

## CHAPTER 6

# INCARCERATING AND REHABILITATING OFFENDERS

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In most countries, public punitiveness and the politicisation of crime policy results in the use of imprisonment for an increasing variety of crimes, as well as longer prison terms and a reduction in the use of parole. Combined with bottlenecks in many criminal justice systems, this has led to a global incarceration boom. South Africa has joined the United States, Russia, and most of the former Soviet Republics in the top 20 of the most highly incarcerated countries in the world. With an incarceration rate of 406 prisoners per 100,000 people, South Africa is the most highly incarcerated country in Africa (Table 1).<sup>158</sup>

While both the number of prisoners and prison sentences continue to increase, experience in rich and poor countries alike has shown that prisons

**Table 1: Prison populations per capita, selected countries, 2002**

<b>Global rank</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>No. of prisoners per 100,000 of the general population</b>
1	United States of America	690
2	Russian Federation	670
4	Belarus	554
6	Kazakhstan	522
7	Turkmenistan	489
12	Ukraine	436
13	Kyrgyzstan	426
16	South Africa	406
18	Botswana	396
20	Latvia	367

Source: International Centre for Prison Studies, Kings College of Law, 2002

are not sustainable. They are expensive and ineffective. In many countries at the top end of the incarceration scale, most inmates incarcerated today have been to prison before, only to be released and re-offend. While prisons are supposed to rehabilitate they often do the opposite, perpetuating the same destructive and unhealthy behaviour that led to the offender's incarceration in the first place.

## Historical Developments

Most of South Africa's prisons were built during the apartheid era, and are similar in design to mining dormitories – communal cells, with beds and a single toilet for 12 to 18 men. The intention was to provide sleeping space only, as it was assumed that during the day the inmates would be out working in the mines, on farms, or on large public works projects. As rehabilitation and reintegration was not considered an important part of the mandate of South African prisons, the idea of putting chairs, desks and classrooms into prisons was lost on prison designers at the time.

By the 1960s, the use of prisoners for unpaid labour had fallen out of favour internationally, and the South African government gave the appearance of falling into step with international norms. In 1959, legislation was passed to abolish forced prison labour and introduce the concept of parole. At that time, parole was just developing in Western prison systems, and referred to a system of correctional supervision to replace short prison terms, or to reward good behaviour for sentenced prisoners. In South Africa, however, parole meant that a prisoner could shorten his sentence by working on a mine, a farm, or a public works project. Essentially, the prison labour system was maintained under a different name and remained in effect throughout the apartheid era.

The Correctional Services Act of 1959 entrenched the prison system as a quasi-military institution, with a military-style chain of command, uniforms complete with rank insignia, and a disciplinary code with many aspects usually associated with the armed forces.<sup>159</sup> With this hierarchical management style, wardens were not expected to interact with prisoners, nor were prison employees trained to rehabilitate or assist with the development of prisoners.

In 1991, major amendments to the Correctional Services Act marked the beginning of a new era for the South African prison system. During the early 1990s political prisoners were released and apartheid policies were dismantled

within the prison system. Other legislative amendments introduced correctional supervision as a sentencing option as an alternative to incarceration.<sup>160</sup> The demilitarisation of the Department of Correctional Services was, however, implemented only in April 1996.

The apartheid-era 1959 Correctional Services Act was replaced in its entirety by the Correctional Services Act of 1998, which states in its opening paragraph:<sup>161</sup>

The purpose of the correctional system is to contribute to maintaining and protecting a just, peaceful and safe society by detaining prisoners in safe custody while ensuring their human dignity.

The 1998 Act is a significant step forward to prevent a return to previous abuses of authority and power in the country's corrections system. The 1998 Act set up a policy advisory board, the National Council for Correctional Services, comprised of academics, members of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), judicial officers and senior Department of Correctional Services officials. The 1998 Act also set up an independent prison inspectorate, the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons, to monitor prison conditions and abuses against prisoners. The Judicial Inspectorate appoints independent prison visitors to receive and investigate prisoner complaints. The effect of this monitoring function on prison conditions is already apparent, as issues of prison conditions are now consistently raised in parliamentary debates.

