

An Exploration of Violent Behaviour of Young Ex-Offenders on the Cape Flats, South Africa: Suggestions for Youth Work Practice

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate factors that contributed to violent behaviour among young ex-offenders, and the challenges that young ex-offenders faced when reintegrating into mainstream society on the Cape Flats in South Africa. The researchers used a qualitative approach grounded in phenomenology as the research design. The study population consisted of eight young ex-offenders on the Cape Flats who had served sentences in prison. Purposive sampling was used to select them for participation. The data were collected through individual semi-structured interviews and a phenomenological analysis was used to analyse the participants' responses. Ethical considerations such as informed consent, privacy, voluntary participation, and confidentiality were given due attention in this study. The results of the study revealed that factors such as the lack of parental affection, peer pressure, the use of drugs, and domestic violence contributed to violent behaviour among young ex-offenders on the Cape Flats. The study concluded that, when returning to the community, young ex-offenders face challenges such as family and community mistrust and a lack of employment opportunities. The study recommends the involvement of all young ex-offenders in activities of the National Youth Service, fully supervised by the National Youth Development Agency and officials of the Department of Correctional Services for a certain period as part of youth work practice in South Africa.

Keywords: youth in conflict with the law, juvenile delinquency, violent behaviour, exclusion, youth work, ex-offender, social integration

Introduction

The rate of crime committed by young people in South Africa is of great concern and is considered the highest compared to other groups (Benjamin 2014). Youth violence is known as a crime committed by a young person against another person (David-Ferdon and Simon 2014). According to Weideman et al. (2015), young people who are exposed to media violence may turn out to be young offenders (Bushman and Anderson 2015). Bushman et al. (2018) argue that young people who are the victims of bullying are more likely to commit crime as a defensive mechanism. Ex-offenders are a group of people who have served time in jail for committing a crime. Upon their release, they face several challenges such as a lack of employment (Langa and Masuku 2015). The process of reintegrating young ex-offenders into society is always a challenge. However, factors such as family support, parental love and secure employment have proved to have a positive impact on the lives of young ex-offenders (Davis, Bahr, and Ward 2013).

This article reports on a study that aimed to investigate the experiences of ex-offenders in terms of factors contributing to violent behaviour among youths and the challenges that young ex-offenders face when reintegrating into mainstream society on the Cape Flats in South Africa. It seeks to contribute to a body of knowledge by suggesting best models that can be used in youth work practice when helping young ex-offenders to reintegrate into society and preventing crime among youths on the Cape Flats. It is therefore hoped that this study will contribute to research on youth studies in South Africa. It anticipates that the findings will have implications for positive youth development.

Factors that Contribute to Youths' Violent Behaviour

Across the globe young people often find themselves on the wrong side of the law, and there are several factors that contribute to youth crime. In the United Kingdom, income inequality was reported to be the leading contributor to youths' criminal behaviour. In 2017, 34 per cent of male youths aged 18 to 29 years were involved in crimes such as stabbing other youths, and the use of knives among young males was a common practice in urban areas, particularly while they were under the influence of drugs and alcohol (Grimshaw and Ford 2018). When youths, specifically in South Africa, are under the influence of substances, they are more likely to commit crime (Chauke and Malatji 2018). According to Omoniyi (2013), the lack of economic opportunities for youths results in situations where young people commit crimes to make a living. Omoniyi (2013) further argues that in the Makurdi Metropolis in Nigeria, youth criminality has become a serious issue. Young people aged 14 to 18 are involved in organising gangs to commit crimes. In addition, the most specialised crimes that youths plan are drug smuggling and small-scale drug dealing. Crimes committed by the youths in Nigeria also include armed robbery, drug trafficking, sex trafficking, theft, cultism, assassination, thuggery, vandalism, piracy, and cybercrime. Ward, Van der Merwe and Dawes (2012) argue that, as in Nigeria, South Africa has a problem dealing with the

crime committed by young people. More young males are found to be guilty of crimes such as burglary and gangsterism than their female counterparts.

