there was a quarrel, there was conflict in the cell but I resolved it because it got finished in a way that Mdunge told me that I'm a true motivator* (Jabulani, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This was key as the main objective of this intervention was for the offenders who attended the F4L programme to become Assistant Coaches. This meant that they were expected to become role models to the other inmates at the centre as Peer Educators. Judging from Jabulani's remarks one can say that role modelling was in fact achieved between the offenders in the F4L programme and those offenders who had not participated in the F4L programme, as the offenders (now Assistant Coaches) became mentors who could help some of offenders in their sections (mentees) to obtain valuable knowledge and skills (Schultz, 2004). To determine whether this behaviour was emulated amongst the broader community of offenders at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre presents an opportunity for another study.

Hence, "[u]nlike learning by doing, which requires altering the actions of each individual through repeated trial-and-error experiences, in observational learning a single model can transmit new ways of thinking and behaving simultaneously to many people in widely dispersed locales" (Bandura, 1989:22). This was clearly evident during this intervention as the offenders were afforded the opportunity to learn observationally through symbolic modelling from the same models at the same time making the potential for behaviour change to take place faster. This is the most distinct power of symbolic modelling (Bandura, 1989).

Social outcome: Information equity and equal access to resources?

Despite the fact that this community consisted of offenders with different levels of education (i.e. 76% with secondary education, 17% with tertiary education and 3% with primary education) (Khoza, 2011), they all had equal access to the information that formed part of the F4L programme. Hence all of the offenders who participated in the F4L programme were given an equal amount of reading material (i.e., F4L game plan and the Brother for Life toolkit), they were all allowed to watch the videos (i.e. on family values) that were used as part of the F4L programme so that they could all engage in the conversations or discussions. The fact that all the offenders participating in the F4L programme were literate was largely due to the fact that during the selection of participants only those participants who could read and write were enlisted to participate in the F4L programme.

However, even though they could all certainly read and write, based on the offenders varying levels of education listed above, the degree to which those with a lower level of education vis-a-vis those with a higher level of education understood the information provided (especially the reading material given to them to read in their spare time) by F4L is not clear. So although they all received this material, there could be those offenders who struggled to understand or were not interested in some of the information contained by it. However, whilst there was a free flow of information amongst the offenders, there were certain topics or problems that the offenders felt still needed to be addressed (i.e., how men should handle being abused by women). In addition to providing an equal access to resources such as reading material and t-shirts distributed to the offenders, the F4L programme was also successful in that it did not reinforce the restrictive, authoritative environment that offenders are subjected to in a prison environment. Hence the open and dialogical environment created during the F4L sessions. According to the F4L organisation, the certificates awarded to the

offenders at the end of the programme are not only awarded in recognition of having attended the entire five month programme, but are also meant to increase the offenders access to finding employment, a resource that is often very difficult for former offenders to attain due to a lack of education, skills and having a criminal record.

During a drug rehabilitation programme based in New York, called *The Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison Programme,* targeting offenders who are addicted to drugs, offenders who successfully completed the programme often have their charges dropped, whilst those who fail the programme are sent back to court where they are re-sentenced and sent back to prison (National Institute of Drug Abuse, 2003). Similarly to this programme, this study also found that offender's participation in the F4L programme or other health promotion or skills-based programme administered at the centre increased their chances of getting parole. For example, the Assistant Facilitator mentioned that the fact that he was behaving and performing his duties as an Assistant Coach had a bearing on his sentence. "Ja, ja. With parole you do half and then half you do outside. If you behave in jail, I was behaving; I was coaching even the prisoners" (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

The F4L programme thus also equitably gave the offenders an opportunity to gain another important asset, their freedom.

Social outcome: Creating new identities - A sense of community/bonding/brotherhood

Although sometimes sport can be seen as providing a platform that reinforces social exclusion (i.e., gender discrimination and racism.) (FRA, n.d.) this was clearly not the case during the F4L programme. Due to the fact the offenders were able to stay committed to the programme for the entire five months; they were able to spend enough time together to form bonds with each other, thereby fulfilling one of the envisaged outcomes of social change stipulated by the CFPD model (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). While this group of offenders was made up of different offenders some of which came from different sections, different cells, arrested for different crimes, spoke different languages, and belonged to different race groups, during the F4L programme they all shared one similar identity, they were all men who wanted to become Assistant Coaches, a goal which they all achieved as they all attended the entire course. These shared identities are also known as 'local cultures' (Kincaid, 1988; 1993).

The offenders were thus a group of men who believing that they had made terrible mistakes in their lives, attended the course out of a deep desire to become better men, this is why they were so eager to learn from the F4L programme. Although there were occasional disagreements amongst the offenders as they debated different topics, the convergence of dialogue was always facilitated and ensured by Silver. This, together with the 'local culture' established during the course of the programme discouraged the creation of sub-groups amongst the offenders, thus ensuring that their ability to resolve their challenges through collective action was not reduced. Hence, there was a strong presence of collective efficacy amongst the offenders, who not only collectively engaged with each other to resolve problems, but who also believed in each other's efficacy to handle certain tasks (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). For example, this was evident when John, an offender expressed that he recognised the willingness and ability of other offenders in the group to train other inmates at the Centre.

> *…And seriously there's guys here that is actually willing, I can point them, I can put their names on…* (John, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Similarly to the F4L programme, during the *Street Socceroos* programme that took place in Cape Town some participants also indicated that their participation in the programme helped them to develop a sense of community and family amongst them (Sherry, 2010). It was obvious that the F4L intervention created a sense of community and brotherhood amongst the offenders, and even though this intangible social capital is often difficult to measure, it was achieved during this intervention (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). "But I think we as Brothers for Life the decision that we will take outside will be a decision that is good" (Sizwe, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Referring to himself and the rest of the group of offenders participating in the F4L programme, as 'we as Brothers for Life' in this quote alone also suggests that the offenders definitely felt a sense of shared ownership or belonging to the F4L programme. This was particularly important as, "local people must have a sense of responsibility for and control over programs promoting change so that they will continue to support them after the initial organizing effort" (Thompson & Kinne, 1999:30). It was this sense of brotherhood gained from their common experience of participating in the F4L programme that allowed the

offenders to be able to not only feel that they had the ability and power to make positive decisions as a result of the programme, but it was also this sense of brotherhood that allowed the offenders the ability to reflect on this experience as a collective during the post-evaluation session (Sherry, 2010). The precedence for this common sense of brotherhood was of course set by Silver when he told the offenders that they are all brothers' right at the beginning, before the programme was implemented.

Social outcome: Promoting tolerance and communal cohesion

Similarly to the Australian *Football United* programme that promoted tolerance and communal cohesion in refugee settlement areas (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010), the sense of brotherhood achieved amongst the offenders during the F4L programme helped to create an atmosphere of tolerance and compassion amongst the offenders. For instance, an offender expressed that he felt that South Africans were generally discriminatory towards African foreigners, and voiced that he did not think that he would have been able to access such a programme if he was outside of prison whilst living in South Africa.

> *I don't think it would come to us because the way things are being run here in South Africa, South Africa black brothers they don't talk of whites, they don't believe that we should live like brothers and sisters, they see us as, we leave our place to come to this place to just come and you know, bother them in the country…* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Despite these anxieties, the offenders felt they were a part of the F4L programme due to the non-discriminatory and brotherhood tone set by the Silver right at the beginning. The F4L programme was thus able to achieve a very important social capital of trust, which in turn created an environment of social cohesion. Silver's actions therefore encouraged the rest of the group not to view themselves and each other on the basis of race or nationality, but rather as men and brothers with common concerns and challenges, and therefore teaching them to have tolerance and compassion for one another. Although this community of offenders was so diverse, a platform for equal participation was encouraged. Even those who started out shy became encouraged to actively engage in the programme.

> *I think as with group involvement maybe when you start there are those who are shy, but as the group continues they also realize that no we are all welcomed and then they start opening up…(*Warden 1, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This learned tolerance and sense of social inclusion was also evident when one of the offenders relayed a story about how the F4L programme enabled him to help an ostracised mentally disturbed inmate at the Correctional Centre.

> *Like we spoke about health right, health and cleanliness, you get me? So in the section there is this guy, so he is not, he's mentally disturbed you see? So that guy he doesn't bath like completely he doesn't bath, he is always dirty, you get me? So I took him, this person and sat down with him and spoke to him like a guy that man, look this is your life there is no other person who will come from elsewhere, cause what he does he doesn't bath he wants cigarettes and says that he will only bath if he gets cigarettes, cigarettes. So I showed him a packet of cigarettes and said but he won't get it because this is what is destroying him. You are saying you want cigarettes so that you can bath your own body; you want to get paid to bath your own body?...You are supposed to know that you should bath, when you bath you look good, you are like other guys, you are decent, you look good, clean, everything then you will make me feel good inside, you understand? I said bath then he comes back and then I say you see now you are a real guy you are back to your senses. Since from that day he's okay, he's clean, the way I was able, he is clean and a lot of people cannot believe that he can be like this cause he used to not even clean in the cell cause he stays in a single cell* (Jabulani, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Before Jabulani approached the mentally disturbed inmate, the mentally disturbed inmate was ostracised not just by the rest of the prison community at Heidelberg Correctional Centre, but also by the offender relaying the story, firstly because he was mentally disturbed and secondly because he had a skin disease and was always dirty. He even stayed in a single cell separated from the other offenders reinforcing the social exclusion between him and the rest of the offenders in his section. In light of the fact that cleanliness and lack of good personal

hygiene amongst the offenders was also reported as one of the concerns of the officials at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, on one level this act by the F4L offender and its results had the potential of encouraging other inmates within that particular section or even in the broader prison population to take better care of themselves and bath, especially those who do not do these things. On another level this act also potentially communicated and promoted tolerance at least amongst the offenders in that section of the Correctional Centre. By reaching out to someone that the other offenders in the section viewed with great disgust, not only suggests that the F4L offender had gained compassion and empathy for the isolated offender, but it also promotes tolerance amongst the offenders.