## **Overcrowding and its Remedies**

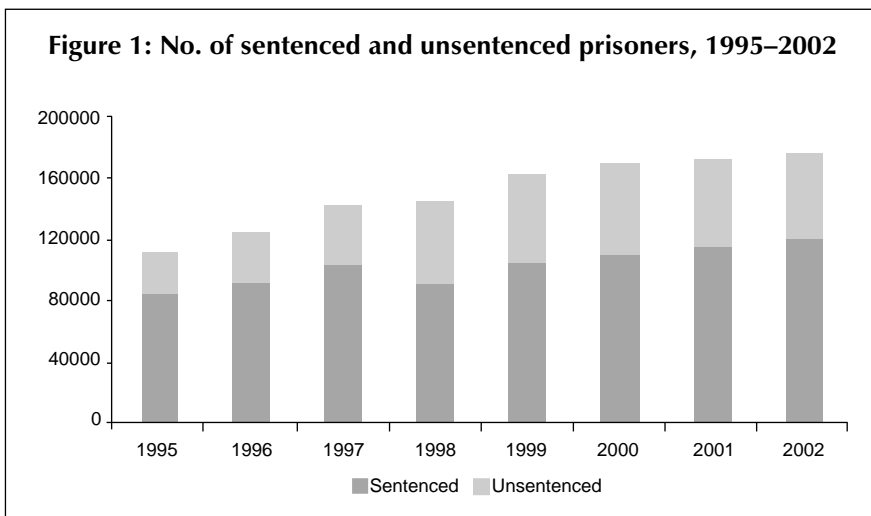
The growth of South Africa's prison population has outpaced capacity, resulting in crisis levels of overcrowding in many facilities. In mid-2003, the prisons in operation had been built to accommodate 113,000 inmates, but were holding 186,000.<sup>162</sup> In many of the larger prisons, such as Johannesburg and Pollsmoor (outside of Cape Town), cells intended for 18 were holding an average of 50 prisoners. The most overcrowded prisons were struggling with occupancy rates approaching, and even exceeding, 300%.

Overcrowding is the primary issue affecting South African prison conditions today. Indeed, writing the introductory section of the 2002/03 annual report of the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons, the Inspecting Judge of Prisons, JJ Fagan, states:<sup>163</sup>

The problem we have in our prisons can virtually all be attributed to overcrowding. We now have the highest number of prisoners we ever had in our country and it is placing an unbearable burden on the Department of Correctional Services.

The overcrowding can be attributed in large part to the increase in unsentenced prisoners since the country's transition to democracy in 1994. Unsentenced prisoners are those who have been arrested and charged, and either are denied, or cannot afford to pay, bail. Many end up being detained awaiting trial simply because they are poor. For example, in July 2003, almost 4,000 awaiting trial prisoners had been granted bail of R500 or less.<sup>164</sup> Presumably most of them remained incarcerated because they could not afford to pay bail.

In December 1995, the country's prisons held 27,320 unsentenced prisoners, about a quarter of the total prison population. In December 2002, some 56,500 prisoners were unsentenced – almost one-third of the total prison population. Efforts by the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development to expedite the trial process, and prisoner release programmes initiated by the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons, are stabilising the proportion of unsentenced prisoners. The total number of prisoners is, however, on the increase (Figure 1).



Source: Department of Correctional Services

The immediate effects of overcrowding are decreased security, as the same number of guards are responsible for an increasing number of inmates.<sup>165</sup> Decreased security, cramped conditions and lack of personal space leads to increased violence and assaults between prisoners. The strain overcrowding places on scarce resources negatively affects access to basic medical care, and other essentials such as bedding, clean laundry and nutritious food.

For example, the number of assaults by prisoners on prisoners increased marginally by 10% between 1999 and 2002. The number of assaults by prison wardens on prisoners increased by 9.5% over the same period, but decreased by 9% in 2002 (Table 2).<sup>166</sup> According to the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons, statistics on assault are not always reliable as some inmates fear reprisals if they report an assault on them by a fellow prisoner or a warden. During 2002 the Inspectorate’s independent prison visitors received 6,284 complaints of assault from prisoners.<sup>167</sup>

The shortage of guards means that prisoners are locked up for long portions of the day. It is not uncommon for lock-down to take place by mid-afternoon, whereafter prisoners are not permitted out of their communal cells until the next morning. Crowding 55 men into a single, dirty, dark, and unsupervised cell for upwards of 18 hours a day creates an environment of violence and disease. Pulmonary Tuberculosis, a lung disease which can be spread by breathing in the same air as an infected person, quickly spreads in crowded conditions with poor ventilation. Irritating afflictions, such as scabies and lice, are rampant and often not considered severe enough to warrant a trip to the prison health services.