Television programmes such as hip-hop and gangsta rap music videos are regarded as major influences on criminal behaviour among Nigerian youths, continuously fuelling their young minds with violent content that they attempt to emulate in real life (Nkechi, Ikechukwu, and Okechukwu 2012). A study by Omboto et al. (2013) on factors influencing juvenile delinquency revealed that in Kenya juvenile delinquency is a major problem caused by the escalation of poverty and the explicitness of gangster rap videos as seen on television. A combination of poor circumstances and lifestyle choices evoked by these videos thus led young people to resort to crime. In Sierra Leone, rebellious groups of young people contributed to a national crisis in 2001. Gangster rap music videos played a major role in furthering the agenda of civil war in that country.

According to Boima (2013, 215), “The rebel-thug figure of Tupac was of vital importance in the Sierra Leonean battlefield among the youth.” This bears witness to the power of violent words and gangster imagery to influence young people to behave in an aggressive manner, and resort to crime. A study by Njeri and Ngesu (2014) found that the use of drugs among young people has damaging consequences for their educational development. A total of 52 per cent of the participants agreed that the use of drugs contributes to poor performance at school and aggressive behaviour.

According to Wilson et al. (2012), young boys are more likely to be involved in violence such as physical fighting than young girls. Gxubane (2016) states that youth stigmatisation has a long-lasting effect on a young person’s life, and that young people who are called all sorts of names by the community are more likely to resort to crime. According to Mguzulwa (2014), young people get tired of being the victims of crime and then decide to join gangs and commit crimes for the sake of belonging and being protected by the gang. Joining a gang has a long-lasting effect on young people’s social and educational development. Their education is delayed, and some lose their loved ones because of criminal activity. Njeri and Ngesu (2014) say the use of drugs contributes to youth criminal behaviour.

The study conducted by Chauke and Malatji (2018) highlights that television programmes such as *Uzalo* and *Generation: The Legacy* pay too much attention to rewarding criminal behaviour, which increases the criminal behaviour of youths. Jefthas and Artz (2007) highlight that young boys are more likely to commit physical crimes such as fighting than young girls. The lack of sporting activities in townships and villages and little or no parental guidance are the major causes of youth crime (Chauke, Malatji, and Mudau 2019). There is a relationship between the psychological effects of parental divorce and youth behaviour (Chauke and Obadire 2019). Coleman (2013) mentions that poor emotional attachment of parents to their children is the cause of antisocial behaviour among young people. Children who are exposed to domestic violence and intimate partner violence are more likely to become violent (Ricci and

Barry 2011, 12). Perron (2013) and Pingley (2017) note that family conflict, where parents are involved in physical fighting, related significantly to youths' delinquent behaviour.

Challenges Faced by Ex-Offenders when Reintegrating into Mainstream Society

Gxubane (2018) argues that young ex-offenders in their social reintegration phase experience several challenges, some of which sometimes drive these youths to recommit crimes. The community and family are sources of the problems that increase young ex-offenders' vulnerability when returning to society. These youths find it difficult to pursue their studies, and it is rare for ex-offenders to secure decent employment after imprisonment. Adams, Chen and Chapman (2017) contend that the chances of recidivism can be reduced if the ex-offenders are mainstreamed into the economy through employment as it enables them to generate income and stay away from antisocial behaviour. Conversely, the difficulty of finding employment places them in a vulnerable situation such as living on the streets or in shelters and going back to a life of criminality (Ricci and Barry 2011).

The lack of occupational skills, job hunting skills and work experience is a great obstacle for the young ex-offenders in finding employment (Finn 1999). Cooke (2002) argues that despite the unthinkable pain that the offenders inflict on their victims, it is humane for the community to accept the fact that ex-offenders have paid for their sins through imprisonment, and to give them a chance to reintegrate into society. Zondi (2012) points out that reinforcement of positive behaviour among young ex-offenders when they return to the community is not solely the responsibility of the Department of Correctional Services; family and community, as the most important stakeholders, should also play their role.

Life in prison is very difficult and is often classified as the survival of the fittest because of crimes such as stabbing, gang fights, drug dealing, and rape committed by inmates against other inmates (Gaes et al. 2002). Young ex-offenders who have family support find it easy to reintegrate into society, unlike others who have no family or community support. Months after being released, young offenders face challenges in terms of securing housing (Grommon, Rydberg, and Bynum 2012). According to Samuels (2010), after committing a crime and returning to the community, some of the young people are rejected by family members and labelled with all sorts of names. Such treatment further pushes young ex-offenders to return to their previous life of youth gangs and committing horrific crimes. Some ex-offenders are separated from younger children at home because parents feel they will influence them to commit crimes (*MoveMag* 2015).

