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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In today's society the rising crime rate and the government's apparent inability to curb this escalation in crime is a reality. The capability of the government to deal with the high crime rate in South Africa is furthermore questioned. In the Pretoria News of 23 September 2003 it is stated, "Twelve-and-a-half-million crimes have been reported in the past nine years but only 6% of the criminals have been punished" (compare SAPA, 2003:3 and Gifford, 2003:3). Statistics as mentioned in The South African Crime Pages (Van Der Westhuizen, 2002:1) stated that 21 000 people were murdered in South Africa during 2001 whilst a woman is raped every 23 seconds. During the release of the crime statistics by the National Police Commissioner Mr. Jackie Selebi on 22 September 2003, claims were made of success in the fight against crime. This assumption was based on the fact that some crimes has stabilised (compare SAPA, 2003:3 and Gifford, 2003:3). Notwithstanding the claims of success the statistics was characterised by controversy. The statistics were described as outdated by informed role players. The impact that the continued high rate, especially violent crimes, has on South African citizens was highlighted as an indicator that the statistics lacked credibility (SAPA, 2003:3). In this regard Groenewalt (in SAPA, 2003:3) stated "(T)he Minister of Safety and Security must stop making assertions that crime is

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stabilising and rather look at the whole picture and see that citizens are being threatened".

In relation to the public's opinion of the high crime rate in South Africa Marsh (1999:178) states: " If half of the stories we hear are true, then we are living in a war zone". The negative publicity and international condemnation due to the high crime rate has an effect on all levels of civilization, from grassroots to international level. During the Inter Trauma Nexus Conference in 2000 Dr. L Davis from the University of Pretoria stated that due to the high crime rate and specifically violent crimes, tourism and investors internationally view South Africa as a "no-go"-zone. Recidivism is one of the factors that contributes to this high crime rate.

In The National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996) it is acknowledged that the high crime rate poses a threat to the democracy of South Africa. It causes fear and restricts South African citizens' daily lives. It furthermore deprives citizens of their right to dignity and freedom to make use of the advantages and opportunities that is offered in South Africa. Based on these reasons Government identified crime prevention as a national priority. The emphasis in the battle against crime is not only placed on crisis management of the current situation but furthermore on the pro-active prevention thereof (The National Crime Prevention Strategy, 1996: 1-2).

The researcher found it of interest to note that no reference was made in The National Crime Prevention Strategy to the role that recidivism and repeat offending plays in South Africa's high crime rate. Even though no official statistics exists to determine the impact that recidivism has on the crime rate it is speculated that it could be between 55.3% and 95% (compare Muntingh, 2001:6 and Prinsloo, 1995:4). Based on these indications it is clear that recidivism is a phenomena that cannot be ignored in the battle against the high crime rate in South Africa.

Traditionally the South African citizen is of the opinion that it is the State's responsibility to address South Africa's current crime problem (compare Van Der Westhuizen, 2002:3). In this regard the researcher supports the viewpoint stated in The National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996:2), namely that in order to reduce crime it is fundamental that a partnership exists between governmental structures and community based resources.

Against this background this study aims to contribute towards crime prevention and management specifically by means of exploring recidivism as a contributing factor to South Africa's high crime rate. The research study further aims to conceptualise and classify recidivism from a South African perspective in order to compile an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management thereof.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the study. It contains the trends in the prevention and management of crime and recidivism in South Africa; the motivation for the study; the problem statement and the aims and objectives of the study. Furthermore a brief overview of the research methodology utilised in the study; key concepts; limitations of the study and the content of the research report will be presented.

1.2 TRENDS IN THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CRIME AND RECIDIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Simplified, recidivism refers to repeat offending. Prinsloo (1995:8) posits that recidivism is an academic metaphor that is widely and sometimes contradictory used in various contexts. This can contribute to dissimilar concepts being compared with each other. The dissimilar use of the concept recidivism can furthermore be ascribed to the lack of formal definition and conceptualisation thereof (compare Beck, 2001:1; Prinsloo, 1995:9 and Champion, 1994:87).

In order to address recidivism in South African it is therefore firstly necessary to understand the phenomena. This entails an exploration of the phenomenon in order to conceptualising recidivism. The aim thereof is to develop a classification system whereby a recidivist can be formally identified and classified. Champion (1994:3) emphasised the importance of

classification as a rehabilitation and crime management tool. It can assist the judicial system with prosecutorial decision-making and the penal system with appropriate offender programme placement as well as the rendering of need directed and specialised treatment programmes.

In relation to the rendering of specialised and need directed therapeutic services Howes (1996) emphasises the role of social change through inter-disciplinary intervention. The important role of the social worker in this process is noted. Howe's view regarding inter-disciplinary intervention concurs with the ones presented in The National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996) as well as The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). In both cases the emphasis is placed on holistic services, based on inter-sectoral collaborations and partnerships. The focus is further placed on pro-active crime prevention as the ideal instead of reactive crime control. This can be accomplished through social development programmes (compare White Paper on Social Welfare, 1997:11, The National Crime Prevention Strategy, 1996:1 and Howes, 1996:37).

The National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996) aims to prevent crime through a strategy whereby a four-pillar approach is used. The four pillars represent the areas where crime prevention should be developed. The four pillars are indicated in Figure 1.

Figure: 1 The four pillar approach to crime prevention (Adapted from The National Crime Prevention Strategy, 1996:5).

From Figure 1 it is apparent that the National Crime Prevention Strategy focuses exclusively on the pro-active prevention of crime.

Addressing crime pro-actively is the ideal but in reality crime and social change can only be accomplished through pro- and reactive intervention. The social service delivery framework as depicted in the Financial Policy for Developmental Social Welfare Services (1999:12) identified four service levels. This policy, although currently under revision, is relevant for the study based on the fact that crime was one of the key areas targeted as a priority that needs to be addressed. In the policy emphasis is placed on addressing crime pro- and reactively. These service levels can be depicted as follow:

Table: 1 Addressing crime pro- and reactively

Service level 1
Crime prevention by means of strategies and programmes focussing on the strengthening (empowering) and capacity building of people. Promoting self-reliance of people in the broader community.
Service level 2
Early intervention (diversion) in order to prevent the necessity of statutory intervention.
Service level 3
If statutory processes are necessary, specific need directed services must be available in order to support and strengthen involved parties.
Service level 4
Highly effective care and development services, amongst others, in prison, with the aim to kerb further deterioration, to maximise development and well-being as well as to promote reintegration into systems in the community

(Adapted from the Financial Policy for Developmental Social Welfare Services, 1999:12)

The purpose of service delivery as presented in the Financial Policy for Developmental Social Welfare Services (1999) is, amongst others, to addres crime proactively by means of developmental services on various community levels. Reactively crime is addressed by means of the rendering of need directed services.

In the discussion document towards a green paper on Correctional Services in South Africa (2003:26) the rendering of need directed rehabilitation services is highlighted. It is stated that "Rehabilitation should be viewed not merely as strategy to preventing crime, rather as a holistic phenomenon incorporating and encouraging social responsibility, social justice, active participation in democratic activities, empowerment with life and other skills, and contributing to

make South Africa a better place to live in". Key strategies were developed in order to facilitate rehabilitation services, namely:

- The development of individualised need-based programmes;
- The marketing of rehabilitation services;
- Establishing formal partnerships with the community to strengthen rehabilitation programmes and to create a common understanding;
- Promoting the restorative justice approach;
- Combating illiteracy in prisons;
- Increasing productivity to enhance self-sufficiency;
- To increase training facilities for the development of skills

(Discussion paper on Correctional Services, 2003:18).

As in the case with both the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996) and the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) the emphasis is also on addressing crime holistically. In line with these discussed strategies on crime, the researcher aimed to focus on addressing recidivism and re-offending pro- and reactively by compiling an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

In relation to the inter-disciplinary team Howes (1996) identified the following role players that should participate in the crime prevention and management process, namely social workers, law enforcement agencies, the judicial system and

socialising agencies that are responsible for the teaching of values and norms, such as families as well as community members. This implies that the prevention and management of recidivism and crime is the responsibility of various role players in society. In this process formal and informal community structures as well as governmental systems take co-responsibility for preventing and managing the escalation in the crime rate (Howes, 1996:37).

In conclusion it can be stated that there is a link between the management and prevention of crime and recidivism. It can be assumed that any action to prevent and manage crime will have an indirect effect on the reduction of the recidivism rate. Actions aimed at the prevention and management of recidivism will thus inevitably have an impact on reducing the crime rate in South Africa. The motivation for this study can directly be linked to the researcher's need to contribute to crime prevention and management.

1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE CHOICE OF THE RESEACH TOPIC

The motivation for this study is based on the negative impact of crime in South Africa and the role that recidivism plays as a contributing factor within this context. The choice of the research topic was furthermore motivated from a literature perspective, focussing specifically on the role that recidivism studies can play in crime prevention and management. The study is lastly motivated by the researcher's personal interest in the

topic as a social worker, working in the Department of Correctional Services, who is on a daily basis involved with recidivists. From this perspective the researcher aims to promote forensic social work as an important specialization field for social workers working in the crime prevention and management environment.

The impact of crime in South Africa is reflected in previous and current statistics. In 1994 statistics indicated that an average of 7177 serious offences were committed annually per 100 000 people in the population of South Africa (White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997:83). In 2003 the statistics indicated an increase of 12% in attempted murder, 5.8% in assault and 8.2% in robbery (SAPA, 2003:3). As early as in 1950 Venter (1987:187) already estimated that 36.8% of the prison population consists of recidivists. In 1995, according to Prinsloo, 55.3% of all offenders, as recorded by the Criminal Record Centre in South Africa, committed further crimes (Prinsloo, 1995:4). Even though the statistics as quoted by Prinsloo represent re-offending and not recidivism, it can still give an indication of the possible extent of the recidivism rate in South Africa. During his speech at the opening of the Ekuseni Youth Centre in 1996 the then President, Nelson Mandela, referred to the recidivism rate of 94%. The effect of recidivism in South Africa can therefore not be denied and is evident in the burden that it places on the penal system. Over population of prisons increased from 19.3% in 1995 to 62.9% in 1999 (Van den Berg, 2000:18). In the Annual

Inspecting Judge of Prisons Report (2002/03:25) submitted by Judge Fagan to Mr. Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, he stated: " Our 188 307 prisoners are crammed into prisons with a capacity for 110 924 prisoners". The result of this overcrowding, according to Judge Fagan, is that prisoners are housed in awful conditions that contribute to the spread of contagious diseases. He further mentions the stress suffered by staff as well as their inability to render effective rehabilitation services under such circumstances.

In the White Paper on Social Welfare (1997:83) it is stated that offenders processed by the court far outnumber the persons available to provide services to them. As member of the Department of Correctional Services, the researcher experiences that overpopulation, as well as inadequate personnel resources to administer the needed services in the South African penal system, are taking its toll on effective service rendering. Within the framework where legal resources and institutions responsible for execution of sentences are already overburdened, recidivism is a phenomenon that South Africa cannot afford.

Literature indicates that recidivism is not only a localised problem but also an international one (compare Largan & Levin, 2002:1 and Prinsloo, 1995:10). From the perspective of recidivism as an international recognised phenomenon the importance of this study was also recognised by the American Embassy in South Africa. By means of the United State of

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America's independent visitors programme, the researcher was sponsored to explore recidivism as well as crime prevention and treatment programmes in six American states during 2002. Through her visit to America the researcher had the opportunity to confirm the importance of this study on recidivism. During the visit the researcher discovered that internationally recidivism rates are utilised as part of crime management strategies.

Ms. Savage, the Director of research, Connecticut Department of Corrections indicated during a personal interview (October, 2002) that the American Federal and State Departments of Corrections consider recidivism rates as an important measure of the correctional system's performance. This in turn affects the formulation of policies and programmes with the aim of improving services and reducing recidivism (compare Largan & Levin, 2002:1, and Beck, 2001:1). Literature indicated that recidivism scales are similarly utilised in Europe (Illescas, Sanchez-Meca and Genoves, 2001:47). In this regard Maltz (2001: 26) states, "One of the more important uses of recidivism analyses is in estimating the characteristics of offender population. Knowing how many people recidivate, the frequency in which they do so, when they terminate their criminal career, and other characteristics of their offending behaviour are useful in many policy related areas". In Canada the Nuffield scale, a recidivism risk prediction instrument, assists the National Parole Board with pre-release decision-making and forms part of the normal case management

documentation prepared for inmates considered for release (Research and Statistical Branch, Correctional Services of Canada, 1989:1).

In South Africa not much is written about recidivism. Research on the topic is limited to the studies of J. H. Venter in 1952 and Prinsloo in 1995 (compare Prinsloo, 1995 and Venter, 1987:186). The researcher was also unable to trace any research on recidivism in Africa. In a personal interview with Professor Prinsloo (May 2000) he confirmed that there is a definite need to conceptualise recidivism in order to address the phenomenon in South Africa through prevention and management of repeat offending. Judge Fagan's opinion concurs with that of Professor Prinsloo stating that "Information on the rates of recidivism for the various age groups of offenders, types of crimes and in the different provinces, would be most helpful in planning strategy" (Annual Inspecting Judge Report 2002/03:22). This research study focuses on recidivism from a South African context.

Currently in South Africa, even though recidivism is one of the factors that play a contributing role towards the rising crime rates, it is not utilised in risk prediction or as a management tool for the prevention or management of crime. The researcher is of the opinion that risk prediction of re-offending could play an important role as crime management mechanism in South Africa. From the researcher's experience as a social worker within the Department of Correctional

Services as well as her involvement in supportive services to victims of crime, she concluded that it is imperative to explore recidivism in order to address the problems created by crime and recidivism in South Africa.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The high crime rate that is currently prevalent in South Africa is a reality. Furthermore with an estimated recidivism rate of between 55.3% and 95% (compare Muntingh, 2001:6 and Prinsloo, 1995:4) the role that recidivism plays as contributing factor towards the high crime rate cannot be ignored.

As stated earlier in this chapter, limited research has been done on recidivism in South Africa. Due to the lack of statistics as well as the existing conceptual and operational confusion regarding recidivism as phenomenon, no scientific basis exists where upon prevention and management strategies can be based. Furthermore, uncertainty exists whether current rehabilitation programmes are effective as crime management tools (compare Schoeman, 1998:2; Welch, 1996:99; Prinsloo, 1995:22 and Venter, 1987:187). Problem areas included the following:

- Recidivism as phenomenon is not uniformly conceptualised and no classification system exists whereby a recidivist can be formally classified;
- No profile of the South African recidivist exists which could assist with the development of need directed

multi-professional and inter-disciplinary prevention and management strategies;

- Recidivism contributes to South Africa's high crime rate but no action plan exists to address the phenomenon; and
- Uncertainty exists regarding the role players that should take co-responsibility within an action plan for recidivism.

In order to address recidivism in South Africa it is important to have a classification system in place as well as to design an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. Based on the problem statement the aim and objectives of the study were formulised.

1.5 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

De Vos, Shurink and Strydom (1998:6) posit that goals imply "the end towards which efforts or ambitions is directed" whilst objectives reflect "the more concrete, measurable and more speedily attainable conceptions of such "end towards which effort or ambition is directed". The goal therefore can be viewed as giving an indication of the research aim whilst the objectives focus on the specific focus of the study in reaching the identified aim.

The aim and objectives of the study are as follows:

1.5.1 **Aim**

The aim of the study was to formulate a classification system for the South African recidivist in order to compile an inter-

disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

1.5.2 **Objectives**

In order to reach the mentioned aim, the following objectives were formulated for the study:

- To conceptualise and define recidivism within the South African context;
- To develop a classification system whereby an offender can be classified as a recidivist;
- To compile a profile of the South African recidivist;
- To develop an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

Derived from the aim and objectives of the study, research questions were formulated.

1.6 **RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDY**

De Vos (1998a:115,116) posits that research commences with one or more questions or a hypothesis. Based on the fact that limited research regarding recidivism as South African phenomenon has been done, the study is exploratory in nature. For the purpose of exploratory studies the formulation of hypotheses are not required as exploratory studies often give way to hypotheses development (De Vos & Fouche, 1998:78, Grinnell & Williams, 1990:140). The following research questions were formulated for the study:

- What are the constructs relevant for the development of a classification system for recidivism?
- What is the typical profile of the South African recidivist?
- What components should an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism comprise of?
- Which role players should be included in an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism?

1.7 RESEARCH APPROACH

A combined quantitative - qualitative approach was utilised for the study. De Vos (1998b:358) argues that compelling reasons exist for a researcher to make use of a single research approach. These arguments are based on the assumption that using multiple paradigms can make a study expensive, time-consuming and lengthy. It is furthermore questioned if researchers have the skill and training to utilize combined approaches in one study. In this regard the researcher concurs with Mouton and Marais (1990:169) that phenomena researched in social sciences are sometimes so enmeshed that a single approach would not succeed in encompassing its full potential. For the purposes of this study the researcher is of the opinion that in order to explore recidivism as phenomenon both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were

necessary. The researcher therefore chose to use the research approach of triangulation.

Creswell (1998:202) indicated that by means of triangulation, the researcher uses multiple and different sources, methods and theories of data collection in order to provide corroborating evidence. Cresswell as quoted in De Vos (1998:360) developed three triangulation models, namely a two-phase, dominant-less-dominant and mixed methodology design model. The researcher is of the opinion that the two-phase model where the quantitative phase (phase 1) of the research is separated from the qualitative phase (phase 2) was the most appropriate for this research study. The aim of the quantitative phase of the research was to compile a profile of the South African recidivist. This profile was a prerequisite for the qualitative phase of the research, which was directed towards the formulation of an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

1.8 TYPE OF RESEARCH

The research type used in this study is applied research. De Vos, *et al* (1998:8) state that the aim of applied research is to address problems that the professional experiences in practice. For the purpose of this study applied research with a developmental focus was used. Developmental research as applied research is directed towards knowledge development and utilisation in order to understand a phenomena as well as

providing possible solutions for practical problems (De Vos *et al*, 1998:11).

The aim of this study was to develop the knowledge base on recidivism through the conceptualisation of the phenomena, as well as to develop a classification system and profile of the South African recidivist. Knowledge was also developed and utilised to compile an action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

1.9 RESEARCH DESIGN

An exploratory research design was followed in this study. The purpose of exploratory research is to explore an unknown or little known about phenomenon with the intent to seek an explanation for relationships between variables (compare Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995:42, Grinnell and Williams, 1990:150, Mouton and Marais, 1990:43 and Rubin and Babbie, 1989:86). According to De Vos and Fouche (1998:124) the aims of an exploratory study, amongst others, are to gain new insight into a phenomenon, to develop central concepts and constructs and to determine new priorities for future research.

By making use of an exploratory research design the researcher aimed to gain new insight into recidivism as phenomenon. This was established by means of the conceptualisation of recidivism, the development of a classification system and profile of the South African recidivist and finally by compiling an inter-disciplinary action

plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. These planned actions paved the way for the identification of aspects for future research studies in the final chapter of this research report. For the social work profession knowledge development and utilisation on recidivism will contribute to the development of forensic social work.

1.10 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND PROCEDURE

The research procedure was complementary to the exploratory study whereby an unknown phenomenon was explored. A combined quantitative-qualitative approach was followed making use of methodical triangulation and more specifically Cresswel's two-phase model (De Vos, 1998:360).

The research process unfolded as follows:

- A literature study was conducted in order to conceptualise and operationalise recidivism as well as develop a classification system whereby a recidivist could be formally classified. By means of the literature study crime and recidivism was explored from a theoretical perspective. Due to the complexity as phenomenon and concept of recidivism various complementary theories were studied. Since not one theory only is applicable to recidivism, the researcher followed an eclectic approach to design an integrated, holistic model on recidivism. This model, according to the researcher, addresses the identified gap that exits in current theories on recidivism and crime. The literature study further

assisted with the identification of constructs as derived from the characteristics of the recidivist.

- Based on the identified constructs an eco-metric scale, namely the Psycho-social Functioning Inventory for Recidivism (PFIR) was developed in partnership with Perspective Training College. The aim of the scale was to compile a profile of the South African recidivist.
- During the quantitative phase of the study the PFIR scale (see Attachment 1) was administered and the data processed by means of a computerised software package (SPSS for Windows). Based on the data analyses the profile of the South African recidivist was compiled.
- The qualitative phase of this study commenced after the quantitative research was completed. During the qualitative phase of the study interviews with experts in the field of crime prevention and management were conducted. A semi-structured interview schedule (see Attachment 2) was utilised to guide the interview. The aim of the interviews was to develop an inter-disciplinary action plan for recidivism based on the profile of the South African recidivist.
- The data were analysed by means of open coding whereby themes were identified (compare Creswell, 1998:151).
- Finally, an interdisciplinary action plan was compiled and conclusions and recommendations were made for the prevention and management of recidivism.

In summary the research strategy and process can be presented as follow:

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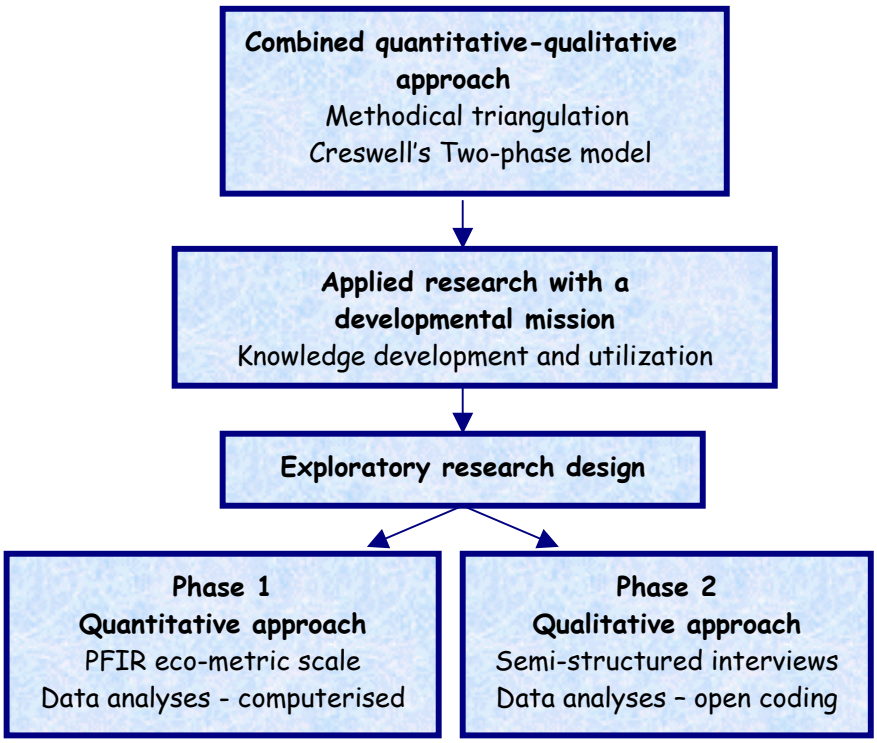

Figure: 2 Research strategy and process

1.11 PILOT STUDY

As a "dress-rehearsal" for the main investigation Strydom (1998:179) posits that a pilot study should consists of a literature study, experience of experts, a preliminary exploratory study and an intense study of strategic units. These elements were included in the pilot study for this research and will subsequently be discussed.

The researcher's visit to America formed an integral part of the pilot study. It gave her the opportunity to explore the feasibility of a study on recidivism. It furthermore assisted her with the access to literature as well as to explore expert opinions.

- **Literature study**

As stated previously in this chapter limited studies have been done on recidivism in South Africa and, as far as the researcher could determine, no studies in Africa. The researcher therefore explored international resources as well as the limited local literature sources that were available. Information from the Internet formed an integral part of the literature study.

The literature study was of importance in this research so far as it aided with the development on the knowledgebase on recidivism. It furthermore contributed to the identification of constructs in which recidivism as phenomenon is rooted.

The literature study further aided to conceptualise crime and recidivism from a theoretical perspective. Due to the complexity of the concept recidivism, the researcher followed an eclectic approach to integrate complementary theories. These theories included behaviourism, the social process theories, the labelling theory and the coping and relapse theory.

As already discussed, constructs that are characteristic of the recidivist was used in order to compile the PFIR eco-metric scale.

- **Consultation with experts**

Local as well as international experts in the field of crime prevention and management were consulted for a broader perspective regarding the research topic. Experts served as an important source during the quantitative and qualitative phases of this study. The experts that contributed to this research study were as follows:

South African expert

Prof. J. Prinsloo – Head of Division, Institute for Criminological Sciences, University of South Africa previously conducted research on recidivism in 1995. His expertise proved valuable in the conceptualisation of recidivism from a South African perspective.

American experts

The following experts played an important role during the literature study phase of this research. From their various fields of expertise in crime prevention and management they contributed by linking the researcher with literature sources for this study as well as shared their experiences regarding crime prevention and management strategies. These experts included the following:

- Prof M. S. Umbreit – Director, Center for Restorative Justice & Peacemaking, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota;
- Ms. L Newlin – Community Notification Coordinator, Department of Corrections Liaison, Minnesota Center of Crime Victim Services;

- Ms. D King – Assistant Warden, Correctional Corporation of America, Correctional Treatment Facility;
- Ms. M. Whitaker – Correctional Program Specialist, Special Projects, National Institute of Corrections.

Other experts who were consulted in order to explore the viability and feasibility of the study were the following people who are all stationed in the Connecticut Department of Corrections, Connecticut, USA:

- Ms. C Czuba – Program Director, People Empowering People Program;
- Ms. Susan Savage – Director of Research;
- Mr. Doug Kulmacz – Director of Volunteers in Corrections;
- Mr. L. Mayer – Director of Correctional Enterprises.

- **Feasibility of the study**

A need to explore recidivism as South African phenomenon was identified through interviews with national and international experts, from the literature study as well as the researcher's personal experience as a social worker working in the Department of Correctional Services. Recidivism was furthermore identified by the Department of Correctional Services as priority subject for research (Annual Report from the Inspecting Judge, 2002/03:22).

The researcher obtained permission to do research within the Department of Correctional Services (see Attachment 3). The

fact that the researcher is an employee of this Department made the study feasible due to the access to the necessary infrastructure and respondents.

- **Study of strategic units**

In order to compile a profile of the South African recidivist, it was necessary to assess the social functioning of the recidivists. This assessment process formed part of the quantitative phase of the research and a questionnaire (see Attachment 1) was utilised as data collection method. The researcher could not find an assessment scale that could be used for the purposes of this study. Hence she requested that Perspective Training College that specialises in eco-metric scale development assist her with the development of a scale. As a result the standardised PFIR scale was developed by the Perspective Training College.

During September 2003 the semi structured interview schedule (see Attachment 2) that was utilised (qualitative phase) for the expert interviews were tested by means of a pilot interview with a social worker at Baviaanspoort Management Area. She was not included in the main study.

1.12 RESEARCH POPULATION, SAMPLING AND SAMPELING METHOD

Arkava and Lane (in Strydom and De Vos, 1998:190) distinguish between the research universe and population. The universe is defined as "all potential subjects who

possess the attributes in which the researcher is interested" whilst the population sets the boundaries for the study unit (Strydom & De Vos, 1998:190). In this regard Grinnell and Williams (1990:118) defines the research population as "the totality of persons or objects with which a study is concerned". A sample in turn is inclusive of the population considered for inclusion in the study (Strydom & De Vos, 1998:191).

Due to the combined quantitative-qualitative nature of the study different universes, populations and samples were identified for each phase of the research.

Quantitative phase of the study

For the quantitative phase the research **universe** consisted of recidivists who are currently serving a prison sentence. The **population** was identified from correctional facilities in Gauteng where more than twenty-five percent of the offenders were re-offenders. This was inclusive of medium and maximum classification prisoners. Juvenile and female correctional facilities were not included in the sample as none of these prisons in Gauteng had a re-offending rate of more than twenty-five percent. The population for this study can be broken down as follows:

Table: 2 Population for the quantitative phase of the study (Source: Department of Correctional Services: October 2002).

Correctional facility	Prison population	Re-offenders	Re-offender percentage
Baviaanspoort Maximum	541	154	28.4%
Baviaanspoort Medium	1228	454	36.9%
Leeukop Medium A	1296	388	29.9%
Leeukop Medium C	1290	329	25.5%
Modderbee	3307	1144	34.5%
Pretoria Central	2437	758	31.1%
Zonderwater medium A	1487	573	38.5%
Zonderwater medium B	1137	437	38.4%
Total	12723	4237	33.3%

Respondents for the quantitative study were selected by means of **non-probability sampling** by making use of the **accidental sampling** technique. Accidental sampling is also known as convenient or availability sampling (Strydom and De Vos, 1998:198). Strydom and De Vos (1998:198) posit that "Any case that happens to cross the researcher's path and has something to do with the phenomenon, gets included in the sample until the desired number is obtained".

The total population that was classified as re-offenders in the specific correctional facility was called to participate in the study. The reasons for this were twofold: Firstly, the researcher wanted to conduct the research on a voluntary

participation basis. Secondly, no detailed records are kept by the Department of Correctional Services that could demarcate the sample according to the selected criteria. It was therefore necessary to clarify it with the offenders themselves. The criteria included the following, namely offenders who previously served an imprisonment or community correction sentence, who re-offend within the specified five year survival period and was found guilty of a crime and sentenced to a further term of imprisonment or community corrections.

The researcher briefed the re-offenders who responded to the call on the criteria for inclusion in the study as respondents. Those who fell within the specified criteria were again informed about being voluntary respondents. As a result of this process 198 respondents were included in the sample and agreed to complete the PFIR scale.

Qualitative phase of the study

The **population** for the qualitative phase of the research comprised of experts in the field of crime prevention and management. The **sample** was drawn by means of snowball or chain reference sampling. Schurink (1998:254) states that the aim of snowball sampling is to gain a holistic understanding of a subject from the perspective of a specific group or organisation. The researcher requested respondents to identify other experts for inclusion in the sample. The identification of respondents was guided by

making use of theoretical sampling (compare Schurink, 1998:254). The final sample consisted of nine experts in the field of crime prevention and management representing social workers, criminologists and educationalists. The size of the sample was determined by the saturation point at which no new data could be obtained.

1.13 ETHICAL ISSUES

Ethics can be defined as "a set of moral principals which is suggested by an individual or group, is subsequently widely accepted, and which offers rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students" (Strydom, 1998:24). Singelton (in Strydom, 1998:34) states that ethical issues become relevant in research when conflict arises between the values of the community regarding freedom and privacy as well as the methods of data generation. These aspects were addressed by the researcher through obtaining permission from the Department of Correctional Services to conduct research within the organisation (see Attachment 3). An internal study guide was also appointed by the department to monitor the research study. The Research Proposal and Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria also cleared the research proposal and data gathering methods. Lastly, in the case of both the quantitative and qualitative phase of the research, respondents signed a consent form (see

Attachment 4) confirming their voluntary participation in the research study.

1.14 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Relevant concepts will be defined in the relevant chapters. In this chapter the key concepts for the study are defined as follows:

- **Recidivism**

Recidivism can be defined as an individual's tendency to engage repeatedly in criminal conduct (compare Prinsloo, 1995:8 and New Dictionary of Social Work, 1995:56).

The mentioned definition is vague and tends to describe a behaviour pattern that can be associated with a type of offender. In this regard a hiatus exists whereby the definition of recidivism does not address the phenomenon holistically. An example of a gap is that it is unclear whether recidivism is associated with certain types of offences and sentences and if a person who violates his parole conditions could be classified as a recidivist.

For the purpose of this study recidivism will be defined as a behaviour process or pattern whereby an offender who previously served a prison or community corrections sentence, commits a further unspecified offence (within the survival period) and is found guilty of the offence and

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sentenced to the further care of the Department of Correctional Services.

- **Inter-disciplinary**

"Inter" can be defined as an adjective describing " something as moving, existing, or happening between similar things or groups of people" (Collins Cobuild Student's Dictionary, 1990:294). The definition indicates that a group of people is striving towards a similar goal or purpose. *Discipline* in turn refers to a particular activity or subject associated with professional studies. Through the combination of these two concepts it can be assumed that inter-disciplinary refers to professional groups of people striving towards the achievement of a shared goal or purpose.

The New Dictionary of Social Work (1995) does not define an *inter-disciplinary* approach or *inter-disciplinary* team but describes an interprofessional team. An interproffesional team can be defined as a group "comprising of members trained in different professional disciplines that work towards a common problem through continuous communication, re-examination and evaluation of individual efforts towards team objectives and taking group responsibility for the final outcome". It is evident that clear comparisons exist between the definition of *interprofessional team* and *inter-disciplinary* team. Based on

these similarities the researcher posits that the concept could be perceived as being synonyms.

For the purpose of this study *inter-disciplinary* refers to the interactional partnership that is formed between persons of various professional groups striving towards achieving a similar goal and objective.

- **Classification system**

Champion (1994:2) postulates that a classification system differentiates between people according to their particular characteristics. Clear and Dammer (2000:413) concurs and add that a classification system comprises of standardised criteria whereby offenders are placed into groups for the purpose of assigning appropriate correctional programmes.

For the purpose of the study a classification system is viewed as being a professional tool whereby an offender can be classified as a recidivist based on standardised criteria.

1.15 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One limitation for the study was the lack of local research as well as research from an African perspective on the subject.

Although it was not intended with the study to label offenders as "recidivists" the researcher is aware of the possible negative impact that labelling can have on any

person. This will be specifically addressed in Chapter 4 (point 4.4).

1.16 CONTENT OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

The content of this report is divided into eight chapters. The outline of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter 1 provided a general introduction and orientation to the study.

Chapter 2 aims to conceptualise and operationalise recidivism as phenomenon.

Chapter 3 explores the causative factors of crime, recidivism and chronic offending.

Chapter 4 provide a theoretical perspective on recidivism and crime.

Chapter 5 reflects the empirical study and findings on the quantitative phase of this research study.

Chapter 6 focuses on the profile of the South African recidivist.

Chapter 7 reflects the presentation and interpretation of the empirical findings from the qualitative phase of the study.

Chapter 8 presents the inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism as well as the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

RECIDIVISM AS PHENOMENON

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter 1 recidivism is an academic metaphor that is widely and sometimes contradictory used (Prinsloo, 1995:8). In this regard Beck (2001:1) refers to recidivism as a fruit salad concept stating that recidivism, can be used within various contexts where "apples, oranges and grapes" are compared with each other. Maltz (2001:1) ascribes the inconsistent use of recidivism further to the tendency of defining recidivism on an *ad hock* basis without considering the true meaning thereof. This results in recidivism rates that are characterised by its inconsistency.