Even with the emphasis on rehabilitation and human dignity embraced by some political leaders, and entrenched in legislation and policies, prison conditions in South Africa continue to deteriorate. Overcrowding, and the resulting problems

	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>
Prisoner on prisoner	2,204	2,354	2,380	2,429
Warden on prisoner	545	609	633	582
Total	2,749	2,963	3,013	3,011

Source: Department of Correctional Services

frustrate any attempt at rehabilitation. An addition to the apartheid-era warehouse-style prison at Westville (outside of Durban), was intended to be used for classrooms and job training programmes. Instead, it is being used to house prisoners as the entire facility has a 150% occupancy level.

### ***Building more prisons***

The Department of Correctional Services faces many challenges, all of which are compounded by a lack of resources available to keep up with the increasing demand for prison space. Moreover, the prison infrastructure is ageing and was primarily designed during the pre-1994 era. Most existing communal cells are not conducive to human dignity, even when utilised at their intended capacity. Entirely new facilities are needed, both to replace the old ones, as well as to provide additional capacity, but this requires substantial capital investment. Prisons designed to function as more than just warehouses are more expensive to build than hospitals or schools (or hotels). Facilities to securely house and feed thousands of people, with space for learning and working, are extremely costly to build, maintain, and manage.

In 2002, the estimated cost of building a new prison was approximately R250,000 per prisoner place, and the average length of time to build a prison was three years.<sup>168</sup> As a large prison can accommodate about 2,500 inmates, South Africa requires some 30 new, large prisons to have a correctional system which is not overcrowded. In 2002 South Africa would have needed to spend more than R7 billion to meet the demand for prisoner space, not taking into account maintenance and running costs.

By the mid-1990s the Department of Correctional Services began to explore the possibility of involving the private sector in a new prisons building programme, primarily to address overcrowding through the more rapid construction of new facilities.<sup>169</sup>

In effect, South Africa followed the lead of other highly incarcerated countries, and looked to the private sector for assistance in providing space for its expanding prison population.<sup>170</sup> That is, the South African government has engaged the private sector to design, build and manage a number of prisons. These are not 'privatised' prisons but 'contract managed' prisons, as the government has not sold any of its existing prisons to the private sector. Rather, the government has entered into contracts with private sector consortia to finance, design, build, operate and maintain a number of prisons for a 25-year

period.<sup>171</sup> In this way, the Department of Correctional Services does not have to provide the capital outlay for the construction of such prisons at the outset, but pays a predetermined fee per prisoner space to the private consortium over the 25-year contract period.

So far the Department of Correctional Services has contracted with private consortia to manage and run prisons on the department's behalf. A private prison consortium combines all the companies which the department needs to design, construct, finance, and manage a prison so that the state need only contract with one entity. The consortium forms an umbrella company to oversee each component, and the state is saved from having to engage in a procurement process with each individual contractor. These contract-managed prisons are often referred to as DCFM contracts: 'Design, Construct, Finance and Manage' contracts.

DCFm contracts save the state time and capital in the construction of prison facilities. Such contracts are also attractive to the private sector, as the contracts extend over an extended time period (usually 25 years), involve substantial amounts of money and a low risk creditor in the form of the state, thereby virtually guaranteeing cash flow. The involvement of the state permits the private sector consortia to borrow money at a reduced rate as the interest income received by the banks is usually tax-free. The potential for high returns on a low-risk investment is attractive for banks which can handle the large sums of money involved.

Many prison reform advocates fear that the involvement of the profit motive, particularly with large and powerful corporations, has a harmful effect on criminal justice policy decisions. Those in favour of DCFM contracts, however, point to the profit-making motives of the companies involved as a guarantee of efficiency and cost-effective management.