Kyprianides, Easterbrook and Cruwys (2019) argue that prejudice against or rejection of young ex-offenders places them in the unemployment line. The community lacks the

kindness to forgive the ex-offenders and offer them a chance to participate in the economic mainstream. According to Inzlicht, Tullett and Gutsell (2012), having spent most of their time in prison contributes to ex-offenders' inferiority complex when returning to the community. They miss out on many opportunities that their peers have had, which affects them psychologically, and community rejection makes it worse. In prison, inmates receive assistance from various organisations. However, when they return to society there is no care service provided for them to help them to adjust to the community (Chikadzi 2017). Young ex-offenders who live in a community where drugs, alcohol and harmful peer pressure prevail often resort to crime. Against this backdrop, there is a great need for sustained rehabilitation programmes that will reduce the danger of recidivism (Samuels 2010).

Aim of the Study

The aim of this study was to investigate the experiences of ex-offenders in terms of factors that contributed to violent behaviour and the challenges they faced during reintegrating into mainstream society in the Cape Flats area.

Theoretical Framework

Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2007) define the social exclusion theory as a theory that focuses on the exclusion of people in their everyday lives. The social exclusion theory became a priority in European social policies in the 1990s after the concept first appeared in the early 1980s. Social exclusion theory is concerned with the economic, political, cultural, and health inequalities people are facing in everyday life. According to Walker and Walker (1997), the social exclusion theory shows that being deprived of resources puts people in a situation where they cannot conform to the norms of society. The theory highlights two principles that increase inequality: exclusion and globalisation. It argues that exclusion is a result of the globalisation whereby big international companies exploit poor people by transferring little control to local businesspeople, and secretly selecting board members to oversee the local businesses people. Local people have no control whatsoever over the market. Furthermore, social exclusion can contribute towards poverty, unemployment and dependency on social assistance for survival.

The social exclusion theory is applicable to this study because it cites the need for survival as a determining factor in youth crime. The lack of attachment and a feeling of belonging in the family system can also be considered a form of social exclusion. The family is the first institution that must make a young person feel loved and appreciated and if this is neglected many young people revert to the streets. In life on the street belonging to gangs often become a substitute family and participating in crime the only way to survive.

Research Methodology

This study applied qualitative research methodology as it strived to explore and describe the experiences, perspectives and opinions of the participants. Qualitative studies are committed to the naturalistic perspective and the interpretive understanding of human experiences. At the same time, it is inherently political and is shaped by multiple ethical and political allegiances (De Vos et al. 2011, 310). Qualitative research is focused on the non-linear research path and the ongoing practices that require logic (Neuman 2011). Questions such as how, what, and where are often emphasised in qualitative research with the aim of understanding a social setting through the lens of individual perspectives and experiences (Bonnell 1980). Qualitative research enables the researcher to reach where the participant stays without any delay (Chauke and Mudau 2019).

This study adopted a phenomenological research design. Qutoshi (2018) describes a phenomenological research design as a philosophy that seeks to understand certain phenomena through the lived experiences of the participants. This research design was essential in this study because it enabled the researchers to spend time with the participants living on the Cape Flats. In addition, it was essential to make use of this research design because it helps researchers to unfold the reality or meaning lived by the young ex-offenders on the Cape Flats.

Creswell (2003) says that researchers in a qualitative study devote their time to understanding social reality through the participants, meaning that they become attached to the participants. Researchers in a qualitative study do not test hypotheses, but focus on developing theories that can redress societal issues.

Sampling and Population

This study used purposive non-probability sampling to sample eight participants to narrate their experience. According to Kumar (2014), purposive non-probability sampling is used in qualitative research to sample individuals who share the same characteristics to gain understanding of the social setting. Purposive non-probability sampling was suitable for this study because the researchers chose the participants based on their own judgements. In addition, those participants were chosen because they shared the same characteristics which involve characteristics of young ex-offenders. Therefore, the criteria for participating in this study were that a young person had to be between the ages of 18 and 35 years and an ex-offender.

According to Bryman (2012), a study population is the group of individuals that are sampled to participate in the study. In this article, as noted, the target population involved eight young ex-offenders. The participants were drawn from Gugulethu, Crossroads, Philippi, Langa and Khayelitsha in Cape Town, South Africa.