Social outcome: The emergence of new leaders

In addition to the individuals who were identified as leaders at the very beginning of the F4L intervention, more individuals emerged as leaders within the group. These were individuals who were eager to pass on the knowledge that they had acquired from the F4L programme to other inmates at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Most of the offenders reported that other inmates who were not part of the F4L programme in their cells or sections were able to notice a change in them as a result of the programme and were thus treating them differently. As a result of attending the programme, these leaders became advisors, motivators and sources of information for other inmates in their sections.

> *Ja it changed it a lot cause you see even in the section there were people who didn't notice such things but now they are able to, they come to me and say can I please have this information, and if I have such a problem who do I go to. And even in the cell where I stay it changed a lot cause the person that they know I was before, the infrastructure that they see now, it is no more the one that they saw* (Vukile, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Showing that they had also learnt some conflict resolution skills from the F4L programme, one such offender described how his new role as an Assistant Coach helped him to emerge as a leader amongst his peers.

> *I mean there is this other one last week we were talking about things that happen in our cell, he said to me, so there was a quarrel and there was*

> *conflict in the cell. But I resolved this thing because it ended in a way that Mdunge even came to me and said that I'm a true motivator. I was looking at the things they were talking about you know, they were going nowhere you know, they were going around in circles and I decided that no let me step in and talk some sense to them. And I also not knowing that what I'm saying will change them and that meeting just ended just like that cause they understood the points I was saying. It also surprises me cause I also didn't know that, that knowledge that I gained here will work, so ja* (Jabulani, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Viewed with respect by other inmates in the prison, some of these Assistant Coaches therefore found that they were even able to influence these inmates to adhere to some of the rules in the prison.

> *...If the bell rings right now everybody should go to the cells. If it's somebody else they take time to go into the cells but if it is me who's saying no, no, no, get in, get in, they just go without* (Mr Majozi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

In contrast some of the offenders also reported that they were still being treated the same way by other inmates even though they were now Assistant Coaches. These were individuals who admitted that they had not relayed the information they had learnt from the F4L programme, an indication that these offenders had no desire to empower others. In their efforts to motivate, educate or even advise other inmates outside of the F4L programme, these Assistant Coaches sometimes received negative responses from their peers causing them to decide to discontinue teaching others.

> *So the reaction that I get in most cases is not nice. They say, "You think you better, ever since you went there, who are you?" "You are a psychiatrist?"* (Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

So whilst others did earn a lot of respect from their peers for being Assistant Coaches and having the kind of knowledge that they acquired, other inmates in their sections or cells perceived their efforts in a negative way. However, in the same way that they had earned the

respect of some inmates, some of these offenders also gained the respect of some of the wardens at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

> *No like before when we are in the section we usually sit as guys and talk only, so they used to come to us with a negative attitude, you get me? They would harass us and all that, you get me? You would be sitting and talking and then they would harass you, but now when we are sitting in the section, in the section we are few who did the course so the respect was there, that okay, these guys…* (Jabulani, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Another offender even reported that earning this respect from the officials helped them to earn their trust, something that is evidently very rare at the Correctional Centre.

> *Yes, yes. There are a lot because even if I come to one of the officials and say can I please go and see so and so, they don't ask these questions, why do you want to see them, ask all these things. Now they do understand that I'm an Assistant Coach and if I want to see somebody it doesn't mean that I've always got a negative answer. This thing that I did changed a lot of things because now I am able to move on a certain place on my own to another place, it's just to ask permission, can I please move from here to go to that section, can I please move from this section to go to that section and I can go until I come back without other things like many questions like what were you going to do there* (Vukile, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Although there was clearly a perception amongst some of the officials that the offenders who had attended the F4L programme were responsible, skilled and informed individuals, the general feeling and obstacle amongst the offenders was that the officials still mistrusted them. This mistrust from the officials posed a big challenge to the offenders, even threatening the offender's limited sense of self-efficacy that they had gained as a result of the programme. Bearing in mind the importance of trust during participatory development, this mistrust therefore stood as a potential threat to the overall development of the offenders, as by trusting the offenders the officials also communicate that they have faith in theirs ability to change. This is once again reminiscent of the idea that this intervention had taken a 'pseudo-participation' route where those in power remain in power unbelieving that those being

developed have the capability to change (Deshler & Sock, 1985). This lack of faith was thus displayed when one of the wardens described that though the offenders were very happy about the F4L programme as they were actively involved, engaging in the topics even when they were in their respective cells, he did not believe that there was necessarily any behaviour change amongst them.

> *They are still lying, even though everybody lies, but you know sometimes you don't expect people to lie about things that are going to help them. Ja, they still lie. I mean even myself I do lie but what's the other one, okay stealing somebody just took my pencil I'm not gonna say they stole my pencil but even though we made it clear to them that please guys I want these things back when you are done and it's not the first time when we give them those kind of things but most of the time they don't come back* (Warden 1, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

However, was this just a mere lack of trust or an indication that the offenders were not completely reformed as the warden's pencil was really missing? In addition to the challenge of mistrust, the offender also reported that because they did not trust them, another problem they experienced with some of the officials was that they did not respect them even after having graduated from the F4L programme, consequently contravening their human right to be treated with dignity and respect even though they are offenders (DCS, 2005).

> *I can say there are some police when you talk to them and you see that this person takes me as a person, there are others when they talk to you they say, "hey you inmate come here." Funny things that, and you see that this person the name inmate won't leave them* (Mlungisi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

After all preserving the dignity and human rights of all offenders is an ideal the Department of Correctional Services policy on rehabilitation is founded upon (DCS, 2005). However, this could also be due to the fact that the officials do not feel that they are equipped or skilled enough to be able to implement rehabilitation adequately resulting in them unintentionally negating this process.

> *We don't have a lot of resources here and we need external service providers to assist us with rehabilitation and we are not expertise in rendering rehabilitation…* (Social Worker, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

When the F4L intervention began at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre all the offenders who participated in the programme were taught about the role of an Assistant Coach. What they should and should not do as Assistant Coaches. Hence the F4L programme aimed at empowering the offenders to become individuals who would occupy positions of leadership within the broader prison community at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre as Peer Educators called Assistant Coaches. However, not all of the offenders in the group were able to achieve this and carry out their leadership role. Although some of the offenders were already actively engaging with fellow inmates in their cells or sections, transferring the information and skills they have learnt from the programme to certain individuals, the Assistant Coaches could not relay this information on a broader scale as envisaged.

> *…the main thing is this programme was given to us by Footballers For Life so we can actually go ahead and have workshops like we've been trained to do with other prisoners, but at this stage everything is like in a halt. Like you can go to the social department and you can ask them how many times please let's start giving proper training, we, all of us are trained. And then they said we must wait, wait, wait, we actually in a certain way need F4L people to stand behind us, because if you go to other prisons, there is a lot of inmates that actually do train like Assistant Coaches do…(*John, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

This was not only due to the fact that they lacked support from the officials (who clearly also had their reasons for not supporting them), but also because some of the offenders simply lacked the skills to assume positions of leadership, where they have to lead, guide, educate and essentially communicate what they had learnt with other inmates at the Correctional Centre who were not a part of the F4L programme. In fact, another offender in the group even suggested that although they are now Assistant Coaches they still feel that they need a leadership course where they can be taught how to facilitate the F4L programme.

> *The course everything is excellent, what we learnt is excellent, it's hundred per cent. But I feel as you qualify as an Assistant Coach a lot of us, all of us in life are leaders you got the ability to lead. Maybe a short or small course or type of what you call it, to be a type of facilitator…* (John, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The desire to improve their leadership abilities was an important outcome of the F4L programme, as it suggested that the offenders were not completely self-reliant or capable of performing their duties as Assistant Coaches, due to a lack of adequate leadership skills, despite the fact that the first phase of the F4L programme focused on training the offenders on how to become Assistant Coaches.

Social outcome: The desire for continual improvement

There was a general desire amongst most of the offenders that certain things need to be done to improve their capabilities in terms of delivering the F4L programme, such as the one mentioned above of undergoing leadership training. This was a crucial indicator that the offenders not only wanted the F4L programme to continue, but that they also wanted to be more effective in their role as Assistant Coaches. One of the main things expressed by the offenders is that they felt that they needed the F4L programme to continue far beyond the allocated five month period, meaning that they wanted to receive training and guidance from the F4L programme for a longer period.

> *But really it's like you train a lot of people for four months than what we need is continuous training afterwards and feedback and workshops so that the people that's been trained they can actually get the correct assistance and guidance because all of us we can learn but we always need guidance at a later stage as well…* (Silver, F4L Head Coach & Facilitator).

However, this time the offenders wanted the programme to take a different direction, focusing on equipping them with technical skills (i.e. computer skills and carpentry) that could help them to get employment post-release.

> *Okay we spoke to Bra Silver that when he comes with the next programme if he could include, maybe teach us maybe about computers, or something else*

> *that is a skill that when we come out we can do outside. Maybe have carpentry or engineering or something else that when we going outside we going to do especially computer* (Mondli, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

The desire to acquire additional and tangible skills that can improve the offenders' chances of employability outside of prison was a huge factor amongst the offenders who felt that the F4L programme could provide the opportunity for them to acquire such skills. This they believed would help them re-integrate into their communities more smoothly as it would allow them to go back into society with something that would help them find jobs or start their own businesses, and thereby become productive citizens who can contribute positively to their communities. However, whilst others suggested a completely different second or future offering of the programme others believed that future programmes merely needed to add, change or tweak certain topics.

> *…What it does only, it concentrates on the fact that women must be protected…if you look at it we also get abused, so there should also have been an activity that in put there that whenever that thing comes how are we going to handle it, how do we protect our self, cause the only weapon that we know is violence…* (Scelo, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Furthermore, taking into consideration the fact that only a limited number of offenders could participate in the F4L programme, to increase the number of offenders who can participate in the programme, the Social Worker suggested that F4L can bring in more facilitators and run the programme for more than just the normal two days a week. To improve the effectiveness of the F4L programme amongst the offenders post-release a lot of the offenders also expressed the need for the continual need for support from the F4L programme to sustain development. Even Bandura (1982) explains how even after the acquisition of self-efficacy or even collective efficacy those being developed need to continue receiving social support, especially during the 'formative years' where they are still vulnerable to a relapse. Silver also expressed that he recognised the need for the F4L programme to support the offenders who attended the programme even after they have been released from prison.