At the time of writing South Africa had two DCFM prisons: Mangaung Maximum Security Prison in Bloemfontein, managed by a consortium led by UK-based Group 4, and Kutama Maximum Security Prison in Louis Trichardt, managed by South African Custodial Services (a division of Wackenhut, a publicly traded US corporation). Group 4 has pioneered the field of providing correctional services by contract to HM Prison Service in the United Kingdom, and a similar model was adapted for its South African operations. The Mangaung Prison, with a capacity for 2,928 prisoners, opened in July 2001 and is the first 'private prison' in Africa. The Kutama prison, with a capacity of 3,024, opened in February 2002 and is the largest 'private prison' in the world.

Both prison contracts run over 25 years, at which point the facilities will become the property of the South African state. During the 25-year contract period, the consortia are paid a set fee per prisoner-place, not per prisoner, in order to eliminate any incentive for overcrowding. The management companies are bound by extremely detailed performance guidelines in their contracts. These range from the minimum education and training opportunities, to the provision of haircuts for every prisoner. Both prisons have a Department of Correctional Services monitor on site, who is responsible for ensuring contract compliance. The consortia are contract-bound to pay fines for even the slightest infraction of their contracts such as, for example, not meeting the minimum required temperature for a hot meal. Penalties attach to far more serious infractions as well, such as the escape of a prisoner from the facility.

The effectiveness of the contracts, as instruments, and the contract-monitors, as the agents of implementing these instruments, remains to be seen. However, given that state correctional facilities often fail to provide basic necessities such as beds, clean linen, and adequate nutrition to prisoners, it is doubtful that the privately managed prisons can perform any worse. Simply fulfilling one requirement in their contracts – that the prison will not accept more prisoners than its contracted occupancy – prevents overcrowding and is an enormous improvement over state-run facilities.

Wackenhut is a US-based firm, which is second in its domestic market only to the world's largest private prison company, Corrections Corporation of America. Both these companies and Group 4 are the main players in the booming private prison industry and are publicly traded entities. Some argue that pressure from shareholders could result in cost-cutting and deficient service delivery from such companies. The counter-argument is that shareholders are more responsive to scandals and ineffective management than state-owned and operated facilities, as it is easier to sell shares than change government policy.

At the time of writing, the DCFM-contract prisons had not been operational long enough to allow a careful evaluation of their performance. Most academic studies have found that prisons in general are brutal, fearsome places and that privately-run facilities are no better or worse than their state-run counterparts. Similarly, cost comparisons have not found conclusively whether private prisons are more or less expensive than state prisons.

### **Is private cheaper?**

In early 2002, the national commissioner of the Department of Correctional Services, Linda Mti, complained to parliament that the largest item in his department's R6.8 billion budget – R435 million – was for prison privatisation.

In response a joint task-team from the Department of Correctional Services, the National Treasury and the Department of Public Works investigated the cost of building and running South Africa's two privately run prisons. The three-month investigation was conducted during the last quarter of 2002.<sup>172</sup> According to the task-team report, the two privately run prisons apply world-class practices to rehabilitate prisoners, while government's "lock up and punish" prisons have few rehabilitation facilities:<sup>173</sup>

The public-private partnership (PPP) prisons should be acknowledged as providing value in relation to construction and operation costs, empowerment benefits, as well as delivery of secure facilities, quality services and rehabilitation... The contracts optimally transfer financial, technical and operational risk to the private parties.

At the two privately run prisons, each day has structured programmes for prisoners, including comprehensive health, education, self-development and social programmes, against unstructured day programmes at most Department of Correctional Services prisons.<sup>174</sup>

The report says the two 'private' prisons cost about R100,000 per prisoner to build. The cheapest equivalent Department of Correctional Services prison, Malmesbury, cost R153,000 per prisoner.

On the face of it, Department of Correctional Services prisons (R94 per prisoner, per day) cost less to run than Mangaung prison run by Group 4 (R132/day), but more than the privately run Kutama prison in Louis Trichardt (R87/day). But, says the report, "if the public prisons were not overcrowded... the cost per prisoner would be... considerably higher than the PPP prisons' costs per day".<sup>175</sup>

The task-team report did, however, point out that the private prison operators are making too much money, but argued that this is because the concept of privately designed, built and managed prisons was untried in

South Africa, and was negotiated in 1999 when interest rates were at record highs. The Bloemfontein consortium will make a nominal 30% a year return on equity over 25 years, and the Louis Trichardt consortium will get 25%.