Data Collection and Instruments

In terms of data collection, the researchers carefully employed unstructured one-on-one interviews. Unstructured interviews occur where open-ended questions are used in a normal conversation between the researcher and the participant (De Vos et al. 2011). One of the researchers worked with the participants; the researcher made appointments with the participants, interviewed them and recorded the conversations individually. Recording the conversations was of paramount importance in ensuring that the quality of the study findings was not compromised, and avoiding the manipulation of the study findings, which is prohibited in a qualitative research setting.

Access to the Participants

A researcher who employs qualitative research spends time with the participants (De Vos et al. 2011). One of the researchers worked with the ex-offenders from different organisations as part of the National Youth Service Programme “proud to serve” campaign, therefore it was easy for him to travel to Gugulethu, Crossroads, Philippi, Langa and Khayelitsha in Cape Town to meet with the participants individually and to interview them. The interviews were similar to everyday conversations, guided by the following questions: What are the factors that contribute to violent youth behaviour on the Cape Flats? What are the challenges that young ex-offenders face when reintegrating into mainstream society on the Cape Flats?

Pilot Study

Creswell (2009) describes the pilot study as a preliminary study of the research instrument to check the feasibility of the study. To enhance the main study, the researcher tested the research questions by first asking certain young ex-offenders questions separately to test if the study would answer the crucial questions. The young ex-offenders were also given an opportunity to express their views about the questions.

Research Analysis

Research analysis is a process of making logical sense of the collected data to make meaning of the social phenomenon (De Vos et al. 2011). The researchers used phenomenological analysis because this method of inquiry is the reflection of the discussion based on the lived experience of the participants. In this study, we therefore reflected on the most important factors that we regarded should be discussed in our study findings and removed some information that did not provide accurate factors to achieve the study objective.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are ethical concerns that researchers must take into consideration to protect the participants during the research process (De Vos et al. 2011). This study would neither have produced quality results nor be academically sound if ethical considerations had been neglected. Ethical considerations such as voluntary

participation, confidentiality (non-disclosure of names and organisations) and informed consent were explained to the participants. The focus was on what this study was all about, and the way in which the participants' lived experiences would help our country to curb violent youth behaviour and to promote social cohesion within our society. The researchers also indicated that participation in this study was completely voluntary. The participants then decided to participate by signing consent forms as their agreement to participate in the study. The participants were ensured that through the study recommendations suggestions will be made that would help them to participate in the mainstream economy.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is a set of authenticity criteria for producing quality in interpretative research (De Vos et al. 2011). To enhance the trustworthiness of the research, the researcher used credibility, conformability, dependability and transferability. Credibility involved handing over the notes to the participants after the data collection to rectify errors made by the researcher (Creswell 2016). Regarding the credibility of the study, the researchers conversed with the ex-offenders to find meaning in their lived experience. They were given permission to decide on their own to participate in this study or not. The researcher had some consultations first with the ex-offenders before collecting the data. After data collection, we notified the participants of the reflected discussion to identify errors that the researchers might have made.

Transferability is about how transferable the study findings are that can be applicable to other situations (De Vos et al. 2011). Regarding the transferability, in the context of this study, the contributory factors to youth violent behaviour and challenges ex-offenders faced when reintegrating into mainstream society on the Cape Flats were established. It was easier to suggest strategies that can help young ex-offenders to reintegrate into society. Babbie (2011) defines conformability as a process of ensuring that all aspects are taken into consideration in ensuring that the study findings are the true reflection of the participants' experience. In the context of this study, the researchers made sure that the study findings reflect the lived experience of the young ex-offenders. Dependability is a process of making sure that the study findings produce the same results if the study could be conducted again using the same participants (Babbie 2011). In the context of this study, the participants were given notes after the data analysis to check if the study findings reflected their lived experience that was outlined during data collection.

Biographical Information

As noted, the data were collected from a total of eight young male ex-offenders from the above-mentioned areas near Cape Town. The ages of the participants ranged from 21 to 35. Table 1 illustrates the participants' information.