> *I think there are a number of areas that we need to focus on especially a situation where now we need to support these individuals when they go out of prison. This is where there's, there's a gap there. I mean you can give them all the skills that you can give them, they want to implement these things when they go out but do we have the resources to actually support them and give them the resources to actually do the work, that is where the gap is at the moment* (Silver, F4L Head Coach and Facilitator).

Although some of the offenders continued to display enthusiasm about implementing the programme after release some communicated how they still felt anxious and even worried about some structural factors that could potentially hinder their ability or self-efficacy to implement the programme outside of prison. For instance, displaying a sense of powerlessness or helplessness an offender explained how the element of culture and government structures or policies could hinder his desire and ability to deliver the programme in his home country due to the programmes inclusion of the topic on gays and lesbians.

> *...I think I can't be bold enough. There is gonna be a big problem because there are rights here for people like that, for the lesbian and gay people. There in my country I can't speak about that...* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Stuck in 'intransitive thought', which is only the first stage of critical consciousness (McLaren & Leonard, 1993). This offender was clearly oppressed by this topic. The sense of helplessness communicated in this statement suggests that Joe-Joe felt that even if he wanted to teach about this topic in his home country he would not be able to. This was due to powers or structures (i.e., politics, culture and policy), that are much bigger than him preventing him from speaking about this subject in Nigeria. This threatened his desire to fulfil one of the key objectives of the F4L programme of teaching other people what he has learnt through the programme through his role as an Assistant Coach. This is why the Freirean Participatory Communication approach proposes that certain social structures need to be changed in order for it to take place properly (Servaes, 1999). However, indicative of a truly empowering culture circle where solutions are prescribed by the members of the community (Abdullah, 1999), one of the offenders who was also a foreigner from Zimbabwe responded by

suggesting that he contextualise the F4L programme and accommodate the structural barriers that are present in Nigeria.

> *What I think if you want to run this course sometimes in countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi somewhere where the gays are not allowed you have to remove those topics of gays and brought topics of HIV, stress, people there will accommodate you it's obvious, you see it's what I think* (Shona-Smith, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

During this particular instance, the offenders were able to collectively realise or learn a very important part of participatory communication, the need for development to be a contextualised kind of development (Servaes, 1996). In other words, through these discussions the offenders were able to discover for themselves that participatory development needs to take into account the cultural identity of the beneficiaries, and be designed and implemented accordingly. Although the desire to implement the programme as Assistant Coaches was also present, it was quite apparent that the offenders biggest challenge was the lack of support from the wardens. Hence, the offenders also suggested that the F4L programme should also be administered to the prison officials at Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

> *...But I would be happy if maybe Brothers for Life next time if they come with course like this here in prison to not only look at one side only, that they only look at us as inmates only. We are all people like the members who work in prison for instance they especially need courses like this...* (Vukile, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

By indicating that they needed more training from the F4L organisation, either to train themselves or the prison officials at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre is an indication that the offenders saw the 'value for the continual improvement of the F4L programme' (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The value for continual improvement can be defined as a process where "people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together" (Senge, 1990:3), it is thus

clear that these offenders definitely saw the value for the continual improvement of the F4L programme.

Social outcome: A social crime prevention intervention?

The F4L intervention was a 'developmental crime prevention' programme due to its dedication to developing the offender's through dialogue. During such interventions, the length of the programmes is usually a critical factor in terms of effecting the desired change (Cameron & McDougall, 2000), as was the case with this particular intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

> *Behaviour change, sexual change takes time, it doesn't happen overnight and part of why we are in this sustained intervention is that you are there to assist people as they go through these changes, so you need to be present and it's got to be over time. So you can't teach the guys every morning for two weeks and then whoa you've finished the curriculum. So it had to be for a certain length of time, so five months was what it would take to finish the curriculum but give chance for regular visits* (Claire, F4L Director)).

However, by manipulating the prison environment in which the offenders are situated, creating a space where the offenders come together to share different ideas, and talk openly with one another as brothers, empowering one another, the intervention also took the shape of a 'situational crime prevention' strategy (Clarke, 1983). It was in this open and free atmosphere, as well as the information shared within this open and free atmosphere that the offenders acquired various skills that helped some of them move away from engaging in criminal activities, such as drinking alcohol, taking drugs and violence. The fact that these offenders were now Assistant Coaches and were even given certificates meant that they were now leaders and role models to the rest of the offender community at the Correctional Centre who therefore had to display leadership qualities and good behaviour, indirectly making them accountable for their behaviour. This strategy therefore thrives on providing a shift, a distraction from negative behaviours (Clarke, 1983).

Thus similarly to a swimming programme based in Western Australia aimed at overcoming theft and vandalism amongst a group of young offenders between the ages of 9 to 12 years

where some of the young offenders not only learnt positive behaviour from the intervention, but also developed some form of attachment and loyalty to the swimming complex (Smith, 1993:11), the offenders who had attended the F4L intervention also developed some form of attachment to the programme, committing to implement it in their own communities upon release. The collaboration that took place between F4L, DCS and JHHESA also make this intervention a 'community crime prevention' programme as all of these organisations worked together to enable the community of offenders to achieve their goals (Cameron & McDougall, 2000).

Lastly, the F4L programme was also a 'structural crime prevention' intervention as it not only took place in a prison, but had to allow for the presence of the wardens even while the intervention was being administered to prevent any opportunities for crime to take place. Though this was successful in that none of the offenders used the intervention as an opportunity to try and escape from the Correctional Centre, something that was a major concern for the prison officials, it was not always successful as one of the wardens reported that one of the offenders once stole his pencil during the intervention. The F4L programme was thus not an implementation of a single one of these strategies, but rather a combination of all four strategies. Although the successful rehabilitation and re-integration of offenders cannot be measured through a single indicator, health promotion programmes like the F4L programme are still generally expected to reduce the rate of re-offenders or recidivism (Mutingh, 2005). Hence one of the main goals of the F4L programme in terms of crime prevention was to reduce the rate of recidivism, which is reportedly a big problem at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. "*…as a correctional official again I'm also concerned when prisoners go out and come in, go out and come in…*" (Warden 1, Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Whilst the offenders who attended the F4L programme certainly learnt different skills that made them more self-aware and therefore develop a sense of accountability for their own actions and learn how to build healthy relationships with their peers and their families, the programme also showed the offender's different ways in which they can empower themselves and sustain themselves for life outside of prison. For instance, through the programme the offenders were taught how to start their own businesses, how to save money, how to be responsible men, fathers and husbands. Some of the offenders even had intentions to continue

implementing the programme outside of prison. In fact, just a few days before release, Joe-Joe (The Nigerian former offender) who had attended the F4L programme expressed with great confidence that he felt that he was well equipped for life outside of prison due to the skills that he had learnt from the F4L programme (i.e. decision-making, budgeting, conflict resolution, and being a good father and husband).

> *I will tell you, I am well equipped, now what I have achieved there I don't know most of them at times before, but this day is a very very confident and I'm prepared, well prepared, more especially in my family. I'm a married man; there are some things I don't participate as a man in my house. But these days I'm happy* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Joe-Joe was very excited and very positive about his prospects post-release because he felt that the F4L programme had given him the necessary tools to survive life outside of prison. However, this study found that despite their initial enthusiasm and confidence the offenders soon began to feel frustrated, heavily challenged by the many obstacles (i.e. unemployment, financial instability, discrimination and lack of acceptance from members of the community), that face them outside of prison. The most prominent one being unemployment.

> *Okay, my, the major need I want now is to get a permanent job, something that can sustain me and my family here in South Africa. Then wants, just things that I between my family, these are wants, like providing books, clothes for my kids, they are wants. Major one is shelter, the most important thing in South Africa is shelter* (Joe-Joe, former Offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Six months after his release the Assistant Facilitator also expressed his frustration of being unable to find a job.

> *Too much. But I'm going through, cause now I applied for a job in government and other shops and my sister Molly [the neighbour] usually checks some jobs for me and I'm not afraid that maybe I have a criminal*

> *record. I'm not afraid for that, I'm a man so if I can't get jobs I have to do piece jobs* (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

Though it was difficult to find employment post-release the study found one common factor amongst the Assistant Facilitator and Joe-Joe, who both reported that the F4L programme had taught them not to be idle, as idleness could potentially lead them back to a life of crime. "…You know they used to say an idle mind is a devils workshop, so instead of me stay without doing nothing, I think, that's what leads many people into crime…" (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Whilst Joe-Joe decided to implement a business idea that he had learnt about during the F4L programme from another offender in the programme, the Assistant Facilitator on the other hand decided to volunteer in the F4L programme to keep himself busy. In terms of Paulo Freire's (1970) Participatory Communication approach this was a positive indication that the offenders were not only aware of what was oppressing them, but that they were also determined to take action concerning their situation. Having moved back to live in a largely Nigerian community in the city of Johannesburg, South Africa with his wife and children following his release, the Nigerian offender faced another great challenge in the form of stigmatisation from certain members of his community.

> *You know one thing, if I should say about my people, the Nigerians, they are people that mock people okay, they mock at you. They were like they look at him, he went to jail, I thought he's a strong guy, he's gonna use money to manoeuvre things to bribe the court and all these things at the end he still went to jail. When you come out guys they talk anyhow, some people talk about you…* (Joe-Joe, former offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

In contrast to this former offender's experience, the Assistant Facilitator felt that most of the support he received was from members of his community, having a direct influence on his decision to stay crime free. "*Ja, but outsiders, like my neighbour, they support. Like if I say I'm looking for a job or I'm hungry. So I don't think I'll do crime again because when I ask for something it's given to me*" (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

Given the fact that the Assistant Facilitator had originally been arrested by his mother who pressed charges against him for damaging her house, and had now moved back to live in this very same house, the Assistant Facilitator felt very isolated by his family, especially by his mother, explaining why he felt more support from his neighbours then from his own family. However, what was also apparent was his application of some of the skills and techniques he acquired from the F4L programme to firstly manage his anger, a problem that had previously contributed to his imprisonment, and secondly to maintain healthy relationships with others. "*Like you see in this house when I do something good, hayi! She doesn't see it, it's like I'd rather leave. When she says you want to talk back, I just walk away*" (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

Similarly to the study examining young people released from prisons in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and North West (Roper, 2005), according to the Assistant Facilitator and Joe-Joe the present study found that these offenders were predisposed to certain challenges post-release. These challenges included: estranged family ties, finding employment, fighting the urge to commit another crime, being financially stable, finding decent housing, community stigmatisation, establishing and maintaining relationships with others.