### ***Outsourcing in the corrections field***

As is discussed below, alternatives to imprisonment are an overlooked and underutilised component of correctional services. Nevertheless, prisons are necessary to protect the public from dangerous criminals. While the majority of the current prison population does not fall into this category, there are thousands of prisoners who do. What role can the private sector play to provide correctional services for this section of the prison population?

Without exploring structural changes to prison design, location, and size, there are several aspects of the operations and maintenance of existing prisons in South Africa which could be viably outsourced to the private sector. This outsourcing could be to private companies, NGOs, or even other government departments. The opportunity also exists for partnerships between various organisations, as well as with consortia of NGOs, business, and government entities.

Existing South African prisons could outsource all the services which are ancillary to prison management, such as janitorial, general maintenance, laundry, ground keeping, and catering services. Such services could be provided on a contract basis by private companies, with considerable benefit and cost-savings to the state. The benefits of outsourcing such services could include improved nutrition for prisoners, and reduced corruption as smuggling and theft of food contributes substantially to the black market inside the prison environment. If, for example, the provision of prison food is outsourced to a few large private catering companies, significant economies of scale could result in cost savings to the state. Moreover, private sector companies can provide capital investments which could serve to improve prison equipment and facilities. For example, leasing kitchen space to a nation-wide catering company, under contract to provide food services for the entire prison system, could result in much needed upgrades of the outdated kitchen equipment in many prisons.

The buying and selling of contraband is a persistent problem in South Africa's prisons and gives rise to various forms of corruption. The country's two privately managed prisons have overcome this problem by prohibiting the use of cash within the prison walls. In these prisons transactions occur in an entirely

computerised cash-less system. Prisoners who work can earn small amounts of money, which are deposited directly into their accounts. Family members and friends of prisoners may also deposit money into prisoners' accounts. Prisoners who wish to purchase something can do so by logging into computer terminals located in each cell wing, and transferring money electronically to, for example, their phone account or to order items from the prison store. Actual money never changes hands, and cash discovered inside the prison is automatically incriminating proof that some sort of smuggling or illegal transaction has taken place.

This cashless system requires substantial investment in technology and training. It is also difficult to implement in state-run prisons where overcrowding prevents access to basic necessities, let alone space for computer terminals and the freedom of movement to access them. However, it may be possible that innovative private sector companies can implement such a system without the need for expensive computer terminals.

In addition to the opportunities for outsourcing ancillary services, functional services in prisons could also be provided on a contract basis by NGOs, academic institutions and for-profit private companies. Thus, HIV/AIDS counselling and education could be coordinated and designed for the prison environment by a network of relevant NGOs throughout the country.

Already, the most successful reintegration and rehabilitation initiatives are provided by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO). NICRO has a long standing in the community, and many years of experience which could be used more constructively by the Department of Correctional Services. For example, in the same way that the department enters into a contract with Bloemfontein Corrections Corporation to manage the Mangaung prison, the department could enter into an agreement with NICRO for the latter to provide rehabilitation services in juvenile facilities in return for office space on site, unrestricted access to prisoners, and a guaranteed level of support in the form of security.

Many organisations are interested in working with prisons in a cooperative relationship, and numerous such partnerships are already in place. However, many NGOs encounter unnecessary, costly, and sometimes project-defeating difficulties in navigating the Department of Correctional Services' fluid and complicated procedures for obtaining access to prisons. In order to encourage NGOs and academic institutions to assist the department, such procedures must be streamlined.

### ***Non-state alternatives to imprisonment***

The United States spends US\$ 54 billion annually on imprisonment, yet struggles to house its record-breaking prison population.<sup>176</sup> Recidivism rates for state-run and privately-contracted prisons do not seem to vary conclusively, but rather show that in either case prisons are ineffective at reducing the incidence of crime. Not even the wealthiest country on earth can build its way out of prison overcrowding.<sup>177</sup> If South Africa is to address its prison overcrowding crisis, the solution lies not in seeking private sector assistance to build more prisons, but to obtain private sector assistance to provide viable and cost-effective alternatives to imprisonment and thereby help reduce the number of prisoners.