An example of the inconsistent use of recidivism as concept, and the inaccurate application of recidivism rates can be found in Muntingh's (2001) monograph on prisoners' reintegration into society. Muntingh (2001:6) states that between 85% and 95% of released offenders will re-offend. The statistics that he based this statement on was quoted by Ballington (1998:57) from The Star Newspaper, dated 24 May 1996, stating that "In 1991 Adriaan Vlok gave 85% as the figure for recidivism, while more recently the Nedcor Project on Crime, Violence and Investment suggests that 94% of released prisoners return to

crime". The researcher questions the accuracy of these statistics based on the fact that no scientific validation could be found for either of the statistics mentioned. In contrast with the recidivism rates as mentioned by Muntingh and Ballington, Prinsloo's scientifically validated research, as quoted before in Chapter 1, states that 55.3% of offenders re-offend (Prinsloo, 1995:4). This example underlines the fact that recidivism can currently be viewed in South Africa as a label that is, dissimilarly defined, and is being based on statistics that are inconsistent, inaccurate and in some instances not scientifically validated.

In order to conceptualise recidivism more in-depth in this chapter the discussion will focus on the defining, analysing, and redefining recidivism. A classification system for recidivism within the South African concept will be created. Furthermore recidivism as phenomenon will be explored with an emphasis on the chronic offender or delinquent and the criminal career. Lastly, a general profile of the recidivist will be analysed from the perspective of local and international literature.

2.2 CONCEPTUALISING RECIDIVISM

In order to understand and deal with recidivism as phenomenon it is firstly necessary to conceptualise it, for as Keeney (1983:21) states, " (T)o understand any realm of phenomena, we should begin to notice how it was constructed, that is, what distinction underlies its creation". Strauss and Corbin concur with Keeney adding that the conceptualisation process entails

the "…taking apart (of) an observation, a sentence or a paragraph, and giving each discrete incident, idea or event a name, something that stands for or represent the phenomena" (De Vos & van Zyl, 1998:272). For the purposes of this research study the researcher is of the opinion that the conceptualisation process as described by Strauss and Corbin will assist to clarify the current confusion about recidivism as concept. The process associated with the conceptualisation of recidivism entails the defining and analyses of these definitions. Lastly, the information gathered from the analyses will be utilised to conceptualise recidivism as phenomenon. The first step in this process is to explore existing definitions.

2.2.1 Defining recidivism

Recidivism is derived from the Latin word *recidere* translated as "to fall back" (Maltz, 2001:54). According to Maltz (2001:1), recidivism can furthermore be described as the accumulation of failures. The offender has failed to live up to society's expectations and failed to stay out of trouble. Furthermore the offender failed to escape arrest and conviction as well as failed to make use of rehabilitation programmes during previous incarceration. Lastly, the offender failed by continuing with a criminal career. Synonyms for recidivism and recidivist among others are, *reversal, turning back, backsliding, laps or relapse, wickedness, lawbreakers, regression, double-dealer or two-faced person, worsened, guilty person, offender or criminal* (Bloomsbury Thesaurus, 1993).

The mentioned synonyms further emphasise the labelling effect that the concept recidivist has. Being classified as a recidivist translates into being labelled as a failure. In itself, labelling has a negative impact on a person. This is due to society's perception of and actions towards the labelled person (Cronje, 1982:348). The effect of being labelled as a recidivist is clearly illustrated by MacLeod in the following quote from the 1911 Encyclopaedia Britannica:

> " The recidivist is now universally known to exist in all civilized countries… His persistency in ceaseless and inextinguishable by the ordinary methods of combating crime. Penal justice as generally exercised is unavailing and is little better than an automatic machine which draws in a vast number within its wheels and casts them out again practically unchanged in character… This dangerous contingent is forever on the move, into prison and out of it and in again… Nothing will mend it. Neither severity nor kindness, neither the most irksome restrained nor the philanthropic methods of moral and educational persuasion. This failure has encouraged some ardent reformers to recommend the system of indefinite imprisonment or the indeterminate sentence… Habitual offenders, it is argued, should be detained as hostages until they are willing to lay down their arms and consent to make no further attempt to attack or injure society" (MacLeod, 1965:68).

From the mentioned quote the conclusion can be made that the recidivist is a menace to society that is beyond rehabilitation.

The only way to deal with such a person is to lock him/her up and throw away the key. It is frightening to think that a person's condemnation can be based on such a vague and undefined label. On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 1, the serious impact that re-offending has on all levels of society is recognised worldwide. Therefore recidivism is a phenomenon that needs to be explored and addressed urgently.

If the concept recidivism is analysed or broken down into basic level it can be stated that it refers to the reoccurrence of a negative behaviour pattern. Maltz (2001:54) postulates that a recidivist is a person who is not rehabilitated but who falls back, or relapses into former behaviour patterns by habitually committing more crime. Largan and Levin (2002:1) concur with Maltz, adding that the re-offending leads to the re-arrest, reconviction and the re-sentencing of the recidivist to imprisonment. Therefore it can be stated that the phenomenon of criminal recidivism can be defined as an individual's tendency to persistently and repeatedly engage in criminal conduct or to habitually relapse into crime subsequently leading to rearrest, reconviction and reincarseration (compare Largan & Lev in, 2002:1; Maltz, 2001:1; Luyt, 1999:67; Schmallenger, 1996:146; Prinsloo, 1995:15; Cronje, 1982:546; New Dictionary of Social Work, 1995:56 and Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999).

In itself the definition is vague and leaves room for various questions. These questions stem mainly from the inconsequent

and dissimilar use of recidivism as concept (compare Prinsloo, 1995:15; Conklin, 1995:507; Maltz, 2001:54 and Ariessohn, 1981:59). Champion (1994:87) concurs by pointing out that the inconsistent use of recidivism lies in the alternative meanings associated with recidivism namely:

> "…rearrest, parole or probation revocation or unsatisfactory termination, technical parole or probation rule violation, conviction of a new offence while on parole or probation, return to prison, having a prior record and being rearrested for a new offence, having a prior record and being convicted for a new offence, any new commitment to jail or prison for sixty days or more, presence of a new sentence exceeding one year for any offence committed during a five year parole follow up period, return of released offender to custody of state correctional authorities, return to jail, reincarseration, the use of drugs or alcohol by former drug or alcohol abusers, and failure to complete educational or vocational/technical course or courses in or out of prison/jail custody".

It seems that notwithstanding conceptual confusion regarding recidivism, an operational hiatus can also be identified in the conceptualisation of recidivism.

The operational problem can be associated with the tendency to define recidivism in accordance with the researcher's operational needs for a specific research study (Harm and Phillips, 2001:5; Prinsloo, 1995:15). This tendency, as stated previously, creates a situation where recidivism rates are often

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based on different definitions, applied within a different context, is measured differently, and, ultimately a case arises where different concepts are being compared with each other as if they were similar. The result is that the calculation of recidivism rates as well as the perception of what, or who a recidivist is, will differ from person to person and situation to situation. Based on this confusion regarding recidivism, a need exists in South Africa to conceptualise and operationalise recidivism from a universal theoretical context.

Bateson (1979:73), with regards to the importance of the universal understanding of a concept, states that;

> "It is necessary to be quite clear about the universal truth that whatever "things" may be in their pleromatic and thingish world, they can only enter the world of communication and meaning by their names, their qualities and their attributes (i.e., by reports of their internal and external relations and interactions)."

In order to obtain context or meaning it is necessary to build upon the fundamental roots of recidivism, being i.e. an offender who repeatedly commits crime and therefore habitually re-offends. This basis must be further analysed to ensure that a uniform context is created whereby a clear understanding of the concepts associated with recidivism and their interaction can prevail. It is through this analysing process that the relationship between the various aspects, which identify a person as a recidivist, can be defined and explored.

2.2.2 Analysing recidivism

In his study, Prinsloo (1995:11-15) identified thirty-six themes that conceptualise recidivism. Through the exploration of these themes he concluded that the criteria ranges from simple to complex and highly technical. Several of these themes overlap or have a shared context. From the thirty-six criteria, four main themes emerged which the majority of studies that Prinsloo (1995:15) researched utilised to depict recidivism as concept, namely:

- Unconditional further commitment of crime;
- Unconditional incarceration due to the committing of a further crime and/or administrative procedure based on previous sentences or parole conditions;
- The further crime must be legally proven; and
- Habitual or occupational criminal behaviour (Prinsloo, 1995:15).

In addition to the themes that Prinsloo identified the researcher identified two other themes, namely the type and seriousness of the crime as well as the survival period (Lanza-Kaduce, Parker & Thomas, 1999:37; Ariessohn, 1981:60 and Venter, 1952:11). The abovementioned themes as well as these two themes will act as the main themes in the conceptualisation process of recidivism. The six identified main themes will be individually analysed and discussed to obtain a clear and universal understanding of recidivism as concept.

- **Type and seriousness of the crime**

Prinsloo (1995:41) is of the opinion that "a recidivist is a person who is convicted of the repetition of criminal behaviour which, from a social point of view, is of a serious nature". Recidivism can therefore be viewed as an aggravated or more serious form of criminal conduct. Venter (1952:11) elaborates by stating that the recidivist is a greater danger to the society than a "normal" criminal or transgressor of the law due to the fact that previous sentences holds no deterrent value. With this statement Venter (1952:11) touches on three aspects. First, recidivism as more serious criminal conduct, secondly, the danger that repetitive offending holds for the community, and, thirdly, emphasis is placed on the lack of reform as a result of previous sentences.

Regarding the seriousness or aggravated criminal conduct the question can be asked what type of crime can be viewed as serious. This question can be addressed in two ways namely, using a criminological and judicial perspective, or a psychosocial perspective. The criminological perspective focus on the type of crime in order to answer this question. The researcher is of the opinion that looking at criminal conduct from this perspective simplifies a complex phenomenon. This may lead to crime being viewed in isolation instead of it being seen as part of a complex behavioural pattern or process.

From a psychosocial perspective, the seriousness of crime can be viewed holistically as a complex phenomenon. Through this

perspective the concept "crime" consists of intertwined components that are, in their reciprocal interaction, dependent on each other. The dynamic reciprocal involvement and interaction of the various components associated with criminal conduct constitute the totality of the concept within context (Bateson, 1979:24). From a psychosocial perspective and holistic thinking pattern, crime or a criminal deed, is placed in context through its interaction and the reciprocal influence between the various components such as the offender, victim and community. The researcher is of the opinion that exploring crime from a psychosocial perspective gives a more holistic perspective regarding the seriousness of criminal offending.

A further aspect of recidivism that makes it an aggravated or more serious form of criminal conduct is the lack of reform as the result of previous sentences. During a personal interview, professor Prinsloo (May, 2000) describes a recidivist as an offender who cannot learn from previous experiences. He also states that recidivists adapt to prison life and in doing so loses their fear of imprisonment. The result thereof is that punishment mechanisms such as imprisonment have no deterrence value.

Professor Prinsloo (May, 2000) further stated that there is no victimless crime emphasising the impact of recidivism on victims of crime. From the researcher's experience as a social worker in the Department of Correctional services, as well as her voluntary work among victims of crime, she concurs with

Prinsloo. Every criminal deed, to a smaller or larger extend leads to a traumatised victim. From this perspective all criminal behaviours and types of crime can be regarded as serious. Within this context the current focus on restorative justice can be commended.

The danger of recidivism lies therein that the criminal conduct is not isolated to single victims, but due to the repetitive nature of repeat offending the effect thereof ripples out and impacts on the broader society. Senna and Siegal as quoted by Prinsloo (1995:9) postulate that the seriousness and danger of crime does not lie in the crime as such, but in the repetitive nature thereof.

It can be concluded that the seriousness of a recidivist's criminal behaviour does not lie in the crime itself but in the first instance in the repetitive nature thereof. Secondly, it lies in the lack of reform on the part of the recidivist and lastly, in the impact that the recidivist's criminal deeds have on the community. With these factors taken into consideration the point of departure for this research study was that an offender could be classified as a recidivist notwithstanding the type of crime.

- **Unconditional further committing of a crime**

In order to understand the criterion 'unconditional further committing of crime' it is firstly necessary to define crime. Crime can be defined as conduct or the lack thereof, which is

punishable by law (Rabie & Strauss, 1985:6). In this regard Neser (1993:49) states that laws are a reflection of the collective will of the community and thereby an extension of current values and norms within the community. Criminal law therefore serves as a community's boundaries or radius of acceptable behaviour. Conduct that exceeds these boundaries is viewed as being inappropriate or immoral (Maltz, 2001:15). Within South Africa as a socio-political society, criminal behaviour is determined by the governing government and sanctioned by law. Behaviour, which is deemed to be criminal, is therefore based on collective communal values and norms, determined by government and sanctioned by law.

The concept "unconditional" refers to the committing of an unspecified crime. The only criterion is that it should be a criminal act as defined by law (Prinsloo, 1995:11; Cronje, 1982:468).

'Further commitment of crime' implies the presence of a previous criminal record. It depicts a frequency of, and a progression in criminalisation. Unconditional further committing of crime can therefore be regarded as referring to the committing of a further unspecified action that is deemed by law to be a criminal act. The researcher is of the opinion that repeated criminality is an important concept within the context of recidivism.

- **Unconditional incarceration due to the committing of a further crime and/or administrative procedure based on previous sentence or parole conditions**

Incarceration refers to the admitting, imprisonment and detention of the convicted person until his/her sentence expires (Du Toit, 1981:149). The incarceration period as well as the type of crime, and sentence or parole violation is not specified within the criterion 'unconditional incarceration due to the committing of a further crime and/or administrative procedure based on previous sentence or parole conditions'. Ariessohn (1981:60) concurs with this criteria emphasising that the "…recidivist has been incarcerated previously for an offence and is subsequently imprisoned for another offence". The focus is therefore on re-incarceration as criteria for classifying an offender as a recidivist.

The criterion 'unconditional incarceration due to the committing of a further crime and/or administrative procedure based on previous sentence or parole conditions' are limiting in that only a prison sentence is specified. In America an offender can be classified as a recidivist if he/she is committed to the custody of the Department of Corrections. This implicates that the offender should previously have served either a prison or correctional supervision sentence (Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999). As stated before, recidivism refers to dangerous or more serious criminal offences. The question is whether a convicted offender sentenced to a community corrections sentence could be viewed

as a danger to society. The researcher is of opinion that the answer is yes, if repeated offending occurred.

In accordance with the above-mentioned criterion an offender can also be classified as a recidivist if he/she is incarcerated due to administrative procedure or more specifically, violation of sentence or parole conditions. These conditions do not necessary imply that a further crime has been committed. A study within the Florida (USA) Department of Corrections concluded that if administrative procedure forms part of the criteria for being classified as a recidivist it resulted in a false estimate of recidivism (Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999). As stated previously the core definition of recidivism refers to repeated criminal conduct. The violation of parole or sentence conditions, if based on administrative procedure, cannot be viewed as criminal conduct. It is therefore the researcher's opinion that the criterion should be limited to the committing of further criminal offences.

- **Further crime must be legally proven**

The alleged offender has the right to be viewed as innocent until proven guilty. This right is embraced within the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). Therefore an offender cannot be deemed to be a recidivist until the further crime is legally proven.

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- **Habitual or occupational criminal behaviour**

Recidivism is synonymous with the concept of occupational and habitual criminal conduct. Recidivist and habitual criminals differ from each other regarding the amount of specified crimes committed by the offender. Longmire (1979:1) refers to these offenders as "chronic offenders" stating that they made themselves guilty of at least five officially recorded crimes. On the other hand an offender can be classified as being a recidivist after committing two or more officially recorded crimes. For the purpose of this research study emphasis is not placed on the amount of convictions but rather on the criminal behavioural pattern that can be associated with recidivism and chronic offending.

Prinsloo (1995:15) postulates that the recidivist is part of a sub-population of specialised persistent core criminals that follows an identifiable criminal career. Barnett, Blumstein and Farrington (1989:374) are of the opinion that there are two distinct subpopulations of offenders namely; "*frequents*" and "*occasional*". The difference lies therein that frequent offenders commit crime at a higher rate than the occasional offender. According to Venter (1952:31) the group cohesion and loyalty that develop between career and habitual criminals "compel" them to continue with their criminal career. Zamble and Quinsey (1997:9) concur with Venter and refer to this aspect of recidivism as an "ongoing psychological process". This aspect of recidivism will be further explored later on in this chapter.

- **Survival period**

This survival period refers to the time elapsed between the completion of a prison or community correction sentence to the committing of a new offence (Prinsloo, 1995:139). An offender who commits a new offence within the survival period and complies with all the other classification criteria can therefore be classified as a recidivist. Through a comprehensive literature study it became apparent to the researcher that no universal survival period could be identified. It seems as if the survival period varies according to the institute or researcher's operational needs and may extend over a period of one to twenty years (Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999, Champion, 1994:87).

As an example it can be mentioned that the Florida Department of Corrections utilises a two-year survival period. The rationale behind the time period is firstly, that it gives enough time for the re-offending rate to become a stable and reliable instrument to measure the effectiveness of correctional programmes. Secondly, it reflects the effects of incarceration on recidivism (Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999). Thus, the aim of the survival period in this case is to measure the influence of imprisonment on recidivism. This information is utilised to improve sentencing policies, programmes and interventions with the aim of reducing recidivism.

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The aim of this research study was not to determine the influence or success of correctional intervention, but to identify characteristics associated with recidivism in order to understand and address recidivism as phenomenon. In order to do this the researcher concurs with Zamble and Quinsey's (1997:5) opinion regarding the aim of researching recidivism, namely that "(W)hat is needed is a better understanding of the role of current factors in the causation of new offences. Criminal recidivism can result from unresolved problems within a released offender that could have been addressed during a period of imprisonment, or it could be a consequence of new environmental or offender problems occurring after release". Maltz (2001:26) is of the opinion that one of the most important uses of recidivism analysis is to understand the characteristics of the offender population. Therefore the researcher postulates that the survival period should be of such an extend as to give a clear indication of the offender's adjustment and functioning within various systems in society.

Regarding the recidivism rate it is apparent that the re-offending rate escalates sharply over the first two years where after the increases becomes more moderate (compare Soothill, Francis & Ackerley, 1997:585-586; Prinsloo, 1995:151 and Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999). In both Florida and Oklahoma Departments of Corrections the re-offending rate drops to less than four percent after a four-year survival period. Oklahoma Department of Corrections did a survival analysis for a ten years period. From the analysis it is

apparent that even though the rate decreases gradually, criminal relapse still continuous (Recidivism, 1999). Conklin (1995:507) is of the opinion that the length of the survival period affects the recidivism rates. It was found that a longer survival period could be positively associated with a higher recidivism rate.

In conclusion, no universal trends regarding the survival period could be identified. For the purpose of this research study, it was of importance that the researcher identified a survival period, which enable her to explore recidivism holistically. The researcher is of the opinion that a five-year survival period provides a holistic picture of recidivism as phenomenon as it gives a clear indication of the offender's adjustment and social functioning back into society. Therefore for the purposes of this research study an offender will be viewed as a recidivist if reoffending occurred within a five-year survival period.

In summary, the analyses of the main themes created a uniform context within which a clear understanding of the concept recidivism could be established. This analyses highlighted the fact that the existing definitions of recidivism are unable to holistically define and address the multi-dimensional composition of recidivism as concept. The researcher is of the opinion that in order to address this hiatus it is necessary to redefine, conceptualise and operationalise recidivism as concept. It further became apparent that in order to address the conceptual and operational hiatus in the current definitions

of recidivism it is necessary to, within the context of the discussed main themes, redefine recidivism.

2.2.3 Redefining and classifying recidivism as a South African phenomenon

It was established earlier in this chapter (point 2.1) that a conceptual as well as operational hiatus exist in the defining of recidivism as concept. The conceptualisation of recidivism is currently characterised by its inconsequent and dissimilar use. From an operational perspective it was indicated that recidivism was defined in accordance with a researcher's operational needs for a specific research study. A clear need therefore exists to formulate a scientifically based universal definition of recidivism as concept. This will furthermore ensure that recidivism can be more than a mere academic metaphor but a scientifically based concept that could assist with the management and prevention of crime and re-offending.

Through the assimilation of information gained from the analysis of the themes associated with recidivism the researcher defined recidivism as follow:

> R*ecidivism is a behaviour process or pattern whereby an offender, who previously served a prison or community corrections sentence, commits a further unspecified offence (within the survival period) and is found guilty of the offence and sentenced to the further care of the Department of Correctional Services.*

This definition provides the scientifically based framework for a classification system whereby an offender can be classified as a recidivist. An offender can be classified as a recidivist if:

- he/she previously served a community corrections or prison sentence;
- he/she re-offends within the specified survival period; and
- he/she was found guilty of the unspecified crime and sentenced to a further term of correctional supervision or imprisonment.

From the definition and classification system it can be derived that recidivism refers to a criminal behaviour pattern and not a once of transgression of the law. Recidivism does not only encompass a crime but also a repetitive process wherein various systems are affected (Harm & Phillips, 2001:8). Viewing recidivism as just a repetitive criminal act without comprehending the underlying dynamics of the behaviour, can be compared with "An unknowable, a Ding an sich, a sound of one hand clapping" (Bateson, 1979:78). It is therefore important to further explore recidivism as well as related concepts that can be associated with recidivism as phenomenon, namely chronic offending and the criminal career. Finally, in the following section, the general profile of the recidivist will be explored from a literature perspective.

2.3 ANALYZING RECIDIVISM AS PHENOMENON

Recidivism is synonymous with the phenomenon of chronic offending insofar that both recidivism and chronic offending can be associated with re-offending behaviour patterns as well as a pro-criminal life style. As stated previously in this chapter "chronic offenders" differ from recidivists based on the operationalisation of the two concepts. According to Longmire (1979:1) an offender can be classified as a chronic offender if such an offender made him/herself guilty of at least five officially recorded crimes. In turn an offender can be classified as a recidivist if a further crime is committed and the offender is sentenced to a further sentence in the care of the Department of Correctional Services (confer point 2.3).

A further concept that can be associated with both recidivism and chronic offending is the criminal career. Recidivism and chronic offending are facilitated within the boundaries of a criminal career. These concepts will next be discussed.

2.3.1 The chronic offender

As stated previously in this chapter, recidivism is synonymous with habitual and chronic criminal behaviour. Chronic offenders are generally associated with a higher proportion of repeat or serious offending. Farrington (in Maguire, Morgan & Reiner 1997:374) is of the opinion that this is due to the fact that chronic offenders commit more offences than the "normal" offender population. The Auditor of the State of Minnesota (Chronic offenders, 2001:4) defines chronic offenders as

individuals who frequently or persistently violate the criminal law. Bartollas and Miller (1998:102) postulate that chronic offenders are known by many labels namely; "… serious delinquent, repeat offender, violent offender, dangerous offender, hard-core delinquent, and career delinquent". Even though there are slight differences it seems as if essentially recidivism and chronic offending refer to the same phenomenon, namely repeated and consistent engaging in criminal conduct. In both cases it is assumed that the percentage of offenders that could be labelled as either a recidivist or chronic offender are responsible for a majority of criminal activities (compare Office of the Legislative Auditor, 2001:1; Conklin, 1995:318, Champion, 1994:87 and Haapanen, 1990:7).

In comparison, it seems as if both recidivism and chronic offending are used as labels to identify repeat offenders. As with the case of recidivism, chronic offending is also not limited to one type of crime but follows a diverse pattern of criminal conduct (Chronic Offenders. 2001:24 and Rowe, Osgood, & Nicewander, 1990:242,243). The researcher is of the opinion that notwithstanding the differences between recidivism and chronic offending, the core of both these phenomena is rooted in the repeated criminal conduct and a pro-criminal lifestyle. Exploring chronic offending is therefore relevant for this study.

Siegel and Senna (2000:60) further divided chronic offending in the following sub-groups, namely chronic delinquent offenders and chronic recidivists. Chronic delinquent offenders are described as youths whose delinquency commences at an early age following a career path of frequent and serious offending. These youths do not age out of crime but continue their criminal career into adulthood.

Tshiwula (1998:3) clarifies that the concept crime is mostly used when referring to adult offenders whereas delinquency mostly describes offences committed by young offenders (juveniles). She further quotes Hoghughi's definition of delinquency namely that it refers to a person who breaks the law habitually or persistently (Tshiwula, 1998:3). Pertaining age it seems as if the age whereby a person is classified as a youth varies in accordance with the legal definition and delinquency laws (Tshiwula, 1998:4; Bartollas, 1997:2). Conklin (1995:7) concurs with Tshiwula adding that the concept juvenile delinquency also includes status offences such as underage drinking, absconding or truancy. This implies that delinquency acts as an umbrella term that refers to a wide range of behaviour from socially unacceptable acts to illegal behaviour. Tshiwula (1998:4) confirms the fact that delinquency is broadly used. However, she emphasised the use of the words 'persistently' and 'habitually' as concepts associated with delinquency. The researcher is of the opinion that this interpretation can be linked with and refers to behaviour patterns associated with recidivism.

In conclusion, with regard to delinquency, it seems as in the case with recidivism, that the concept *delinquency* is applied and defined to suit a researcher's operational needs for a research study. In reference to chronic juvenile delinquency it can be stated that this phenomenon refers to delinquent behaviour associated with the recidivism process. It can therefore be assumed that chronic juvenile delinquency could eventually culminate into a criminal career.

The second sub-group as identified by Siegel and Senna (2001:60) is chronic recidivists. Chronic recidivists can in turn be divided into non-chronic and chronic recidivists. The non-chronic recidivists are offenders that have been convicted more than once but less than five times, whereas the chronic recidivists have been convicted more than five times (Siegel and Senna: 2001:60). The difference between the two categories of recidivists therefore lies in the number of convicted offences. For the purpose of this study the researcher does not make use of criteria whereby the number of criminal deeds indicate recidivism but rather re-offending after a previous prison or community corrections sentence.

In respect of predictions of chronic offending Alfred Blumstein and some of his colleagues (in Siegel & Senna, 2000:60) identified seven factors that distinguish chronic offenders from conventional offenders, namely;

1) criminal conviction before the age of thirteen;

2) low family income;
3) rated as troublesome by teachers and peers between age eight to ten;
4) poor scholastic performance by age ten;
5) psychomotor clumsiness;
6) low verbal IQ; and
7) a convicted sibling.

A persistence in crime between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-two was further predicted by low parental involvement in childhood leisure activities, a low degree of commitment to school and low verbal IQ at age eight to ten as well as heavy drinking and unemployment during adolescent years (compare Bartollas, 1997:86 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:375).

Regarding the prediction of chronic offending, Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (in Conklin, 1995:320) maintain that people who have contact with police at a young age are likely to continue this contact by further committing crime as adults. This may be attributed to serious behavioural problems or anti-social behaviour that are conducive to a criminal career. Once the police have identified a youth as troublemaker, the possibility of further contact increases due to the labelling process that took place. Dejong (1997:573) concurs with Conklin stating that the stigma attached to police confinement may result in a person being rearrested despite law-abiding behaviour.

Even though various researchers attempted to identify factors for the prediction of chronic offending, the ability to do so is still controversial and open to debate (Bartollas, 1997:87, Greenberg, 1991:40). Notwithstanding the debate, the following possible predictors for chronic offenders were identified. They are family relations, economic means, age of first contact with the judicial system, repeat offending, educational achievements, IQ, physical and mental attributes and negative labelling. These risk predictors associated with criminal offending are similar to those identified for recidivism (confer point 3.3).

It can be concluded that chronic offending, as in the case with recidivism, refers to a process whereby repeat offending becomes a behavioural pattern subsequently leading to a criminal career. The commencement of these behaviour patterns is usually at a young age and can persist into adulthood.

2.3.2 The criminal career

Farrington as quoted in Maguire *et al.* (1997:361-362) postulates that a criminal career does not appear without warning but is in most cases preceded by childhood anti-social behaviour followed by adult anti-social behaviour and subsequently leading to a criminal career. Anti-social behaviour is an umbrella term referring to behaviour that is viewed as unacceptable within the moral boundaries of conventional society. Haapanen (1990:7) concurs, emphasising the conception

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of a criminal career as the commencement of a stable behavioural pattern of criminal offending.

Regarding the chronic offender and subsequently the recidivist's criminal career, Siegel and Senna (2001:60) hypothesize that:

> "Chronic offenders begin their delinquent careers at a young age (under 10 years old; referred to as "early onset"), have serious and persistent brushes with the law, build a career in crime, and may be excessively violent and destructive. Moreover, chronic offenders do not age out of crime but continue their law-violating behaviour into adulthood. The important conclusion is that early and repeated delinquent activity is the best predictor of future adult criminality".

This hypothesis touches on three important aspects underlying the criminal career namely the onset of the criminal career, the aging out of the criminal career, and lastly risk predictors associated with a criminal career.

Exploring the onset of a criminal career, various authors concur that in most cases there is an early onset to a criminal career (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:59, Bartollas & Miller, 1998: 104-105; Brannigan, 1997:409, Conklin, 1995:318 and Florida Department of Corrections Recidivism Report, 1999). Hill (2002:135) emphasises the difference between early and late onset in crime stating that those with an early onset have a lower IQ, more attention and impulsivity problems, they scored

lower on neuropsychological deficits and are more likely to experience adverse family circumstances and peer difficulties. Early onset is also characterised by higher rates of violence. In contrast late on-setters become delinquent predominantly as a result of social influences and interaction with delinquent peer groups. The danger exists that these negative associations and influences may have more long-lasting consequences (Hill, 2002:135).

Bartollas and Miller (1998:103) are of the opinion that chronic offenders become committed to a criminal career through one of two routes namely;

> "In the first, noncriminal and situational offenders move from casual involvement with other offenders on the street to being processed with them through the system, to perceive crime as a way of life, and finally to being willing to stand up for this involvement", and
>
> "The second route is quite different. Some youths become absorbed in crime before they have contact with the justice system. These offenders often grow up in ghetto areas and, surrounded by vice and crime, become involved with peers in unlawful acts at an early age".

Both of these attest to a socialisation process whereby delinquency and crime become a lifestyle. This process of pro-criminal socialisation is synonymous with chronic offending and recidivism and will be discussed further in Chapter 3 of this study.

The role of fellow delinquents in sculpting these behaviour patterns is emphasised by Warr as quoted by Farrall (2000:212):

> "(T)he transition from criminal to conventional behavior (or vice versa), it seems, is not merely an individual conversion, but rather a social transformation that entails the destruction of old relations or social networks and the creation of new ones. If delinquency is largely a group phenomenon, it should come as no surprise that desistance is also a group process".

The role of these risk predictors as contributing factors to repeat offending and recidivism will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Pertaining to the aging out of a criminal career the question can be asked if chronic juvenile offenders and juvenile recidivists grow up to become chronic adult offenders and recidivists? This matter is widely debated throughout literature leading to various and often contradicting viewpoints. In this respect Thornberry and Figlio (in Bartollas & Miller, 1998:105) found in their study that there is a substantial drop in delinquent behaviour from juvenile to adulthood. Tracy and Kempf-Leonard concur with these findings stating that about one third of delinquent offenders become adult criminals (Bartollas & Miller, 1998:105). They further found that risk factors associated with early onset, committing of violent crimes and

continued offending through adolescence act as predictors for persistence into an adult criminal career.

The research of Barnett *et al.* (1989:383 – 384) posits a further possibility namely that a small amount of offenders end one criminal career as juveniles only to begin with a further, adult, criminal career. A seven to ten year period can pass between the initial juvenile and adult criminal career. Currently no explanation for these phenomena exists (Barnett *et al.*, 1989:384).

Sampson and Laub, as quoted by Dejong (1997:564), in turn postulate that aging-out of crime can be attributed to the emerging of stable work and adult family bonds, especially marriage bonds. As the investment in the social bond grows, so does the incentive to avoid crime due to the greater loss that is at stake. The interaction between meaningful social bonds and criminality is found in the control theory and will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

From his research Warr (in Farrall, 2000:473) explores the influence of a stable emotional bond on the criminal career and proposes a different reason for the decrease in crime. He is of the opinion that the formation of a stable social bond is likely to reduce the opportunities as well as the motivation to engage in crime. From this point of view, marriage or a stable emotional bond therefore discourages crime by weakening or severing previous criminal associations. This turning point can take place

by means of a gradual or dramatic change. It is further emphasised that these strong bonds commonly occur by chance or luck and conclude that considerable consensus indicate that early onset of delinquency tends to lead to long delinquent careers (compare Farrall, 2000:225-226 and Bartollas, 1997:59).

Contrary to the mentioned viewpoints of Warr, Farrall and Bartollas, Hirschi and Gottfredson are outspoken opponents of the age-crime debate (Farrall, 2000:225-226). They are of the opinion that the effect of age on crime is invariant. They base their statement on historical and cross-culture research maintaining that crime peaks at age sixteen or seventeen and then steadily declines through the remainder of the life cycle. He ascribes this decline to maturation reform stating that ceasing of a criminal career "just happens" (compare Farrall, 2000:253 and Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 1998:151). Aging out of crime can therefore be viewed as part of life course development associated with the development perspective (compare Chapter 3).

Haapanen (1990:36) in turn questions the extent of the arrest-free period that can be seen as an indication of the offender's desistance from a criminal career. In this regard Farrington states that the age of desistance from offending can only be determined with certainty after the offender is deceased (Maguire *et al.,* 1997:373).

It seems as if there are various contradictory views regarding the ageing-out of crime. This contradiction can mostly be ascribed to the interpretation of causative factors contributing to the decline of crime after a certain age. It seems as if no clarity exists as to why offenders age out of crime as some of the researchers attribute this to elements of luck or something that "just happens". The majority of researchers concur that early onset, the severity of the criminal conduct as well as continued criminality are contradictors for aging out of crime and act as indicators or predictors for a continued criminal career (compare Farrall, 2000:253, Brown et al. 1998:151; Dejong, 1997:564 and Greenberg, 1991,18).

Lastly, regarding predictors for a continued criminal career, Siegel and Senna (2001:63), based on recent research, postulate that the best predictor for future behaviour is past behaviour. They further state that "(Y)ouths who have long juvenile records will most likely continue their offending career into adulthood". Farrington mentions two reasons for a continuation between past and future offending. Firstly, past offending reflects a stable underlying construct, namely criminal potential. This is referred to as the heterorganic explanation. Secondly, he is of the opinion that the commission of one crime leads to the possibility of the commission of further crimes. This can be ascribed to reinforcement or stigmatisation and is referred to as the state dependant explanation. Therefore, even though many delinquents do not

persist in offending, it was found that most adult offenders have a history of juvenile offending (Rowe *et al.,* 1990:242).

Eleanor Glueck popularised research on the cycle of delinquent careers as harbinger of a criminal career. She postulates that: "(T)he deeper the roots of childhood maladjustment, the smaller the chance of adult adjustment" *(*Siegel & Senna, 2001:59). In her research she found that specific personal factors present in early life act as significant predictors of a criminal career. The most important of these are family relations. This includes aspects such as quality of discipline, emotional ties with parents as well as economic means and educational achievements within the family system. She further found that physical and mental factors, among others, low intelligence, mental illness and strong physical built can also act as predictors for a criminal career (Siegel & Senna, 2001:59-60). Farrington (in Siegel & Senna, 2001:63) concurs and concludes that the criminal career reflects one underlying construct of criminal potential, namely, low self-control.