Table: 1: Biographical information of participants

Gender	Age	Location	Sentence served (years)
Male	26	Gugulethu	5
Male	21	Gugulethu	3
Male	33	Crossroads	6
Male	25	Langa	2
Male	22	Khayelitsha	1
Male	27	Khayelitsha	5
Male	23	Khayelitsha	3
Male	22	Khayelitsha	3

Findings and Discussion

Factors that Contributed to Violent Behaviour among Ex-Offenders in Cape Town

The study indicated that factors that pushed young ex-offenders to commit crime were a lack of parental love, domestic violence, peer pressure and the use of drugs.

Lack of Parental Affection

The findings reflected that a lack of parental affection was the major contributor to youths' violent behaviour among all the participants. Three participants were raised by stepmothers and fathers who were always drunk. Waddell (2012) says that children who are yelled at by their parents as a form of discipline at a younger age grow to be violent young adults. This interfered with their childhood and disrupted their studies. Furthermore, the lack of a father figure contributed to their violent behaviour. The study revealed that the participants desperately needed a father figure as a role model, and the lack of one resulted in finding themselves in a difficult situation where there was no well-behaved male figure at home to emulate. This argument confirms that of Chauke, Malatji and Mudau (2019) that children who grow up in a family where there is no proper guidance through parental love are more likely to adopt deviant behaviour such as criminal activities. Two participants recalled:

It was so easy for me to commit crime because at home there was no love or care from my father. Things were tough: my father never gave me love. It was even difficult for him to buy me clothes for Christmas Day and the winter season. I needed a father figure like other kids who had their fathers. For this reason, I had to stand on my own from a young age and be my own man.

While I grew up I needed my father's validation, but he never had time for me. I had to live with my grandmother. Living with her gave me freedom to do whatever I wanted without being reprimanded when I did the wrong thing.

Looking at these utterances, one could conclude that the ex-offenders did not commit crime because they wanted to, but that the lack of love from their fathers changed their behaviour. According to Chauke, Malatji and Mudau (2019), a lack of parental support is the major contributor to youths' violent behaviour. The lack of financial support from home pushed the young ex-convicts to raise some capital for survival through criminal activity. This study revealed that parental love is of paramount importance to youths' development. A boy child who does not know what it is like to be loved by his father easily conflicts with the law. This study finding is supported by the work of Coleman (2013) who indicates that poor attachment of parents to their children is the cause of antisocial behaviour among young people. Some young people who are raised by single mothers easily commit crime compared to those who live with both their parents (Van Staden 2015).

Domestic Violence

Most of the participants reiterated that they came from a family context of domestic violence which engendered a defensive mindset. The findings of the study reflected that the ex-offenders grew up in families where domestic violence was a norm which contributed to their violent behaviour. Molina and Levell (2020) indicated that exposure to domestic violence does not mean that young people will commit crime in future. The study further revealed that the participants grew up witnessing their fathers emotionally and physically abusing their stepmothers, and such experiences had psychological effects on their lives. These experiences led the participants to develop a self-defence mechanism because of fear at a young age. When they realised defence mechanisms would not help, they had to leave home and interact with the wrong crowd who smoked and committed crime. Owing to family stress that arose from domestic violence, the participants inflicted their anger on other people by getting involved in fighting. Perron (2013) notes that family conflict where parents are involved in physical fighting is a significant youth-related predictor of delinquent behaviour. Van Staden (2015), however, asserts that young men commit crime because of a lack of control of their emotions. Two participant revealed their experiences:

I used to see my father physically and emotionally abusing my stepmother, and that affected me badly. I was always stressed, and I had to commit a crime such as stabbing one of the boys at school because of the anger inside me that arose from domestic violence at home.

I normalised the use of violence when I solved conflicts because violence was the only language that I understand from home.

This finding indicates that owing to domestic violence the participants developed unhealthy coping strategies such as hurting others through criminal activities such as stabbing to feel good. This finding is related to a study by Ricci and Barry (2011, 12) who state that children's exposure to domestic violence and intimate partner violence is a predictor of youth crime.

Peer Pressure and the Use of Drugs

The study finding revealed that owing to their rejection of family from lack of parental affection, the participants felt a need to join a group of young and older men who were living a lavish lifestyle. It was after being exposed to a life of notoriety that the participants were introduced to a life of crime, the use of drugs, and extramarital affairs. According to Njeri and Ngesu (2014), when young people are under the influence of drugs, they are more likely to commit a crime. The study finding revealed that after the participants were influenced by their peers they began to live a lavish lifestyle and committed several crimes such as housebreaking, credit card scamming, car hijacking, theft, and stabbing. Nigerian youths commit crime such as hijacking and housebreaking (Omoniyi 2013).