The mandate of the Department of Correctional Services is not simply to incarcerate convicted offenders, but to provide correctional services. Depending on the offender, and the crime of which the offender has been convicted, correctional services includes providing rehabilitative services, and reintegrating offenders back into the community. An employed petty offender who is incarcerated for even three months is likely to lose his job because of his imprisonment, while his chances of securing new employment upon release are reduced. Offenders with informal employment, who supported their families or other dependents before their incarceration, may battle to resume their income generating activities, and will experience a loss of income over the period of their incarceration. For indigent offenders who turned to crime to survive, the impact of the disruption of their lives by imprisonment could lead to increased criminal activity, and lower chances of gaining lawful, let alone formal, employment.

The decision to send an offender to prison does not lie with the Department of Correctional Services, but with the courts. For alternatives to imprisonment to become viable, such alternatives need to be trusted by the judicial officers making daily sentencing decisions in criminal courts throughout the country. Much like building prisons, alternatives to imprisonment require a significant investment. However, the investment for such alternatives is of a different kind and requires primarily human capital to build community support and involvement, rather than financial capital to build prisons of brick and steel.

For a developing country such as South Africa, viable alternatives to imprisonment need to be based on community structures and involvement, rather than requiring expansive bureaucracies and more state expenditure.<sup>178</sup> The broad private sector can provide a valuable service in this regard. Civil society can become actively involved in the appropriate treatment and rehabilita-

tion of offenders who act against the interest of their community. A successful scheme of this sort is the community service programme in Zimbabwe. Set up in 1992, with funding from the British Department for International Development (DFID) and the European Union (EU), through Penal Reform International, the scheme assigns offenders who would otherwise be incarcerated for one year or less, to work without pay for a set number of hours for a not-for-profit organisation. The success of this programme has been attributed to the high-level political leadership which initiated and supports the scheme, and the strength and resilience of civil society in Zimbabwe.

One of South Africa's many strengths as a nation is its civil society. The country's large NGO sector employs more people than the mining industry. The Department of Correctional Services should tap into this pool of resources to design and implement effective alternatives to imprisonment. The exact description of such alternatives is an area that requires more and careful research. Crucially, to be useful, such research requires the support and encouragement of policy-makers in the criminal justice system.

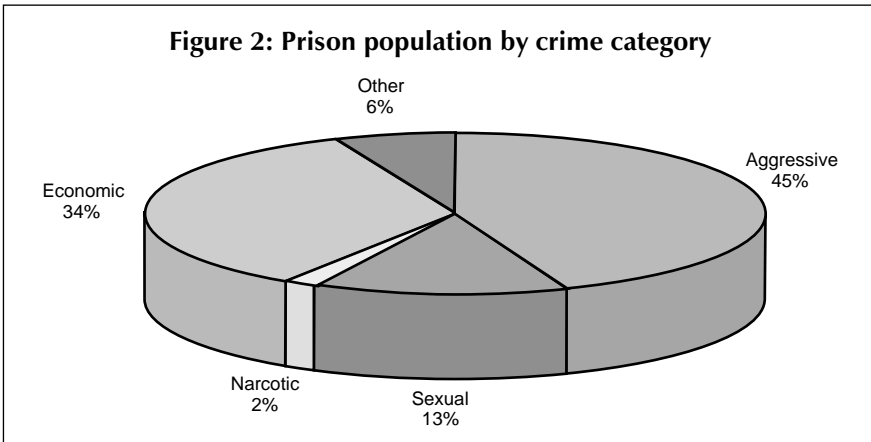
With the exception of those who are unfit, unwilling or unable to be part of society, most prisoners fall into three categories for whom alternatives to imprisonment should be explored. These are crime suspects awaiting trial, convicted non-violent offenders, and convicted unemployed and indigent offenders. These three categories of prisoners comprise between two-thirds to three-quarters of South Africa's prison population.

To better understand how many prisoners could be considered for correctional supervision, which is less expensive and more constructive than imprisonment, it is necessary to analyse the prison population in terms of prisoners sentenced for economic (thus, assumed to be non-violent) crimes, and all those sentenced to prison terms of less than one year (Figures 2 and 3).