In the case of recidivism, chronic offending and the criminal career, adverse family circumstances as well as physical and mental attributes act as risk indicators for repeat offending (compare Chapter 3).

It can therefore be concluded that criminal behaviour patterns as well as a pro-criminal lifestyle can be associated with both recidivism and chronic offending. It can furthermore be

assumed that a high probability exists for the recidivist and chronic offender's re-offending to culminate in a criminal career.

The personal and behavioural characteristics that can be associated with recidivism and chronic offending will henceforth be discussed.

2.3.4 A general profile of the chronic offender and recidivist

Bartollas and Miller (1998:103) are of the opinion that the "…predominant characteristic of these youths is their commitment to crime and their involvement in one crime after another, often serious offences against person and property". From this description of the chronic offender in comparison with the definition of the recidivist clear similarities are evident between the two concepts. These similarities, amongst others, lie in their repetitive re-offending as well as pro-criminal life style and behavioural patterns. In this regard Maguire (1995:144) is of the opinion that there is often one core pattern behind hundreds of criminal acts. This pattern can be associated with "…a small set of cognitive habits that define their orientation towards life, and their licence to commit crime" (Maguire, 1995:144). These behavioural patterns and cognitive habits form the roots of the profile of the recidivist and chronic offender's behaviour.

Bartollas (1997:85) concurs stating that chronic offenders and recidivists share a typical attitude that contributes to their involvement in criminal activities. Typical attitudes shared by chronic offenders are:

- If you do not look out for yourself, nobody else will;
- Respect has to be earned through aggression;
- Tomorrow does not matter;
- The weak will be exploited in every possible way;
- The group is needed for protection and emotional support;
- The system is unfair to me; and
- Material things are what life is all about.

These attitudes may vary, but generally can be grouped in several clusters. First, some of the attitudes reflect the fact that the world is a fearful place where only the strongest survive. The second set of attitudes attest of the hedonistic but frustrating struggle of daily existence. Thirdly, these attitudes demonstrate a "macho" approach to life, and lastly a shared believe exists that life is basically unfair (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104-105 and Bartollas, 1997:85-86). Studies identify these recidivists, as coming from a social background that is typically minority, lower or under-class and poverty stricken (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:34). They grow up on the street with insufficient parental support and have a history of failure in social institutions. Furthermore they demonstrate an inability to function in school, achieve on academic level or form relations with teachers and peers. They are often

perceived as, and feel like, the perennial misfits of society (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104, Bartollas, 1997:84 and Jones & Sims, 1997:336). Cognitive assumptions associated with recidivism, as mentioned above, are feelings of frustration, helplessness, distrust, isolation and stigmatisation.

In relation to attitudes certain thought patterns were identified as being typical of the recidivist. In their research Zamble and Quinsey (1997:48) found that while outside of prison, recidivists' thoughts tend to focus on mundane life events, especially those they experience problems with, such as, family relationships or employment related issues. Their thought patterns further balanced between being overly positive about the future, on the one side and on the other side, by negative cognitions surrounding the inevitability of returning to prison. The positive future perspective and thoughts associated with self-improvement in most instances remained thoughts, and were not practically implemented (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:48). It was found that generally positive thought deteriorated into pessimism in the period before the recidivist re-offended. After the recidivists resumed their criminal activities their thoughts focused on the justification of their criminal activities. It is interesting to note that in most cases recidivists perceived their re-offending as a way of dealing with a particular problem (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:49). Maguire (1995:145) refers to this as the "anti-social logic" that is common to many repeat offenders. This is based on the assumption that offenders think of themselves as the

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victim, granting them a license to do as they please. Any interference is perceived by the offender as being unfair and classified as victimisation. Social order is of no consequence to them and crime is perceived as the best option they have. Punitive measures are often perceived as being a further display of the unfairness of society, and deemed to be a license to break the law (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104, Bartollas, 1997:84; Jones & Sims, 1997:336 and Maguire, 1995:145). Maguire (1995:146) states that this behaviour pattern is learned behaviour that is used as a problem-solving tool. It is important to note that the recidivists' thought patterns are based on attitude as discussed in the previous paragraph.

Substance abuse is also a way of life and part of the profile of the recidivist. In their study Zamble and Quincy (1997:35) found that substance abuse was one of the most frequent behavioural problems the recidivist experienced. The recidivists' inability to solve problems in a socially accepted manner was often associated with their substance abuse. These maladaptive patterns, inclusive of substance abuse, were in the most cases present before the recidivist re-offended (Zamble and Quincy, 1997:51).

Another facet is the anger that some of these chronic offenders experience due to the emotional deprivation they experience within family relations as well as their general circumstances. Their anger can further be associated with the

process whereby their positive attitudes, after release, make way for more negative cognitions about the future. This anger is frequently expressed through aggressive acts (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104, Bartollas, 1997:84; Zamble & Quincy, 1997:46 and Jones & Sims, 1997:336). Combined with aggression, depression and anxiety were identified as destructive emotions experienced by the majority of recidivists (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:43).

From her experience in working as a social worker within the Department of Correctional Services, the researcher constantly deals with these individuals who often perceive life as having dealt them a raw deal. Their attitudes, learned from an early age, act as a wall around them resulting in streetwise survival orientated emotions of anger, mistrust, isolation and hopelessness. These chronic offenders' lifestyles centre around delinquent activities, where they eventually engage in a criminal career for most if not for all of their lives. The recidivism process will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Currently, in South Africa, recidivism is an academic metaphor and label that is widely, though contradictorily used. This is due to the lack of formal conceptualisation and operationalisation of the concept recidivism. In this chapter it became apparent that recidivism is a complex phenomenon that has a negative impact on all levels of society and therefore warrants more in-depth exploration. In order to understand the phenomenon, the

researcher defined recidivism within an operationalised context. Based on this operationalised conceptualisation a system was identified whereby an offender can be classified as a recidivist.

It further became apparent that recidivism and chronic offending not only both refer to repeat criminal conduct but also have similar dynamic habitual behavioural processes and patterns. The threat of recidivism and chronic offending lies in these behaviour patterns. These behaviour patterns can be associated with the recidivist's interpersonal social functioning as well as interaction with external factors.

In the next chapter the causative and risk factors associated with recidivism will be further explored.

` CHAPTER 3

CAUSATIVE FACTORS OF CRIME AND RECIDIVISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter various causative risk factors associated with criminal conduct were identified. Farrington states that risk factors are prior factors that can increase the risk offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:382). Risk factors can furthermore be viewed as conditions that can be associated with a higher likelihood of negative outcomes, among others, problem behaviour, dropping out of school and delinquency (Carr & Vandiver, 2001:409).

Risk prediction is based on personal characteristics and circumstances that act as predictors of future criminal conduct (McGuire, 1995:48). Zamble and Quincy (1997:2) found that risk predictors utilized to predict criminal behaviour is similar to those utilized to predict recidivism among convicted offenders. Risk factors can therefore be viewed as predictors of behaviour, which in turn can be associated with criminal causation.

Risk predictors associated with recidivism can be divided into two categories, namely stable and dynamic factors. Stable factors are risk factors that are insensitive to rehabilitation programmes, for instance gender, age, race and family history. Dynamic factors, on

the other hand, are those that can - be influenced - by, and is sensitive to rehabilitation programmes - for example, alcohol and drug abuse (Quist & Matshazi, 2000:183). It should be noted that even though rehabilitation programmes can have an impact on stable factors, it could not change the event or aspect associated with the stable factor. For the purpose of the research study both stable and dynamic risk factors are deemed as important criminal risk predictors. The interaction between stable and dynamic risk factors, as with all risk factors, make it difficult to determine if a risk factor is an indicator (symptom) or probable cause of offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:383). In order to get a holistic perception of recidivism it is of importance to explore both stable and dynamic risk factors more in-depth.

The exploration of the causation of crime subsequently also leads to the "nature" versus "nurture" debate. The concept "nature", accentuates the importance to view humans as biological beings with unique biological limits and predispositions that ultimately will determine their biological inheritance. These genetic or hereditary factors determine the range of emotional and behavioural responses that a person is capable of as well as strengths and weaknesses that will influence behavioural actions and outcomes (Nye, 1992:51; Baldwin & Baldwin, 1981:5). "Nurture", on the other hand highlights the influence that the environment has on a human's behaviour. In this respect Skinner stated that an individual's personality is determined by past (life course) and

present events or experiences within the environment (Nye, 1992:51).

It is widely debated if environmental or genetic factors determine a person's personality and behaviour patterns (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:45.). A three part series named " *The concept of heredity in Western thought"* follows the "nature" versus "nurture" debate from biblical to modern times (Mankind Quarterly, 1995). In this series the conclusion was reached that environmental and hereditary factors are two different categories of causal factors that intertwine and interact in the formulation of the human personality.

Genetic factors determine the potential and limits of human behaviour while environmental circumstances and events influences the individual's development, personality and behaviour within these genetic boundaries. It is emphasized that the two factors, namely *genetic* and *environmental*, are equally important because they interact and do not oppose each other (Mankind Quaterly, 1995:353). An example of this interactive relationship is that genetic and hereditary factors give humans the potential to learn while the environment provides the opportunity to utilize this potential.

In relation to offending Farrington, as quoted in Maguire *et al.*, (1997:394), is of the opinion that "…criminal behaviour results

from the interaction between an individual (with a certain degree of underlying anti-social tendency) and the environment (which provides criminal opportunities)". It can therefore be stated that both genetic and environmental aspects play a role in the criminal behavioural process. For the purpose of this research study the importance and role of both genetic (hereditary) and environmental factors is recognised in the shaping of personality and behaviour.

In order to explore criminal causation, risk factors will be divided into three categories, namely individual, family and community based factors. These factors will be explored in order to identify risk predictors that can be linked with the causation of crime and recidivism.

3.2 INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH CRIMINAL CAUSATION

When individual criminal risk factors are explored it is necessary to start even before conception, i.e. with the genetic make up of the prospective parents, and the role that these factors play in relation to criminal causation. From a genetic perspective, the discussion will focus on physical and biological factors, intelligence, personality and temperament as well as mental and physiological disorders.

Regarding individual risk factors the focus will be on the socialization process of a child into adulthood as well as the cognitive processes involved. Finally, the role of alcohol and drug abuse in relation to crime will be emphasised.

3.2.1 Genetic and hereditary factors in relation to criminal causation

Before the relationship between genetics and crime can be explored it is firstly important to understand the role of genetic and hereditary factors in human development.

Genes act as the blueprint or map which determine all aspects of human development. The protein building activities of genes enable the physical as well as psychological development of a human being. Hereditary factors is an indicator of the genetic differences between individuals which determine for example, physical traits (looks, height, race), personality (introvert versus extrovert) and life outcomes (predisposition towards alcoholism and crime. As an example Herrnstein postulates that criminal or anti-social behaviour of parents acts as one of the primary risk factors for criminal behaviour in children (Wilson & Petersilia, 1995:55). Even though it seems as if this could more readily be explained from an environmental than genetic perspective, studies found that there is a genetic link between criminal parents and delinquent children (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:390). A study of children of offending parents who were raised in foster care by non-offending foster

parents attests to this link. The conclusion of the study was that adopted children resemble their natural parents in their offending more than they resemble their adoptive parents who raised them (compare Conklin, 2001:137; Maguire, *et al.,* 1997:390 and Wilson & Petersilia, 1995:55). It can therefore be stated that children of offending parents will have a genetic, hereditary predisposition through the genetic transmission of criminogenic characteristics towards criminal behaviour. Wilson and Petersilia (1995:87) concur and further propose that the link between genetic influence and recidivism is of importance and needs to be explored further.

Regarding predisposition, it needs to be emphasised that even though genetics can instil a predisposition towards certain behavioural traits, environmental influences will act as trigger of these predispositions. The environmental influences will also determine the severity of the predispositioned reaction (Jones & Jones, 2000:25). It is therefore of importance that the interactive relationship between "nature" and "nurture" should be kept in mind when individual risk indicators of crime are discussed.

For the purpose of the study the following criminal risk factors that could be associated with genetics, namely physical and biological factors, IQ, personality and temperament as well as mental and physiological disorders, will be discussed.

3.2.2 Physical and biological factors as risk factors associated with criminal causation

During his research Sheldon, as quoted in Hunter and Dantzker (2002:50), identified three basic body types (somatotypes) namely endomorphs, mesomorphs and ectomorphs. These body types are characterized by the physical and emotional character traits as depicted in the following table.

Table 3: Somatotypes according to Sheldon

Somatotype	Physical characteristics	Emotional characteristics
Endomorph	Heavy person with short arms and legs, soft and roly-poly	Relaxed, extroverted and relatively non-criminal
Mesomorph	Athletic and muscular	Aggressive and likely to commit violent crimes and crimes requesting strength and speed
Ectomorph	Thin, fragile looking	Introvert and overly sensitive

(Sources: Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:50 and Conklin, 2001:134)

From Table 3 it is clear that criminal behaviour is associated more with a mesomorph somatotype. In this regard, based on Sheldon's somatotypes, Glueck and Glueck, as quoted by Hunter & Dantzker (2002:50), concurred that delinquent boys were mainly mesomorph.

Kretscher in Bartollas (1997:104) in turn identified two body types, namely cyclothyme and schizothyme where schizothyme are strong and muscular whilst cyclothyme are soft-skinned and lacked muscle. The schizothymes tended to be inclined to delinquent

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behaviour in contrast with the cyclothymes who tend to desist from crime.

Sheldon and Kretscher had two things in common. First, both concurred that persons with a strong muscular build are more prone to criminal conduct. Secondly, in both instances their research was severely criticized due to the research methodology followed in the studies (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:50 and Bartollas, 1997:104).

In conclusion the researcher is of the opinion that the influence of body type in relation to criminality is not only limited to physical attributes but include the offender's cognitions and perceptions regarding their body type. Stratts (2002) concurs, stating that if a person has the genetic predisposition to be able to push people around and this is combined with other pro-criminal socialisation and cognitions, it could give way to criminality.

From a genetic and biological perspective research also indicated that delinquency could be associated with low levels of physiological arousal (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:385). Low physiological arousal in turn can be ascribed to low alpha brain waves and low autonomic reactivity. A low heart rate was also indicated to be linked to violent offending and was found in research to be an important predictor of offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:385). Even though this information is not directly of importance for this

study it confirms the relationship between genetic risk predictors and criminal causation.

From a biological perspective the deficits in the executive functions of the brain can also be associated with criminal causation. These functions, which are situated in the frontal lobe of the brain, are amongst others the sustaining of attention and concentration, abstract reasoning and concept formation, anticipation and planning, self monitoring of behaviour and the inhibition of inappropriate or impulsive behaviour. A deficit in this area can be linked to low intelligence and offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:387). The link between intelligence and criminal behaviour is of importance for this study and will subsequently be explored more in dept.

3.2.3 Intelligence as risk indicator of criminal causation

Farrington states that low intelligence is an important predictor of offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:385). Wilson and Petersilia (1995:49) concur and are of the opinion that after sex and age, IQ is the most firmly established genetic trait within an offender population.

Even though there is a dispute if IQ is inherited, most modern researchers concur that intelligence is solely genetic in origin (Barkan, 1997:143 and Conklin, 1995:140). This implies that genetically established intellectual ability cannot be improved on

but through enabling environmental influences, intellectual ability can be optimally developed. Research also indicated that the IQ scores of adopted children are closer to their biological than foster parents (Siegel & Senna, 2000:100). These findings emphasize the genetic origin of intellectual abilities.

In relation to intelligence as risk indicator for criminal behaviour studies indicated that a large fraction of offenders' IQ's was at the low end of the intelligence scale (compare, Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:48; Bartollas, 1997:106-107 and Conklin, 1995:140). Farrington emphasised that a low non-verbal intelligence was found to be a characteristic of the juvenile recidivist (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:385). In contrast, a high intelligence appears to protect individuals from offending events if other criminal risk factors are present (Wilson & Petersilia, 1995:52-23).

Exploring the influence of IQ on crime Conklin (1995:142) postulates that the interaction between intelligence and delinquency has a limited impact on academic aptitude or school performance. It was found that a low intelligence has an influence on access to desirable roles or positions, negative labelling, socialisation and isolation as well as delinquent peer-group association. It can be further stated that the link between low intelligence and offending are not caused by less intelligent offender's having a greater probability of being caught (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:386). Farrington in turn is of the opinion that the link

between intelligence and offending is situated in the ability to manipulate abstract concepts (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:386). The inability to manipulate abstract concepts can be associated with a poor ability to foresee consequences of criminal behaviour as well as experience empathy towards the victims of crime. The researcher is of the opinion that this biological deficit impacts on all levels of the offender's functioning, impairing decision making and problem solving abilities. As with intellectual ability personality and temperament are based on a person's genetic make-up.

3.2.4 Personality and temperament as criminal risk predictor

Personality can be defined as a unique relatively stable and consistent behaviour pattern, inclusive of emotions and thoughts that distinguishes one person from another (compare Hunter & Dabtzker,2002:77; Siegel & Senna, 2000:110 and Louw, Van Ede & Louw, 1998:202). Temperament refers to the inherent characteristic way in which an individual reacts to life demands and challenges on an emotional level (Siegel & Senna, 2000:110 and Louw *et al*, 1998:209). Certain aspects of personality are inherited while others develop as a result of environmental experiences. It can therefore be stated that personality develops during life course and is based on a certain set of genetic predispositions (Aitken, 1998:118 and Louw *et al.*, 1998:202).

As an example, researchers constantly emphasize the importance of bonding between an infant and parents. It is seldom taken into consideration that some children are born more prone to bonding than others (On the "Nature vs. Nurture" Question. 1998). Louw *et al.* (1998:210), through research, determined that 10% of children could be labelled as being difficult. This is based on the child characteristically being prone to poor adjustment to routine and changes in the environment, temper tantrums and constant crying as well as difficulty in responding to comfort. The child's personality trait will inevitably determine the parent's reaction towards that child. If the parents for instance react negatively towards the child, and subsequently the child is being labelled as difficult, the child in turn may develop a negative self-concept. Based on the principles of the labelling theory (compare Chapter 4) this may lead to the internalisation of the label by the child and consequently a behaviour pattern based on the negative label.

The influence of personality and temperament in the causation of crime is discussed as part of the coping and relapse theory in Chapter 4. Kuperminc and Allen (2001:598) found that when faced with challenges in life an individual make use of genetic and heredity personality traits in order to resolve the situation. These genetic predispositions, in correlation with environmental factors and previous experiences, influence the individual's cognitions of their perceived ability to address life's challenges. This in turn will determine the way an individual reacts to the problem at hand.

Inadequate problem solving skills often reflects in the person's inability and ineffective resolving of everyday problems and interpersonal conflict (Kuperminc and Allen, 2001:598).

In order to understand the interaction between personality and crime the researcher studied the various dimensions of personality. Through her studying of various literature sources she came to the conclusion that Eysench and Eysench's research addresses risk factors associated with personality traits the most comprehensively (compare Hill, 2002:137; Bergeron & Valliant, 2001:29,39-40; Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, 2001:67; Conklin, 1995:143 and Wilson & Petersilia, 1995:53).

Eysench and Eysench's research in Munchie, McLaughlin & Langan (1996:85) explored personality traits that are strongly linked with genetic components. Their research concluded that genetically established personality traits play an important role in anti-social and criminal behaviour (Munchie *et al.*, 1996:85).

Eysench and Eysench in Munchie *et al.* (1996:82) divide personality into three dimensions. The three dimensions are characterized by the following traits:

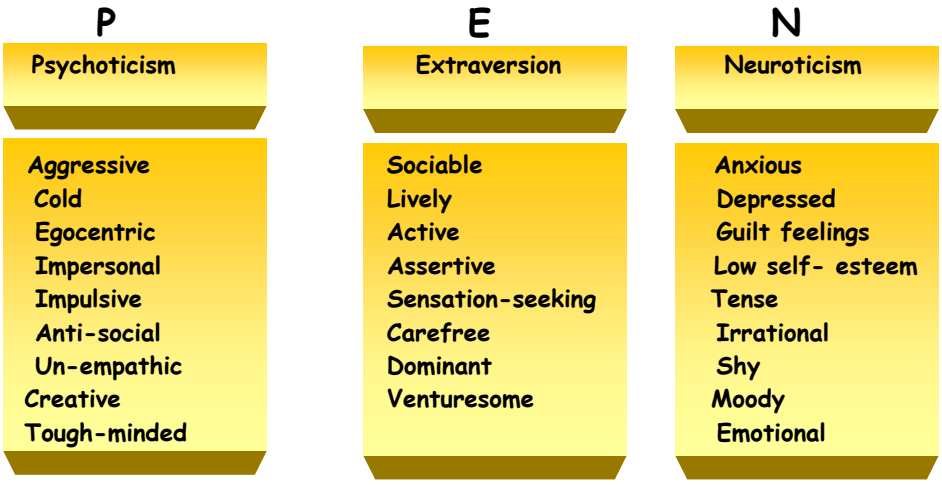

Figure 3: Dimensions of personality according to Eysench and Eysench (Source: Munchie *et al*,. 1996:82 as adapted by researcher).

First, these dimensions focus on aggressive and egocentric impulses and the control thereof (psychoticism). Secondly, emphasis is placed on social interaction (extraversion – introversion) and thirdly, on a persons emotional reaction and anxiety (neuroticism) (Munchie *et al.*, 1996:82). Munchie *et al.* (1996:82) compared the research findings of the three mentioned personality dimensions in offenders (prisoners) with a non-offending (not-imprisoned) control group. The findings of two studies indicated that the offenders had a higher psychoticism score and a moderately higher neuroticism score as well as a lower extraversion score than the control groups.

In the studies of personality and recidivism, the recidivists' psychoticism and neuroticism score were insignificantly higher

than non-recidivists but the extraversion score was indicated to be significantly higher. In another study, interestingly, it was found that imprisoned offenders with a higher extraversion score were more likely to offend against prison rules than those with a lower extraversion score (Munchie *et al.*, 1996:86). It can therefore be concluded that offenders in general tend to be psychoticismic and neuroticismic. These characteristics can be associated with self-centeredness, emotional instability and general isolation from society. The researcher is of the opinion that the higher extraversion score as found in Munchie's study of recidivists could be linked to impulsivity and daring behaviour.

In conclusion, research that was based on Eysench and Eysench theory, as quoted in Munchie *et al.* (1996:93) indicated that a combination of personality traits associated with psychoticismic, extraversion, and neuroticismic dimensions, act as predisposing factors in both juvenile and adult crime and anti-social behaviour. Bergeron & Valliant (2001:39) concur, adding that these personality characteristics place an individual at risk for criminality and recidivism.

Two personality characteristics that were indicated previously as having a strong link with criminal behaviour are impulsivity and an inability to experience empathy (compare Hill, 2002:135, Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:81, Siegel & Senna, 2000:182 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:386). The link between empathy and criminal offending will

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be discussed in Chapter 4. In relation to impulsivity Farrington is of the opinion that it can also be linked to mental and physiological disorders, such as, hyper-impulsivity-attention disorder (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:384).

3.2.5 Mental and Physiological disorders as criminal risk factor

A disorder can be broadly defined as behaviour that has distinct genetic and environmental contributions associated with specifiable biological, psychological and social processes. This subsequently acts as a predictor for antisocial and wider social and mental health problems, causing significant distress for the individual and other persons (compare Hill, 2002:134 and Overbeek, Vollebergh, Meeus, Engels & Luijpers, 2001:421). Hunter & Dantzker (2002:81) is of the opinion that mental disorders can range from mild emotional distress to outright insanity. When these disorders result in crime it is usually due to the mentally disturbed person's inability to cope with an adverse environmental situation. A situation may become explosive and extremely dangerous if this inability to cope is combined with violent emotions as well as access to a weapon. When these disorders interfere with a person's ability to function as well as being harmful to the person or others, intervention may be needed (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:81).

As in the case with the other genetic risk factors most mental disorders is the result of the interaction between an individual's hereditary makeup and the physical and psychological environment (Hill, 2002:138; Aiken, 1998:126). Zeidner and Endler (1996:605) postulates that a person's personality patterns, including coping skills and adaptive flexibility, will determine whether this person will be able to master or succumb to the psychosocial environment.

Physiological disorders have a biological (genetic) and psychological influence on human behaviour as well as a labelling impact (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:81). Psychological disorders are inclusive of muscular diseases, neurological disorders (multiple sclerosis, cerebral palsy), epilepsy, Tourette's syndrome, autism, downs syndrome and attention deficit hyperactivity (ADHD). These disorders often result in truancy and juvenile delinquency due to frustration with failure in school, labelling, impulsivity and misinterpretation of behaviour (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:81).

Wright, Caspi, Moffit and Silva (2001:321) state that nearly all-serious and persistent criminals start out life as being impulsive and antisocial children. In order to understand the interaction between mental and physiological disorders and crime the researcher will focus on conduct disorder and attention deficit hyperactive disorder. Research indicated that there is a relationship or co-morbidity between conduct disorder and ADHD (Hill, 2002:135). Co-morbidity is a medical term referring to the

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co-occurrence of two or more distinctive disease entities. In this instance it refers to the phenomena where conduct disorder is often associated with ADHD and vice versa. There is uncertainty if conduct disorder and ADHD refers to two separate entities and if it is a case where the same behaviour is ascribed to more than one disorder. A further argument is that co-morbidity may be a reflection of the severity of the disorder whereby a combination of conduct disorder and ADHD evidently will give way to more severe symptoms. Behaviour associated with the combination of these two disorders is parental psychopathy and conflict, peer group problems, school difficulties and psychosocial adversity (Hill, 2002:135).

ADHD is viewed from a medical perspective as a syndrome characterized by symptoms such as distractibility, a short attention span, poor concentration, daydreaming, restlessness, hyperactivity and impulsiveness (Du Plessis & Strydom, 1999:11). According to Conklin (2001:141) ADHD is characterized by inattention or failure to listen and to compare tasks, impulsivity or acting without thinking and hyperactivity associated with restlessness and excessive motor activity. Diagnosis of the disorder is based on situational or behavioural analysis, often leading to confusion and sometimes misdiagnosis due to changing behaviour.

Children displaying behaviour associated with this syndrome are often labelled as being naughty, temperamental and emotional. Due to their restlessness and limited concentration they experience problems with adapting in school as well as learning difficulties. Their low frustration toleration and self-centeredness hinder the formulation of social bonds and relationships. This can subsequently result in negative feedback from parents, teachers and peers giving way to a negative self-perception and low self-esteem (compare Conklin, 2001:144; Du Plessis & Strydom, 1999:12-13 and Louw *et al.*, 1989:418-420). Various symptoms associated with ADHD were already highlighted in this study as risk indicators for criminal and anti-social and aggressive behaviour (Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, 2001:67, 2001:73). Therefore, it can be stated that children with ADHD are predisposed to become involved in criminal behaviour. Du Plessis & Strydom (1999:40) concur quoting research findings indicating that over sixty percent of imprisoned offenders suffers from ADHD.

Research indicated that twenty to forty percent of children with ADHD would develop conduct disorder (Du Plessis & Strydom, 1999:4). Conduct disorder is associated with the repetitive and persistent violation of the basic rights of others as well as societal norms (Hill, 2002:134). Behaviour typical of this disorder includes consistent lying, stealing, truancy and running away and the committing of violent crimes (Du Plessis & Strydom, 1999:4).

Hill (2002: 137- 154) explored risk factors associated with conduct disorder and identified various similarities with these factors and those linked to criminal risk predictors. The researcher found the similarities of risk prediction as well as causative factors between criminal and conduct disorder of importance for this study. It is further of interest to note that research findings indicated that conduct disorder in childhood acts as a predicting factor for anti-social behaviour in adulthood.

As in the case with delinquency, perinatal complications such as birth complications, prematurity, alcohol and drug abuse and maternal smoking were also indicated as causative factors of conduct disorder (Hill, 2002:142, 143). Further findings based on personal characteristics indicated that children with conduct problems tend to give priority to cues for reward over cues for non-reward. This is an indication that these children react better to reward in comparison to punishment and that a decline in reward and an increase in punishment subsequently lead to increasingly maladaptive behaviour (Hill, 2002:139).

It was furthermore found that children with conduct disorder tend to have a lower average intelligence; more especially regarding verbal IQ. It was found that the poor verbal skills reduced their self-control and problem solving capacities resulting in the use of aggression and more action-orientated solutions in

order to compensate for their social inabilities. Studies also found that aggressive children tend to overestimate their social, academic and behavioural capacities. This may be the result of an inadequate ability to process information regarding own abilities, characterized by an inflated but fragile self-appraisal and increased threshold for powerful emotions of distress or anger (Hill, 2002:144).

Lastly, children with conduct disorder tend to have poorer peer relationships and an association with other peers with similar antisocial behaviour. They are also often rejected by non-deviant peers. Adverse family conditions, including inadequate parenting, insecure emotional attachment, marital discord and abuse were also prevalent (Hill, 2002:146-152). Research indicated that children with conduct disorder were labelled from early on by their parents as having a difficult temperament. This perception of the child's temperament is based on parental judgement and could therefore be subjective. Hill (2002:137) postulates that "(P)arental rating of infant temperament can be predicted by measures of parental psychological functioning". Thus possibly being an indication of the parent's inability to deal with their child's needs. In this regard Hill (2002:138) acknowledges the genetic and hereditary influences on temperament but stress that the role of environmental, and in this case parental influences should not be ignored.

In conclusion it is clear that children with conduct disorder especially if it is linked to ADHD is predisposed to become involved in criminal behaviour. The similarities between behaviour patterns of children suffering from conduct disorder and ADHD and the recidivist is of importance to the researcher. In this regard, the researcher is referring to the social relationship with peers and emotional ties with parents, and physical and mental factors, including low intelligence, mental illness, low self-control, impulsivity as well as overly positive and unrealistic perceptions of the future (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:59-60; Miller, 1998:104 Maguire *et al.*, 1997:383; Zamble & Quincy, 1997:48; Miller, 1998:104 and Jones & Sims, 1997:336).

Research findings established a link between children with both conduct disorder and ADHD, and the risk of being diagnosed with psychopathy as an adult (Hill, 2002:145).

The similarity between conduct disorder and antisocial personality disorder lies in the similarity of symptoms, namely deceitfulness, callous unemotional traits such as lack of guilt or remorse, absence of empathy and shallow and constricted emotions (Hill, 2002:145). Other behaviour patterns associated with antisocial personality disorder is aggressive and rebellious tendencies, impulsive and immature conduct, nonconformity, and adventurous and risk-taking behaviour (Bergeron & Valliant, 2001:29). Research indicated that between fifty to eighty percent of adult offenders could be

diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder (Hill, 2002:145). As in the case with conduct disorder and ADHD clear similarities exist regarding behavioural patterns associated with antisocial personality disorder and recidivism.

In conclusion it seems as if mental and physiological disorders act as a strong risk indicator for criminality and recidivism. In a discussion of the development process of psychopathology Hill (2002:136) emphasizes the complexity of person- environment interaction. The reciprocal interaction and mutual influence between environmental systems, especially in the case of predisposed psychopathology, can either benefit the individual or amplify difficulties and thus determine behavioural patterns. Therefore, an integrated approach whereby mental disorders are viewed as being part of the causation process of crime should be followed.

The link of genetic and hereditary risk factors with criminal causation was clearly established in the discussion of physical and biological factors, intelligence, personality and temperament as well as mental and physiological disorders.

Individual risk factors will subsequently be explored by analysing socialization and alcohol and drug abuse as risk factors associated with the causation of criminal behaviour.

3.2.6 Socialization as risk factor for criminal causation

Socialization can be defined as the sum total of acquired behaviour that enables a person to conform with rules and expectations within the society whereby a person learns to become a good member of society as opposed to being a selfish individual (Barkan, 1997:155). The emphasis is then rather on being a social being who cares for the welfare of others and society as a whole. Siegel & Senna (2000:165) is of the opinion that if a child's socialization process is incomplete or negatively focused, it can result in an adolescent with a poor self-image who is alienated from conventional society and feels little attachment to a law-abiding lifestyle. This point of view is also reflected in the social control theory (compare Chapter 4).

Lykken (1995:8) is of the opinion that socialization comprises of three principal components, namely conscientiousness, pro-sociality and acceptance of adult responsibility. Conscientiousness implies a general disposition to avoid crime. This notion is born out of the fear for punishment as well as the rejection of crime as alternative behaviour, based on rational utilitarian grounds. For most individuals crime avoidance generally becomes automatic due to the habit of conforming to society's rules (Lykken, 1995:8).

Pro-sociality is based on a general disposition towards pro-social behaviour inclusive of an individual's nurturing, affectional and altruistic impulses. This is accomplished by means of the

cultivation of a person's ability to emphatise with others and to participate in and enjoy affectionate relationships (Lykken, 1995:8). McGuire (1995:51) hypothesises that offending should be viewed as behaviour originating in adverse socialization rather than resulting from an inability to experience empathy.

Acceptance of adult responsibility emphasizes the acceptance of conventional family and social responsibilities. Behavioural processes are focussed on conserving and promoting these pro-social rules and values (Lykken, 1995:8). By conforming to these rules the individual is part of and can experience self-fulfilment within society.

As stated previously offenders differ from non-offenders in that they have a deficiency in the ability to interpret social situations and are unable to develop adequate interpersonal problem-solving skills. They are also characterised by the inability to experience empathy and appreciate the perspective of others (Bergeron & Valliant, 2001:38). They are therefore inadequately socialized and unable to experience self-actualisation.

The researcher is of the opinion that there is a comparison between the principal components of socialization as identified by Lykken and Maslow's self-actualisation hierarchy. Conscientiousness can be linked to an individual's safety and security needs whereby the person will refrain from crime in

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order to avoid the negative consequences associated with punishment and society's condemnation. Conforming to society's rules creates a safe environment within which a person's affiliation needs can be met. This in turn, creates an enabling environment to form affectionate and pro-social relationships. According to Maslow's hierarchy, safety and affiliation needs are driven by deficiency needs (D need) (Schott, 1992:108-109). It is the researcher's view that both conscientiousness and pro-sociality, as in the case with Maslow's theory, is based on feelings of incompleteness. Through socialization a person strives to be part of, and to be accepted by society, thereby becoming complete. Acceptance of adult responsibility can be compared to what Maslow described as self-actualisation.

Self-actualisation can be defined as being able (B needs). These needs motivate a person to make use of and exploit one's talents, capacities and potential and therefore sustaining a person's interest without being driven by feelings of deficiency (compare Neher, 1991:90 & Mittelman, 1991:151). A person can achieve self-actualisation provided that resources are available and the environment is conducive to facilitate self-actualisation.