Despite the tremendous progress and goals the Assistant Facilitator had set for himself, he was soon rearrested for contravening the terms of his parole. "*People here say that I'm changing. I do community service. I go and help people*" (F4L, Assistant Facilitator).

Although it is not clear exactly how he changed as this occurred after this research study was conducted, it can be assumed that the main contributor was idleness. The fact that the F4L organisation soon became non-operational due to not receiving any funding also meant that the Assistant Facilitator no longer had something that occupied his time. The lack of family support, acceptance and recognition for his efforts at being rehabilitated together with his inability to acquire employment, shelter and financial independence can also be attributed to the Assistant Facilitator's re-arrest. "There are a lot of challenges, especially where I come from. The thing that put me in jail is happening again. So it's very difficult" (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

During an evaluative study of a South African non-governmental programme called the *My path Programme*, seeking to determine how offender re-integration programmes could be

made more effective, it became apparent that there are three critical issues that need to be present during the offender integration and rehabilitation process (Roper, 2005). The first involves building and maintaining healthy relationships with family members whilst in and out of prison, and receiving family support throughout the entire offender integration and rehabilitation process (Roper, 2005). Although some of the offenders admitted to not having very stable and healthy relationships with their families, there were those who felt that the F4L programme had helped them gain the necessary tools to build healthy relationships with their families. For instance, one of the offenders explained that the F4L programme helped him rebuild his relationship with two of his children. Having previously chased them out of his house and disowning them for disobeying him whilst he was imprisoned, this offender explained how the F4L programme helped him let go of his anger towards his children and make an effort towards repairing his relationship with them. "*It has changed a lot because then I'd phone them and they did come and visit me*" (Mr Majozi, offender at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre).

Judging from the outcomes of the Assistant Facilitator's life it became very clear why the support of family is so important. The second issue that is of great significance towards achieving successful rehabilitation and re-integration is the content of the F4L programme which should make offenders become more self-aware (Roper, 2005). Generally finding the content interesting and enjoyable the discussions above also show how this content allowed the offenders who participated in the F4L programme become more self-aware, openly discussing and communicating their feelings, and acquiring with that, problem solving skills, self-confidence and tolerance. The F4L programme also taught the offenders how to set attainable and realistic goals in an effort to avoid being discouraged too quickly. For instance, the Assistant Facilitators mentioned that his future goals involved attaining basic things for human livelihood, such as shelter and employment.

> *My main one first is to get a job. I also wanna see my child. I want to have a house and be normal like everyone. I try my best when they say there's a post somewhere I go there and put my CV* (F4L Assistant Facilitator).

The third and necessary ingredient towards integration involves an offender's ability to have a sustainable financial status (Roper, 2005). The present study found that this was the most

challenging step for the offenders to attain due to the lack of family support, as well as unemployment.

Human development: The ultimate goal

According to White (1994), self-reliance is the ultimate goal of human development. Human development can be described as a process that involves, "increasing the richness of human life rather than the wealth of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of life itself…" (Sen, 1998). The fact that these offenders were able to undergo these changes in their behaviours or even perceptions is proof that they had reached a state of self-efficacy (at an individual level) and collective efficacy (at a community level), meaning that they were able to believe in themselves, in their ability to take action about their circumstances (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). However, in order for them to take action they first had to reach a state of awareness of the issues that were oppressing them, indicating the importance for individuals to be able to undergo a similar process of conscientisation in order to liberate themselves from their problems (Freire, 1970).

During a past F4L intervention facilitated amongst a group of young boys in Meadowlands, one of the F4L coaches was quoted saying, "Awareness is there for everyone but it is an individual's choice whether they use the valuable information or not" (Sekudu, 2010) (see Figure 5.2 below). The F4L organisation is thus clearly built upon the idea of believing that its beneficiaries have the capability to take action towards changing their circumstances, especially since the way that people perceive their capability to take action plays a big role in determining their level of accomplishment, motivation and self-control (Bandura, 1997).

Figure 5:2 F4L intervention in Meadowlands

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Ex-footballers make a difference!

By Bonolo Sekudu

Footballers for life, an organisation made up of ex-soccer players recently visited Meadowlands at the Zone 10 Hall.

The likes of Collen Tlemo, Bashin Mahlangu, Edward Motale, Silver Shabalala, Charles Motlohi and Enrico Bhana, all of which are ex-professional players work within the organisation.

Footballers for life is on a quest to make a difference in young people's lives, they visit communities to give talks on HIV/Aids and life skills.

The initial purpose for the formation of the organisation was for former players to guide current professional players about how to guard against challenges that come with being a well known person.

After a while, the organisation realised that there is a need to educate ordinary South Africans about life skills in order to better their lives.

On the day, soccer players from the area, pupils and parents joined the discussion.

"We offer these talks to help young people make better decisions, especially sexually.

"We invited parents as well to encourage them to engage in sexual education with their children," Tlemo said.

Sex is still a taboo subject in many households, but Tlemo says it is important for parents to talk to their children as young people end up not making informed decisions.

"Awareness is out there for everyone but it is an individuals' choice whether they use the valuable information or not."

Tlemo said the fight against HIV/Aids starts with an individual.

He said during his time as a soccer player, there were many challenges he faced.

"Girls threw themselves at me, parties were all over, I was famous and got excited by money.

"Our main aim now is to give talks in big clubs, alert them about the disadvantages of living reck-lessly.

"We also want to educate more youngsters, all over the country," said Tlemo.

A footballer for Life is on a mission to change young people's mindsets.

Source: Meadowland Urban News, April 23, 2010

Hence in this particular F4L intervention, the offenders also displayed this self-efficacy and collective efficacy as they also underwent a process where they recognised what their individual and collective problems were. They also took some action towards resolving those problems through emulating some of the behaviours or perceptions that were modelled by various models or simply taught during the lessons. Although like with all of their interventions F4L hoped to bank on this belief that the offenders had self-efficacy or collective efficacy, and that through this efficacy the offenders were going to become empowered or self-reliant, especially since this forms a very crucial part of health promotion interventions this was clearly not an easy task (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

The lack of faith in the self-efficacy of the offenders displayed by the Wardens, as well as the inmates inability to self-regulate clearly, affected the offenders self-efficacy. By not believing that the offenders had the capability to develop the Wardens also affected the offenders, collective efficacy as they (Wardens) risked leading the offenders to feel disempowered and despondent, lacking the necessary belief in themselves both as individuals and as a collective. This risked the offenders ability to rehabilitate, as having control over one's life is particularly crucial for the offenders, as it aimed to empower them to take advantage of

planned and unforeseen opportunities. To ensure that the acquired self-efficacy and collective efficacy amongst the offenders is sustained the offenders thus clearly require a form of social support not just from F4L, but also from the prison officials (Bandura, 1982).

Conclusion

In conclusion it is very clear that whilst the F4L intervention came with its many challenges (i.e. the lack of trust and authoritative nature of the prison officials), dialogue and collective action in the quest for human development were generally achieved amongst the offenders who participated in the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, especially during the implementation of the programme. This was evident firstly, through the individual outcomes that were present such as the improved self-efficacy of the offenders, change in perceptions about HIV and sexually related issues and attainment of new skills, such as budgeting, conflict resolution and decision-making skills. Secondly, human development was achieved amongst the offenders through the achievement of certain social outcomes of the F4L programme. For example, these included the offenders' value for continual improvement of the programme, social crime prevention, as well as the attainment of social cohesion amongst the offenders who participated in the programme and in the broader prison community at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. However, even though the intervention was a great success, these findings show certain areas of the F4L programme that still need to be addressed for the improvement of future programmes. Hence recommendations on how to improve the quality and effectiveness of future F4L programmes, and main findings of this study, as well as my own reflections on this research journey will be discussed in the next chapter as part of the conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Introduction

Premised on the ideals of Participatory Communication as posited by Paulo Freire, this study used the CFPD model to explore the concept of dialogue towards collective action in the Footballers for Life (F4L) intervention. Advocating for a participatory approach towards human development, Participatory Communication and its CFPD model thus purports the significance and presence of dialogue towards collective action amongst those who are being developed (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). This study also used the Social Cognitive Theory to investigate the notion of behaviour change, an envisaged outcomes of the F4L programme, particularly looking at how this is facilitated through role modelling. This chapter therefore aims to provide a comprehensive summary of the findings and conclusions reached during the study. It also aims to provide insights gained as a result of this study in the form of self-reflection and recommendations.

A summary: Findings, recommendations, reflections

Findings and Conclusions

In an effort to establish who or what instigated the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, this study found that the Social Worker at the centre could be identified as the catalyst or instigator. However, the study further discovered that the Social Worker's decision to invite the Facilitator (Silver) from F4L to administer the programme at the Correctional Centre was also driven by the Department of Correctional Service's mandate to not punish offenders, but rather rehabilitate them as stipulated in the department's Rehabilitation Path Policy (DCS, 2005). This was particularly significant, as the manner in which a development project starts, including identifying those involved often has a bearing on not just the outcomes of development, but also the process towards those outcomes. Taking a very consultative approach, the planning stages of the intervention at the Correctional Centre thus saw the mere mobilisation of the offenders in support of an initiative that was already organised and designed by F4L and its partners (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005).

Initially, this presented a number of consequences. For instance, the fact that the offenders were merely mobilised to enlist to a pre-designed programme denied the offenders an opportunity firstly, to develop an emotional attachment to the programme from the onset, because the topics and design of the programme were not identified by them, and secondly by so doing the offenders also did not feel that they owned the project at the beginning of the programme. The offender's detachment from the programme became quite evident as the offenders shared different perceptions of what the programme was about, some of whom even believed that the purpose of the programme was to teach them how to play soccer. This shows that dialogue amongst the community of offenders was certainly diverged or differentiated at this point, as the offenders did not share a common understanding, but instead shared varied perceptions. This threatened the possibility of the offenders ultimately sharing a common vision of development.