There was a house next to my home where people used to drink, smoke, and hang around with fine girls. I joined them and started using drugs.

The statement shows clearly that peer pressure influenced the participant to use drugs, and ultimately to commit crimes.

Challenges that Young Ex-Offenders Faced when Reintegrating into Mainstream Society on the Cape Flats

Most of the participants indicated that they were finding it difficult to reintegrate into mainstream society after spending some years in prison. The challenges that the young ex-convicts faced include family and community mistrust and the lack of employment opportunities.

Family and Community Mistrust

The study finding revealed that life after prison was and is not easy for the majority of the participants. The finding revealed that trying to reintegrate into the community is similar to serving another prison sentence at home and in the community. The participants are not trusted, and are judged by their family members. Samuels (2010) asserts that family and friends do not trust ex-offenders upon their release. Their families still see them as criminals who could commit crime any time. Such treatment affects the participants' well-being because they are still young and need family support. Community members change their perceptions of the young men when they become aware that they are ex-convicts. This finding is supported by the work of Gxubane (2018) who states that when returning to the community ex-offenders are vulnerable to adopting risky behaviour owing to their rejection by their family and community. One participant said:

My family hardly trusts me, and whenever the community hears that I am an ex-convict their behaviour changes towards me.

From this statement, it is clear that the young ex-convicts are not getting the support and love they need as young people from family and the community at large. It should be noted that they may be tempted to commit crime again if there is no support from home and the community.

Lack of Employment Opportunities

The study findings revealed that the participants found it difficult to get decent employment because of their criminal records. The lack of work experience contributes to youth unemployment in South Africa. This finding concurs with the work of Adams, Chen and Chapman (2017) who hold that the danger of recidivism can be reduced if the ex-offenders are mainstreamed into the economy through employment. A participant said:

I do try to do some voluntary work, hoping that these organisations will hire me afterwards, but no one seems to want to give me a chance to work so that I can start a family of my own.

This statement indicates that there is a link between unemployment and a criminal record among young people. It is evident that young ex-offenders are denied opportunities to participate in the mainstream economy owing to their history of imprisonment. Grommon, Rydberg and Bynum (2012) note that upon their release ex-offenders find it difficult to secure housing. It is therefore essential that young ex-offenders be supported with economic activity such as business management training to fully participate in the economy. A study by Guse and Hudson (2014) indicates that offenders find it difficult to reintegrate into the mainstream society.

Conclusions and Recommendations

When reflecting on the study's findings, one concludes that factors such as a lack of parental affection, domestic violence, peer pressure and the use of drugs contribute to violent behaviour among young ex-offenders on the Cape Flats. The study revealed that upon their release the ex-offenders experience challenges in reintegrating into society, such as family and community mistrust, and find it difficult to secure employment. The study recommends the introduction of youth work prevention initiatives on the Cape Flats which must be facilitated by professional youth workers to promote positive youth development and crime free zones. The programme should focus on strengthening young people rather than focusing on youth problems. Looking at the challenges that young ex-offenders have when trying to reintegrate into society, particularly the lack of work, the study recommends adopting National Youth Service activities for all young ex-offenders, fully supervised by officials of the National Youth Development Agency and the Department of Correctional Services.

As part of their showing remorse as a way of accepting the ex-offenders back into the community, young ex-offenders must participate in the National Youth Service

Programme on the Cape Flats through crime prevention awareness. The activities can involve doing community service for two years, such as raising crime awareness in schools and communities with the intention of encouraging young people to stay away from crime upon their release. In addition, these activities can be supervised by professional youth workers and social workers. The City of Cape Town should design youth work intervention programmes that will support youths who have a history of family violence. The Western Cape government and the Department of Community and Safety in their crime prevention efforts must ensure that 30 per cent of youth ambassadors who are employed in a one-year period as crime prevention facilitators are young ex-offenders. This will help ex-offenders to participate in the mainstream economy. Finally, the study recommends that young offenders be provided with business management training and be encouraged to start their own businesses.

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