Acceptance of adult responsibility is characterized by a person's willingness to utilize inherent talent, capacities and potential for individual growth as well as the growth of the society. The principals as depicted in both Maslow's theory, and the

socialization process represent the interactive relationship between the individual and other systems within a community. In order to be part of this collective conscience the individual should conform to the system's rules but should also be willing to contribute to the well being of the system. A person will only be able to contribute to society and experience personal satisfaction when he/she conforms to society's rules and builds meaningful relations within society.

Agents of socialization, among others, family, peers, school and mass media influence people's values and behaviour. Just as a person can be socialized positively, a person can also be socialized to break the law by learning the values, norms and skills of a criminal or delinquent subculture (Barkan, 1997:187 and Conklin, 1995:227). In this respect Tshiwula (1998:10) mentions the possibility that offenders can be socialized by inmates within a criminal sub-culture while being incarcerated. This can create a greater risk for further criminalization. Siegel & Senna (2000:165) states that early socialization experiences has a lifelong influence and impact on an individual and that even the most adverse environmental circumstances will not attribute to delinquency if a person's socialization experiences are positive and supportive.

In relation to the socialization process of children Conklin (1995:226) emphasizes the role that parenting and innate

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characteristics play. He is of the opinion that parental socialization is a major factor in the causation or prevention of criminal behaviour. Lykken (1995:8) concurs stating that parents are firstly obliged to provide basic nurturing, food, shelter and protection for children. After the mentioned care, the second most important task of a parent is the socialization of a child. According to him parenting refers to all the learned experiences that promote pro-social activities and condemn antisocial behaviour. Even though few parents socialize their children to be delinquent, factors can inherently contribute to delinquent socialization. This can be attributed to adverse circumstances rooted in limited contact and identification with parents and inconsequent discipline (compare Lykken, 1995:8; Buikhuisen & Mednick, 1988:40 and Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985:226). The role of parents in the socialization of a child will be analysed more in-depth during the discussion of familial criminal risk factors.

Linking to personality and temperament Lykken (1995:9) refers to innate characteristics such as impulsiveness, aggressiveness and low IQ that will make it harder to socialize a child successfully. It can therefore be stated that there is interdependency between the individual and society in the learning of pro-social values and successful socialization.

In conclusion, socialization can be viewed as a process whereby pro-social values are learned through interaction with socialization

agents. Two theories that play an important role in socialization are the social control and learning theories.

3.2.7 Alcohol and drug abuse as risk factors for offending

Conklin (2001:315) states that there is three facilitating factors that are often present when crimes are committed, namely alcohol, drugs and firearms. He is further of the opinion that the presence of these factors will increase the chance that a situation may lead to criminal violence or theft. For the purpose of this study, the influence of alcohol and drug abuse as risk factors associated with the causation of crime, will be explored.

In 1972 Lombroso stated that "(T)here is one disease that without other causes – either inherited degeneracy or vices resulting from a bad education and environment – is capable of transforming a healthy individual into a vicious, hopelessly evil being. That disease is alcoholism" (Moyer, 2001:36). Lombroso believed that alcoholism is the only individual factor capable of causing criminal offending. This is rooted in its ability to inflame a person's passion, obscuring mental and moral faculties and destroying all senses of decency (Moyer, 2001:36). Conklin (2001:316-317) postulated that the link between crime and alcohol abuse lies in the explanation that alcohol reduces inhibitions that could trigger law-violating behaviour. It furthermore decreases the perception of the consequences of crime, diminishes the moral condemnation of criminal behaviour and makes crime seem more desirable. Another

explanation is that offenders use alcohol to reduce anxiety or build up courage to commit a crime. Even though the reason why alcohol abuse can be associated with crime is not yet clearly established through research, it can be frankly stated that there is a strong association between crime and alcohol abuse (Conklin, 2001:315, 318). As mentioned previously research indicates that substance abuse was in most cases present before the recidivist re-offended (Zamble and Quincy, 1997:51).

According to Buikhuisen and Mednick (1988:21) confusion exists regarding the link between drug abuse and crime. The question can be asked whether drug abuse causes crime, or whether crime causes drug abuse. A further question emanating from this statement is whether drug use and crime is not the same thing. Taking into consideration that the abuse of illegal substances in itself is a crime, it can be concluded that a direct link between crime and drug abuse exists. In this regard Conklin (2001:318) states that the need to support a drug habit can lead to secondary crimes, for instance dealing in drugs. Barkan (1997:430) supports these previous opinions but state that even though there is a strong correlation between drug use and other types of crime this does not indicate that drug use causes crime. The drug-crime relationship can be explained based on the fact that frequently both drugs and crime are part of a common lifestyle or sub-culture. This lifestyle can be associated with interaction between drug using offenders (compare Conklin, 2001:319 and Barkan,

1997:431). Buikhuisen and Mednick (1988:21) further emphasizes that both drugs and crime is a manifestation of the tendency to pursue short term, immediate pleasure. In essence this is an indicator of a delinquent lifestyle.

It is therefore unclear whether drug abuse causes crime or if crime causes drug abuse. What is clear, however, is that the interaction between the two variables as well as the association with other drug using offenders can act as a risk indicator for criminality.

The assumption can therefore be made that substance abuse is characteristically distinguishable as an attribute associated with crime (Bergeron & Valliant, 2001:29). This can possibly be linked to the fact that both offending and substance abuse can be associated with ineffective strategies to resolve interpersonal conflict and general problems (Kuperminc & Allen, 2001:598, 615).

In relation to recidivism Zamble and Quinsey (1997:54) stated that as with other offenders, the recidivists lifestyle and the pre-offending period could usually be associated with alcohol and drug abuse. In comparison with other offenders recidivist's substance abuse is characterised by excessiveness.

Concluding the analyses of individual factors that could be associated with criminal causation, it is apparent that both genetic

and environmental factors are of importance in the formulation of the human personality. Genetic factors determine the potential and limits of human behaviour. Environmental circumstances, for instance socialization and alcohol and drug abuse, in turn influence the individual's development, personality and behaviour within these genetic boundaries. Even though adverse circumstances associated with any one of the mentioned individual risk factors could be linked with criminal causation the probability of delinquency increases if a variety of risk factors are present (McGuire, 1995:52).

3.3 FAMILIAL RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH CRIMINAL CAUSATION

Research findings indicated that offenders are less closely attached to their parents than non-delinquents (Conklin, 2001:230). In turn it can be stated that attachment to society directly emanates from parental attachment (Siegel & Senna, 2000:176). In this regard Siegel and Senna (2000:277) emphasizes that adverse home circumstances has a significant impact on offending. This is rooted in the assumption that the family is the primary unit in which a person is socialized regarding values, attitudes and processes that guide behavioural patterns in life.

Barkan (1997:202) identified two main categories in relation to the causation of criminality, namely the role of family structure

and family functioning. Family structure refers to the physical composition of the family whereas family functioning refers to the inter-actional behavioural patterns and relationships within a family.

As in the case of both genetic and environmental factors the family also plays a determining role in the shaping of a person's personality. Parents provide the hereditary factors that determine a person's genetic make-up. Influential environmental interaction associated with socialization and the formation of behavioural patterns can often be traced back to interfamilial interaction. It is therefore of importance for this study to explore familial risk factors that could be associated with criminal behaviour and recidivism. For the purpose of this research study the influence of perinatal factors and the family structure and composition as risk predictors will be analysed. Furthermore, the family functioning, interaction and socialization in the formation of criminal behaviour patterns will also be discussed.

3.3.1 Perinatal risk factors associated with the causation of criminal behaviour

Research indicated that there is a direct link between perinatal risk factors, crime, and anti-social behaviour (Wilson & Petersilia, 1995:76). Even though perinatal risk factors will not directly be addressed during the empirical study it is important to take note of it due to the predisposition it can create towards criminality.

Perinatal risk factors are not genetically based but are the result of destructive parental behaviour during pregnancy (Wilson & Petersilia, 1995:76). Bouton and Fanselow (1997:25) in this respect stress the bonding process between mother and foetus in the uterus. The bonding process occurs through chemosensory stimulation and auditory input by means of the mother's heartbeat and voice. This social bond is of importance as it forms the basis of, and affirms the status of the foetus as a human being. The researcher is of the opinion that if a bond is formed between parents and their child before birth, a decreased risk of adverse parental practices will exist.

Perinatal risk factors associated with juvenile delinquency and adult crime is among others; inadequate nutrition, exposure to smoking, alcohol, drugs, violence and abuse directed at the pregnant mother (Barkan, 1997:135). Potential adverse reactions of the mentioned risk factors are low birth weight, foetal alcohol syndrome, physical disabilities, cognitive deficits and learning difficulties. Other dispositional attributes reported to affect social interaction are IQ, and difficulties with developmental tasks (Policy framework for addressing crime prevention and children. Undated). For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on complications during pregnancy and birth as well as smoking and alcohol abuse during pregnancy.

Wilson and Petersilia (1995:76) postulate that there is a link between perinatal factors associated with criminal behaviour, in particular violent offending and violent recidivistic offending. In this regard perinatal complications related to criminal outcomes are postulated to be associated with brain dysfunction due to complications during delivery and pregnancy. This can result in disruption of foetal neural development (compare Barkan. 1997:135 are Wilson & Petersilia, 1995: 76-78).

Further research studies highlighted the association between maternal smoking during pregnancy and an increased risk of disruptive behaviour problems, conduct disorder, delinquency and adult crime in offspring (Maughan, Taylor & Taylor, 2001:1021 and Prenatal Smoking, Crime Link, 1999). The risk is based on the influence of perinatal smoking on the foetal brain development. A mother's smoking while being pregnant may result in adverse temperament, compromised neuropsychological functioning, hyperactivity, and poor social and family circumstances. It was found that the risk slightly decreases if a mother who smoked heavily gave up smoking for at least some time during pregnancy (Maughan *et al.*, 2001:1021).

Foetal alcohol syndrome can be defined as a set of physical, mental and neurobehavioral birth defects associated with alcohol consumption during pregnancy (National Organization on Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, Undated). When a mother abuses alcohol during

pregnancy adverse substances, namely alcohol and teratagen, a human developmental toxin, enters the baby's bloodstream and interferes with development. This can result in cognitive and behavioural abnormalities (National Organization on Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, Undated). Adverse results of perinatal alcohol abuse are adverse reactions during pregnancy as well as after birth. It was found that perinatal alcohol exposure is a stronger risk indicator for adolescent alcohol abuse than a family history of alcohol abuse (On the "Nature vs. Nurture" Question, 1998:4).

In conclusion, the assumption can be made that adverse influences during pregnancy has a strong negative reaction resulting in physical, developmental and social problems after birth and during the life of a child. The perinaral exposure to negative parental, and especially maternal actions can create a predisposition for anti-social and possibly criminal behaviour.

3.3.2 Family structure and composition versus crime

In relation to family structure and composition most studies and debates take place on the influence of broken homes on delinquency. **B**roken homes can be defined as being inclusive of families that are not structurally intact due to among other reasons, death of a parent, divorce, desertion, separation or illegitimacy (compare Conklin, 2001:241 and Siegel & Senna, 2000:279). The researcher is of the opinion that the emphasis should be on the fact that a child is raised in a home where one

parent is absent resulting in child rearing becoming the responsibility of the single remaining parent or a third party. The raising of a child is inclusive of the physical as well as psychosocial care of the child.

Even though it is speculated whether broken homes act as a risk factor for delinquent behaviour the general consensus is that broken homes contribute to delinquency. It is furthermore indicated that there is a significant association between parental absence and criminality (compare Siegel & Senna, 2002:280; Barkan, 1997: 203 and Bartollas, 1997:232). Conklin (2001:241) proposes that broken homes can impact on delinquency in various ways such as producing unstable habits and personalities. This is rooted in inadequate socializing due to isolation from conventional social order that is responsible for shaping a child's behaviour. Broken homes produce stress and conflict that could lead to acting out behaviour. Children growing up in broken homes often have fewer resources and opportunities thus leaving them disadvantaged in competing for education and employment (Conklin, 2001: 241). Juby and Farrington (2001:25) concur with Conklin and add that the greater the instability within a family the more damaging the effects thereof on the family members, especially on children going through various life course stages. The researcher came to the conclusion that crime is not caused by broken families but by the adverse circumstances associated with,

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and caused by, the breaking up of the families. This aspect will be explored in more detail in this chapter (see point 3.3).

Research indicated that there is a strong relation between delinquency and children's early separation from parents (Conklin, 2001:242). It was found that children's prolonged separation from parents, especially from the mother, during early years (first five years of life) has an impact on the child's ability to develop feelings and empathy and form meaningful relationships with peers and adults. These characteristics can be associated with crime and delinquency (compare Juby & Farrington, 2001:24 and The Commission on Behavioural and Social Science and Education (CBSSE), 1995).

Research by the CBSSE (1995) indicated that there is a direct association between poverty and family structure. In the book "Losing Generation: Adolescents in High-Risk Settings" it is indicated that single-parent families are more likely to live in poverty (CBSSE, 1995). In contrast two wage earning families on average has an income that is three times higher than families with a one wage income (CBSSE, 1995:44). Wilson and Petersilia (1995:133) indicated that even though in itself poverty is not a major cause of crime it could be stated that there is a risk that relatively poor people can turn to crime as an economic or psychological escape. In conclusion, children growing up in a single parent family are at a disadvantage, regardless of income. It can

further be assumed that if poverty is added to this equation, children growing up in these circumstances are in double jeopardy due to the added risk (CBSSE, 1995:49). The researcher is of the opinion that a hiatus exists insofar that both absent parents and poverty acts as risk predictors for criminal causation. As mentioned previously it is difficult to determine if a risk factor is the symptom or probable cause of offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:383). It is therefore of importance to take note of both these factors as possible contributing factors in the criminal behavioural process.

Regarding family structure and composition research further indicated that middle children are more likely to exhibit delinquent behaviour (Siegel & Senna, 2000:284). This is based on the preposition that first born children receive the majority of the parents' attention. The last-born children in turn benefit from parental experience as well as the presence of older siblings that can serve as role models (compare Siegel & Senna, 2000:284 and Bartollas, 1997:233). Hirschi is of the opinion that family size rather than birth position can be associated with delinquency (Bartollas, 1997:233). He based his opinion on research that indicated that members of larger families are more prone to delinquency than those in smaller families. Children in large families are often characterised by relatively limited supervision. This can be ascribed to the limited time and discipline parents can give to individual children due to the size of the family (Siegel &

Senna, 2000:284). In both cases the reason for the findings can be associated with family functioning and roles associated with the socialization process of a child. These aspects will be discussed later on in this chapter (confer point 3.3).

Research indicated that children growing up in families where one parent died were better of than children who grew up in families disrupted by divorce. Parental absence was, per se, not identified as cause of antisocial behaviour. It was furthermore found that remarriage did not mitigate the effects of divorce. Children growing up in merged families had considerably more problems than children growing up with both biological parents (compare Juby & Farrington, 2001:24, 37 and Siegel & Senna, 2000:283).

It can therefore be concluded that family structure and composition cannot be linked directly to criminal causation but rather act as predisposing factors that could be associated with a higher risk of criminality.

3.3.3 **Family functioning as risk factor for criminal causation**

In relation to family functioning, criminal risk factors can be associated with the interpersonal relationships, functioning and socialization within the family. In this respect Siegel & Senna (2000:278) identified four broad categories that could be associated with delinquency, namely

- marital conflict and break-up;

- inter-familial and interpersonal conflict;
- parental neglect and insensitivity towards emotional needs; and
- parental deviance evolving in the deviant socialization of children.

According to Cummings & Davies (2002:35) conflict within a family can be divided in child-related and non-child related conflict as well as marital and parent-child conflict. The researcher came to the conclusion that even though Siegel and Senna (2000:278) refers to marital and familial conflict as two separate categories they are intertwined and often bound in a reciprocal behavioural pattern. Therefore for the purpose of this research study the two categories will be discussed jointly.

Even though marital and interfamilial conflict can be viewed as normal and even unavoidable, a child's perception of the conflict can have a lasting effect. Cummings and Davies (2002:34) postulates that a child's perception of marital and interfamilial conflict is based on a past history of such events as well as current conflict related stimuli. They further state that these perceptions emanate from the child's cognitive appraisal of the situation, emotional reaction towards the situation and their behavioural coping skills. In essence children will evaluate the effect of marital and interfamilial conflict against the meaning thereof for themselves and their family (Cummings & Davies, 2002:35).

Different forms of marital and interfamilial conflict have different effects on children. These effects can range from negative, benign to even positive. Interfamilial behaviour that was identified as being negative or destructive includes inter-parental aggression or violence. This is inclusive of verbal aggression and hostility as well as aggression towards objects. Non-verbal conflict such as parental withdrawal, conflict involving threats to the intactness of the family (e.g. threats of leaving), and conflict regarding child-related themes were also found to have a negative influence on children (Cummings & Davies, 2002:35). Siegel and Senna (2000:282) are of the opinion that children growing up in an environment of discord and conflict often exhibit aggressive delinquent behaviour, having learned at a young age that aggression has pay offs. Maguire *et al*. (1997:387) concur that parental aggressiveness and conflict were strongly associated with violent offending by their children.

Children exposed to marital and familial conflicts are behaviourally affected on emotional, physiological and social levels. This often results in externalised disorders (conduct problems) as well as internalised disorders (anxiety and depression). The child experiences a lack of emotional security resulting in a negative and hostile family representation. This in turn affects children's adjustment and ability to form interpersonal relationships on all

levels (compare Cummings & Davies, 2001:41-44 and Siegel & Senna, 2000:282,283).

Emery's three ways model, as quoted in Cummings & Davies (2001:43), gives an indication of the long-term consequences that chronic exposure to marital conflict has on children. The adverse effect of marital conflict produces distress in children resulting in acting out behaviour. Acting out behaviour is characterised by aggression and temper tantrums and is in turn often aimed at distracting the parents from their dispute, leading to a reduction in the child's exposure to negative stimuli. This becomes a repetitive behaviour pattern whereby the child's acting out becomes persistently more destructive. Through constant reinforcement an escalation in the severity of the behaviour takes place, evolving in a broader pattern of behavioural problems (Cummings & Davies, 2001:43). Siegel and Senna (2000:283) concur, adding that parents with "out of control" children often tend to give in to the children's demands in order to avoid an escalation in aggressive acting out behaviour. Giving in to demands also alleviate the parent's own discomfort.

The child's symptomatic behavioural problems often can be viewed as the primary "problem" within the family system. In this regard the researcher experienced that from a parental point of view, it is a lot easier to blame a child for marital associated family problems than to explore and acknowledge the real causes

thereof. From a theoretical perspective, within this dynamic and reciprocal inter-actionable process associated with marital and familial conflict, children often tend to be labelled as being difficult. This in turn can result in the child developing negative self-cognitions, self- blame and associated behavioural problems. Children develop a negative family representation and pessimistic future perspective (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:213,220; Bartollas, 1997:184 and Conklin, 1995:314). Unknowingly, and often unintentionally, children are drawn into this process, and sadly their life course development and social functioning often become attributes of the adverse effects of marital and familial conflict. Siegel and Senna (2000:283) refers to this behavioural pattern as "… an endless cycle of family stress and delinquency".

The second familial criminal risk factor identified by Siegel and Senna (2000:278) is parental neglect and insensitivity towards a child's emotional needs. Parental neglect is associated with, and is inclusive of, child abuse and is often associated deprivation of the child's emotional needs. Bartollas (1997:236) concurs stating that child abuse are usually divided into three areas namely neglect, physical and emotional abuse and sexual abuse. Child abuse is rooted in a behavioural pattern and seldom consists of a single act of abuse or neglect (compare Siegel and Senna, 2000:288 and Bartollas, 1997:236). Farrington is of the opinion that there is an intergenerational continuation of behavioural patterns associated with child abuse and interfamilial conflict (Maguire *et al.*,

1997:389). In this regard research indicated that children raised in a family environment where abuse and conflict are present tend to have poor relationships with their partners and children. These relationships often end in separation. Family violence tends to form part of the relationship dynamics. Abuse, neglect and emotional deprivation, similarly to interfamilial conflict, encourages children to utilize aggression as a coping and problem solving mechanism. It further has a negative impact on a child's ability to form meaningful interpersonal relationships (Siegel & Senna, 2000:306). The inability to form interpersonal relationships can result in a weakened bond with society that, according to the social control theory, can open up opportunities to become involved in crime (Conklin, 1995:218).

The last interfamilial criminal risk factor identified by Siegel and Senna (2000:278) is parental deviancy and deviant socialization. Research indicated that twice as many sons of convicted parents are themselves convicted (Maguire, *et al.*, 1997:389). Farrington as quoted in Maguire, *et al.* (1997:390) indicated that the juvenile record of parents and children tend to be similar regarding offending rate and the type of offence. He ascribes this to genetic factors as well as adverse parental socialization associated with erratic discipline, poor supervision, parental conflict and criminal or anti-social parental role models.

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As stated previously early parental socialization has a lifelong influence on a child. This could play an important role in the causation or prevention of criminal behaviour (compare Siegel & Senna, 2000: 165 and Conklin, 1995:226). Conklin (2001:152) defines socialization as nurturance, discipline or training of a child.

Exploring the literature on socialization the researcher came to the conclusion that a parent's role in the socialization process of a child revolves around monitoring of behaviour, psychological presence, disciplining of unacceptable behaviour and the reinforcing of pro-social behaviour. In this regard Conklin (2001:230) postulates that it is not always critical that the parents should be physically present to supervise behaviour, but rather psychologically present. Being psychologically present literally implies that a child will consciously or unconsciously evaluate behaviour against their parents' opinion of that particular act. Therefore a child whose parents condemn criminal behaviour is less likely to commit crime based on their disapproval of crime. Wright and Cullen (2001:679) is of the opinion that psychological presence also implies parental control where a parent makes an explicit effort to monitor children's behaviour and act upon misbehaviour. The constant monitoring of behaviour in turn breeds self control within children. The emphasis of social control therefore clearly falls on the monitoring of behaviour and the punishment of anti-social or unacceptable behaviour.

In their research Wright and Cullen (2001:679) explored an alternative perspective to social control, namely that of parental social support. Social support can be associated with parental emotional support that is an instrumental resource for coping with everyday life events. As with social control, social support also acts as protective factor against delinquency. Their research further indicated that social support tends to promote pro-social behaviour and can be associated with the assimilation of moral values, motives and social skills. Social support furthermore assists with the building and maintaining of affective attachment between children and parents (Wright & Cullen, 2001:680). Research done by Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber as quoted in Wright & Cullen (2001:680) indicated that there is a strong relation between a lack of parental support and delinquent behaviour.

In conclusion Wright and Cullen (2001:695) emphasize the intertwined nature of social support and control based on the belief that both social support and control can be viewed as a worthwhile investment of parental time.

The researcher concurs with Wright and Cullen but would like to highlight the importance of the presence of both social control and support in the socialization of a child (compare point 3.2.6). The researcher experienced in her work environment that in some instances parents would solely focus on social control. The

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emphasis is then only placed on the monitoring and rectifying of negative behaviour. In this instance, discipline without emotional support can lead to feelings of rejection. On the other hand social support (emotional parental involvement) without social control (discipline) can lead to inadequate self-control by a child. Therefore it is important not to take it for granted that social control is automatically associated with social support. The emphasis should be on a balanced approach whereby both social control and support is incorporated to act as protection against delinquency.

Toby as quoted by Conklin (2001:238) is of the opinion that socialization will reduce criminal behaviour if:

- parents clearly define their expectations of children;
- there is a close parent-child relationship;
- parents control their reaction towards their children's rebellious behaviour; and
- parents reinforce the learning of pro-social behaviour and discipline the failure to learn acceptable behaviour.

All of the mentioned aspects have been discussed with the exception of discipline, which will subsequently be discussed.

Barkan (1997:204) is of the opinion that it is important to identify the most effective type of discipline. For the purpose of the research study the researcher evaluated the Brown and Barkan

(2001) discipline styles in relation to Wright and Cullen's (2001) research on social control and support, which is reflected in Table 4.

Table 4 : Evaluation of Barkan and Brown's disciplinary styles

Discipline styles		Evaluation of disciplinary styles
Barkan	**Brown**	**Wright and Cullen**
Punitive discipline Harsh rules, frequent spanking for often trivial offences	**Authoritarian discipline** Tight control with cold and detached parental attitude	Social control without social support, lacking meaningful child-parent relationship
Lax or permissive discipline Few rules allowing children to do what they want	**Permissive discipline** Nurturing and encouragement without any control. Children often lax self control.	Social support without social control can cause a lack of emotional security and self-control. This can be strongly linked with delinquency
Barkan	**Brown**	**Wright and Cullen**
Erratic discipline Inconsistent discipline switching between punitive and permissive		This leads to confusion. Neither social control nor support is fully implemented. Feeling of disillusion and rejection may be experienced.
Firm but fair discipline Assertive but not overbearing discipline leaving room for autonomy	**Authoritative discipline** High degree of control with a great amount of support and encouragement	Balance between social control and social support.

(Source: Brown, 2001:239; Barkan, 1997:204-205 and Wright & Cullen, 2001:679).

It is apparent that the most effective disciplinary style is based on a combination between social control and social support. By making use of the firm but fair or authoritative disciplinary style, the learning of pro-social behavioural patterns, values and norms are accomplished. The researcher is of the opinion that an effective disciplinary style is a reflection of parents' socialization competencies and abilities.

In this regard Wilson and Petersilia (1995: 128, 129) came to the conclusion that in order to prevent criminal behaviour parents should:

- restrict children's activities and maintain physical surveillance by knowing their whereabouts;
- reduce crime by protecting their home and the occupants thereof against physical, emotional and material harm; and
- act as probation or parole agencies willing to guarantee their member's good conduct.

In conclusion, regarding familial risk factors associated with criminal causation, it is apparent that stable factors, such as perinatal risk factors and the family structure and composition, could create the predisposition for criminal behaviour. The dynamic factors, including interfamilial conflict, abuse and ineffective socialization, could act as triggers and will determine the type and extend of the criminal behaviour. Socialization can

also be viewed as the extension of a person's abilities to associate and interact with systems in the broader community.

3.4 COMMUNITY ASSOCIATED CRIMINAL RISK FACTORS

Brown (2001:258) postulates that opportunities to learn how to commit crime can be associated with the social disorganisation of a community. This occurs due to the breakdown of social control among traditional primary community groups such as the family (Bartollas, 1997:131). Research indicated that offenders tend to come from what Bartholas and Miller (1998:121) refer to as toxic neighbourhoods. These communities are characterized by poverty, unemployment and adhering to delinquent values and traditions. A general culture that promotes crime exists within these communities (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:121 and Bartollas, 1997:131-133). An example thereof is a community where male aggression and dominance (machismo) is the accepted norm. Such a community will often be associated with a higher percentage of rapes and crimes associated with violence against woman. Based on this male dominated environment the general culture will inevitably condone such acts (Brown, 2001:259).

Socially disorganised communities create an environment where juveniles can interact and learn from adult offenders. Adult criminals also often act as role models for these youths (Brown, 2001:258). Through this association and the association with other

delinquent peers, delinquent behaviour tends to become an alternative mode of socialization (Hill, 2002:135).

Next to the family, peers are one of the most influential agents that can have an effect on pro-social or delinquent socialization (compare Brown, 2001:258 and Bartollas & Miller, 1998:120). School often creates the opportunity to come in touch with other delinquent peers. Bartollas and Miller (1998:118) are of the opinion that schools are increasingly being acknowledged as an arena for youth crimes. They attribute this to peer group influence stating that, not surprising, much of youth crimes are committed in groups. Research found that offenders indicated that the motive for committing crime at a young age was for thrills and because of peer influence (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:382). Research further indicated that it was noticeable that children with a history of delinquent behaviour tend to go to schools known for their high delinquency rate. The opposite was found in the case of non-delinquent youths (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:392). Farrington ascribes this to parental involvement stating that parents who are interested in their children's education inevitably will enrol them in the school with a low delinquency rate (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:329).

In relation to co-offending relationships research indicated that these relationships tended not to persist (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:381). The researcher ascribes this to the general inability of the offender to form meaningful social relationships.

In conclusion it can be stated that the community can create an environment that can adhere to, and promote either pro-criminal or pro-social values. However, a toxic community is one risk factor that in association with other factors could contribute to delinquency.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter focussed on the importance and role of both genetic (hereditary) and environmental factors in the shaping of the personality and criminal causation. In order to explore criminal causation, risk factors were divided into three categories, namely individual, family and community-based factors.

In relation to individual risk factors the link between genetic and hereditary factors and criminal causation was clearly indicated. It was concluded that socialization was learned behaviour that is based on pro-social or pro-criminal influences from meaningful systems within society. A direct link between criminality and alcohol and drug abuse were established in relation to individual risk factors for criminal causation.

Regarding familial risk factors associated with criminal causation it was apparent that stable factors could create a predisposition for criminal behaviour. The dynamic factors in turn could act as trigger that will determine the type and extend of the criminal

behaviour. Socialization can also be viewed as the extension of a person's abilities to associate and interact with systems in the broader community.

Lastly, the community can create an environment that can adhere to, and promote either pro-criminal or pro-social values. Communities that adhere to pro-criminal values act as risk factor for criminal causation.

In relation to all the mentioned risk factors it should be taken into consideration that a single risk factor can act as a risk predictor but that various risk factors in association with one another could more likely contribute to the causation of a criminal and recidivistic lifestyle.

CHAPTER 4

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RECIDIVISM AND CRIME

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to interpret and contextualise crime and recidivism from a theoretical perspective. Due to the complexity of the concept recidivism the researcher came to the conclusion that to focus on only one theory will be inadequate. An eclectic approach whereby various complementary theories were integrated was therefore followed. The theories that were explored were behaviourism, the social process theories, the labelling theory and the coping and relapse theory.

The behaviourism theory was used as a point of departure. This theory explains crime from a cause-and-effect perspective whereby the assumption is followed that the causes of criminal behaviour lie within society. The environment is viewed as the key determinant in the formation of a person's behaviour. A person's personality is moulded through past and present life experiences through a socialization process within the environment. Learning forms the essence of this developmental process.

The social process theory can be divided into three sub-theories namely the learning, control and developmental theories. Through the literature study the researcher came to

the conclusion that behaviouristic principals are integrated within these theories. These theories explore crime and delinquency from a perspective whereby the cause of criminal behaviour is searched for within a person's life course development. Attention is also given to everyday interaction with the environment and society.

In contrast with the previous theories the labelling theory focuses on consequences of stigmatisation as causation of repeat offending. The emphasis therefore falls on the criminal career, rather on the prediction of the onset thereof. The theory furthermore emphasizes the role of society in the attachment as well as maintaining of a label and the role this plays in relation to offending.

Lastly, the researcher focuses on the coping and relapse theory. The theory analyses the process associated with relapse into repeat criminal behaviour. From the coping and relapse theory a recidivism process model was formulated. In contrast with the behavioural and social process theories the coping and relapse theory emphasise the individual's personality traits, and more specifically coping skills as causative factor of crime and recidivism.

The researcher is of the opinion that a hiatus exists in the theories explored in this study. She argues that the various theories focus on individual aspects of recidivism, for instance the relationship between learning and recidivism, or the

offender's coping skills versus recidivism. By creating an integrated, holistic model on recidivism the researcher aims to address this gap. The model reflects the assimilation and integration of information as discussed in Chapter 2 and 3 of this research report as well as the researcher's experience in working with recidivists.

As point of departure the respective theories underpinning recidivism will be discussed.

4.2 BEHAVIORISM

John B. Watson is the founder of the behaviouristic approach. He stated that psychology is not a science of the mind but of behaviour (Goodwin, 1999:319; Staddon, 1993:11 and Nye, 1992:48). His peers viewed Watson as an extreme environmentalist. He was known for his controversial and extreme statements and thoughts. Even though the most famous of these statements was over emphasized, his view on hereditary traits is regularly featured in the introduction of psychology textbooks, namely:

> "Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select – doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, even beggar-man and thief regardless if his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors" (Goodwin, 1999:316-317).

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Further critique against Watson's work was based on the fact that his research was mostly limited to animals and conducted within a laboratory setting (Nye, 1992:48 and Swenson, 1980:35). Even though Watsonian behaviourism was a failure, as most of his proclamations could not empirically be justified, it succeeded in effectively bridging the gap between basic and applied psychology (Goodwin, 1999:318).

Burrhus F. Skinner, Watson's successor, shared his strong advocacy for a behavioural approach but felt that his extreme statements created the wrong impression of behaviourism (Nye, 1992:49 and Staddon, 1993:16). Building on Watson's work Skinner, together with various other behaviourists, among others Tolman and Hull, extended behaviourism to address real world problems. Problems that were addressed by them included education, therapy, aggression and crime (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1981:3 and Goodwin, 1999:326 - 350).

In a nutshell the behaviouristic approach strives to "…discover(ing) functional relations (or, informally expressed, "cause-and-effect connections") between environmental conditions and behavior" (Nye, 1992:49). In this sense the theory is applicable for this research study. It is relevant because the theory's emphasis is placed on the role that social and physical conditions within the environment plays in determining behaviour and in this instance criminal behaviour. The influence of the environment extends to internal behaviour (thinking and feeling) as well as external actions. Baldwin and

Baldwin (1981:4) refer to this aspect as the interaction of "nature" and "nurture". *Nature*, as stated in Chapter 3 refers to hereditary predispositions while *nurture* in turn focuses on the influence of the environment on human behaviour. From a behaviouristic perspective the external environment is viewed as the key determinant of a person's behaviour rather than internal mental events (compare Hjelle & Ziegler, 1992:294 and Siegel & Senna, 2000:105).

The effect that exposure to various events during a person's life span has on behaviour is of critical importance, for these exposures or relationships will give an account of a person's functioning. The typical social background associated with chronic offenders, as mentioned in Chapter 2, attest to the influence that the environment can have on the causation of criminal behaviour. In this respect Skinner stated, " In a behavioural analysis, a person is an organism … which has acquired a repertoire of behavior… He is not an originating agent; he is a locus, a point in which many genetic and environmental conditions come together in a joint effect. As such, he remains unquestionably unique" (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1992:301). A person's personality therefore can be viewed as the organisation of unique behaviour equipment required under the special conditions of his development (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1988:191).

Learning is the essence of this developmental process. It governs the formulation of personality and regulates the

functional relationship between environment and behaviour. It can be stated that a person's personality is "…learned throughout life during interaction with others" (Siegel & Senna, 2000:105). Radical or Skinarian behaviourism made use of two categories of behaviour to explain the process of learning, namely respondent and operant conditioning. Respondent conditioning is based on the Pavlovian model where the behaviour comprises of a reflexive-type of response resulting from a preceding stimulus. Reaction to the stimulus is reflexive, for example the blinking of a person's eyes if a puff of air is blown into their face. Respondent behaviour becomes learned behaviour if a reflexive response following a neutral stimulus becomes conditioned behaviour. An example of conditioned behaviour is for instance a once off painful experience at a dentist, which results in a fear of all dentists (compare Goodwin, 1999: 350, Staddon, and 1993:13 and Nye, 1992:54).