However, this 'pseudo-participation' (Deshler & Sock, 1985) approach, soon changed when the F4L programme begun. This was largely due to the offenders ability to relate to the topics, which although pre-determined, they generally found were relevant and applicable to their lives as men in and outside of prison. The study interestingly found that the topic on budgeting was by far the most favoured topic amongst the offenders. Despite the fact that the offenders are not allowed to handle money in prison, this study found that the offenders found this topic relevant. For instance, one of the offenders found that this topic helped him learn how to budget and manage the reserves of food and supplies brought for him by his family so that they last longer instead of being wastefully as he did before. This same offender also further related how he was applying the lessons learnt from this particular section of the programme in his daily life as a free man outside of prison, as he was now able to save and manage whatever little funds he acquired. Whereas all the critical decisions leading up to the actual intervention were in the hands of the F4L Facilitator and the Heidelberg Correctional Centre officials, when the intervention started, the offenders began to take centre stage, leading the conversations, contextualising the topics to fit their own lives and taking control of their own development. Despite the initial exclusionary approach, JHHESA, F4L's partner agency, the two F4L Coordinators, and the Heidelberg Correctional Centre officials can all be identified as having contributed towards helping the offenders achieve this liberation.

JHHESA contributed by providing the programmatic material used towards the development of the offenders. Although JHHESA's role during this particular intervention was also that of oversight and monitoring, JHHESA together with their donors USAID and PEPFAR were not directly involved in the F4L intervention through the direct participation of any of its members, something that can sometimes prove to be a disadvantage. According to Bunde-Birouste et al. (2010) the direct involvement of donor staff through voluntarism allows the donor to become personally attached to the project they are funding, making it difficult for them to discontinue funding, and thus prolonging funding of the project. In this particular instance this study found that JHHESA had to discontinue their technical support of the F4L programme before the programme was implemented in its entirety at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre citing financial constraints from their donors (USAID and PEPFAR) as the reason for the discontinued technical support. Although it is possible that JHHESA, USAID or PEPFAR's direct involvement in the F4L programme may have not guaranteed a continuation of support for F4L, this strategy is certainly worth adopting for future projects, especially since in this instance the discontinuation of funds meant that the offenders could no longer participate in the soccer tournaments, which were to serve as a critical reinforcement tool of the topics taught during the F4L programme.

Furthermore, the occasional direct involvement of members of the donor agency in future interventions can also help improve or sustain a good working relationship between donors and their partners. By working closely with the beneficiaries in this manner, donors get the opportunity to witness first-hand the impact of the development project which is implemented as a result of their contribution. This also allows the donor to gain immediate insight into the challenges that are experienced by both the implementing partner (i.e., F4L) and the beneficiaries (i.e., the offenders) during implementation (Bunde-Birouste et al., 2010).

The Assistant Facilitator and Silver can be identified as facilitators of the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. As a former inmate and F4L Assistant Coach, the Assistant Facilitator's role in the F4L programme became that of a source of motivation amongst the offenders. He allowed the offenders to develop a sense of hope about their prospects post-release in terms of finding employment and staying away from a life of crime. Thus through the Assistant Facilitator's participation, as Silver's assistant in the F4L programme, the offenders were enabled to gain insight into how their own lives could turn

out. Furthermore, this study found that the fact that the Assistant Facilitator was a former inmate himself, helped the offenders to feel more at ease during the programme, as they believed that having been an inmate, the Assistant Facilitator understood their position, challenges and fears they face as offenders. This was a very crucial factor, especially since some offenders even mentioned that they prefer programmes that are administered by individuals who have been through similar life experiences.

Although there was no direct behaviour change amongst the offenders as a result of the Assistant Facilitator's, his presence, participation and role of leadership as a former inmate during the intervention, definitely contributed towards reinforcing the idea that the offenders were also leaders who owned their development. His role therefore helped reconstruct the balances of power, further enabling them to feel that they were on equal grounds with Silver. Recognised as the main leader, Silver's role during the intervention was multi-faceted. Beyond seeing him as an administrator of the F4L programme, the offenders saw him as a mentor, a friend, a brother, an advisor, teacher and leader. He managed to achieve this through establishing a non-discriminatory environment during the intervention, not passing judgement on the offenders for the crimes they committed.

Recognising the offenders first as human beings, and secondly as brothers, Silver was able to establish a very personal relationship with the offenders based on trust and genuine faith in the abilities of the offenders to become better people. This approach proved fruitful, especially since the offenders expressed that they are often distrustful of administrators of such programmes, as they often establish a kind of relationship with the offenders where they remain distant from them, maintaining the unequal balances of power between themselves and the offenders. Taking a very top down approach towards development, these administrators often remain the bearers of all knowledge who are simply depositing information to the unknowing offenders (Freire, 1970). They also do not form personal and emotional connections with the offenders, something the offenders clearly viewed as discriminatory or insulting. Silver's ability to move past the invisible barriers (i.e., stereotypes about the offenders) allowed him to gain the offenders trust. The ability for programme facilitators to take a genuine interest in the personal well-being of the beneficiaries of development, form emotional connections with them and believe in their self-

efficacy were thus all key during this particular intervention in terms of achieving the desired outcomes.

This study also found that this approach allowed Silver to earn the respect of the offenders, and allowed them to see themselves as partners who occupied an equal status in the process of their own development. Silver's approach thus enabled the offenders to believe that they were not only in a position of receiving information from Silver, but drawing from their own individual life experiences, that they could also contribute valuable knowledge towards their own development, as well as to the development of others. Thus by believing that the offenders had an internal capacity to develop themselves, Silver allowed the offenders, himself and even the Assistant Facilitator, to engage in the creative discovery of the world, as they both learned from each other. Hence in this way, Silver's role in the intervention had a direct impact on the facilitation of dialogue for collective action amongst the offenders.

Given the fact that the offenders were not only engaging in very serious, intimate discussions, as a direct result of the topics that were covered or even from sharing of personal life experiences about their relationships, sex, HIV or life of crime before incarceration, this study also found that the offenders begun to form bonds with one another. Hence, beyond learning to trust Silver, the offenders also begun to trust each other. Although this was a very diverse group of offenders in terms of ethnicity, age, race, offences, education, language and even nationality, the group was nonetheless able to attain social cohesion primarily due to the presence of trust, which forged a sense of tolerance and brotherhood amongst the offenders. This was achieved through Silver's own modelled display of tolerance and brotherhood towards the offenders, and furthermore the study found that participating in the programme also entrenched this sense of community or brotherhood, and consequently collective-efficacy amongst the offenders.

Although dialogue can be described as "a fluctuating, unpredictable, multivocal process in which uncertainty infuses encounters between people and what they mean and become" (Anderson et al., 2004:16), it was this social cohesion, together with Silver's role as a Facilitator that ensured the convergence of dialogue. This in turn ensured the presence of two critical requirements for converged dialogue to take place, these are mutual understanding and cooperation (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). Silver's role together with the established social cohesion thus became particularly important, as there were two main factors that threatened

this converged dialogue. The first was the presence of the wardens during the intervention, whom the offenders not only believed did not trust or have faith in their ability to rehabilitate, but who would also sometimes interrupt the flow of dialogue amongst the offenders during the intervention through their efforts to exert control and authority over them.

The second potential threat to achieving converged dialogue identified by this study during this intervention was the presence of dominant individuals within the group, who had the power to influence the rest of the group through their opinions. However, because by virtue of participating in the F4L programme, the offenders had managed to establish a common identity of brotherhood, and were able to eventually converge, resolving problems as a collective through dialogue with respect and mutual understanding for each other, this threat was avoided. For example, this was clearly evident when one of the offenders mentioned how recognising themselves as a group, they were able to offer solutions as a collective to a particular offender in the group who had fears about life after prison.

Key to the F4L organisation's strategy is the use of role models in the form of ex-professional soccer players to influence change through their celebrity status. This study was able to establish that although this factor may have contributed to serving as a hook (Amara et al., 2005; Green, 2008) to attract the offenders to participate in the F4L programme, it was essentially Silver's identity as a man, and his life experiences as a man, that the offenders connected with, especially since the F4L programme was about manhood. Hence because the offenders were able to connect with him on that level, some were able to learn from his life experiences, his challenges, mistakes, behaviours and his responses to those situations. This is called vicarious learning (Bandura, 1986; Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 1978). Other offenders also learnt certain behaviours and skills just from the way that he treated them. Thus by just simply observing Silver, some offenders were encouraged or motivated to emulate his behaviour or manner in which he responded to certain situations, and thereby indicating that a process of role modelling had taken place. However, this study also discovered that Silver was not the only a symbolic model through which observational learning took place, but that there were other symbolic models, such as the Assistant Facilitator, the B4L toolkit and the F4L game plan (reading materials), the videos (i.e., on family values) used during the F4L programme to stimulate discussions, as well as the offenders themselves as some of them were able to learn from each other's personal experiences and emulate certain behaviours

learnt during the group discussions. Some of the offenders who participated in the F4L programme were also successful in not only serving as positive role models for inmates in their sections, but one of them was actually successful in influencing one of these inmates to change their unhygienic behaviour, adopting new hygienic practice.

Besides being influenced by Silver's role as a man rather than his role as a celebrity, his ethnicity, as well as his ability to speak African languages, also contributed to the offenders ability to converse freely as they found most of the topics to be quite personal and sensitive, things that they could only talk about with another man, as opposed to a woman. Hence in this way, this study discovered the importance of having development administrators who share certain commonalities (in terms of gender, ethnicity, culture or life experiences) with the beneficiaries of development, to not only encourage free and open dialogue, but to also allow the beneficiaries to connect with administrators on a personal level.

The main achievement amongst the offenders as a result of the F4L programme was the increased level of self-efficacy. Through the F4L programme the offenders gained valuable skills (i.e., how to budget and how to handle stress), armed with this information, the offenders believed in their ability to make wiser decisions in life in order to become better people who can contribute more productively to their communities. In this way the offenders became self-reliant or empowered to become better fathers, brothers, partners, friends and fellow inmates. It is also important to note as already indicated in the discussion above that though a key outcome of the F4L programme self-efficacy was also an important ingredient towards achieving any development amongst the offenders. The offenders had to believe in themselves and in their ability to not only change but become major contributors towards their own change.