From the data presented, more than 100,000 prisoners, or almost two-thirds of the prison population, could be considered for a sentencing option which does not entail imprisonment (Figure 4). The future of private sector involvement in the provision of correctional services should therefore be targeted at alternatives to imprisonment. From a financial and public security (i.e. through better prospects of rehabilitation) point of view, reducing the size of the prison population is far more appealing than the ability to double prison capacity.

The statistics used for this analysis, represented in Figures 2 to 4, date from February 2001, shortly after the Department of Correctional Services released

approximately 11,000 awaiting trial prisoners who were incarcerated for non-violent offences with bail amounts at less than R1,000. The cost to the state of detaining these prisoners, in respect of whom the courts had already determined that they were not a flight risk or a risk to society, and would not interfere with witnesses and evidence, far exceeded their bail amounts. They were in prison simply because they could not afford to pay their bail. The release of these prisoners temporarily reduced the number of prisoners awaiting trial. This should be kept in mind when viewing Figures 2 and 3.



Source: Department of Correctional Services



\* Includes unsentenced prisoners

Source: Department of Correctional Services

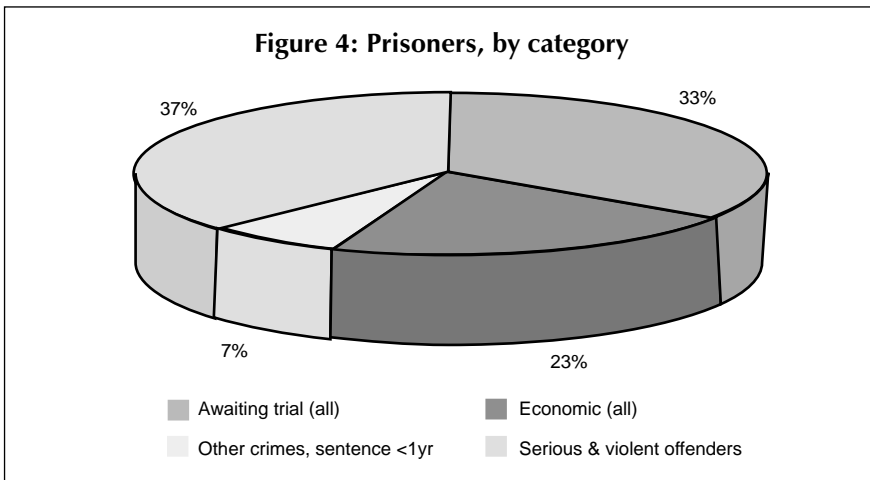
## Conclusion

The private sector has a role to play to finance, design, construct and manage prisons in South Africa. The country's two privately managed prisons offer relatively good facilities and rehabilitative programmes at a reasonable cost. More research is needed, however, to conclusively compare the costs of privately managed prisons to state-run institutions.

South Africa's prison system, like similar prison systems around the world, is a largely outdated institution. The contemporary prison structure has not undergone any fundamental changes over the last two hundred years. As Marc Mauer explains in his book, *Race to Incarcerate*:<sup>179</sup>

Looking back on two centuries of prison in America, what is particularly remarkable is how little the institutional model has changed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While the philosophical orientation and stated goals of the prison have fluctuated, the basic concept of imprisoning people in cages remains the central feature of the system.

South Africa has one of the highest incarceration rates in the world. This does not seem to have had an impact on levels of recorded crime or the public's fear of crime. The country's overcrowded prisons have become public health hazards where inmates are infected with tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS, and are



Source: Department of Correctional Services

then released with an increased likelihood of infecting others in their communities. Overcrowding and squalid conditions make it close to impossible to rehabilitate prison inmates. As a result many prisoners who are released, re-offend and again become a burden to the criminal justice system. Moreover, prisons are expensive and reduce the ability of the treasury to finance the building of roads, schools and hospitals.

Over the long run massive prisons construction programmes are not sustainable, and alternatives need to be developed. The private sector – in the form of business, NGOs, and civil society in general – must play a greater role in this regard. Private sector ingenuity and support is needed to develop successful alternatives to prison. For example, by assisting with the expansion of community service programmes the for-profit and not-for-profit private sector could make a real contribution to the development of a humane criminal justice system in South Africa. Given time this should contribute to the rehabilitation of offenders and their reintegration back into their communities, resulting in lower rates of recidivism, less crime and a safer society for all.