Operant conditioning is based on the cause-and-effect principal where " …a behavior occurs, (is) followed by some consequences, and its future chance of occurring are determined by those consequences" (Goodwin, 1999:350). Therefore the nature of the consequence (acquired skill) will determine if the behaviour is repeated in the future. An example of operant conditioning is the playing of a piano, riding of a bicycle or even reading and writing, where the consequences are based on voluntary learned responses (compare Baldwin & Baldwin, 1998:41; Staddon, 1993:31 and Hjelle & Ziegler, 1992:304). Baldwin and Baldwin (1998:41) refer to this as the law of effect stating that

"(A)cording to the law of effect, behaviour that produces good effects tends to become more frequent over time; behavior that produces bad effects tends to become less frequent". These principles are better known as reinforcement and punishment.

Reinforcement pertains to the response where learning or strengthening of behaviour takes place through a process of repetition. Reinforcement can be divided in positive and negative reinforcement. Both positive and negative reinforcement increase the frequency of behaviour through different means. Positive reinforcement is based on the positive or favourable response as the result of specific behaviour, for example, working in order to receive a salary. In contrast, negative reinforcement involves the removal or termination of an aversive or negative stimulus. This results in an escape response where a person "gets away" from the aversive or negative stimulus. An example thereof is when a person drives within the speed limit in order to avoid a fine (compare Goodwin, 1999:350-352; Staddon, 1993:42 and Nye, 1992:58-61).

In contrast with reinforcement the aim of punishment is to suppress or decrease the frequency of behaviour. Punishment can also be divided into positive and negative punishment where positive punishment's outcome leads to an addition of an aversive stimulus, for instance the spanking or scolding of a child for misbehaving. Negative punishment occurs whenever

behaviour is followed by the removal or subtraction of a presumed positive stimulus or reward. As an example time-out procedure, or suspension of privileges can be mentioned. Punishment is most effective if it immediately follows the targeted behaviour and is not opposed by reinforcement (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1998: 62 – 71).

The effectiveness of punishment in the reduction of negative behaviour is the subject of continues debate. One of the characteristics of the recidivist is that they do not learn from previous punishment but persist with criminal behaviour. In this respect Skinner's opinion is that the punished behaviour is likely to re-appear after the punitive contingencies are withdrawn. This phenomenon is known as suppression. It occurs when the negative behaviour temporarily ceases in order to avoid punishment. A further problem with punishment, according to Skinner is the possibility of "counter attack". This often results from an attempt to fight the aversive control (Staddon, 1993:69, Nye, 1992:61). Skinner advocates the use of positive reinforcement in behaviour modification (Goodwin, 1999:353).

In conclusion it can be stated that the cause- and-effect explanation of human behaviour is of importance for this study as it emphasises the reciprocal interaction associated with the recidivism process. The exploration of criminal behaviour as learned behaviour furthermore creates insight into the

dynamics of the recidivism process. This aspect will be discussed more comprehensively in the learning theory.

4.3 SOCIAL PROCESS THEORIES

The social process theories are grounded in the basic assumptions as mentioned in the behaviouristic theory. These theories aim to examine the relationship between socialization and delinquent behaviour. The theoretical point of departure is that transgressors of the law's behaviour are formed through socialization within an environment. Offenders differ from law-abiding citizens in so far that they do not conform to acceptable behaviour within conventional society (Siegel & Senna, 2000:166). The social process theories further emphasise that crime is not limited to lower social classes but manifest on all social levels.

The social process perspective comprises of three main theories, namely the learning, control and developmental theories. Siegal and Senna (2000:167) maintain that these theories share similar basic principals even though criminal behaviour is viewed from different perspectives. The researcher is of the opinion that the interconnection between these theories and the behaviouristic theory can be depicted as follows:

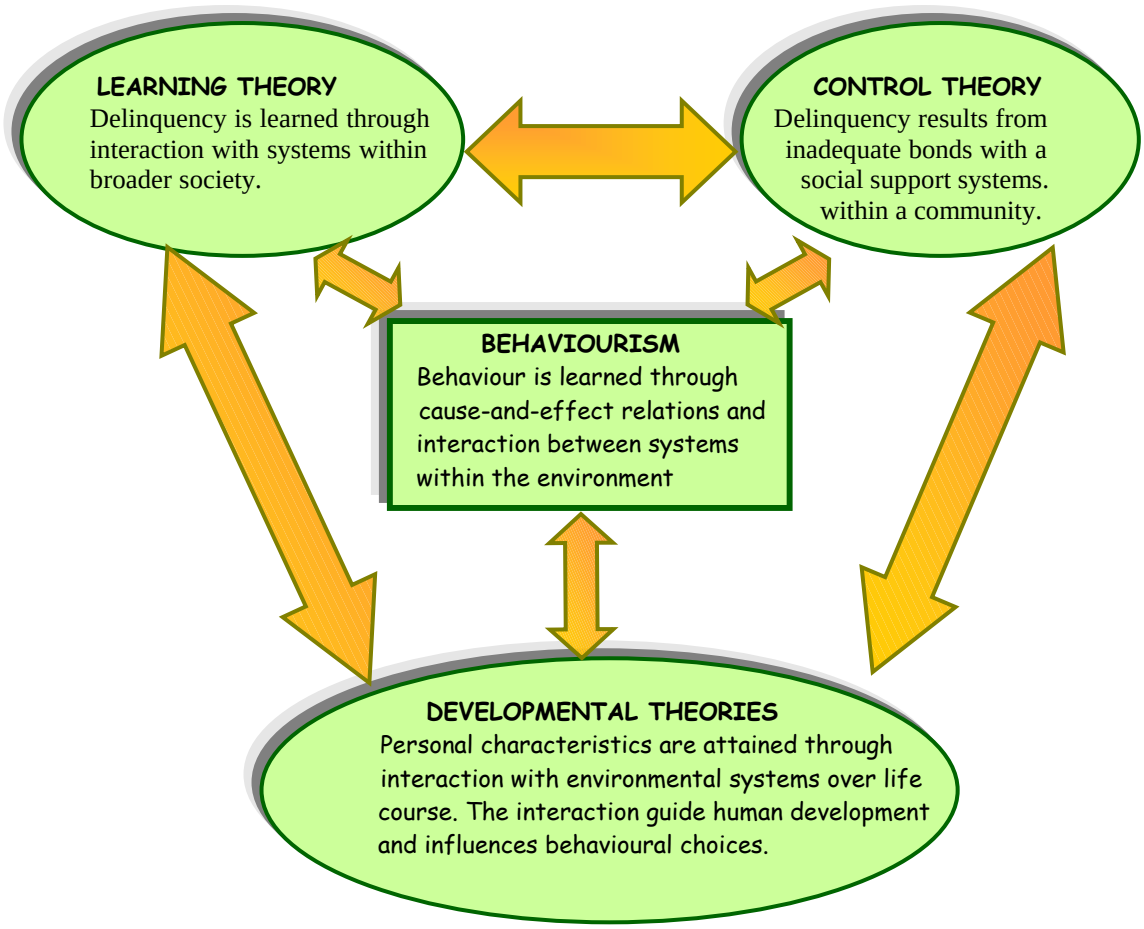

Figure 4: The reciprocal interconnected relation between the behaviouristic, learning, control and developmental theories.

The learning, control and developmental theories are grounded in behaviourism insofar that the cause and effect relationship between crime and the environment are emphasised. Notwithstanding the interconnectedness between the social process theories and behaviourism, each theory focuses on another factor that could be associated with criminal causation. In order to attempt to develop further insight into causative factors of crime each of the social process theories will subsequently be discussed.

4.3.1 Learning theory (Differential association theory)

Edwin H. Sutherland is the father of the learning theory. In 1939 he presented a thesis on criminality as learned behaviour. He posits that crime is "…learned through a process of association with others who communicate criminal values and who may advocate the commission of crime" (Schmallenger, 1996:244). The commencing of a criminal career, as discussed previously, is largely based on learned behaviour through association with systems in society that adhere to pro-criminal values.

Sutherland's theory on differential association or learning is based on nine propositions namely:

Proposition 1

Criminal behaviour is learned behaviour

It is acquired through a learning process similarly as in learning to ride a bicycle or reading. The assumption is therefore that criminal behaviour is a learned and not an inherited trait (compare Moyer, 2001:122; Siegel & Senna, 2001:168 and Bartollas, 1997:164).

Proposition 2

Criminal behaviour is learned through interaction with other persons by means of a communication process

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Sutherland views learning as an active process and in this respect claimes that "An individual does not become a delinquent simply by living passively in a high-crime environment" (Siegel & Senna, 2000:168). It can therefore be viewed as an active process whereby individuals within society act as teachers and guides in acquiring criminal skills. According to Sutherland this process cannot appear spontaneously but takes place within a group by means of verbal as well as non-verbal communication (compare Siegel & Senna, 2000:169 and Bartollas, 1997:165).

In contrast with Sutherland, Baldwin and Baldwin (1998:8) postulate that "(E)very type of learning we have can be placed on a continuum from unplanned to planned; and mixtures of the two are more common than the pure types at either end of the continuum". Learning is divided into natural (unplanned) and planned learning. Natural learning refers to learning by being exposed to everyday events and interactions with the environment and systems within society. This type of learning takes place without the cognisance of the learner, for example a child learning to share due to the natural reward of positive social gratification. In the case of criminal behaviour the "easy money" can act as incentive, motivating the learning of skills beneficial to crime.

Planned learning on the other hand involves verbal guidance by a person playing the role of a teacher and is thereby an active process (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1998:8 – 11). Fundamentally,

applying Baldwin and Baldwin's principals, criminal behaviour can be learned either through an active learning process or unknowingly through interaction with systems adhering to criminal ethics and norms.

Aspects highlighted within this proposition are that the learning is a process, within a group, whereby criminal behaviour is actively learned through verbal or non-verbal communication. In this respect the researcher concurs with both Sutherland and Baldwin and Baldwin's (1998) points of view. She is further of the opinion that learning of criminal behaviour can be viewed as being part of a socialization process. The process does not only include verbal teaching of criminal values or knowledge but also the non-verbal learning of the criminal culture and behaviour patterns.

Proposition 3

The fundamental part of the learning of criminal behaviour takes place within intimate groups

Groups, among others family, friends and peers have a powerful influence on the learning of criminal behaviour and attitudes. Siegel & Senna (2000:169) is of the opinion that "Relationships with these individuals can color and control the interpretation of everyday events, helping youths to overcome social controls and embrace delinquent values and behavior".

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From her experience, working as a social worker within the Department of Corrections, the researcher concurs with Siegel and Senna's (2000:169) views and contend that this behaviour is not only limited to juvenile delinquents but to all criminal offenders. Prison gangs can be mentioned as an example of an influential group within which criminal values are taught. Within a prison environment, gangs, especially in the absence of stable support systems, will take the place of other intimate personal groups. The result thereof is that a person subsequently drawn into this group will conform to "acceptable" behaviour within this group.

Proposition 4

Learned criminal behaviour includes techniques of committing a crime as well as "…direction of motive, drives, rationalization, and attitudes" (Brown *et al.*, 1998:306)

The learning process of criminal behaviour therefore not only includes the learning of techniques, but as stated previously, also behaviour patterns and a criminal culture.

Proposition 5

The motive and drive for committing an offence is learned based on the definition of legal codes as being favourable or unfavourable

Within a diverse society, systems have varied views of social rules and laws. Notwithstanding these views, most systems will

conform to universal rules and laws. The exception can be found in systems adhering to delinquent rules. When a person is subjected to or socialized within these delinquent rules it results in conflict leading to confusion between what is right and wrong (compare Siegel & Senna, 2000:169; Brown *et al.*, 1998:306 and Bartollas, 1997:163). Social rules are perceived as being unfavourable and criminal codes as favourable.

Proposition 6

A person becomes delinquent if the motivation is stronger to break, than uphold the law

Fundamentally this proposition expresses the basic principal of the learning or differential association theory, namely that a person becomes delinquent due to his or her involvement with delinquent groups, peers or events. The absence of counteracting forces that promotes conventional and conforming behaviour promotes delinquency (compare Wright *et al.,* 2001:341; Siegel & Senna, 2000:169 and Bartollas, 1997:166).

Proposition 7

The learning of criminal behaviour is influenced by the frequency, duration, priority and/or intensity of the contact with criminal socializing agents

The impact that adverse groups or peers have on a person will depend on:

- the frequency of the social contacts;
- the length of the period of time over which the contact takes place;
- the age at which a person experiences these contacts; and
- the intensity of these social interactions (Bartollas, 1997:166).

Proposition 8

The process of learning criminal behaviour involves all the mechanisms associated with conventional learning

The learning process is therefore inclusive of interaction with and socialization by offenders in criminal behaviour patterns (Siegel & Senna, 2000:170 and Bartollas, 1997:166).

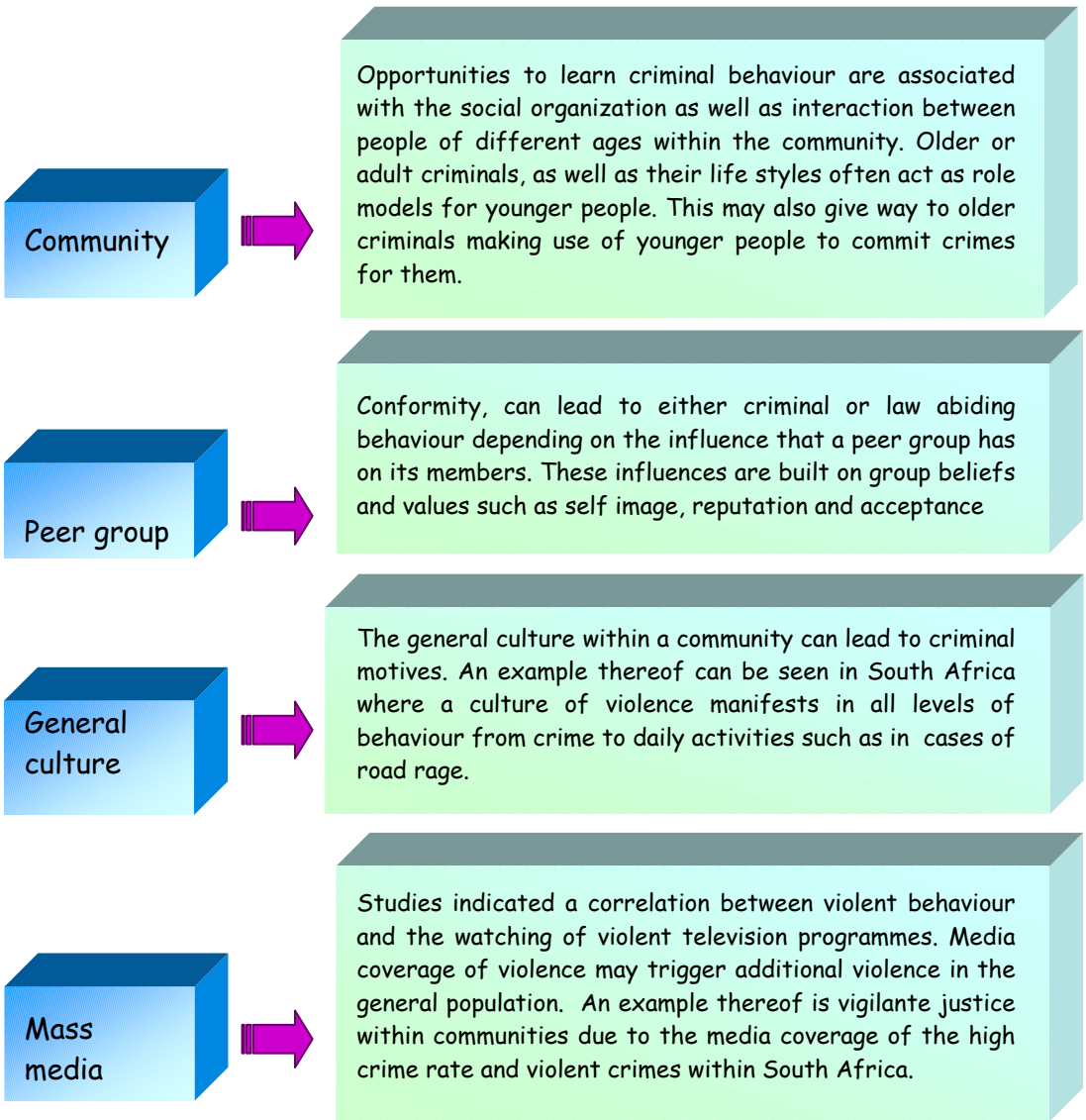
Proposition 9

Even though criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values it cannot be used to explain those general needs and values, since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values

Sutherland as quoted by Siegel and Senna (2000:170) maintains that motives for criminal and non-criminal behaviour cannot be the same. The motivation for crime can therefore not be factors such as accumulation of wealth, personal frustration or social status. It is argued that these needs can be fulfilled

through non-criminal behaviour such as getting a better education (Siegel and Senna, 2000:170).

From the above propositions it can be assumed that crime is acquired behaviour, learned through a process of interaction and socialization within influential groups. Conklin (1995: 246 – 255) identifies the following groups as possible facilitators in this learned process namely:



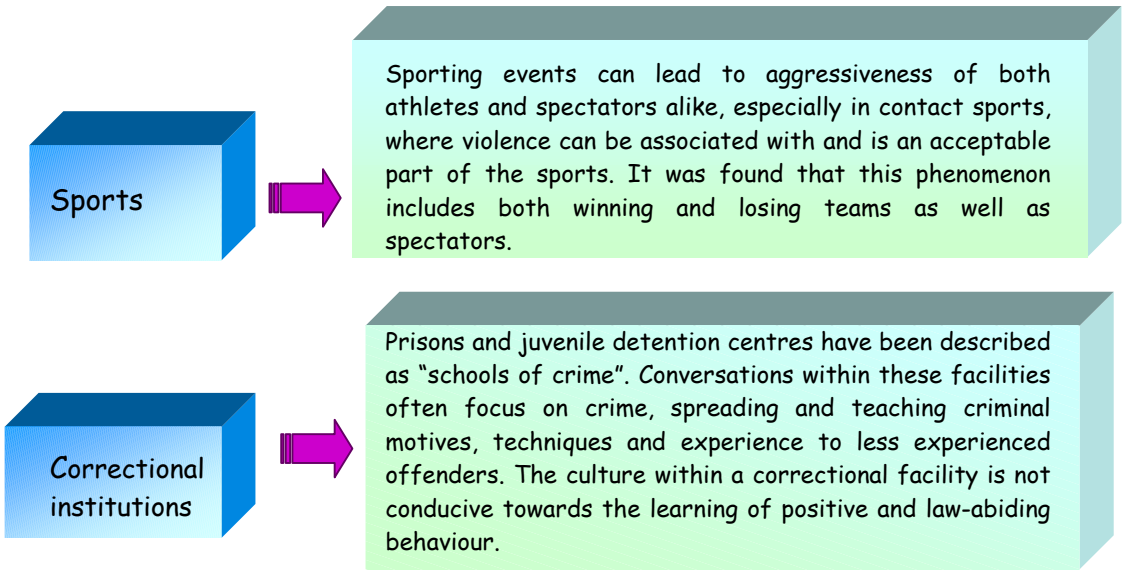


Figure 5: Systems in society that can be associated with criminal causation (Source Conklin, 1995:246 – 255 as adapted by researcher)

In evaluation of the learning theory it can be stated that the most distinct critique against the theory is that it alone is not sufficient to explain causation of crime. The question still remains why only specific individuals adhere to criminal values and behaviour patterns? The theory therefore falls short in addressing the concept of free choice. Further criticism of the theory is that it describes how a person initially becomes involved in crime but lacks an explanation for the continuation of his/her criminal career. Despite its critics, the theory still fulfils an important role in so far as it provides a consistent explanation of all types of criminal behaviour through all levels of society (compare Hesselink-Louw, 2001:116-117; Siegel & Senna, 2000:171-172; Brown, 1998:309-310; Bartollas, 1997:166-171; Schmallenger, 1996:245 and Conklin, 1995:257).

4.3.2 **Control theory**

Travis Hirschi developed the control theory in 1969. The theory is based on the assumption that "people who engage in delinquency are free of intimate attachments, aspirations and moral beliefs that bind them to a conventional and law-abiding life" (Conklin, 1995:218). In essence the control theory postulates that many forms of delinquent behaviour such as drugs or alcohol abuse, sexual promiscuity, crime and violence are made attractive by the media. Opportunities to become involved in these adverse activities that have a negative influence on a person's social functioning are also readily available within society. It can further be stated that the majority of people have deviant impulses. From the perspective of the control theory it is postulated that only people with inadequate social support systems will act on these impulses and feel free to violate the law.

The assumption is that the lack of social ties to the community can be associated with a lack of ties to the conventional social order. This creates the opportunity for a person to be influenced by systems not adhering to conventional values and norms. On the other hand, those people with close relationships that bond with meaningful groups within society and who have a positive self-image will be able to resist the lure of deviant or criminal behaviour (Siegel & Senna, 2000:176 and Conklin, 1995:218).

According to McWhirter, Besett-Alasch, Horibata and Gat (2002:70) a lack of social ties often leads to emotions of loneliness. Loneliness can be defined as a distressing emotional condition arising from feelings of rejection and estrangement as well as being misunderstood by others. This is often accompanied by an inability to experience empathy and emotional intimacy. The ability to experience empathy is a fundamental skill that enables a person to anticipate, understand and experience another person's emotional reactions or viewpoints. The inability to experience empathy can lead to rejection by society (McWhirter *et al.*, 2002:70-71). On the contrary, research indicated that an ability to experience empathy enhances a person's sense of being part of a community, which in turn is associated with fewer behavioural problems (Carr & Vandiver, 2001:411). Barlow (1996:474) is of the opinion that a person's bond with society is based on four elements namely attachment, commitment, beliefs and involvement.

Attachment reflects a person's ability to form meaningful relationships with significant people, for example parents, friends and authority figures. These relationships are characterised by feelings of empathy for other people's thoughts (compare Hesselink-Louw, 2001:107; Siegel & Senna, 2000:177 and Barlow, 1996:474-475). Research indicated that attachment to stable support systems, where a stable intimate emotional bond exists, will act as deterrence for deviant behaviour.

Attachment in turn is rooted in commitment towards a relationship (compare Halpern, 2001:236; Wright *et al.* 2001:327; DeJong: 1997:561 and Barlow: 1996:474). The commitment enables a person to determine the value of a relationship in terms of loss or absence thereof. Dejong (1997:564) postulates that the strength of the bond will determine the effect it has on offending. The stronger the bond the less likely a person is to commit crime. The researcher is of the opinion that commitment to a relationship can be illustrated in terms of a scale, whereby the gain or cost of an action is weighed. It becomes a situation of "If I commit crime there is a chance that my family will reject me". In a scenario where a high amount of value is attached to the family relationship it will act as a deterrent for deviant behaviour. In the case of the absence of meaningful family relations, the opposite can take place and a higher value will be placed on the deviant behaviour. Dejong's research supports this indication that individuals with few bonds to society are more likely to recidivate following a period of incarceration (Dejong, 1997:569). It can be concluded that the emphasis should be placed on the strength of, rather than the existence of bonds with society.

Regarding beliefs, Schmallenger (1996:262) stated that a community or group has a common value system that deviants and other persons within a community believe in. The difference between law-abiding people and the deviants lies in

the respect for this value system. In this respect Halpern (2001:236) concurs stating that crime can be seen as being the result of moral decline in society and the disregard for society's norms and laws. Even though perpetrators of the society's norms and laws are aware of these rules, they basically do not care. Calabrese and Adams (1990:435-436) describe it as a form of alienation characterized by the rejection of societies values and norms as well as social organizations. It can therefore be stated that rejection of society's values and norms are based on a chosen emotion or action. In Chapter 2 of this research report typical attitudes of chronic offenders were discussed. In comparison alienation can be viewed as representative of the attitudes that characterizes these offenders.

Involvement in society can be viewed from two perspectives. First, involvement refers to the meaningful participation in daily activities, thus preventing idleness. The rationale behind this argument is that the more active a person is, the less opportunity exists for deviant activities (Siegel & Senna, 2000:179). Secondly, involvement also creates the opportunity for offending as "opportunities for criminal or delinquent activities increase along with opportunities for non-criminal activities" (Barlow: 1996:475). Interaction with the broader community also creates a greater opportunity to be exposed to deviant elements. Association with criminal prone elements may alter a person's perception of their social environment in a way that is more conducive, supportive and even demanding of

criminal behaviour (Wright *et al*. 2001:327). In this regard social trust can determine the respect and conformity to social values and rules. Halpern (2001:237) demonstrates this by stating that if a person perceives him/herself as not being trustworthy, the chance is that he/she will perceive other persons in the same way. Hence, selfish or self-interested actions and values are contrary to pro-social values.

Concepts of the control theory were refined by Travis Hirschi and his colleague Michael Gottfredson and evolved in the general theory of crime. Within the general theory of crime Hirschi emphasized the importance of control in the form of self-discipline that a person is supposed to develop in early life (Brannigan, 1997:404). On a behavioural continuum self-control lies on the one side and impulsivity on the other side. Siegel & Senna (2000:182) postulates that people with limited self-control have impulsive personalities and tend to be "insensitive, physical (rather than intellectual), risk taking, short-sighted, and non-verbal". The offender focuses on "here-and-now" without long-term goals. Crime becomes attractive due to the prospect and provision of instant gratification of needs.

The causes of poor self-control can be traced back to poor parenting skills. The further effects thereof is weakened social bonds, belief system and an inadequate bond with society (Siegel & Senna, 2000:182). Wright *et al*. (2001:340) concur stating that notwithstanding social ties it was found that the persons who display the lowest self-control commit the most

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crime. It was further found that the causal chain, deriving from the reciprocal relationship between social bond and social control, may be "(1) an impulsive personality, (2) poor parenting practices, (3) lack of self-control, (4) the withering of social bonds, (5) increased criminal opportunity, and (6) amplification of deviance and maintenance of a deviant career throughout the life span" (Siegel & Senna, 2000:183).

Critique against the control theory is that if the criminal opportunity is strong and tempting enough, then the incentive of the criminal deed may overcome the preventative power stemming from a person's self-control and social bonds (Siegel & Senna, 2000:184, Brown *et al*. 1998:336).

In conclusion the control theory postulates that the lack of social ties to the community can be associated with a lack of ties to the conventional social order. A lack of social ties can lead to feelings of loneliness that is often accompanied by an inability to experience empathy and emotional intimacy. This could contribute to feelings of insensitivity towards the victim in the criminal offence. Hirschi's general theory of crime further emphasized the importance of control in the form of self-discipline (Siegel & Senna, 2000:184). People with limited self-control have impulsive personalities and tend to focus on the "here-and-now" without long-term goals.

4.3.3 **Developmental perspectives**

Loeber and LeBlanc, as quoted by Brown *et al.* (2001:431), indicated that developmental criminology is a study of "…the development and dynamics of problem behaviors and offending with age" and "…the identification of explanatory or causal factors that predate, or co-occur with, the behavioural development and have an impact on its course". Criminal behaviour is therefore studies from a life-course perspective. In contradiction with the learning and control theory that divide people into two groups, namely offenders and non-offenders, the developmental perspective asks why some law violators sustain and even escalate their antisocial behaviour patters in adulthood? The focus therefore falls on the link between criminal behaviour and life-course development.

In this respect Siegel & Senna (2000:185-186) explains that from birth children are expected to engage in social processes that will determine their future social functioning. From a young age a person is socialized to think and plan for the future. This necessitates a process of acquiring an education for a career as well as the forming of meaningful relationships for purposes of friendship or marital partnership and procreation. These transitions are expected to take place in an orderly chronological fashion commencing at school graduation, entering the occupational market, marriage and having children (Siegel & Senna, 2000:185-186). Due to family, environmental and personal problems some individuals are incapable of completing the process of normal maturation. Disruption in life

transitions is destructive and can promote criminality. The cumulative impact of these disruptions, together with factors influencing behaviour such as family relations, peer relations, vocational achievement and marital relations can sustain criminality from childhood into adulthood (Siegel & Senna, 2000:185-186).

Sampson and Laub's developmental model quoted in Brown *et al.* (2001:434) accentuates life course events as well as acknowledges the importance of these events in determining behavioural patterns. They presume that certain transitions are more important and relevant during specific developmental periods.

The developmental model is based on the social control theory and highlights the importance of both stability and change over a person's life course. From the model Sampson and Laub (Brown et. al., 2001:434-435) derived two hypotheses regarding the influence of relations during life course on the formation of criminal behaviour, namely:

- "childhood antisocial behavior (e.g., juvenile delinquency, conduct disorder, violent temper tantrums) is linked to a wide variety of troublesome adult behaviors, including criminality, general deviance, offences in the military, economic dependency, educational failure, and marital discord. These long-term relationships are posited to occur

independent of traditional variables such as social class background and race/ethnicity".

- "… social bonds to adult institutions of informal social control (e.g. family, education, neighborhood, work) influence criminal behavior over the life course despite an individual's delinquent and antisocial background".

These hypotheses focus on the link between juvenile and adult anti-social and criminal behaviour. Emphasis is also placed on the role that social bonds within society play in the facilitation of criminal behavioural patterns. The developmental model further postulates that even though some individuals have strong social bonds with support systems, as well as with society during childhood, this may change during the life course process leading to criminal involvement. The opposite can also take place where individuals emerging from childhood with weak conventional bonds, may experience positive pro-social contact within a meaningful support system or society resulting in a non-criminal path (Brown et. al., 2001:435). The model therefore gives an explanation for the variation in the initiation, as well as termination of criminal behaviour.

Loeber as quoted by Siegel & Senna (2000:189) identified three paths that during the developmental process may lead to a delinquent career, namely conflict pathway, covert pathway and overt pathway. The pathways can be depicted as follow:

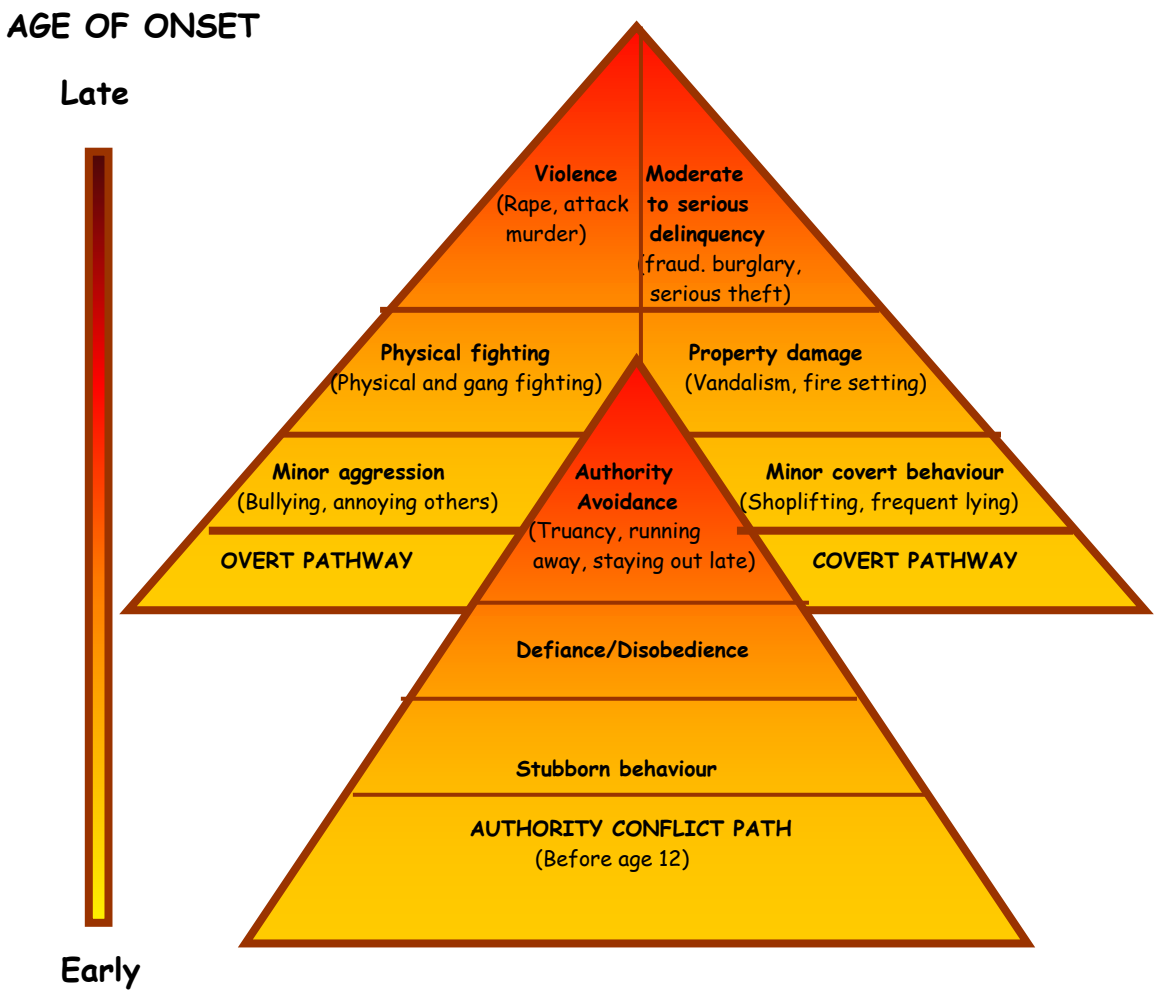

Figure 6: Three pathways to disruptive behaviour and delinquency
(Source: Siegel & Senna, 2000:190)

The authority conflict pathway commences from an early age and characteristically starts of with stubborn behaviour. This is often followed by deviancy or disobedience eventually accumulating in authority avoidance. Defiance of parents and other authority figures can lead to more serious offences in later developmental stages.

The overt pathway commences with "underhand" behaviour such as lying and shoplifting. This later on expands to property damage and eventually escalates into more serious forms of delinquency. The overt pathway is depicted by the escalation of

delinquent acts, commencing with aggression, for example bullying, leading to physical fighting and ultimately, violence. Even though each of these paths can give rise to delinquency, more often two to three pathways are followed simultaneously bringing about a criminal career (Siegel & Senna, 2000:189).

Loeber's research quoted in Brown *et al.* (2001:432) postulates that stability in childhood anti-social behaviour can be associated with the development of a criminal career. Further findings indicated that an initial display of high levels of antisocial behaviour in children is likely to persist through life course. In contrast with this, children with lower levels anti-social behaviour tend to desist from offending. Aggression was furthermore found to be an important predictor of continued problematic behaviour and criminal activity (Brown et al., 2001:432). In Chapter 3, during the discussion of risk factors associated with criminal causation, the role of early onset as predictor for a criminal career was also emphasised.