Looking back: A journey of discovery

If anything, this study has been a very long and emotionally perplexing journey, one that was entered into with many stereotypes and anxieties, as I stepped into the unknown. Looking back I can truly say I have learnt a lot. On a personal level this journey has taught me how to muster academic stamina, if there is such a thing, which is not an easy thing to do and consequently, self-discipline, self-motivation, drive, as well as time-management skills. On a research level, I learnt the hard way, the importance of transcribing your interviews soon after

conducting the interviews, as opposed to waiting to transcribe them just before you conduct your data analysis. The idea was that if I did it this way the interviews would still be fresh in my mind and would be easy to remember when I would start data analysis and later when writing the findings. Although to some degree this was so, I wished I had done it the other way round simply because having done this many months later, it became difficult to go back to any of my participants to ask more questions that I had suddenly thought of whilst listening to the interviews due to lack of access. However, I can only hope that this study can contribute positively towards the continual improvement of other health promotion and crime prevention interventions administered in South African or international prisons. I also hope that through this study, administrators of such interventions can learn to appreciate the importance of dialogue towards collective action as the foundation of true participatory development, as this particular case study clearly displayed how these elements become valuable assets in creating awareness, educating, changing perceptions and attitudes and even behaviours amongst beneficiaries of development.

Furthermore, this study also essentially revealed how dialogue in the advent of collective action cannot be achieved if the social capital of trust is not achieved amongst the participants. This trust as the study revealed must be established not only amongst the beneficiaries of development themselves, but also between the external change agent and the beneficiaries. The external agent or Silver was particularly instrumental in building this trust through his genuine gestures of love, commitment, consistency and humility, a critical lesson for future developmental projects. During this study, this was particularly key as it is only once this social capital was present that free and open dialogue existed amongst the offenders. It is this free dialogue that fosters ownership of the developmental process amongst the beneficiaries as they begin to reconstruct the agenda set by the external agent, contextualising it to suit their circumstances and their everyday lives. This study further discovered that it is only at this point that the beneficiaries begin to work together, dialogically towards achieving development in the form of either individual or social change or both. Hence, while this study reveals that there was the presence of dialogue towards collective action attained by the offenders during the F4L programme, through the use of the CFPD model, this study was also able to show the direct relationship between dialogue, collective action and the benefits obtained as a result.

By providing a practical application of Participatory Communication, I found that the CFPD model provided a comprehensive tool or map that allowed me to see how for example identifying the catalyst allows you to see how the intervention started. Also, it showed how this catalyst influences how the beneficiaries perceive the problems that oppress them, and therefore their attitude towards the process of development. Most health promotion and even crime prevention interventions hope to impart some form of behaviour change amongst its beneficiaries (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The individual and social outcomes stipulated in the model therefore make provision for the investigation of this behaviour change, and in this way accommodate the use of the Social Cognitive Theory used during this study to describe not only behaviour change amongst the offenders but more specifically the process of role modelling through observational learning (Bandura, 1989).

The fact that the CFPD model comprehensively demands a very detailed investigation of each element or step of the dialogical and collective action processes also demands for the researcher to collect their data in a detailed manner. This calls for an in-depth study where the researcher works very closely with the community under study, and spends as much time with them as possible. This would in turn allow the researcher the ability to obtain a detailed understanding of how the intervention was carried out. It includes learning: how the event started, who spoke with whom, at what level the beneficiaries were involved, how it was implemented or even how the beneficiaries became self-reliant. In this way, I hope this study will allow other researchers and administrators of health promotion and crime prevention intervention programmes to see the benefit of the comprehensive step-by-step investigative process permitted by the CFPD model.

Recommendations

Although the offenders generally enjoyed the topics covered during the F4L programme, there was a particular topic that the non-South African offenders did not appreciate due to it being a cultural taboo in their home country. This was the topic on gays and lesbians. Another offender also suggested the inclusion of a topic on ‘how men should deal with being abused’ after complaining that the F4L programme was too focused on how to prevent the abuse of women forgetting that men sometimes fall victims of abuse at the hands of women. These two irregularities are not only an indication that the offenders had not participated in the recognition of their own problems, but they also highlight the importance of this step. As

allowing the offenders to participate in the recognition of their own problems would have ensure that one, they tackle problems that are pertinent to them, and two, it would have allowed for the incorporation of the offenders cultural identities and thereby prevent any possible discrimination to be incurred as a result.

Although F4L administered pre-evaluation questionnaires in order to ascertain the offenders position in terms what their problems were, these questionnaires only focused on HIV and other sex related issues. So even though an attempt was made by F4L to incorporate the offender's voices, this pre-evaluation exercise presented the offenders with a very limited and potentially irrelevant opportunity in which to voice their opinions. This study thus proposes a non-predetermined incorporation of the participants opinions about the problems that they are facing into the F4L programme before the implementation of the programme so that the programme will be able to encapsulate and address urgent issues affecting the health and wellness of the offenders. It is in this way that inclusive and participatory development can be achieved (Servaes, 1999).

Bearing in mind that the F4L programme was also a crime prevention intervention, the study further established that the F4L programme was not only a developmental, a situational, a community or even a structural crime prevention programme, but rather a combination of all these different crime prevention strategies (Cameron & McDougall, 2000). Encompassing elements of all four national crime prevention strategies, this intervention was able to help motivate the offenders to keep away from a life of crime, both in and out of prison. Inside prison, the offenders were motivated to no longer engage in activities such as fighting, smoking and taking drugs. However, even though some of the offenders were successful in this regard, Warden 1 reported that lying and stealing were still quite prevalent even amongst this group of offenders. If anything this presents an opportunity for further inquiry to find out why this was so.

This study further found that one of the main issues that negated the efforts of the F4L programme to rehabilitate the offenders was the officials' attitudes towards the offenders. There was an apparent level of distrust and maybe even disrespect that exists between the offenders and the officials at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre. Whilst the Department of Correctional Services is mandated to moving away from punishment and towards rehabilitating offenders (DCS, 2005), this study showed that the officials at the Correctional

Centre are not equipped to do this, and therefore lack the ability to strike a healthy balance between being law enforcers and being rehabilitators. This study therefore proposes that the Department of Correctional Services implements certain measures in the form of training its officials on how to support the efforts of rehabilitation carried out by external service providers. In reference to the Heidelberg Correctional Centre and the F4L programme, this step could help the officials to become more supportive towards the offenders who participated in the programme, and allow them to carry out their duties within the Correctional Centre, by training other offenders to become better men.

Motivated to become better people, this study discovered that those offenders who are released after having participated in the F4L programme, are soon faced with many challenges that make it very difficult for them to survive outside of prison. Unemployment, financial instability and the lack of family support were three of the most prevalent challenges, making re-integration very difficult. In agreement with the offenders, this study also proposes the need for continual support from the F4L programme post-release, in the form of a support group formed by other former inmates who went through the F4L programme in their respective prisons. This would provide the former inmates a platform to share their frustrations and challenges. In this way it would also hopefully enable them to collectively arrive to their own solutions. Some of the offenders also suggested that in the future, the F4L programme should also offer skills-based courses, such as computer skills training to make them more employable post-release. This is a proposition that not only F4L, but also Department of Correctional Services should consider.

The fact that recidivism is a big problem at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre calls for the department to device ways in which they can also offer some kind of support in the form of creating employment opportunities for former inmates, especially since their ability to accomplish this is made even more challenging by the fact that they leave prison with a criminal record. Beyond providing financial independence, this would help restore the human dignity of offenders, especially since this study discovered that this is essentially the deepest desire of all the offenders who participated in the F4L programme at the centre.

Despite the fact that the Assistant Facilitator had participated in the F4L programme as an ideal example of the positive impact of the programme, he was soon re-arrested for contravening the terms of his parole. Although this occurred after this study was conducted,

this unfortunate occurrence bears great significance as it illustrates the effects and consequences of some of the challenges that former offenders face post-release. Faced with similar challenges Joe-Joe also struggled to survive out of prison. These two cases thus present a need for further research in this area. This study thus proposes that further research be conducted to investigate why or how former offenders who have been rehabilitated through the F4L programme re-offend. This is particularly important as more offenders, including others who participated in the F4L programme, were released at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre as a result of the presidential pardon that was recently instituted in correctional facilities across South Africa (Heidelberg Correctional Centre Social Worker, 2012).

Although this study found that it was difficult for the offenders to train other inmates in the broader Heidelberg Correctional Centre, the role of the offenders as Assistant Coaches in their cells or sections and the centre at large, presents yet another opportunity for further research. This is particularly important as this study discovered that some of the offenders in the group were in fact able to influence the behaviours of certain inmates in their cells or sections.

Although Ascroft and Masilela (1994) point out that participation, especially in the African context is difficult to measure as it remains evasive and abstract, opening itself up to different interpretations, this study showed its importance nonetheless. For instance, this study revealed how the non-participation of the offenders in the planning of the intervention led to them forming different perceptions of what the F4L programme was all about. Hence, the offenders went into the F4L programme feeling no sense of ownership of the programme. At this stage the programme was owned by F4L or Silver. However, as soon as it started the F4L programme began to include the offenders, as they not only became part of the dialogue, but started to become the main contributors of this dialogue. It was only during this level of participation that the offenders were able to achieve the results discussed above (i.e., self-efficacy, and collective efficacy). Hence as posited by Ascroft and Masilela (1994) in this particular African context, the concept of participatory development was certainly subjected to different interpretations during the F4L programme as well. For instance, while for Silver it meant playing the role of facilitator and giving the offenders the freedom to express themselves and solve their own problems, the wardens supported this approach, just as long

as it did not include the offenders freely expressing their concerns about the staff at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre during the F4L programme.

Exploring the concept of participation in a developmental programme implemented in a prison setting where as a researcher you not only have limited access to the offenders, but the offenders are also subjected to many rules and regulations preventing self-regulation arouses much doubt and suspicion. In fact, upon presentation of this study in various academic circles, I was often asked with much scepticism: How do you investigate participation in a developmental programme implemented in a prison setting?