The strongest critique against the theory according to Brown *et al.* (2001:432) comes from Gottfredson and Hirschi. They are of the opinion that life events have virtually no effect on criminal activity as crime decreases as a result of maturation and not due to activities such as marriage, procreation and employment. They furthermore postulate that personal characteristics such as aggression and impulsivity remain stable over time and are not affected by life course development.

In conclusion, the three social process theories, namely the learning, control and developmental theory, view delinquency and crime as a function of everyday human interaction within society. They reject the viewpoint that delinquents and criminals are born or that it is caused by the socio-economic or other adverse influences in society. The learning theory stresses the learning of delinquent as well as non-delinquent behaviour, whereas the control theory is concerned with forces of social control. Lastly, the developmental theory strives to identify social processes that explain changes in delinquency and criminal behaviour through a person's life course. All of the social process theories concur and suggest that delinquency, and ultimately crime, can be prevented through the strengthening of relations between the offender and institutions responsible for socialization. This can be accomplished through either the strengthening of the institution or equipping of the offender with coping skills in order to handle pre-existing conditions.

4.4 LABELLING THEORY

In contrast with the theories previously discussed the labelling theory does not attempt to explain the causes of defiant or criminal behaviour but is concerned with the consequences of stigmatisation by agents of social control, among others, police, courts and parents (Siegel & Senna, 2001:220; Conklin, 1995:314). Furthermore it emphasizes the continuation of criminal behaviour rather than its origin. Therefore, as theory, it is more concerned with the delinquent career than predicting

the onset of individual delinquent behaviour (compare Siegel & Senna, 2000:210 & 220, Conklin, 1995:314). The labelling theory is of value for this research project as it provides a mode whereby chronic offending and recidivism can be better comprehended.

A label can be defined as "…a definition of a person, applied to that person by an audience who creates the definition based on the person" (www.nwmissouri.edu/nwcourses/martin). This definition emphasizes the fact that a person is labelled and not his/her behaviour. Formal as well as informal systems within society play a role in creating labels. Taking this into consideration it can be stated that a label has the ability to transform a person who has done something bad into a "bad" person. A label further has the tendency to be associated with a person throughout his/her life course (Siegel & Senna, 2001:213).

People violate the law for various reasons, among others, poor family relations, peer pressure, socio-economic influences and delinquent socialization (Siegel & Senna, 2001:210 and Barlow, 1996:476). Regardless of these reasons, when delinquent behaviour is detected, the offender, not the deed or his/her circumstances will be labelled negatively. Being a criminal then becomes a person's master status which control the way he/she is perceived by society. Additional statuses, such as being a spouse, parent, and career person are not taken into consideration. The emphasis is first, and foremost placed on

the fact that the person is a criminal (Labeling theories in criminology, 2001). Tannenbaum describes this process as the dramatization of evil and state: "(T)he process of making the criminal, therefore, is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained of " (Bartollas, 1997:184).

The outcome of this process is that a person associates and acts according to the label that is ascribed to him/her. This transforms the offender's identity from a doer of evil to an evil person (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:215, Moyer, 2001:165 and Labeling theories in criminology, 2001).

From a labelling theoretical perspective crime and delinquency as concepts, are not absolute or permanent, but vary in accordance with social norms, customs and the perceived power structure thereof (Siegel & Senna, 2001:211 and Bartollas, 1997:183). Howard Becker argues that moral entrepreneurs are the creators of legal and social rules (Moyer, 2001:173). Moral entrepreneurs refer to interest groups that attempt to control social life through the legalizing and promotion of personal moral values (Siegel & Senna, 2001:212). Deviant behaviour therefore is behaviour that people label as such. A label can therefore be viewed as being based on subjective perceptions of persons or groups of persons, within a given society, within a given time period.

Triplett and Jarjoura distinguish labelling as formal and informal (Bartollas, 1997:186). Formal labelling is the reaction of the judicial system to illegal behaviour. The actions of the judicial system can be viewed as degradation ceremonies. These ceremonies constitute that a transgressor of the law's public identity is transformed into "something looked on as lower in the social scheme of society" (Siegel & Senna, 2001:217). A criminal record is an example of a formal label that is associated with a person through life course notwithstanding whether the offender has rehabilitated or not.

Informal labelling, in contrast, is the process whereby society's members such as parents, peers, educators and community members attempt to characterize or classify a person as a given "type" (Bartollas, 1997:186). Informal labelling is often based on a brief first impression. During these social contacts a person is carefully scrutinized for any unfavourable characteristics or attributes. If these interactions give way to perceptions of possible deviance the person is negatively labelled, cautiously handled or outright shunned. The label is maintained by members in society through continued suspicion of/or further confirmation of the initial perceptions (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001: 212; Bartollas, 1997:186 and Barlow, 1996:476).

Edwin Lemmert in Bartollas (1997:184) emphasizes the role that society as well as official systems plays in the labelling

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process through the concepts primary and secondary deviance. *Primary deviance* constitutes the offender's behaviour and *secondary deviance* the society's response to the deviant behaviour (compare Bartollas, 1997:184 and Hester & Eglin, 1992:111). *Primary deviance* describes a deviant act that does not redefine the offender's self- or public image. This constitutes that an offender is not perceived as being a criminal either by himself or by society. This happens when a criminal act, for instance shoplifting, was committed, but is undetected. The result thereof is that no negative self- or public labelling takes place. The act of theft therefore has a limited impact on the perpetrator's current or future status (Siegel & Senna, 2001:214; Bartollas, 1997:184; Barlow, 1996:477).

In contrast, secondary labelling redefines the person's self and public image. Lemmert's (in Siegel & Senna, 2000:215) process of secondary labelling can be depicted as follow:

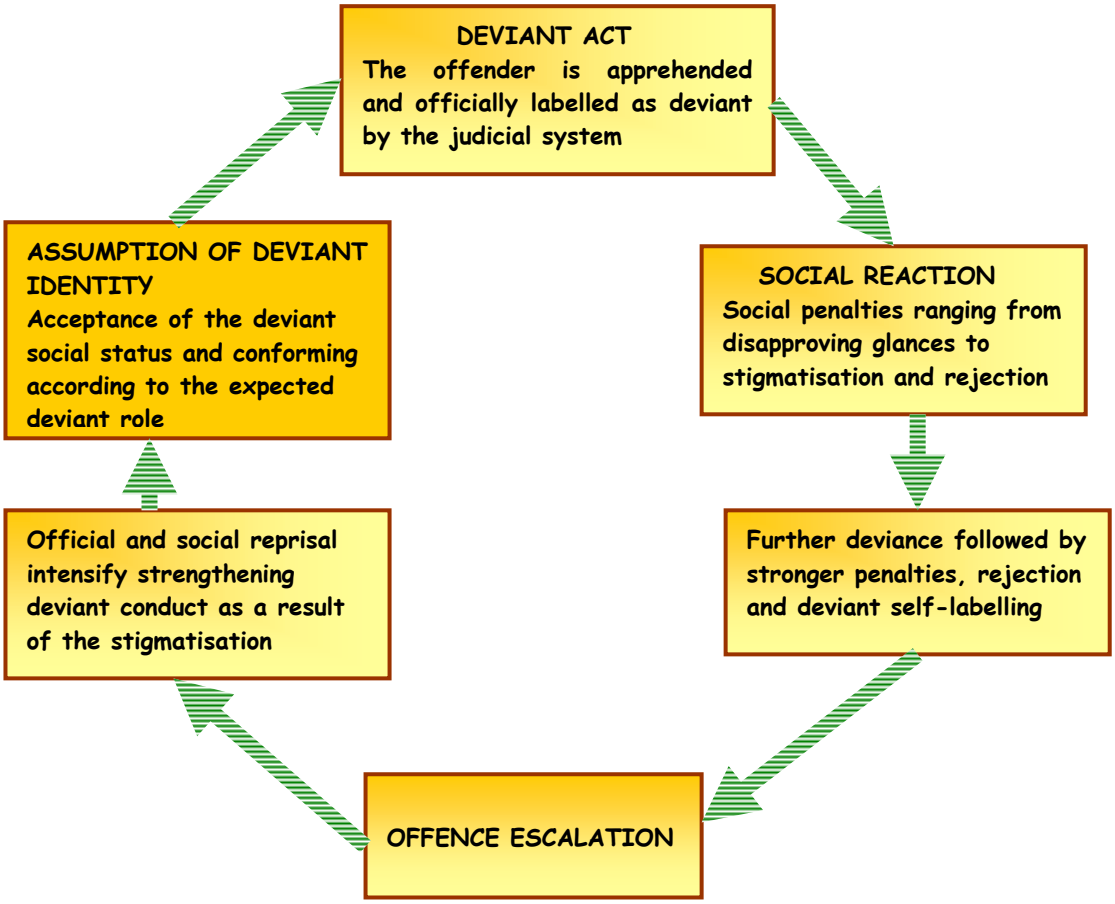

Figure 7: The secondary labelling process according to Lemmert

(Source: Siegel & Senna, 2000:215; Bartolla, 1997:185 and Barlow, 1996:477 as adapted by the researcher).

It is apparent that *secondary deviancy* is a circular process whereby the offender's acquired deviant identity is constantly reinforced. This new identity has an influence on all levels of the labelled offender's social functioning. It becomes a means of defence, attack and adaptation against society's stigmatisation and rejection (Labeling theories in criminology, 2001). Whether an offender moves from primary to secondary deviancy will depend on whether the offence is identified and punished. Stigmatisation from formal and informal systems

within society as well as the offender's acceptance of a deviant identity will further determine the impact of the label.

Siegel and Senna (2001:213) postulates that negative labelling and the acceptance of a deviant identity further create a self-fulfilling prophecy. This is based on the assumption that an individual that is subjected to constant negative feedback from influential systems will eventually internalise the message. This message is then accepted and then viewed as accurate and self-defining. It is the researcher's experience that once an offender has experienced being labelled as a criminal, and accepted this identity, it easily becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Another consequence of labelling is self-rejection (Siegel & Senna, 2001:213). Individuals exposed to social stigmatisation and rejection experience self-rejection which is linked to feelings of worthlessness. This in turn may lead to social isolation, weakened commitment to conventional values and the acquisition of motives to deviate from social norms (Siegel & Senna, 2001:213). Due to the rejection by conventional society, the labelled offenders will seek out other similarly labelled and stigmatised individuals. Association with these similarly labelled individuals can result in the formation of a group with a shared deviant identity. These groups often have the shared objective of opposing the "rejecters". In turn, society's negative perceptions are reinforced due to the individual association with a "negative" group. These factors strengthen the impact

of the negative label as well as the influence of the group on the individual (Siegel & Senna, 2001:213). The social control theory, as discussed previously in this chapter, concurs with the labelling theory in this regard.

Other consequences of labelling associated with chronic offending were mentioned in Chapter 2, namely that once a offender is labelled there is a higher probability of re-arrest. This can be ascribed to the police's perception that labelled offenders has a good chance to continue with a criminal career (Siegel & Senna, 2001:21).

Even though the labelling theory was influential in the 1970's it received mixed responses based on specific strengths and critique. Bartollas (1997:187) identified the following strong points associated with the theory:

- The theory provides an explanation for why juveniles become involved in crime and continued with a criminal career;
- The importance of rule making and power in the creation of a deviant label are emphasized;
- The role of self-fulfilling prophesies in the development of a criminal career is explained; and
- The role that a perceived and internalised deviant identity plays in the process of becoming a chronic and career offender is highlighted.

From the mentioned strengths it is clear that the labelling theory succeeds in explaining the link between the causation of crime and the process whereby the offender becomes a chronic and career offender.

Siegel and Senna (2001:219) identified four major criticisms against the labelling theory, namely:

- The labelling theory fails to explain the reason for the onset of the first primary deviation;
- Not all studies support a deviance amplification effect of official labelling as some individuals who are labelled as "being deviant" may not be as deeply effected as others; and
- The perception that the label creates the crime is seen as naïve as some crimes such as rape and murder are universally deemed as being criminal.

In conclusion it can be stated that even though the labelling theory fails to explain the onset of a criminal career it assists in explaining the maintenance of a career path. Labelling theory is relevant for this research study since recidivism is characterized by repeat offending.

4.5 THE COPING AND RELAPSE THEORY

The coping and relapse theory originated from two studies where first, everyday coping skills in relation to criminal behaviour were explored and secondly, the process of a relapse into previous behavioural patterns was analysed. Combining these two aspects, the theory focuses on the offender's ability

to cope in society and the behaviour patterns associated with the relapse process (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:10). The theory is of importance for this study as recidivism can be viewed as a process whereby the offender repeatedly falls back into old criminal habits. Zamble & Quincy (1997) furthermore used the theory to develop a model of the criminal recidivism process. For the purpose of the research the coping and relapse theory as well as the criminal recidivism process will be discussed.

Zamble and Quincy (1997:10) defines *coping* as a person's attempt to deal with problem situations. In this regard Zeidner & Endler (1996:45) distinguishes between coping and adapting. According to them *coping* can be defined as a person's attempts to deal with stressful problem situations. *Adapting*, on the other hand, is a broader concept inclusive of everyday routine tasks which is automatically done. *Coping* can therefore be associated with stressful situations.

When exploring coping mechanisms in relation to criminal behaviour, Zamble & Quinsy (1997:10) found that "…there was no evidence that problems encountered outside of prison were distinctive in kind or severity from the ordinary challenges that most people encounter. However, their ways of dealing with these situations were at best ineffective and often exacerbated the original problem". In this respect Zeidner & Endler (1996:47) postulate that psychopathology develop when coping becomes a means of ordinary, everyday adapting. The offender's everyday life therefore becomes a stressful battle

to cope with. Both stress and coping is associated with anxiety, depression and impaired functioning. These symptoms can be associated with psychopathology. The difference between stress and psychopathology, as described above, is that stress is a response towards external provocation whereas psychopathology reflects personal inadequacies (Zeidner & Endler, 1996:47).

In their research Zamble and Quincy (1997:75) found that recidivists or chronic offenders have inadequate coping responses and are unable to successfully recognize and resolve their problems. This inability can lead to acquiring a self-fulfilling prophecy where the recidivists believe that they are unable to cope. The question can be asked why the offender then reverts to criminal and not another form of maladaptive behaviour?

In order to answer this question it is first necessary to understand the natural problem-management process. Yankelovick as quoted by Egan (1994:20) outlines the problem-management process as follows:

Tabel 5: The problem management process

The natural problem management process	
STEP 1	A person becomes aware of an issue or a set of issues that leads to feelings of dissatisfaction.
STEP 2:	A sense of urgency develops as the feeling of unease escalates. Steps 1 and 2 is the phase where a person consciously becomes aware of a problem.
STEP 3:	Various remedies or solutions for the problem situation are explored.
STEP 4:	The cost of pursuing these solutions are contemplated often, leading to retreating, as there are no cost-free or painless ways of dealing with problem situations.
STEP 5:	Due to the contemplation of the cost attached to problem solution serious weighing of identified choices takes place.
STEP 6:	An intellectual decision is made to accept a choice and pursue a certain cause of action.
STEP 7:	The choice is internalised.

(Source: Egan, 1994:20)

Even though the natural problem-management process can be associated with chronological steps it must be taken into consideration that problem solving is still an individualized process. This implies that the process could be derailed at any point in time. Chronic offenders were found to be prone to follow a head on attack in problem resolution as opposed to following a problem-management process. Their way of problem resolution is impulsive and self centred and focussed on immediate problem alleviation (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:41). They are therefore more focused on short-term than long-term problem solution. Zamble and Quincy (1997:41) could find no evidence that the chronic offender analysed the problem situation, weighed possible alternatives or anticipated the consequences of their choices, and thus followed the natural problem management process. A lack of proper problem management often results in maladaptive and frequently

criminal coping- efforts (compare; Kuperminc & Allen, 2001:601 and Zamble & Quinsy, 1997:10, 41).

Self-centeredness as well as low frustration toleration refers to personality characteristics. Zeidner & Endler (1996:48) states that coping is related to a person's personality traits. It can therefore be derived that a person's coping mechanisms are pre-disposed. The decision to choose criminal behaviour as a problem-solving tool stems from generalized behaviour that is common among chronic offenders. Combined with a distinct criminal cognitive process and other external factors, this choice paves the way for renewed criminal activities (Zamble & Quinsy, 1997:15-41). In summary, it is apparent that ineffective coping skills contribute to recurring criminal behaviour.

The second part of the coping and relapse theory focuses on what happens after the offender's coping resources fail. Marlet and Gordon refer to this process as a " …relapse in addictive behavior" (Zamble & Quinsy, 1997:11). Harm and Phillips (2001:8) concur with Marlet and Gordon and elaborate that recidivism should be viewed as a process due to the reciprocal intertwined relationship which exists between recidivism and relapse. From this perspective "relapse" refers to: "…failure to maintain behavior change, rather than a failure to initiate change" (Zamble & Quinsy, 1997:11). It can therefore be concluded that the relapse theory focuses on factors associated with the failure to maintain behavioural change, as well as causes of failure that result in relapse.

The rationale behind the relapse theory is that coping skills will determine if a person enters into a high-risk situation (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:11). The researcher views a high-risk situation as a challenging situation that requires the offender to make use of his/her coping skills. When a person is confronted with such a situation, thoughts and cognitions play an important role, as it will determine the individual's perception regarding his/her ability to cope with the situation (Kuperminc & Allan, 2001:615).

Cronje (1982:570), in this context, is of the opinion that a person's attitude towards life is to a large extent reflected in their self-image and self-concept. A poor self-concept generally develops within the boundaries of an unfavourable life context. A person with a poor self-concept will be unable to view him-/herself as being self-efficient. These negative cognitions can result in feelings of being unable to cope as well as hopelessness. Hopelessness in turn can greatly magnify the chances of relapse. In contrast with a person experiencing negative cognitions, the person who views him-/herself as being able to cope through positive cognitions has a greater chance to cope successfully with difficult situations (compare Kuperminc & Allen, 2001:601-602 and Zamble & Quincy, 1997:11).

Conklin (1995) links the influence of negative cognitions emphasising personality traits associated with criminal behaviour, namely a lack of self-control and an inability to

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tolerate frustrating situations. It seems that due to negative cognitions the offender, confronted with a high-risk situation, often feels that "things" just happens to them and that they have no control over life's situations. The researcher, from her experience in working with recidivists, concurs with this assumption as most chronic offenders are of the opinion that they committed crime due to factors out of their control. At the time of the crime, they regarded the crime as the only solution to their problem.

In conclusion, the coping and relapse theory postulates that inadequate coping mechanisms and skills lead to the offender's inability to deal with what he/she perceives as problem situations. The researcher is of the opinion that this inability, together with the presence of negative cognitions and thoughts, is a sure way of setting the offender up for failure and relapse. The constant repetition of this behaviour creates a pattern that becomes part of an ongoing process. Viewed from this perspective the researcher concurs with Zamble and Quincy (1997:13) that recidivism is a relapse process where the offender falls back into a habitual criminal behaviour pattern.

Just as the coping and relapse theory is part of the recidivism process, criminal offence is likewise part of the recidivistic behaviour process. The difference between the two is that the coping and relapse theory refers to a behavioural process that has an influence on the offender system. The influence of the criminal processes on the other hand, extends to various other

systems, namely the offender, victim and community. In this respect Zamble and Quincy (1997:61) state that the " …occurrence of the offence (that) represents a breaking point and triggers the consequences, not the sequence of events leading up to it". It is therefore clear that there is a link between events prior to the offence and the offence itself. It seems that the offender's inadequate coping skills, impulsivity as well as a developed habitual offending behavioural pattern creates a predisposition for re-offending. Furthermore Zamble and Quincy (1997:63) emphasize the recidivist's lack of rational advances, consideration of the offence and the consequences thereof for the victim and the perpetrator.

The offence is an enactment of the dangerous aspect of the recidivism process. The danger lies in the acting out of the built-up delinquent emotions whereby the victim and community system is either directly or indirectly harmed. In this respect Zamble and Quincy (1997:67) postulates that the

> " … re-initiation of offending may not be spontaneous, but once begun the process is often so quick that it is effectively autonomous. Often once the offender has thought of an offence as an available option in his situation, its commission is perhaps already inevitable, and successful intervention is already precluded".

Based on the impulsive behaviour, and the lack of rational advance consideration regarding the impact and consequences of the offence, the researcher is of the opinion that the rehabilitation prognosis of the recidivist is in question.

Derived from the coping and relapse theory and offence process Zamble and Quinsy (1997) developed a model on the recidivism process. The model is embedded in the assumption that within life's journey a person is confronted with potential problematic situations that he/she must react upon. These situations are often external in origin, labile and unpredictable and challenge a person's coping mechanisms.

The individual's initial response to the stimuli of a potential problematic situation is on an emotional and cognitive level. The perceived problem is appraised and the consequences thereof evaluated. The individual's response to the situation and the way it is perceived is guided by the person's temperament, personality and available problem resolution responses. The available responses are based on previous cognitions, for instance how a person has learned to cope with certain behaviours or situations. Factors that could influence these responses are, for instance, the effect of habitual substance abuse, prior criminal experience, criminal associations and patterns of socialization. The response to the perceived problem situation will be guided by all of the above-mentioned factors and will determine the individual's behaviour reaction (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:143).

In conclusion it is apparent that the offender's behaviour is governed by past cognitions and experiences as well as available coping mechanisms.

4.6 INTEGRATED MODEL FOR THE RECIDIVISM BEHAVIOURAL PROCESS

4.6.1 Introduction

As stated earlier, the researcher is of the opinion that a hiatus exists insofar that recidivism is not addressed holistically. The discussed theories respectively emphasizes singular aspects in the causation of crime and recidivism. This results in a narrowed perspective of the causation of crime and recidivism. The focus is furthermore generally placed on criminal offending and the offence process as concurred by Farrington (in Maguire *et al.*, 1997:399): "(O)ffending is one element of a larger syndrome of anti-social behaviour that arises in childhood and tends to persist into adulthood, with numerous different behavioural manifestations".

From the literature study as reflected in Chapters 2-4, the researcher concluded that offending and recidivism is rooted in the offender's genetic composition, personality, socialization and general interaction with primary and secondary systems in everyday life. Farrington concurs as follows: "… criminal behaviour results from the interaction between an individual (with a certain degree of underlying anti-social tendency) and the environment (which provides criminal opportunities) (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:394). The difference between first offenders and recidivists lies in the repeat offending that recidivists make themselves guilty of. It can therefore be

concluded that for the recidivist, criminal behaviour is a lifestyle, not just an action.

The complexity of recidivism as behavioural pattern necessitates a multi-dimensional and integrated analyses of predispositioning and causative criminal risk factors. It should be taken into consideration that these risk factors are inter-related and often co-occurring. Hence, in order to develop an integrated model for the recidivism behavioural process the dynamic predisposition and causative factors should be taken into consideration. In addition the interactional processes associated with these recidivistic behaviour patterns should be taken into consideration. In relation to the creation of a model that is inclusive of all the mentioned aspects, the researcher concurs with Farrington (in Maguire *et al.*, 1997:395) that the nature and relation of criminal risk factors make any theory or model on offending inevitably speculative. However, the researcher's aim with the proposed model is to holistically assimilate and integrate causative as well as behavioural patterns associated with the recidivism behavioural process.

4.6.2 **Conceptualisation of the model**

The point of departure for the proposed model was twofold, namely

- Each person's personality and behavioural repertoire is rooted in genetically established hereditary factors and moulded by environmental influences and general socialization within various systems in society.

- A person establishes behavioural patterns in order to deal with everyday mundane and stressful situations. These behavioural patterns are based on genetically predispositions, environmental influences and personal cognitions.

Even though the mentioned points of departure will be discussed separately, it is important to keep in mind that they are actually part of, and form the basis of, various everyday behavioural patterns.

In order to explain this interactional process between the mentioned points of departure the researcher came to the conclusion that from before birth onwards, and through life course, a person develops certain cognitions regarding themselves and the environment they live in. The cognitions are based on hereditary predispositions and are affected by past and present experiences and the emotions associated with these experiences as well as their socialization. These cognitions help a person to understand his/her living environment. In order to function within this environment a person develops behavioural patterns. These behavioural patterns are rooted in existing cognitions and can be either reinforced or suppressed by means of punishment or reinforcement. The more frequently a cognition and behavioural pattern is reinforced the more likely it is to become conditioned behaviour and thus, form a physical and emotional habitual reaction that could be linked to specific circumstances. Environmental influences play an important role in this process

as they often determine the nature of the cognitions that behavioural patterns are based on. It is therefore clear that there is a constant interaction between personal predispositions and environmental influences.

Regarding environmental influences, causative factors that can act as risk predictors for delinquency and criminal behaviour can often be found in the offender's immediate environment. In relation to environmental influences Farrington in Maguire *et al.* (1997:384) not only recognises adverse environmental factors but also emphasises the role that environmental protective factors can play in the prevention of criminal behaviour. This author is of the opinion that a low probability for offending can be associated with protective factors. Examples of protective factors can be amongst others, high intelligence and affectionate ties with caregivers (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:384). Within both these factors lies the probability of criminal but also pro-social behavioural patterns. The question can therefore be asked: what causes a person to choose criminal behaviour instead of pro-social behaviour? The researcher is of the opinion that the answer lies in the interactional process between predisposing factors and environmental protective and adverse influences.

As stated previously (Chapter 3, point 3.1), predisposing factors, amongst others hereditary transmitted traits and past family history, are stable risk indicators that cannot be changed. The researcher is of the opinion that the impact of

these stable factors lies in the emotional cognitions and behavioural pattern that originated from these hereditary traits and past family history. She furthermore hypothesizes that a person's personality, capabilities and decision making is rooted within these formulated cognitions. This foundation upon which a person's social functioning is based will determine and influence the choice of either a pro-social or pro-criminal lifestyle. The researcher postulates that the inter-actional process can be depicted as follows:

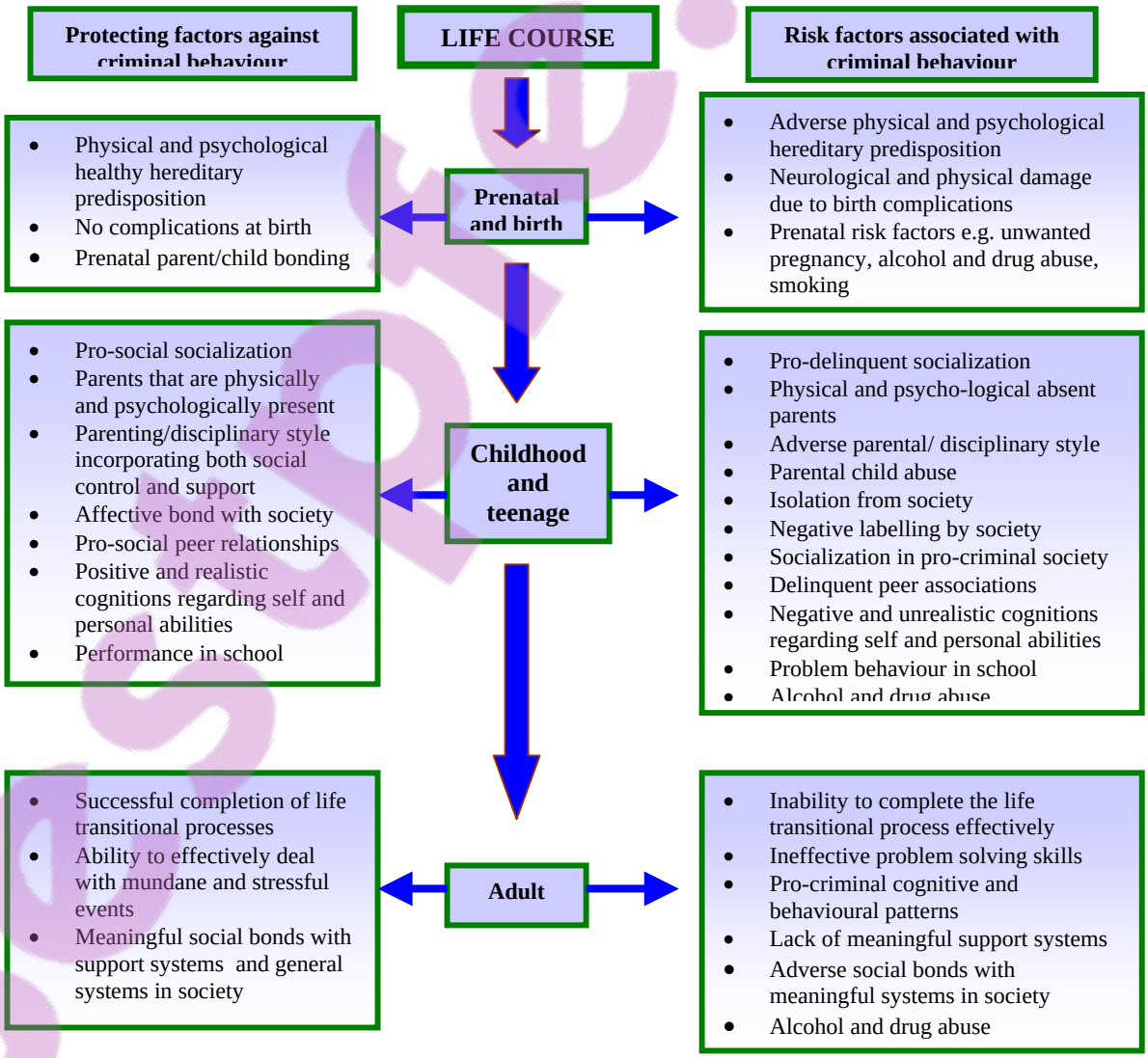

Figure 8: Criminal risk and protective factors from a life course perspective

From the Figure it is clear that an interactional process exists between protective and adverse factors in society. It can therefore be stated that every individual will, through his/her life course, be influenced by both adverse and protective factors. In relation to criminal risk prediction no one factor could be singled out as being the sole cause of criminal behaviour. McGuire (1995:52) concurs stating that the interaction between various criminal risk factors contributed to criminal behaviour. This is also the case with hereditary adverse factors such as physical and psychological hereditary attributes associated with criminal risk. Hereditary factors act as criminal predisposition while environmental influences act as the trigger for these predispositions. Criminal behaviour therefore becomes an enactment of hereditary predispositions and environmental influences.

As discussed previously in this chapter, a behavioural pattern is formulated in order to deal with different situations during life course. The researcher further posits that behaviour patters also originate in order to meet a variety of human needs. Maslow's self-actualisation hierarchy is an example thereof. As stated previously the needs which Maslow identified can be divided into *driven* and *being* needs. Fulfilment of needs is often evident in the offender's motive for committing crimes. Research quoted in Maguire *et al.* (1997:380) indicated that the most common motive given for property offences were utilitarian, rational or economic ones with the aim of acquiring

material gain (*driven need*). The next most popular motive was hedonistic, whereby offences were committed for excitement or to relieve boredom (*being need*). In the first instance physical needs were fulfilled and in the second, emotional needs. The fact that the mentioned needs were met through offending can be ascribed to the offender making use of pro-criminal cognitions and behavioural patterns.

Bush as quoted in McGuire (1995: 142 – 147) gave a good example of a criminal behavioural pattern based on pro-criminal cognitions and the fulfilment of personal needs. His research focussed on violent offenders. He posits that repeat violent offending is often a learned behavioural pattern that is used to cope with stressful events. The profile of these offenders also indicated that they found violence rewarding. Bush (in McGuire, 1995:140) hypothesises that this behaviour pattern is embedded in habits of thinking, thus a pro-criminal cognition. By an enactment of the cognition, violent behaviour fulfils an unmet need, therefore reinforcing the behaviour pattern. Further reinforcement takes place from experiencing feelings of emotional reward. Constant reinforcement contributes to maintaining the mentioned behaviour pattern.

In relation to Bush's study, the researcher is of the opinion that violent behaviour is a good example of a behavioural action that becomes a behavioural pattern. Reinforcement of the behavioural pattern is due to the instant gratification gained from the fulfilment of the desired need. Bush's findings that

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some of the violent offenders found the violence rewarding could be ascribed to personal psychological attributes, in this instance anti-social personality disorder. As discussed in Chapter 3, anti-social personality disorder was strongly linked to violent behaviour and re-offending.

In conclusion the researcher posits that the recidivism behavioural process is rooted in pro-criminal cognitions which is acted out and becomes behavioural patterns associated with criminality. Within this process hereditary attributes and environmental influences play a determining role in the formation of these behavioural patterns. Behavioural patterns are formed to deal with mundane and stressful situations through life course as well as to fulfil personal needs. These criminal behavioural patterns are reinforced due to the fact that it often offers instant gratification, fulfil needs and alleviate stress which result from unresolved problems throughout life course.

4.7 **CONCLUSION**

By utilising various theories the researcher aimed to explore and explain the causation of recidivism from various perspectives. The behaviourism theory was used as point of departure and focused on cause-and-effect relationships between environmental and behavioural conditions. The influence of the environment as possible causative factor of crime and recidivism were explored.

The social process theories, comprising of the learning, control and development theories, explain the causation of crime from various angles. These theories have an interconnected relationship with the behaviourism theory. The learning theory regards criminal behaviour as learned behaviour acquired through interaction with various groups in society. The control theory places emphasis on the role that social ties play in relation to criminal conduct. This theory postulates that people who have a lack of social ties with conventional social order have a higher probability to become involved in criminal acts. The developmental perspective studies the development of criminal conduct through life course. The social process theories reason that crime can be prevented through the strengthening of relationships between the offender and society.

The labelling theory places emphasis on the delinquent career rather than the onset of delinquent behaviour. This theory explains why offenders persist with criminal conduct and elaborates on the role that an internalised deviant identity plays in the establishment of self-fulfilling prophecies.

The coping and relapse theory focused on the role that coping mechanisms as well as the relapse process play in relation to recidivism. The theory postulates that the offender's inadequate coping mechanisms together with negative personal cognitions inevitably lead to relapse into crime. The relapse

process was discussed within the criminal recidivism process model.

Lastly, based on the explored theories and the researcher's experience in working with recidivists, the researcher compiled an integrated model on recidivism. This model is embedded in the hypothesis that the recidivism behavioural process is rooted in predispositioned and acquired pro-criminal cognitions that are acted out and becomes behavioural patterns associated with criminality. The researcher is of the opinion that through this proposed integrated model crime, and more specifically recidivism, can be theoretically grounded and better conceptualised.

CHAPTER 5

EMPIRICAL STUDY AND FINDINGS OF THE QUANTITATIVE PHASE OF THE STUDY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to report on the findings of the quantitative research of the study. The psychosocial functioning inventory on recidivism (PFIR) (see Attachment 1) was developed and utilised as data gathering instrument for the quantitative research.

In this chapter, the research methodology used for the study will be briefly outlined and the design and the development of the PFIR scale will be discussed. Finally the findings of the analyses of the quantitative data will be presented and interpreted.

5.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.2.1 **Research approach**

As indicated in Chapter 1 the study followed a combined quantitative-qualitative approach. This research approach was chosen due to the complexity and multi-facetness of the phenomena, recidivism. In this regard Denzin as quoted by De Vos (1998b: 359) postulates that the use of multi methods of data collection increases the reliability of observations. By making use of a combined quantitative-qualitative

approach recidivism as phenomenon could therefore be explored extensively and holistically.

This study used triangulation, specifically the two-phased model whereby the study was divided in a separate quantitative and qualitative phase. De Vos (1998b:360) is of the opinion that the advantage of this approach is that the researcher is able to thoroughly present the assumptions underlying each phase. Cresswell's two-phase model was used in this study (compare De Vos, 1998b:360 and Creswell, 1998:202). For the purpose of clarity the quantitative research will be referred to as phase one and the qualitative research as phase two of the study.

In the quantitative phase of the study the PFIR, a standardised eco-metric scale, was developed and used in order to compile a profile of the South African recidivist. In the second qualitative phase of the study an interdisciplinary action plan was compiled as result of data collected through interviews with experts in the field of crime prevention and management.

5.2.2 T**ype of research**

Knowledge development was utilised to compile a profile of the South African recidivist and to design an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

5.2.3 **Research design**

The research design of this study was exploratory in nature. Grinnell and Williams (1990:150) is of the opinion that the aim of an exploratory research study is to " …explore, nothing more – nothing less". Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:42) concur, adding that the purpose of exploratory research is to seek explanations for the relationship between variables. Rubin and Babbie (1989:86) further indicated that exploratory research is utilized when limited information is available on a phenomenon. Recidivism, a phenomenon on which limited research was done in South Africa was explored in this study.

5.2.4 **Pilot study**

Strydom (1998:179) posits that a pilot study acts as the "dress-rehearsal" of the main investigation. Strydom (1998:179) states that a pilot study comprises a literature study, the experience of experts, a preliminary exploratory study and finally an intensive study of strategic units. Each of the aspects that a pilot study consists of will subsequently be addressed individually.

- **Study of the literature**

For the purpose of the research study local as well as international literature were explored. The Internet also proven to be a valuable resource.

- **Experience of experts**

National and international experts, as mentioned in Chapter 1 (point 1.10), were utilised during the pilot study.

- **Preliminary exploratory study**

By means of the preliminary exploratory study practical situations associated with the study was assessed.

Study of strategic units and testing of the questionnaire

The PFIR eco-metric scale is a standardised questionnaire that was developed for the multi-dimensional population of South Africa. The scale was tested for validity as well as reliability during its development. As stated in Chapter 1, the researcher assisted with the identification of constructs for the scale as well as during the standardisation process.

5.2.5 Research population, sample and sampling method

A research population can be defined as ". the totality of persons or objects with which a study is concerned" (Grinnell & Williams, 1990:118). For the purpose of the study correctional facilities within Gauteng province where more than twenty-five percent of the population consisted of re-offenders were identified as the research population. The correctional facilities that were included in the study were Baviaanspoort Maximum and Medium prison, Leeukop Medium C and Maximum, Modderbee prison, Pretoria

Central prison and Zonderwater Medium A and B prison. The research population comprised of 4237 possible respondents.

The research sample was drawn by means of non-probability sampling, specifically accidental sampling. Strydom and De Vos (1998:198) posit that any person that cross the researcher's path and has something to do with the phenomenon, gets included in the sample until the desired number of respondents are obtained.

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A computerised list of all the re-offenders in a specific correctional facility was obtained from the identified research sample. Inmates who responded to the invitation to participate in the research project were briefed by the researcher and were given the choice of participating in the study. Of the inmates briefed, 198 agreed to participate in the study and were included in the research sample to complete the PFIR scale. As a result of the data analyses and interpretation a profile of the South African recidivist was compiled.

5.3 DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL FUNCTIONING INVENTORY FOR RECIDIVISM

The aim of the PFIR scale is to assess the recidivist's social functioning from a multidimensional perspective and functioning in the broader community. The constructs utilized for the design of the PFIR scale were based on the literature study of this research.

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The PFIR scale was developed in a partnership between the researcher and the Perspective Training College.

The PFIR provides for the measuring of both positive and negative constructs regarding the recidivist's interpersonal and social functioning. The difference between positive and negative constructs lies in the attributes that are measured. Positive constructs focus on areas of positive social functioning, for example perseverance and satisfaction. A high frequency in the measured behaviour is an indication of effective functioning while a lower frequency indicates less effective functioning or social dysfunctioning (Faul & Hannekom, 2002:14).

On the contrary, a negative construct, for example anxiety and isolation, measures areas that can be associated with social dysfunctioning. In this case a high frequency of measured behaviour indicates social dysfunction whilst a lower measurement can be associated with effective social functioning (Faul & Hannekom, 2002:14). In order for a person to function optimally it is therefore necessary to maintain a balance between positive and negative attributes. This entails that a healthy level of negative and positive attributes should be present when a person's social functioning is assessed. If that is not the case it is an indication that the measured construct has a negative impact on the person's everyday functioning. A clinical cutting score is used in eco-metric

scales to provide an indication of the influence of a construct on a person's social functioning.

Faul (1995:93) postulates that the clinical cutting score establishes a therapeutic criterion to evaluate whether the severity or magnitude of a problem reaches levels that can be deemed as clinically significant. In this regard Hudson, as quoted by Faul (1995:94), emphasises that the issue is not whether a person is free of interpersonal or social dysfunction but whether the severity or magnitude of the problem reaches a level that is regarded as clinically significant. The clinical cutting score allocated to each construct therefore gives an indication whether the construct has a positive or negative influence on a person's social functioning. The clinical cutting scores for the PFIR scale are between seventy to eighty percent for the positive constructs and for the negative constructs between twenty to thirty percent. Hudson in Faul (1995:346) emphasises that the cutting score must be viewed as a sample statistic and can therefore not be viewed as a fixed parameter. In this regard Faul (1995:348) elaborates as follows: "…good clinical judgement on the part of practitioners with regard to the presence or absence of a problem in significant areas must always be regarded just as important as the clinical cutting score". The researcher is therefore of the opinion that it is of importance to assess the recidivist's social functioning holistically. This implies that constructs should not be evaluated individually

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but that information gathered from the PFIR should be assimilated and assessed holistically.

In order to analyse the gathered data, each individual construct was assessed with the aim of determining typical personality characteristic and behaviour patterns that can be associated with recidivism.

Data acquired from the PFIR was analysed in order to determine patterns that may point to universal characteristics within the social functioning of the recidivist. Faul (1995:158) describes social functioning as:

> "…behavioural patterns of the individual in the different roles and systems that the individual forms part of in his environment. The individual reacts with congruence among the four dimensions of his inner world to situations in his environment. The individual experiences himself and his world on two distinct levels that relate to achievement, satisfaction and expectations on the one hand and to frustration, stress and helplessness on the other hand. Optimal social functioning assumes that the positive forces will be stronger than the regressive forces. The social functioning of the individual always takes place in a specific time frame that is integrated with the developmental phase in which the individual is functioning".

From the perspective of Faul's description of social functioning it can be deducted that a person's behavioural patterns lies on a continuum with optimal social functioning on the one side and social dysfunction on the other side. Optimal functioning can be associated with emotions and cognitions related to achievement, satisfaction and future expectations. Social dysfunction on the other hand are characterised by emotions and cognitions associated with feelings of anxiety, stress and helplessness. Faul furthermore refers to the influence that developmental phases as well as the environment can have on a person's social functioning.

The researcher supports Faul's conceptualisation of social functioning. In addition to Faul's research the researcher, by means of a literature study, identified additional emotions and cognitions that could be associated with the social functioning of the recidivist. For the purpose of this research study the following constructs were developed and measured:

Table 6: Constructs measured in **PFIR** eco-metric scale

Biographical analysis
• **Age distribution** • **Qualifications** • **Employment history** • **Marital and family history**
Positive indicators of social functioning
• **Perseverance /achievement** • **Satisfaction** • **Future perspective / Expectation** • **Problem solving ability** • **Moral values / Empathy**
Negative indicators of social functioning
• **Anxiety** • **Guilt feelings** • **Lack of self-worth** • **Isolation** • **Stigma** • **Frustration** • **Helplessness** • **Alcohol abuse** • **Drug abuse**
Functioning within the environment
• **Family relations** • **Relationship with care giver** • **Relationship with partner** • **Relationship with child** • **Relationship with colleagues** • **Relationship with friends** • **Peer pressure** • **Social support** • **Integration into society** • **Responsibility towards others**

The above-mentioned constructs were included in the standardised eco-metric PFIR scale that was developed by the Perspective Training College for the purpose of this research study. The respondent's social functioning was analysed by means of a personal

assessment of the individual's interpersonal functioning as well as the respondent's cognitions of his interaction with meaningful systems within society.

The aim with the quantitative research was to identify characteristics that are synonymous with the general behavioural profile of the South African recidivist. Subsequently, the research findings of the quantitative study will be presented.

5.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS OF QUALITATIVE STUDY

In this section the research findings of the quantitative study will be presented and interpreted and where applicable, integrated with literature.

5.4.1 Biographic interpretation

For the purpose of the biographical analyses of the research sample attributes included were the age, educational qualification, and the employment, marital and family history of the respondents.

- **Age distribution of respondents**

The research sample consisted of 198 male prisoners between the ages of twenty one to eighty-two years. The composition of the sample in relation to age can be divided as follows:

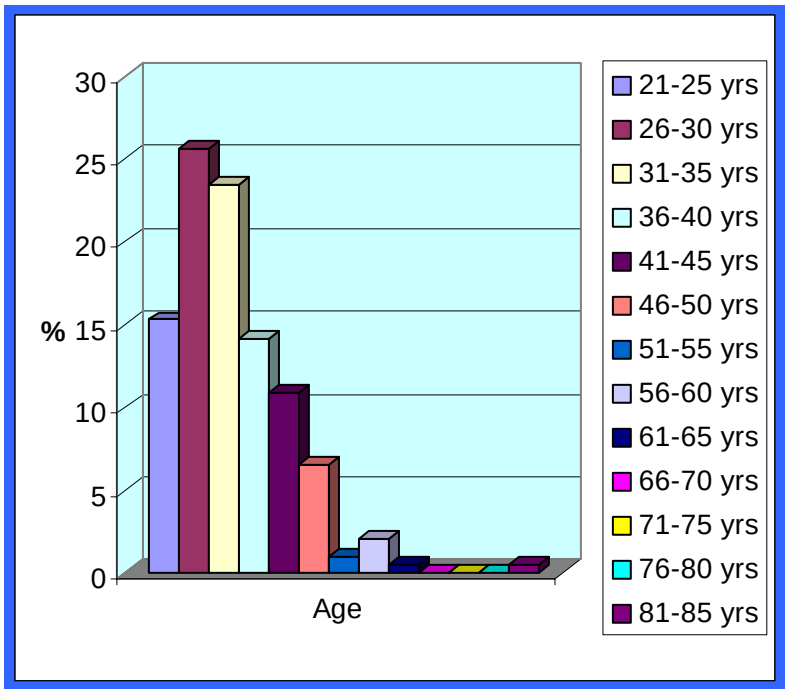

Figure 9: Age of the respondents

From the mentioned chart it is evident that the majority of the respondents, and therefore recidivists, fall within the age group from twenty-six to thirty-five years. The decrease in the amount of respondents per age group from the age of thirty-six years onwards to eighty-five years is evident from the findings.

Two aspects in relation to the age and criminal behaviour that was discussed in Chapter 2 (point 3.2) were the onset and aging out of criminal behaviour. It was indicated that early onset of criminal behaviour is universally viewed as one of the strongest predictors of re-offending (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:59; Bartollas et al., 1998:104-105; Bartollas, 1997:86; Brannigan, 1997:409; Maguire *et al.*, 1997:375 and Conklin, 1995:320).

The decrease in the number of respondents per age group could possibly be associated with the aging out of crime theory. As stated in Chapter 2 (point 3.2) various contradictory views exist regarding the aging out of crime. These contradictions can be ascribed to different the factors contributing to the phenomenon of aging out of crime (compare Farral, 2000:225-226; Brown et al. 1998:151; Bartollas, 1997:59; Dejong, 1997:564 and Greenberg, 1991:18). Even though a decrease in the number of respondents per age group can be noted it should also be taken into consideration that the oldest respondent who participated in this study was eighty-two years old. This supports Farrington's views quoted in Maguire *et al*. (1997:373) that cessation of offending can only be determined with certainty after the offender dies. Although the majority of respondents fall within the age of twenty-six to thirty, the findings indicated that there is no age where respondents desisted from crime.

It is apparent that the largest group of recidivists that participated in this study came from the age group twenty-six to thirty-five. From a human developmental perspective this age group falls in the developmental phase that could be associated with entering and building a career in the occupational market as well as marriage and having children. It can be assumed that criminality and imprisonment will act as a major disruption in the expected developmental phases of these offenders. In this regard Siegal and

Senna (2000:185-186) postulate that disruptions in developmental tasks can promote criminality.

- **Educational qualification of respondents**

Findings in this research study indicated that the majority of the respondent's educational qualifications, namely 78% were lower than grade twelve. The qualifications of the respondents can be depicted as follows:

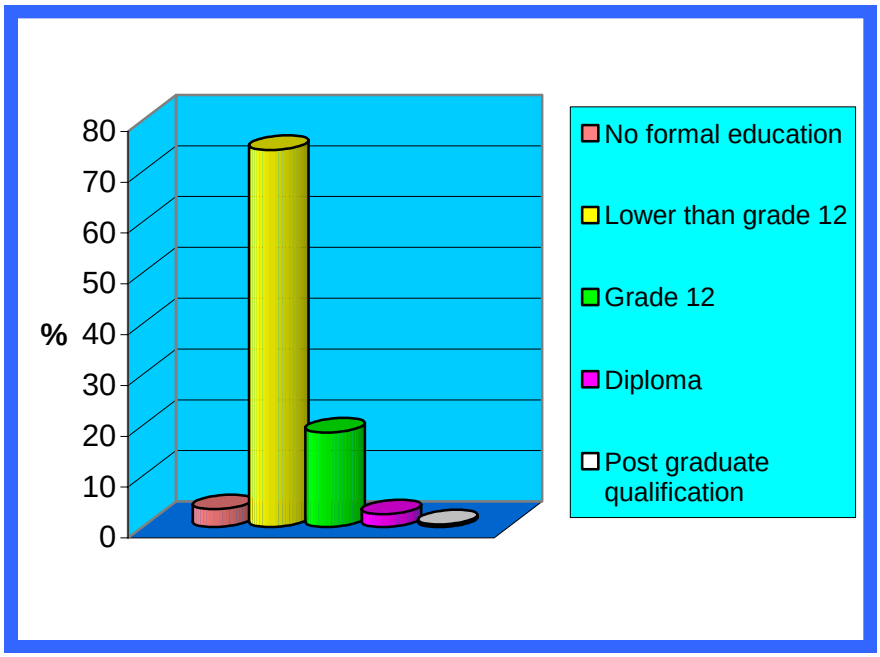

Figure 10: Educational qualifications

From Figure 10 it can be concluded that the majority of recidivists have a less than basic, or a basic educational qualification. In this regard research indicated that poor scholastic performance and the inability to function in school, a low degree of commitment to school, as well as an inability to form relationships with teachers

and peers were found to be risk predictors for re-offending and recidivism (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104; Bartollas, 1997:84 & 86; Jones & Sims, 1997:336 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:375). The impact of inadequate educational qualifications could furthermore restrict the choice of career opportunities affecting the scope of income earned by the respondents.

In the interpretation of these findings, it should be taken into consideration that ample opportunities are available within correctional services to acquire basic and advanced educational and skills related qualifications. This finding might be an indication that the respondents do not make use of these opportunities for self-development. This can possibly be associated with the recidivist's general attitude and cognitions regarding everyday life. In this regard research indicated that the recidivist's attitudes and cognitions are often based on feelings of frustration, helplessness, isolation and stigmatisation but on the other hand also an unrealistically positive future perspective (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104-105; Bartollas, 1997:144; Zamble & Quincy, 1997:48 and McGuire, 1995:144). The dynamics between these contradictory emotions often result in thoughts on self-improvement not being implemented and that the recidivist inevitably denies him- or herself the opportunity to develop educational and occupational skills.

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- **Employment history of respondents**

Of the respondents 67% indicated that they were unemployed and had no history of stable employment. Of the remaining33%, 44% indicated that they were employed for a cumulative period of five years or less. It is therefore clear that the respondents have an unstable to non-existing employment history.

Unemployment can be linked with economic deprivation and poverty. In this regard research indicated that the acquiring of material gain was the most common motive for property offences (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:380). The Commission on Behavioural and Social Sciences and Education (1995:44) states that even though poverty cannot directly be linked with criminality, the possibility exists for crime to act as an economical and psychological escape from poverty.

From the perspective of the control theory the high rate of unemployment can also be associated with idleness (Siegel & Senna, 2000:179). Idleness can facilitate offending in so far that the recidivist has ample time to be involved in criminal activities. Idleness can also be linked with boredom as well as being a motive for juvenile offending (Maguire *et al.*, 1997:382).

It can therefore be stated that poverty could be attributed to unemployment. The lack of economic means as well as idleness

associated with unemployment could be identified as risk factors associated with criminal causation.

- **Marital and family history of respondents**

An analyses of the research findings for this study indicated that the majority of respondents were not involved in any meaningful relationships. The distribution of respondents per marital status can be depicted as follows:

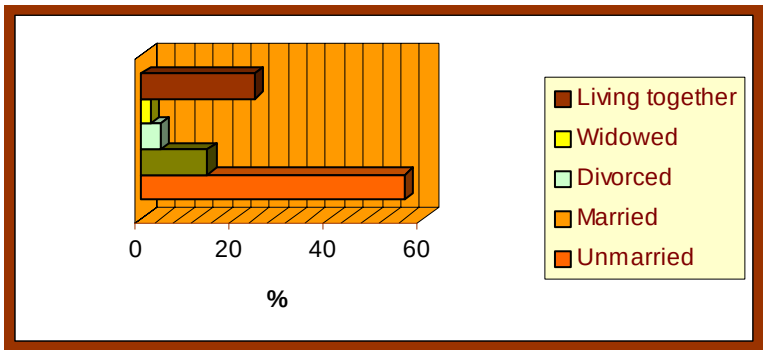

Figure 11: Marital status of respondents

Those respondents who are unmarried, divorced and widowed (62%) can be considered as not having a meaningful emotional relationship.

In accordance with the control theory, attachment to stable support systems within a relationship where an intimate emotional bond exists, serve as deterrence for deviant behaviour (compare Hesselink-Louw, 2001:107; Siegel & Senna, 2000:177 and Barlow, 1996:474-475). In this regard research indicated that a marriage could contribute to the reduction of offending behaviour due to the greater loss that is at stake for the offender when he commits

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crime (Dejong, 1997:564). In contrast, isolation from meaningful relationships with systems in conventional society can be viewed as a risk predictor for offending and re-offending (compare Siegel & Senna, 2000:176 and Conklin, 1995:218). It can therefore be stated that respondents had limited attachment to stable support systems in society.

Findings indicated that 65% of the respondents had one or more child. Based on the fact that the respondents are prisoners it can be assumed that a large number of these children are growing up in broken homes and single parent families. Research indicated that there is a positive link between recidivism and parental absence, as well as growing up in a broken home (compare Siegel & Senna, 2002:280, Barkan, 1997: 203 and Bartollas, 1997:232). The assumption can therefore be made that the recidivist's absence as a parent creates the predisposition for a continuation of a criminal behavioural pattern from father to child. The probability of this predisposed transference of a criminal behavioural pattern is strengthened by parental imprisonment (compare Bartollas, 1997:86 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:375).

In summary of the biographical findings it can be concluded that the respondents participating in this research study were males between the ages twenty-one and eighty-two. From the age distribution of the respondents it is apparent that no age limits could be linked to recidivism.

If these findings are compared with findings from literature, similarities could be identified between the general profile of the recidivist and the South African recidivist. Findings indicated that the majority of recidivists' educational level is below grade 12 and, there is a correlation between inadequate educational qualifications and unemployment. Idleness and boredom resulting from unemployment are risk factors that could be associated with criminal causation, and the majority of respondents are not involved in meaningful emotional relationships.

5.4.2 Social functioning of respondents

The social functioning of respondents were analysed by exploring positive as well as negative indicators of social functioning. The aim of analysing these constructs was to determine the respondents perceived level of their interpersonal functioning.

5.4.2.1 Positive indicators of social functioning

The positive indicators of social functioning that were analysed in this study were perseverance, satisfaction, future perspectives/ expectations, problem solving ability and moral values/empathy. These constructs were identified from the literature study as being indicators of optimal social functioning (compare Maguire *et al.*, 1997:386 and Faul, 1995:158). They are positive constructs implying that a clinical cutting score between seventy and eighty

percent will give an indication of effective social functioning within these areas. Each of these areas will henceforth be discussed.

- **Perseverance**

From the analyses of the PFIR scale it can be noted that the majority of respondents were of the opinion that their ability to persevere was above average. The clinical score for this construct was 88% . The score therefore falls outside the area of the clinical cutting score of between 70% and 80%. This is an indication that the respondents have an unrealistically high perception of their functioning in relation to perseverance. Results obtained from analysing the questions associated with this construct can be depicted as follows.

Table 7: Analyses of the construct – Perseverance

Question	Scale	Analyses
I keep on trying until I succeed	Never	5%
	Sometimes	10.6%
	Half of the time	7.1%
	Often	9.1%
	Always	68.2%
I keep on doing my work until it is done	Never	4.6%
	Sometimes	10.7%
	Half of the time	4.1%
	Often	10.2%
	Always	71.4%

Question	Scale	Analyses
It is important to me to understand my work	Never	1.5%
	Sometimes	6.7%
	Half of the time	2.6%
	Often	9.7%
	Always	79.5%
I complete my work even if it is difficult	Never	2.6%
	Sometimes	16.6%
	Half of the time	6.2%
	Often	15%
	Always	59.6%
It is important for me to do better and better	Never	1%
	Sometimes	9.7%
	Half of the time	3.1%
	Often	10.2%
	Always	76%
I work hard	Never	1%
	Sometimes	11.7%
	Half of the time	6.1%
	Often	7.6%
	Always	73.6%
It is important to me to do my work correctly	Never	1%
	Sometimes	4%
	Half of the time	3.5%
	Often	6.7%
	Always	84.8%
It is important to me to do well	Never	1%
	Sometimes	6.6%
	Half of the time	5.1%
	Often	9.1%
	Always	78.2%

It is of interest to note that the majority of respondents chose option five, namely always, as response to all of the asked questions.

Faul (1995:175) posits that perseverance can be associated with achievement, as achievers are people who have willpower to persevere with tasks in order to achieve an identified goal. Findings in this construct indicate that the respondents' perception of their levels of perseverance is unrealistic. This was reflected in the findings of the educational (point 5.4.1.2) and employment (point 5.4.1.3) history constructs. Both the constructs *educational* and *employment* history contradict the respondents' perceptions of themselves as being people who persevere in tasks.

- **Satisfaction**

The construct satisfaction aims to determine the level of satisfaction that the respondent experience in relation to everyday life and activities. Faul (1995:176) defines satisfaction as:

> "…the unique experience of an individual as to the feelings of well-being he attaches to his life. These feelings have no "objective" roots, but are characterized by the unique interaction of the individual with his environment. It represents an overall judgement of a person's life satisfaction that has to do with a person's cognitions and a person's affects".

A person's experience of satisfaction can therefore be viewed as being based on cognitions in relation to an evaluation of everyday life.

Findings from this study indicated that the average clinical score for this construct was 70%. It therefore falls just within the clinical cutting score of between70% and 80%. This is an indication that the respondents may have areas that affect their level of satisfaction negatively. The findings that can be associated with the construct satisfaction can be depicted as follows.

Table 8: Analyses of the construct -Satisfaction

I am satisfied				
Never 17.6%	Sometimes 19.7%	Half of the time 14.5%	Often 6.7%	Always 41.5%
I feel cheerful				
Never 11.8%	Sometimes 23.7%	Half of the time 16.4%	Often 8.1%	Always 40%
I feel happy				
Never 13.3%	Sometimes 30.1%	Half of the time 8.2%	Often 7.7%	Always 40.7%
I enjoy living				
Never 29.1%	Sometimes 13.3%	Half of the time 14.3%	Often 2%	Always 41.3%
I do the things that I enjoy				
Never 3.6%	Sometimes 18%	Half of the time 8.2%	Often 8.3%	Always 61.9%
I like my life the way it is				
Never 29.1%	Sometimes 13.3%	Half of the time 14.3%	Often 2%	Always 41.3%

From the table it is clear that with the exception of one question the majority of respondent's do not always feel satisfied with their

lives. A comparison between findings regarding the levels of satisfaction, namely *never, sometimes, half of the time, often* and *always* indicated that an average of 37% of respondents *never* or only *sometimes* feels satisfied with their life.

Findings from literature indicate that recidivists often experience everyday life as a frightening, and frustrating battle for survival in a hostile environment. Life is experienced as being unfair and these offenders often view themselves as being the victim rather than the perpetrator (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104-105; Bartollas, 1997:85-86 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:145). From the high levels of frustration as well as anxiety experienced by the respondents in this study, it is apparent when compared with Faul's (1995:189) definition of satisfaction that respondents do not experience satisfaction within the context of their everyday life.

- **Future perspective /expectations**

The Collins Cobuild Student's Dictionary (1995:414) defines perspective as "a particular way to think about something". It therefore refers to a personal cognition attached to a certain situation, place or person. Faul (1995:203) is of the opinion that a future perspective can be linked with a person's expectations towards the future. She posits that:

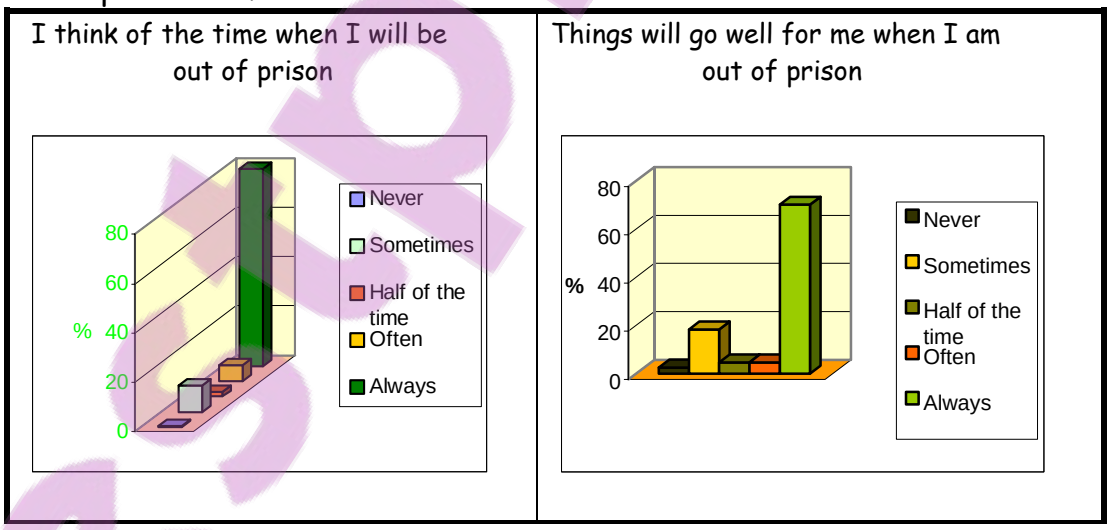
> "Expectation is the positive orientation of the individual towards his future. It involves the emotional experience of hope, and the cognitive appraisal of one's life from an optimistic point

of view. It is the belief that one can create one's own future, and that one does matter in life. It is the belief that things are possible, even if they will mean great effort and faith in oneself and the situation. It is also the belief that evil can be overcome by good and that man is inherently good and must be protected from evil".

From Faul's perspective, expectations can be viewed as a reflection of a person's positive future perceptions.

The analyses of the findings indicated a clinical score of 88% percent. This is higher than the clinical cutting score of between 70% and 80% implying an over activated perception regarding future expectation.

Questions measuring the construct *future perspective* can be depicted as follows:



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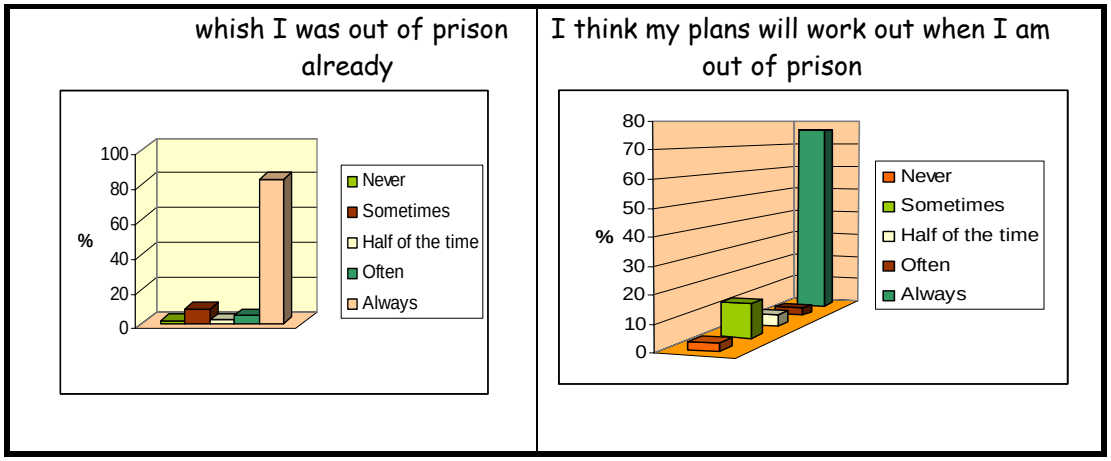

Figure 12: Analysis of the construct – Future Perspective

Similarly to Faul's findings the analyses of this construct indicated that respondents were excessively positive about their future. These findings concur with those of Zamble and Quincy's (1997:48) that were reflected in the general profile of the recidivist, namely that the recidivists were found to be overly positive about the future. In this regard Faul (1995:199) emphasises the danger that false expectations can have insofar that "…the skill is not to live in a dream, but to look upon real life with an open mind and with the will to experience the good and the evil". Zamble and Quincy (1997:48) concur, emphasising that the overly positive outlook of the recidivist was often found to be contrasted by negative cognitions surrounding the inevitability of returning to prison.

The researcher, from her experience working with recidivists, supports the findings of Zamble and Quincy. It is her experience that recidivists' future expectations in relation to various areas of

social functioning are unrealistic. As an example it can be mentioned that recidivists are often unable to understand their family's rejection as a result of their frequent incarceration. They furthermore tend to dream of being employed and earning a good salary whilst they possess no educational or employment related skills.

- **Problem solving ability**

The clinical score for this construct was 83% percent. This is above the clinical cutting score of between 70% and 80%. The questions utilised to measure this construct can be depicted a follows:

Tabel 9: Analysis of construct - problem solving ability

I make good decisions				
Never 1.6%	Sometimes 20%	Half of the time 5.5%	Often 12.9%	Always 60%
I handle problems effectively				
Never 2.6%	Sometimes 21.5%	Half of the time 7.3%	Often 17.3%	Always 51.3%
Failure makes me try harder				
Never 2.6%	Sometimes 19.3%	Half of the time 1.6%	Often 10.4%	Always 66.1%
I believe I can make a success of my life				
Never 1%	Sometimes 7.2%	Half of the time 3.6%	Often 2.6%	Always 85.6%
I feel in control of my life				
Never 3.6%	Sometimes 9.1%	Half of the time 4.6%	Often 7.6%	Always 75.1%

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From the table it is apparent that the majority of respondents are of the opinion that they handle their problems effectively. These findings are in contrast with the findings from the literature study, namely that recidivists have inadequate problem solving skills. In this regard Zamble and Quincy's (1997) coping and relapse theory established a link between inadequate problem solving skills and recidivism. Inadequate problem solving skills often reflects in the person's inability and ineffective resolving of everyday problems and interpersonal conflict. This can result in problems being solved by means of pro-criminal actions (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:41). It was found that the poor verbal skills, often associated with recidivists, reduced their self-control and problem solving capacities. This can result in the use of aggression and more action-orientated solutions in order to compensate for social inabilities (compare Kuperminc and Allen, 2001:598; Zamble & Quincy, 1997:41 and Zeidner & Endler, 1996:45).

- **Moral values / empathy**

  An analyses of the findings (Table: 10) indicated that the respondents are of the opinion that they adhere exceptionally well to moral values. It should be taken into consideration that the purpose of this construct is not to determine if the respondents adhere to pro-social or pro-criminal values but to analyse the respondent's attitude towards the moral value system they adhere to.

Findings underlying the construct of moral values / empathy can be depicted as follows.

Table 10: Analysis of construct – moral values/ empathy

I decide according to what I think is right or wrong				
Never 3.6%	Sometimes 17.9%	Half of the time 5.6%	Often 8.7%	Always 64.2%
I know when something is wrong				
Never 2.1%	Sometimes 8.3%	Half of the time 3.1%	Often 7.8%	Always 78.7%
I refuse to do something that I think is wrong				
Never 5.1%	Sometimes 15.8%	Half of the time 2.6%	Often 7.1%	Always 69.4%
I feel guilty when I do something wrong				
Never 2.6%	Sometimes 9.7%	Half of the time 1.5%	Often 5.2%	Always 81%

From the table it can be concluded that that there is a clear hiatus between the respondents' perception of their moral values, their current situation and their history of re-offending. This contradiction can possibly be ascribed to the pro-criminal moral system these respondents adhere to (compare McGuire, 1995:144).

During childhood and interaction with systems in the community a person is socialized to adhere to either a pro-social or a pro-criminal value system (compare Barkan, 1997:187 and Conklin, 1995:227). In this regard social support from meaningful systems in the community was found to promote pro-social

behaviour and the assimilation of moral values (Wright & Cullen, 2001:680). In contrast, a pro-criminal value system could be acquired by means of socialization in a society adhering to delinquent values (Brown, 2001:258).

A pro-social value system is further developed by the cultivation of a person's ability to empathise with others and to participate in and enjoy affectionate relationships (Lykken, 1995:8). Research indicated that there is a strong link between criminality and the inability to experience empathy (Compare Hill, 2002:135, Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:81, Siegel & Senna, 2000:182 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:386).

The ability to experience empathy is a fundamental skill that enables a person to anticipate, understand and experience another person's emotional reactions or viewpoints. It furthermore enables a person to be part of a community by adhering to the shared moral value system within the community (compare McWhirter *et al.*, 2002:70-71 and Carr & Vandiver, 2002:411). In this regard offenders differ from non-offenders in so far that they have a deficiency in the ability to interpret social situations and moral values. They are also characterised by the inability to experience empathy (Bergeron & Valliant, 2001:38).