In this regard, this study found the CFPD model to be very useful as it provided a framework that helped me to navigate through the F4L programme at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre, looking specifically at those elements that are concerned with the facilitation of dialogue and collective action within the intervention. Due to the fact that this model emanates from Participatory Communication it also allowed me to explore the facilitation of this dialogue and collective action and its results, consequently not only answering the main research question upon which this study is based, but also providing insight into the question: How do you investigate participation in a developmental programme implemented in a prison setting? It is for this reason that I strongly recommend the application of this model and its approach, especially in investigating dialogue for collective action or participation in other developmental programmes implemented in prisons. After all, the ability or inability to understand how participatory communication should be implemented often determines the success of participatory development projects, whether it is in a prison or somewhere else where access to the research subjects and self-regulation are found easily.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Participant Observation Schedule (Based on a single F4L session observation)

PROJECT NAME: Breaking Free: Exploring dialogue for collective action in the F4L intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre	**DATE**: 6 April 2011 **TIME:** 9:00am-11:30am **VENUE:** Heidelberg Correctional Centre, Training room	**NO OF PARTICIPANTS:** 40 **AGE GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS:** 23-56 **Title of Lesson of the day:** "How to handle your finances"

OBSERVING DIALOGUE & COLLECTIVE ACTION

QUESTIONS	
How is the topic introduced?	The topic was introduced by Silver as prescribed by the F4L toolkit/curriculum.
What was the purpose of this lesson?	To help the inmates learn: 1) What is a budget? 2) How to set goals for yourself? 3) How to take steps to get your debt in Control? 4) Steps to get your debt in control.
Was there the Identification & Involvement of Leaders & Stakeholders involved?	Yes before the lesson began Silver introduced me and I got to introduce myself, who I was, where I was from and why I was there (explained the nature of my relationship with them). Silver then introduced everybody else. But am not sure if the participants are aware of all the different stakeholders that are involved at this stage. There was one individual in particular who stood out, the other participants called him "Vader" which means Father. His real name is Mr Majozi and he is 56 years old.
Is there a Clarification of Perceptions?	Participants clearly had different views about handling money; Silver facilitated this process, with the conversations largely dominated by Mr Majozi.
Is there an assignment of responsibilities?	Yes, at the beginning one of the inmates volunteers to open in prayer. Some inmates also volunteered to help us hand out the learning material. Some participants also volunteered to read out the Do's and Don'ts of an Assistant Coach.
Is there a mobilization of all those involved? (Expression of Individual & Shared Interests)	Yes. Silver encouraged everyone to give their opinions and solutions to the challenges that they have faced concerning money outside prison. One of the inmates even confessed that he wants to stop smoking because it wastes money.
Who/ how were the solutions prescribed?	Silver gave guidelines. Participants also advised each other.
Is the implementation going according to plan?	Not sure.
What are the outcomes? Do they match those originally planned?	The lesson ended with the participants having learnt about what a budget is
Is there a participatory evaluation of the lesson?	No.
Was there a transfer of skills? If so what skills were transferred?	Hard to say. However participants left aware of what a budget is and what they need to do to use their money wisely inside and outside of prison.
Are there any areas of the intervention/ lesson that need to be improved?	Not sure.

- The lesson began with a prayer which was delivered by one of the inmates who volunteered to pray upon Silver's request.
- Silver then introduced me and gave me an opportunity to introduce myself.
- The Assistant Facilitator (a former inmate at the Boksburg Correctional Centre) was also present as one of the facilitators.
- Two prison officials were present (Warden 1 and Warden 2).
- The inmates were given/ handed out reading material for the lesson. Silver asked volunteers to read about what it means to be an Assistant Coach, the Do's and the Don'ts.
- He then told them about the lesson of the day, "How to handle your finances?"
- Participants were very active, engaging in the topic and giving their opinions about the topic.
- One of the participants, an inmate from Nigeria emphasized that his approach to money has nothing to do with his family or parents even though his father is wealthy. He took responsibility for making his own money despite how he was raised. This was in response to the main feeling in the room that their upbringing had a lot to do with their attitude towards money.
- Poverty and lack was cited as one of their main challenges outside of prison, leading some to a life of crime.

Appendix B

Interview schedule for interviews with offenders

Organisation:	Heidelberg Correctional Centre	**Participants:**	Jabulani, Mlungisi, Mr Majozi, Scelo, Vukile
Area:	Heidelberg, Johannesburg	**Date:**	13 December 2011
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	Social Worker's Office

1. What is an Assistant Coach? What is the role of an Assistant Coach?
2. What does is mean to you to be an Assistant Coach? Why did you decide to become an Assistant Coach?
3. What has changed in your life since having attended the F4L programme? Can you give me any examples?
4. What impact has it had on your peers? How has this changed your relationship with them, better, same or worse? Can you give me any examples?
5. How do other inmates treat you now that you are an Assistant Coach? Explain and give an example.
6. How do the prison officials treat you now that you are an Assistant Coach? Explain and give an example.
7. How do your family and friends treat you now that you are an Assistant Coach? Explain and give an example.
8. What is your role as an Assistant Coach at the Centre and what is the focus/topics of the work you do with the inmates (which is part of the F4L programme). Have you facilitated training with other inmates? If so how were you received by other inmates? Give examples.
9. How do you think you being a former inmate at this prison has impacted or influenced (good pr bad) how you were received by other fellow inmates?
10. How do you think the reception would've been if you/ the Assistant Coaches were outsiders?
11. How many people/inmates do you talk to during each session?
12. What are some of the topics that you learnt about during your training as an Assistant Coach?
13. Which of the topics covered during the programme impacted you the most?
14. How are you applying any of the skills in your personal life? Please give me examples.
15. How will you apply or have you applied any of these skills outside of prison? If so how? If not why? **[For instance will you get circumcised/ will you have one partner/ will you use a condom].** How will these skills help you outside of prison?

16. What have you gained from the F4L programme?
17. Is there anything you are doing differently as a result of the programme?

Appendix C

Interview schedule for interview with former offender

		Participant	Joe-Joe
Area:	Johannesburg City Centre	**Date:** **Time:**	13 December 2011
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	Silver's car

1. What do you remember about your experience while participating in the F4L programme? What were the positive and negative experiences?
2. Why did you participate in the F4L programme?
3. Was this programme different to other programmes offered at the centre? If so how was it different?
4. Did you complete the programme? / Did you graduate?
5. What did this mean to you? When you were still in jail?
6. What does this mean to you now that you are no longer in jail?
7. What significance did having Silver (an ex-professional footballer) as Head Coach have on the programme? What significance or impact did it have on you?
8. What skills did you learn from the programme? And how have you applied these in your personal life (in and out of jail)?
9. Did you apply any of these skills when you were still in jail? If so, how? If not, why?
10. Are you using any of these skills now? If so, how? Give an example. If not, why? **[For instance will you get circumcised/ will you have one partner/ will you use a condom].**
11. Is there anything you are doing differently as a result of the programme? Have you changed in any way as a result of the programme?
12. Have you taught anyone any of the things you learnt from the F4L programme now that you are outside? Explain, and give example. If not, why not?
13. How do people treat you since you have participated in the programme?
14. How do you treat people since you have participated in the programme?
15. Now that you are outside, do you think that these programmes are useful? If so how? If not, why?
16. Do you think that the F4L programme can be applied in other prisons? If so why? If not, why?

APPENDIX D

Focus group schedule for offenders

Organisation:	Heidelberg Correctional Centre	**Participants**	40 Offenders
Area:	Heidelberg, Johannesburg	**Date:**	5 September 2011
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	Training Room (Heidelberg Correctional Centre)

1. Did you enjoy participating in the programme?
2. What have you done thus far?
3. How did you end up participating in the programme and why are you participating in the programme?
4. What is your understanding of F4L?
5. What do you think about the curriculum/themes that you learnt about and discussed during the progamme?
6. Are there any issues or themes that you feel should have been included that were not included?
7. Would you have preferred a different programme? If so what kind of programme?
8. What are some of the challenges that you face?
9. What did you enjoy about the programme?
10. What didn't you enjoy about the programme?
11. Did you feel that your opinions mattered in the programme?
12. Who can give me an example of an instance where they suggested something and their idea/s were incorporated into the programme?
13. What did your participation in the programme mean to you?
14. What lessons have you learned from the programme?
15. Who of you are using these lessons on a daily basis?
16. How do the skills you have learnt help you in prison?
17. How would you say this programme has changed you as a person?
18. How do you foresee the programme helping you when you are out of prison?
19. What was the significance of having Silver as an ex professional football player? (How did it impact on your participation?).
20. What was the significance of having a former inmate as one of the coordinators? (How did it impact on your participation?)

Appendix E

Interview schedule for interview with F4L Director & M&E Coordinator

Organisation:	Footballers 4 Life	**Participants:**	Claire Rademeyer (Director), Gloria Khoza (M& E Coordinator)
Area:	Melville, Johannesburg		
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Date:**	6 April 2011
Venue:	F4L Boardroom	**Venue:**	F4L Boardroom

Part One: Background

1. How did FL start? Why?
2. Who funds the organisation? What is their role in the programme? (Do any of its members participate/ volunteer in your programmes?
3. What is your role in this organisation and how does it contribute towards achieving the objectives of the organisation?
4. What sort of communities do you work with?
5. How many prisons have you worked with thus far? Which ones? And what has been the outcome?

Part Two: The Intervention:

1. What does the intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre entail?
2. Who are the various stakeholders involved and did they play a role in the initiation of the intervention? If so what role did they play?
3. What is your individual role in this intervention?
4. What prompted this intervention?
5. What are the intended objectives of the F4L intervention or desired outcomes? What do you hope to achieve with this particular intervention?
6. How do you choose participants?
7. What is the significance of using ex professional football players?
8. What sort of crimes have these offenders committed?
9. What makes this programme different from other programmes?
10. How did you arrive at the intervention period of 5 months?

Appendix F

Interview schedules for interviews with F4L facilitators

Organisation:	Footballers for Life	**Participant:**	Silver
Area:	Melville, Johannesburg	**Date:**	6 April 2012
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	F4L Boardroom

Part One: Background

1. How did FL start? Why?
2. Who funds the organisation? What is their role in the programme? (Do any of its members participate/ volunteer in your programmes?
3. What is your role in this organisation and how does it contribute towards achieving the objectives of the organisation?
4. What sort of communities do you work with?
5. How many prisons have you worked with thus far? Which ones? And what has been the outcome?

Part Two: The Intervention:

1. What does the intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre entail?
2. Who are the various stakeholders involved and did they play a role in the initiation of the intervention? If so what role did they play?
3. What is your individual role in this intervention?
4. What prompted this intervention?
5. What are the intended objectives of the F4L intervention or desired outcomes? What do you hope to achieve with this particular intervention?
6. How do you choose participants?
7. What is the significance of using ex professional football players?
8. What sort of crimes have these offenders committed?
9. What makes this programme different from other programmes?
10. How did you arrive at the intervention period of 5 months?

Organisation:	Footballers for Life	**Participant:**	Silver, Assistant Facilitator
Area:	Johannesburg	**Date:**	6 September 2011
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	Silver's Car & Outside Assistant Facilitator's Home

1. (a) How did the interevention take place? What happened? (b) From when to when? (c) And what activities have taken place thus far (dates)? (d) What activities are still going to take place if any?
2. What was the impact of the intervention on the offenders?
3. What role did your position as an ex professional football player/ former inmate play?

4. (a) What lessons did they learn from the programme? How do you know this? (b) How was this evaluated? (Was it participatory?)
5. Can this programme be implemented in another community to achieve similar objectives?
6. Was individual or social change achieved during this programme?
7. Are there any areas of the programme that need improvement?

Appendix G

Interview schedule for interview with JHHESA Representative

Organisation:	JHHESA	**Participant:**	Mandla
Area:	Johannesburg	**Date:**	6 September 2011
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	Silver's Car

Part One: Background

1. How did your relationship with F4L begin?
2. What has been your role in the programmes run by F4L thus far?

Part Two: The Intervention

1. Why do you think it is important to have such an intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre?
2. What are your expectations with the Heidelberg Intervention? What do you hope to see happening?
3. What was your role in the intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre?
4. What is the nature of the relationship between JHHESA and F4L?

Appendix H

Interview schedule for interviews with Heidelberg Correctional Centre Staff

Organisation:	Heidelberg Correctional Centre	**Participant:**	Social Worker, Warden 1, Warden 2
Area:	Heidelberg, Johannesburg	**Date:**	5 September 2011
Interviewer:	Wandile Sibisi	**Venue:**	Social Worker's Office & Training room at the HeidelbergCorrectional Centre

1. What prompted this intervention at the Heidelberg prison?
2. How were the offenders informed about the project?
3. How did you go about choosing participants?
4. What sort of crimes do these offenders commit?
5. What role do the offenders play in the project?
6. What do you hope the project will achieve?
7. What impact will this have on the broader prison community within the Heidelberg Correctional Centre?
8. What was the impact of the intervention on the offenders?
9. What lessons did they learn from the programme?
10. Have you observed any behavior changes in any of the offenders since their participation in the programme?
11. What sort of impact has their participation in the programme had on their specific sections and the larger prison community at the centre?
12. Is there anything that you feel could have been done differently to make the project more effective?

Appendix I

Informed Consent form

Title of Projects: Breaking Free: Exploring dialogue for collective action in the Footballers 4 Life Intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre

Project description:

A research study in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Social Science programme in The Centre for Communication, Media and Society, School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Your participation in this project will involve attending the Footballers4Life (F4L) programme which runs in the prison on a weekly basis. The aim of the project is to investigate the elements of dialogue and collective action in the F4L programme as they strive to achieve social change. In this way this study hopes to contribute towards the continual development of the F4L programme and other similar programmes administered at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

Selection of research participants:

You have been selected to participate in this research as a result of your direct or indirect involvement in the Footballers4Life programme**.**

Procedures:

During the course of this study you will either be asked to participate in a focus group discussion or one-on-one interview.

Possible benefits:

Through this research, the participants will get an opportunity to reflect on their group and individual journey with regards to the programme. And thereby be enabled to make meaning of the entire process that they have been through.

Financial considerations:

All participants will not receive payment for participating but will be provided with light refreshments during scheduled lunch breaks.

Confidentiality:

The information you provide (in the focus groups/ interviews) may be used as excerpts in the final project. To ensure the confidentiality of this information a pseudonym (a made-up name) will be used where necessary.

Ownership and documentation of research data:

All data acquired (from focus groups/ interviews) will be used solely for the purpose of the above-mentioned research study. Research data will be filed safely throughout the duration of the project, and will subsequently be housed in the CCMS department of the university for a period of one year. Shredded disposal of all research data will thereafter take place.

Research findings will be documented and possibly published in related publications. The researchers will not divulge in any forum or publication the names or personal circumstances of any of the research participants.

If you require further information about this research project or if you have any concerns please contact us (Wandile), or my supervisors.

Researcher: Wandile Sibisi 0766626448 wnsibisi@gmail.com

Supervisor: Eliza Govender 031260 1044 govendere1@ukzn.ac.za

Co-Supervisor: Dr Josianne Roma-Reardon 083295 3562 josianne@indigoinnovation.co.za

After reading this letter you are asked to please return the signed slip to me.

DECLARATION

I……(full names of parent/guardian) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to my participating in the research project.

I understand that I am taking part in this project voluntarily. I also understand that I am free to refuse to answer any question and am also free to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire, and that doing so will not have negative consequences for me.

SIGNATURE **DATE**

…… ……

Appendix J

Ethical Clearance letter

UNIVERSITY OF
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mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

20 July 2011

Ms W Sibisi (203511140
School of Literary Studies, Media & Creative Arts
Faculty of Humanities, Development and
Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Sibisi

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0576/011M
PROJECT TITLE: Breaking Free: Exploring dialogue for collective action in the Footballers 4 Life Intervention at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre

In response to your application dated 15 July 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.
PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

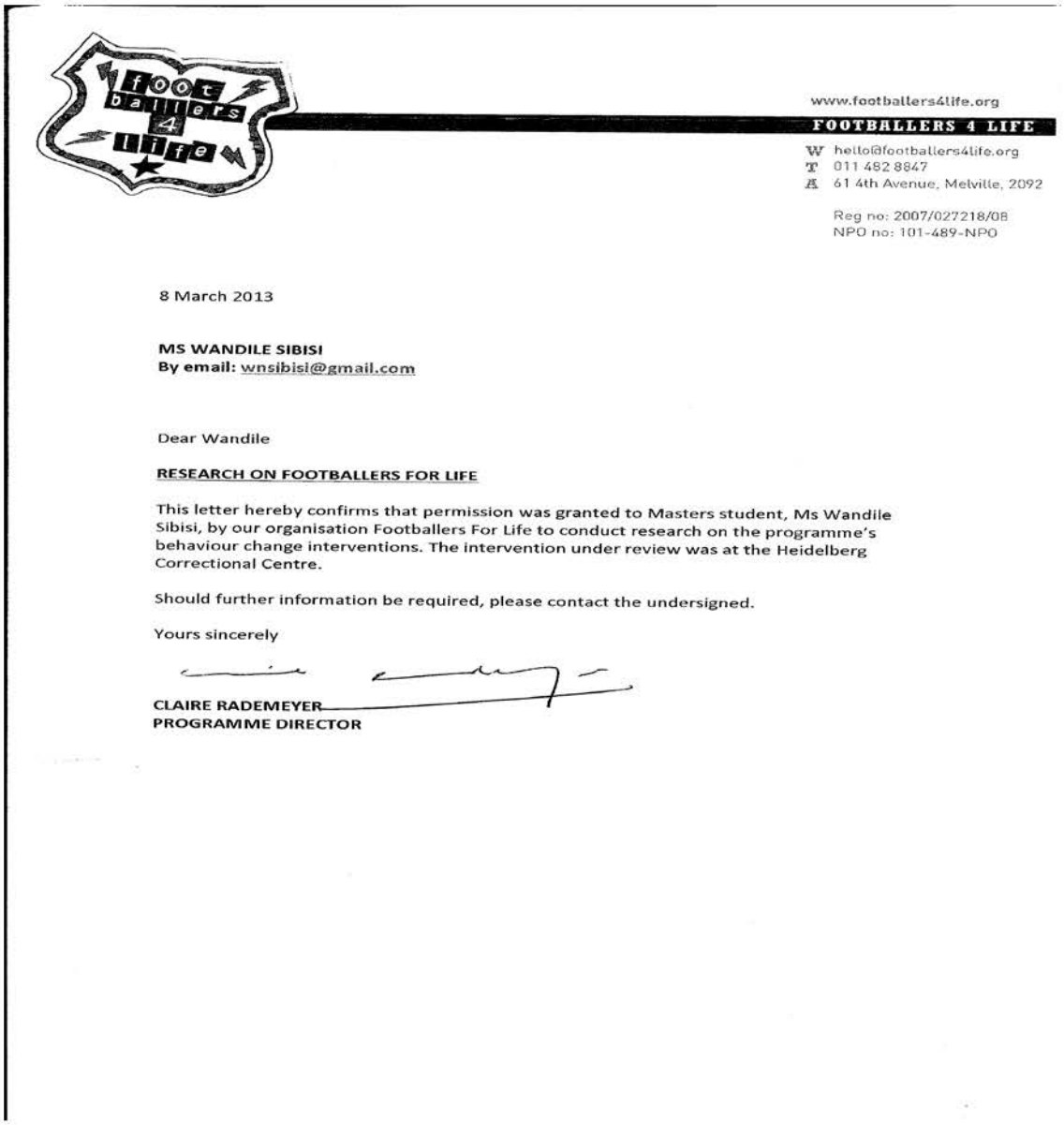
Yours faithfully

.....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor: Prof K Tomaselli & Ms E Govender
cc. Mrs S van der Westhuizen, Post-Graduate Office

Appendix K

Letter granting permission to do research



www.footballers4life.org

FOOTBALLERS 4 LIFE

W hello@footballers4life.org
T 011 482 8847
A 61 4th Avenue, Melville, 2092

Reg no: 2007/027218/08
NPO no: 101-489-NPO

8 March 2013

MS WANDILE SIBISI
By email: wnsibisi@gmail.com

Dear Wandile

RESEARCH ON FOOTBALLERS FOR LIFE

This letter hereby confirms that permission was granted to Masters student, Ms Wandile Sibisi, by our organisation Footballers For Life to conduct research on the programme's behaviour change interventions. The intervention under review was at the Heidelberg Correctional Centre.

Should further information be required, please contact the undersigned.

Yours sincerely

CLAIRE RADEMEYER
PROGRAMME DIRECTOR