5.4.2.2 Negative indicators of social functioning

Negative indicators of social functioning give an indication of problem behaviour that can be associated with social dysfunction. The New Dictionary of Social Work (1995:59) defines a social problem as a " (S)ituation in which the social functioning of an individual, group or community is impeded by obstacles in the environment and/or that individual, group or community that prevent the meeting of basic needs, the realisation of values and satisfactory role performance". Negative indicators of social functioning can therefore be associated with dysfunctional behaviour and social problems displayed by a person within his/her interaction in environmental systems. For the purposes of this research study the following negative indicators were included in the PSIR scale and thus analysed: anxiety, guilt-feelings, lack of self-worth, isolation, stigma, frustration, helplessness, alcohol abuse and drug abuse.

- **Anxiety**

Anxiety is a harmful complex emotional condition that can be associated with acute tension, stress and mental breakdown (compare New Dictionary of Social Work, 1995:4 and Bloomsbury Thesaurus, 1993:919).

From an analyses of the construct anxiety, a clinical score of 59% were scored whereas the clinical cutting score is between 20% and 30%. As stated previously in this chapter (point 1) with a negative

construct a lower score gives an indication of optimal social functioning whilst a higher score is an indication of social dysfunction. Questions used to analyse this construct can be depicted as follow.

Tabel 11: Analyses of the construct - anxiety Levels

I feel like running away from things that scare me				
Never 14.7%	Sometimes 16.2%	Half of the time 4.6%	Often 6.6%	Always 57.9%
Things I don't know scare me				
Never 18.7%	Sometimes 21.8%	Half of the time 13.5%	Often 10.9%	Always 35.2%
I get stomach pains from stress				
Never 29.1%	Sometimes 25%	Half of the time 7.1%	Often 7.6%	Always 31.1%
I am afraid that things may go wrong				
Never 17.9%	Sometimes 34.4%	Half of the time 11.3%	Often 5.6%	Always 30.8%
There are places where I feel scared				
Never 11.2%	Sometimes 39.8%	Half of the time 7.1%	Often 10.3%	Always 31.6%
There are people who scare me				
Never 41.5%	Sometimes 26.4%	Half of the time 9.3%	Often 4.1%	Always 18.7%
I feel afraid				
Never 25.6%	Sometimes 38.5%	Half of the time 11.8%	Often 7.2%	Always 16.9%

From the mentioned table it is apparent that the respondents experienced exceedingly high levels of anxiety. Anxiety can be viewed as an indication that social problems exist within a person's social functioning.

Zamble & Quincy's (1997:43) research indicated that aggression, depression and anxiety were identified as destructive emotions experienced by the majority of recidivists. Findings from this research study concurred with those of Zamble and Quincy in relation to anxiety being an emotion that is commonly experienced by recidivists. In this regard Faul and Hanekom (2002:15) postulate that if such a high level of anxiety is present then it will have a negative impact on the respondents social functioning. They furthermore state that it is an indication that the respondents most likely also experience feelings of uncertainty. Feelings of anxiety and uncertainty stand in contrast with the findings in the construct that measured future perspective and expectations.

- **Guilt feelings**

Respondents clinical score for this construct was 54% with the clinical cutting score of between 20% and 40%. The high frequency of the clinical score indicates that the excessive amount of guilt feelings as experienced by the respondents should have a negative effect on their functioning. However, discrepancies exist when the findings on the questions used to measure this construct is analysed. The analyses of the construct is reflected in the following table:

Table 12: Analyses of the construct – guilt Feelings

I am to blame when things go wrong				
Never 14.2%	Sometimes 31%	Half of the time 9.6%	Often 8.1%	Always 37.1%
When something is wrong, I am to blame				
Never 18.5%	Sometimes 23.6%	Half of the time 10.8%	Often 8.6 %	Always 38.5%
I feel I do to many things wrongly				
Never 22.7%	Sometimes 35.6%	Half of the time 10.8%	Often 10.8%	Always 20.1%
I cause problems				
Never 35.4%	Sometimes 36.4%	Half of the time 9.2%	Often 4.6%	Always 14.4%
I feel I should be punished				
Never 18.5%	Sometimes 23.6%	Half of the time 10.8%	Often 8.6%	Always 38.5%

As mentioned, the table is characterised by discrepancies. On the one hand the respondents indicated that they are to blame when things go wrong and therefore should be punished. On the other hand the respondents indicated that they do not cause problems and that they neither do too many things wrong. Even though this could be interpreted that the respondents are of the opinion that they are to blame when things go wrong, it is not clear if the respondents take responsibility for their behaviour.

Research (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104, Bartollas, 1997:84; Jones & Sims, 1997:336 and McGuire, 1995:145) indicated that these discrepancies could be associated with the assumption that recidivists think of themselves as the victim. They perceived this

as a grant to giving themselves the license to do as they please. From this perspective the recidivist views punishment as a further display of society's unfairness towards him.

- **Isolation**

One of the emotions according to literature that is often experienced by the recidivist is isolation. The analyses of the construct isolation indicated a clinical score of 63%. The individual questions associated with the construct can be depicted as follows:

Table 13: The analyses of the construct - isolation

When I am on my own, I feel less afraid				
Never 16.2%	Sometimes 25.9%	Half of the time 10.2%	Often 11.7%	Always 36%
I am scared to make new friends				
Never 34.4%	Sometimes 26.7%	Half of the time 10.3%	Often 5.5%	Always 23.1%
I am afraid of other people				
Never 35.1%	Sometimes 32%	Half of the time 9.7%	Often 6.7%	Always 16.5%
I like to be alone				
Never 28.7%	Sometimes 35.9%	Half of the time 10.8%	Often 4.6%	Always 20%
I do things alone				
Never 24.6%	Sometimes 27.2%	Half of the time 11.3%	Often 12.3%	Always 24.6%

From the table, as well as the mentioned clinical score, it is apparent that the respondents who participated in this study experience high levels of feelings of isolation. It was found in research (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104, Bartollas, 1997:84 and Jones & Sims, 1997:336) that recidivists are often perceived

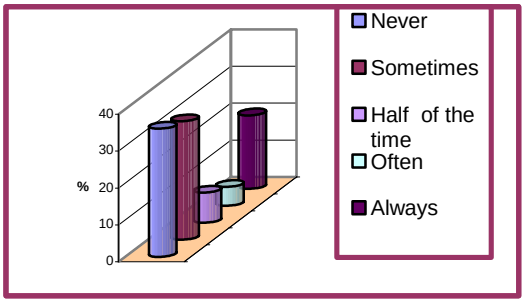
by themselves and other members of the community as the perennial misfits of society. These feelings of isolation could often be ascribed to a lack of social ties that often leads to emotions of loneliness. Feelings of isolation as well as loneliness can in turn lead to feelings of rejection and estrangement. This is also often accompanied by an inability to experience empathy and emotional intimacy. The inability to experience empathy can in turn lead to rejection by society (McWhirter *et al.*, 2002:70-71).

From the table it is apparent that the feelings of isolation can also stem from the respondents' mistrust of conventional society. In this regard Bartollas (1997:85) postulated that mistrust is a characteristic of recidivists. Mistrust can also stem from being stigmatised by society.

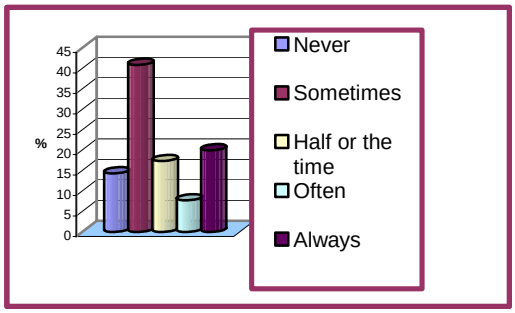
- **Stigma**

The clinical score of 55% gives an indication that stigmatisation has a negative impact on the respondents' social functioning. The individual questions can be depicted as follow:

Bad things only happen to me



Other people are getting on better than I do



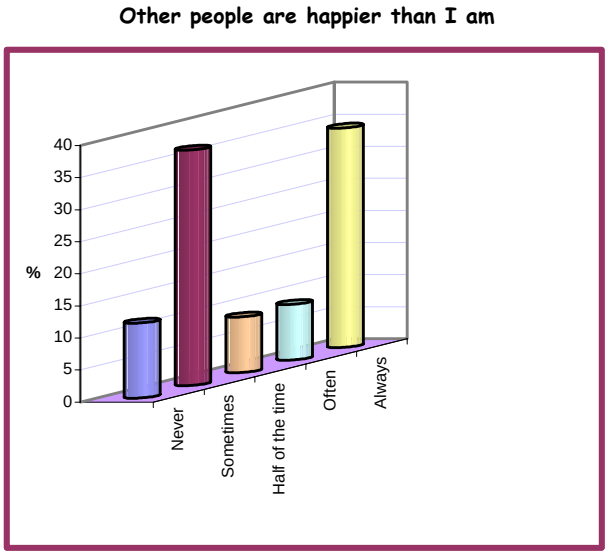


Figure 13: Analyses of the construct - Stigma

Findings from the graphs give an indication that the respondents are of the opinion that other people are happier and better of than they are. This can be ascribed to the respondents perceiving themselves as being labelled and hence stigmatised. The role of stigmatisation as causative factor of repeat offending and recidivism were established during the discussion of the labelling theory (Bartollas, 1997:184). Stigmatisation from formal and informal systems within society can lead to feelings of being isolated from society. The offender's acceptance of the deviant identity can lead to self-rejection that in turn is linked to feelings of worthlessness. This in turn may lead to social isolation, weakened commitment to conventional values and the acquisition of motives to deviate from social norms (Siegel & Senna, 2001:213).

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- **Lack of self-worth**

The clinical score for this construct is 35% with a clinical cutting score of between 20% and 30%. From the analyses of this construct it can be stated that the clinical score falls within the area that would be rated as uncertain. Within this score area the assumption can be made that the respondents may experience problems with regard to this area of their social functioning. Faul and Hanekom (2002: 15) propose that it is advisable to verify the results with the respondent in order to assess the effect of the construct on his social functioning. The individual questions that the construct comprises of can be depicted as follows:

Table 14: Analyses of the construct - lack of self-worth

People like me				
Never 8.2%	Sometimes 10.7%	Half of the time 9.2%	Often 11.2%	Always 60.7%
I like myself				
Never 0.5%	Sometimes 3.1%	Half of the time 1%	Often 3.6%	Always 91.8%
I am important				
Never 4%	Sometimes 5.1%	Half of the time 4%	Often 6.6%	Always 80.3%
People love me				
Never 3%	Sometimes 13.2%	Half of the time 9.1%	Often 11.3%	Always 63.4%
I feel good about myself				
Never 4.1%	Sometimes 12.8%	Half of the time 5.1%	Often 7.7%	Always 70.3%
People listen to me				
Never 6.1%	Sometimes 27%	Half of the time 13.3%	Often 11.3%	Always 42.3%

From the findings reflected in Table 4 it seems as if the respondents hardly experience feelings that can be associated with a lack of self-worth. In contrast on the contrary it seems as if the respondents experience mostly positive feelings towards themselves. Furthermore it seems as if they are of the opinion that people in the community perceive them similarly. These findings should be read in conjunction with the findings from the construct isolation and stigma. It is rare to experience feelings of isolation and stigma and at the same time not experience feelings associated with a lack of self-worth.

- **Frustration**

Frustration is a further emotion that was found to be associated with recidivism (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:34). The clinical score for this construct was 45%, with the clinical cutting score of between 20% and 30%. The high clinical score is an indication that frustration has a negative influence on the respondents' social functioning. The construct can be depicted as follows:

Table 15: Analyses of the construct – frustration

I easily feel angry				
Never 23.9%	Sometimes 34.5%	Half of the time 8.1%	Often 7.1%	Always 26.4%
I bully my friends when they make me angry				
Never 51.5%	Sometimes 21.7%	Half of the time 5.1%	Often 5.5%	Always 16.2%

I get what I want by threatening my friends				
Never 67.2%	Sometimes 17.2%	Half of the time 3.5%	Often 3.5%	Always 8.6%
I say nasty things to my friends when they make me angry				
Never 48.5%	Sometimes 27%	Half of the time 5.1%	Often 5.1%	Always 14.3%
I feel like swearing when my friends make me angry				
Never 38.6%	Sometimes 38.6%	Half of the time 4.6%	Often 5.6%	Always 12.6%
When I'm angry I feel like breaking something				
Never 53%	Sometimes 21.7%	Half of the time 3.5%	Often 3.5%	Always 18.3%
I feel like shouting when I'm angry				
Never 44.4%	Sometimes 26.3%	Half of the time 3.5%	Often 5.1%	Always 20.7%

From the analyses of the table it is clear that the findings in this research study concur with that found in the literature, namely that respondents experience high levels of frustration (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:34).

Research indicated that feelings of frustration stem from a typical attitude characterised by self-centeredness, a low frustration toleration and instant gratification of needs. These attributes can be directly linked to the way that recidivists go about in problem resolution (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104; Bartollas, 1997:84; Jones & Sims, 1997:336 and Zamble & Quincy, 1997:34). According to Faul (1995:219) the recidivist's methods of problem resolution gives an indication of an external locus of control insofar that responsibility for problem resolution is reflected on external agents. This concurs with Zamble and Quincy's (1997:11 - 13)

research findings, namely that recidivists experience difficulty in the resolution of problems. It can therefore be stated that the feelings of frustration could be linked with the respondent's inability to solve problems.

- **Helplessness**

Helplessness was the fourth emotion that in conjunction with frustration, isolation and stigmatisation that could characteristically be associated with recidivism (Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104 and Bartollas, 1997:84). The construct can be analysed as follows:

Table 16: Analyses of the construct - helplessness

I have stopped laughing				
Never 35.4%	Sometimes 31.3%	Half of the time 9.7%	Often 9.2%	Always 14.4%
I feel down-in-the-dumps				
Never 35.2%	Sometimes 25.9%	Half of the time 7.8%	Often 10.9%	Always 20.2%
I feel tired				
Never 19.3%	Sometimes 34.6%	Half of the time 8.6%	Often 9.1%	Always 28.4%
I feel sad				
Never 18.5%	Sometimes 39.5%	Half of the time 6.2%	Often 8.2%	Always 27.6%
I feel like a failure				
Never 29.9%	Sometimes 35%	Half of the time 8.6%	Often 8.2%	Always 18.3%
I feel alone				
Never 24.2%	Sometimes 32.8%	Half of the time 8.1%	Often 8.1%	Always 26.8%

Findings from Table 16 indicate that the respondents experience high levels of feelings of helplessness. The clinical score for this

construct is 55%. It is apparent that these feelings are affecting the respondents social functioning negatively.

Research indicated that feelings of helplessness could be associated with an external locus of control or anti-social logic (Faul, 195:219 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:145). Both of these are based on the assumption that recidivists think of themselves as the victim, which grant themselves a license to do as they please. This becomes a learned behavioural pattern that is used as a problem-solving tool (Faul, 1995:219 and McGuire, 1995:146).

- **Alcohol and drug abuse**

From research, a strong association between crime and alcohol abuse were established (Conklin, 2001:315, 318). In their study Zamble and Quincy (1997:35) found that alcohol and drug abuse were of the most frequent behavioural problems the recidivist experienced. The recidivist's inability to solve problems in a socially accepted manner was often associated with substance abuse. It was furthermore found that alcohol and drugs were in the most cases present before the recidivist re-offended (Zamble and Quincy, 1997:51). The construct can be analysed as follows:

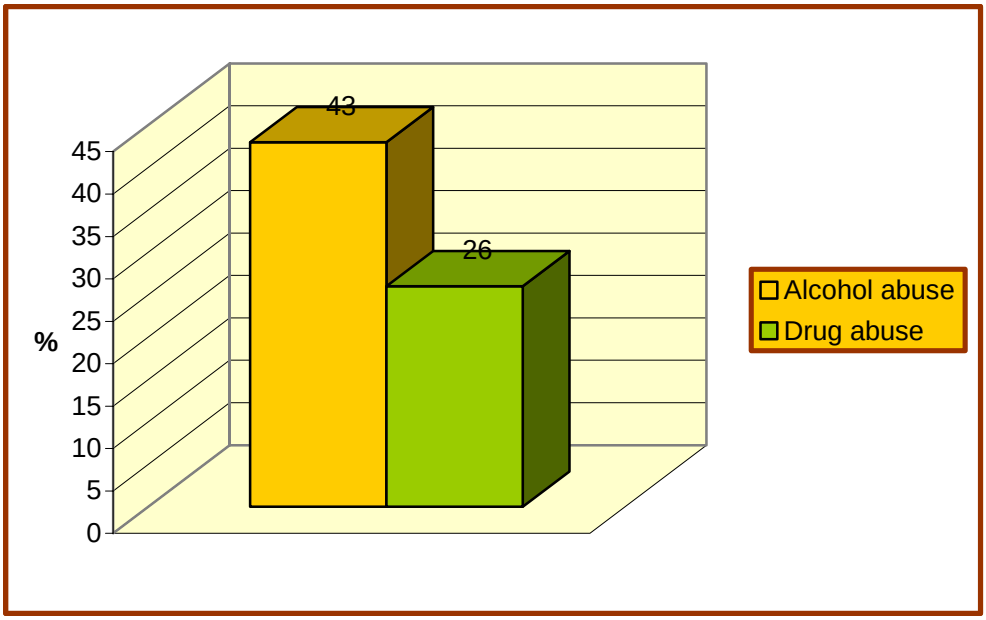

Figure 14: Alcohol and drug abuse of respondents

From Figure 14 it is clear that a clinical score of 43% in relation to alcohol abuse and 26% in relation to drug abuse were scored. It should be noted that the clinical cutting score is between 20% and 30%. It can therefore be stated that alcohol abuse has a negative impact on the respondents' social functioning. In relation to alcohol abuse Conklin (2001:316-317) postulated that alcohol abuse reduces perception of the consequences of crime and reduce anxiety or built up courage to commit a crime.

In contrast with alcohol abuse the respondents indicated that drug abuse does not have an effect on their social functioning. In this regard no direct link could be established between drug abuse as causative factor of crime. Research indicated that drugs and crime are part of a common lifestyle characterised by a sub-culture

associated with the tendency to pursue immediate pleasure and short-term goals (compare, Conklin, 2001:319; Barman, 1997:431 and Buikhuisen & Mednick, 1988:21). It can be further stated that both offending and substance abuse can be associated with ineffective strategies for interpersonal conflict and general problem resolution (Kuperminc & Allen, 2001:598, 615). Even though drug abuse can not be linked directly with the causation of crime the fact that it is associated with a pro-criminal life style is still of importance for this study.

5.4.3 Functioning within the environment

For the purpose of this research study the respondents perceived quality of their relationship with their family, care giver, partner, children, colleagues and friends were measured. In relation to their perceived interaction with these mentioned systems the following constructs were analysed: peer pressure, social support, integration into society and responsibility towards others.

- **Relationship with meaningful systems in the respondents' environment**

For the analyses of this construct it should be kept in mind that, as indicated previously, 62% of respondents have no meaningful relationship with a partner. Of the respondents 65% indicated that they had one or more child. It should furthermore be noted that 67% of the respondents indicated that they were unemployed and had no history of stable employment. The clinical scores for this

construct therefore reflect the perception of the respondents who have a stable relationship, a child(ren) and who is employed.

The respondents perceived the quality of their relationships with meaningful systems in their environment as follows:

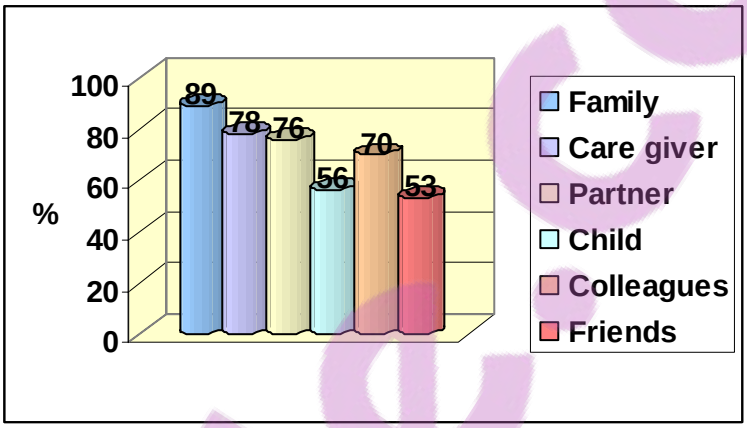

Figure 15: Respondents' meaningful relationships

The clinical cutting score for this construct is between 70% and 80%. From an interpretation of the graph it is apparent that the respondents perceive their relationship with their partner and care giver as satisfactory. In both cases respondents indicated that their caregivers and partners support them. Their relationship with colleagues were also experienced as being satisfactory, but it should be noted that if the clinical score of 70% were any lower, it would indicate possible problems within this area. It is interesting to note that even though the respondents experience their relationship with their partners as being satisfactory they indicated that problems exists in their relationship with their

children. They further indicated that their children frustrate them and that a lack of trust exists between themselves and their children. This can possibly be ascribed to the fact that the respondents are absent parents due to their frequent incarceration.

Relationships with friends scored the lowest with a clinical score of 53%. This is an indication that respondents perceive friends as having a negative impact on their social functioning. This will be further explored when the concept peer pressure is analysed.

Lastly, respondents indicated that they had the best relationship with their family members. A clinical score of 89% was measured for this construct. Faul and Hannekom (2002:16) postulate that this is an indication that a person is over emphasising positive areas in their functioning and is rationalizing a negative element in their lives. From her experience the researcher tends to concur with Faul and Hannekom insofar that recidivists' relationship with members of their family often tend to be unstable. This often results in family members' not making contact with the recidivist or even complete rejection.

An analyses of the findings of this construct indicated that the majority of the respondents do not have meaningful relationships with systems in their environment. The respondents who do have

relationships are generally satisfied with their relationship, excluding those with their children and friends. When findings from this construct are compared to those of the constructs isolation and stigma contradictions can be noted. In the case of both isolation and stigma findings indicated that the respondents lack of meaningful relations have a negative influence on their social functioning.

Further constructs, namely peer pressure, social support, integration into society and responsibility towards others further assess the quality of the respondents' relationships with meaningful systems in their community.

- **Peer pressure**

Research indicated that groups, amongst others, family, friends and peers have a powerful influence on the learning of pro-criminal behaviour and attitudes (Siegel & Senna, 2000:169). A clinical score of 40% was measured in this construct. The clinical cutting score for this construct is between 20% and 30%. This can be interpreted as an indication of respondents opinion that peer pressure has a negative impact on their social functioning.

Individual questions in the construct supports the abovementioned opinion and can be depicted as follows:

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Table 17: Analyses of the construct - peer pressure

I say no to bad things that my friends want me to do				
Never 10.2%	Sometimes 18.9%	Half of the time 4.6%	Often 4.1%	Always 62.2%
I show my friends when I dislike something				
Never 8.1%	Sometimes 13.8%	Half of the time 6.6%	Often 8.2%	Always 62.8%
I tell my friends when I think they are wrong				
Never 6.1%	Sometimes 10.7%	Half of the time 2%	Often 9.8%	Always 71.4%
I am scared to tell my friends what I think				
Never 44.4%	Sometimes 27%	Half of the time 8.2%	Often 7.1%	Always 13.3%
In front of my friends I pretend to be satisfied				
Never 44.4%	Sometimes 25.5%	Half of the time 7.7%	Often 7.1%	Always 15.3%
I keep quite even when I think my friends are wrong				
Never 60.1%	Sometimes 18.7%	Half of the time 6.1%	Often 5.6%	Always 9.5%

Research identified peer pressure as a risk factor that could be associated with criminal causation (Siegel & Senna, 2001:210; Barlow, 1996:476). These findings are supported by the findings regarding relationships, namely that respondents are of the opinion that friends have a negative impact on their social functioning.

Findings indicate that respondents are scared to tell their friends what they think and that they mostly pretend to be satisfied with life. This finding will be explored further in the analyses of the next construct, namely social support.

- **Social support (Buddy system)**

In contrast with respondents' perception of their relationships with friends, findings indicated that respondents have someone that they can rely on. The clinical score for this construct is 81% with the clinical cutting score being between 70% and 80%. Findings of the analyses of the concept are indicated in the following table.

Table 18: Analyses of the construct - social support

There is a special person that respects me				
Never 3.6%	Sometimes 12.8%	Half of the time 3.6%	Often 6.7%	Always 73.3%
There is a special person who cares for me				
Never 5.6%	Sometimes 11.7%	Half of the time 2.6%	Often 5.1%	Always 75%
I can count on a special person when things go wrong				
Never 8.2%	Sometimes 25.1%	Half of the time 6.7%	Often 7.2%	Always 52.8%
I can talk about my problems with a special person				
Never 3.6%	Sometimes 20.9%	Half of the time 5.6%	Often 7.7%	Always 62.2%
There is a special person who understands my problems				
Never 9.7%	Sometimes 13.3%	Half of the time 4.6%	Often 8.6%	Always 63.8%
There is a special person who is always there for me				
Never 8.7%	Sometimes 11.3%	Half of the time 5.2%	Often 5.6%	Always 69.2%
I have a special person who is a real source of comfort to me				
Never 6.6%	Sometimes 12.8%	Half of the time 4.1%	Often 10.7%	Always 65.8%

From the table it is clear that the majority of respondents are of the opinion that they have a stable emotional support system that supports and respects them. The findings in this construct need to be read in conjunction with the findings of meaningful emotional

relationships as well as high levels of feelings of isolation. These findings do not correlate with the high levels of stable emotional support, which is reflected in Table 18. It is not possible to have a stable emotional support system and at the same time experience intense feelings of isolation.

In this regard Faul and Hannekom (2002:16) postulates that a clinical score of 81% could be an indication that respondents are over emphasising a positive part of their functioning and are rationalizing negative feelings.

- **Responsibility towards others**

The clinical score for this construct is 94% with the clinical cutting score being between twenty and thirty percent. Faul and Hannekom (2002:16) stated that such a high clinical score is an indication that the negative construct is too high in a person's life. They are of the opinion that it could lead to irrational behaviour as well as violence towards one self or other people.

Individual questions underlying the construct can be depicted as follows:

Table 19: Analysis of construct – responsibility for others

I must prevent others from becoming sad				
Never 6.1%	Sometimes 15.3%	Half of the time 10.7%	Often 8.6%	Always 59.3%
I must prevent bad things from happening to other people				
Never 4.6%	Sometimes 12.2%	Half of the time 4.6%	Often 6.5%	Always 72.1%

I am worried about other people				
Never 4.6%	Sometimes 17.3%	Half of the time 9.6%	Often 12.2%	Always 56.3%
I must make sure that other people are happy				
Never 2.1%	Sometimes 13.3%	Half of the time 6.7%	Often 8.2%	Always 69.7%
I must keep other people out of trouble				
Never 2%	Sometimes 17.8%	Half of the time 7.6%	Often 7.1%	Always 65.5%

From the table it can be concluded that the respondents have an over activated responsibility for other people's happiness. They are under the impression that it is their responsibility to keep other people out of trouble. The findings in this construct are in contrast with findings from the construct, which measure guilt feelings. Even though respondents indicate that they experience guilt feelings it was questioned by the researcher whether they accept responsibility for their criminal behaviour and the impact it has on the victims of their crimes.

- **Integration into society**

A clinical score of 74% was measured in this construct. The clinical cutting score is between 70% and 80%. This score indicates that the respondents perceive themselves as being involved in their communities, that they enjoy respect in their communities and that they have meaningful relationships with people in their communities. The findings of the analyses of the individual questions used to measure the construct indicated the following:

Table 20: Analysis of the construct – integration into society

I am involved in my community				
Never 10.7%	Sometimes 21.3%	Half of the time 8.1%	Often 5.6%	Always 54.3%
I have meaningful relationships with people in my community				
Never 6.7%	Sometimes 16.9%	Half of the time 7.7%	Often 9.2%	Always 59.5%
My community supports me				
Never 10.2%	Sometimes 24.4%	Half of the time 6.5%	Often 7.1%	Always 51.8%
I enjoy prestige in my community				
Never 9.9%	Sometimes 20.3%	Half of the time 10.4%	Often 7.8%	Always 51.6%
I care about my community				
Never 3.6%	Sometimes 10.7%	Half of the time 4.5%	Often 7.1%	Always 74.1%
I have a positive bond with my community				
Never 9.1%	Sometimes 11.2%	Half of the time 7.6%	Often 11.2%	Always 60.9%
I enjoy respect in my community				
Never 4.6%	Sometimes 4.6%	Half of the time 5.6%	Often 7.7%	Always 77.5 %

From Table 20 it is apparent that the majority of respondents perceive themselves as being integrated into the community. There is a discrepancy in the findings of this construct and the findings in the constructs measuring isolation and stigma for it is highly unlikely for respondents to perceive themselves as being integrated in society and at the same time experience feelings of isolation.

With regard to the respondents' functioning within their environment it can be deducted that the majority of respondents, namely 62%, do not have meaningful relationships with systems in their environment. Those respondents who indicated that they do

have relationships with a spouse or care giver seem to be satisfied with the relationship. It was of importance to note that the majority of the 67% of respondents who had children indicated that they are not satisfied with their parent-child relationship.

Respondents perceived their relationship with their family members, excluding their children, as being exceptionally good. In this regard the clinical score of the construct was over activated, indicating that respondents are over emphasising a positive area of their functioning in order to rationalize their negative feelings. This indicates that the respondents' family relationships have a negative impact on their social functioning.

The majority of the respondents experience their relationship with friends as being unsatisfactory. This was supported by the findings in the construct peer pressure, namely that the majority of the respondents are susceptible to being influenced by peers and friends.

Regarding respondents' perception of the construct *social support* and *integration into society*, findings indicated that they perceived themselves as being respected and having a meaningful relationship with people in their community.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings and interpretation of the quantitative data of the research study. The data were obtained from an analysis of the PFIR eco-metric scale.

The conclusions from the findings of the qualitative study will be presented in Chapter 6. These conclusions provided a framework for the profile of the South African recidivist.

CHAPTER 6

A PROFILE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RECIDIVIST

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5 the data from the quantitative phase of this study was presented and integrated with literature. This chapter will present the conclusions based on the key findings of the quantitative study. Derived from the conclusions a profile of the South African recidivist will be compiled.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS OF THE QUANTITATIVE PHASE OF THIS STUDY

In this section conclusions based on the interpretation of the findings on individual constructs, namely biographical composition, social functioning and functioning within society will be discussed.

6.2.1 Biographical composition

Conclusions regarding the age, qualifications, employment history, marital and family history of the recidivist will be presented.

- **Age**

From the findings it can be concluded that recidivism is a phenomenon that is not primary affected by age but rather by pro-criminal cognitions and behaviour patterns (See Chapter 5; point 5.3.1.1). The researcher is of the opinion that a reciprocal behaviour pattern exists between the disruptive influences of

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crime and a lack of completion of developmental tasks. Just as crime disrupts expected developmental tasks, incomplete developmental tasks can in turn contribute to criminality (compare Siegel and Senna, 2000: 185- 186).

In conclusion it can be stated that even though no direct correlation could be established between recidivism and age, there seems to be a link between age, developmental tasks and recidivism.

- **Educational qualifications and employment history**

From the literature study (see Chapter 3, point3.4) it was apparent that there is a strong link between unemployment and recidivism as well as between a lack in formal education and recidivism (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:575).

The apparent lack of making use of educational opportunities offered in correctional centres is furthermore an indication that the recidivist focus on the here-and-now as opposed to long-term goals. It seems as if the challenge of personal development is perceived as being overwhelming, resulting in feelings of frustration and helplessness (Compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:59-60, Miller, 1998:104, Maguire *et al.*, 1997:383, Zamble & Quincy, 1997:48, Jones & Sims, 1997:336). This in turn could lead to the recidivist denying him or herself the opportunity for self-development.

- **Marital and family history of respondents**

Findings from the quantitative study as well as literature (see Chapter 3, 3.4) indicated that recidivists have a diminished ability to form meaningful emotional relationships and attachments with a partner as well as their children. The lack of attachment to stable support systems could lead to feelings of isolation from society (compare Siegel & Senna, 2001:59-60, Miller, 1998:104, Maguire *et al.*, 1997:383, Zamble & Quincy, 1997:48, Jones & Sims, 1997:336). It could therefore be concluded that the lack of stable emotional support systems and the isolation from conventional society could act as risk indicators for recidivism.

The recidivist's absence as a parent could create the predisposition for behavioural problems in their children. According to Bartollas (1997:86) and Maguire *et al.* (1997:375) the probability of transference of predisposed criminal behavioural patterns is furthermore strengthened by parental imprisonment.

6.2.2 Social functioning of the recidivist

Conclusions were reached regarding both positive and negative indicators of the recidivist's social functioning.

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6.2.2.1 Positive indicators of social functioning

Conclusions of the constructs perseverance, satisfaction, future perception, problem solving ability and moral values will next be presented.

- **Perseverance**

Findings (see Chapter 5, 5.4.1) indicated that recidivists have an unrealistic perception regarding their ability to persevere in the achievement of set goals. These unrealistic perceptions have a negative impact on the recidivists' social functioning insofar that it is based on projected perceptions of themselves in relation to reality. It can be concluded that recidivists lack perseverance as well as the willpower to achieve goals, for example, educational qualifications. They tend to focus on the here-and-now and instant gratification of needs instead of perseverance to achieve long-term goals (Siegel & Senna, 2000:182).

- **Satisfaction**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.1) indicated that there are areas that can be associated with dissatisfaction within the respondents' social functioning, i.e relationships with children and friends.

The researcher concludes that the diminished levels of satisfaction that the respondents experience within their everyday functioning can be associated with contradicting cognitions and perceptions. An example of these contradictions is evident in the

recidivists' perceived level of perseverance as well as their future expectations.

- **Future perceptions/ expectations**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.1) indicated that recidivists have an unrealistic positive perception and expectations of the future. This can be ascribed to the tendency that recidivists focus almost exclusively on the positive aspects in their everyday social functioning whilst ignoring the negative areas (compare Zamble & Quincy, 1997:48). Findings from this study furthermore indicated that recidivists tend not to participate in future building activities, e.g. acquiring educational of qualifications, and tend to ignore their personal responsibility in the building of a realistic and achievable future.

- **Problem solving ability**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.1) indicated that recidivists perceived their ability to deal with problems and challenges as exceptionally good. In this regard it can be concluded that their perception regarding their problem solving ability is over estimated and unrealistic. It was furthermore found that recidivists experience problems to cope with mundane daily activities as these are perceived by them as being stressful challenges (compare Maguire *et al.*, 1997:395). This often results in the recidivists utilizing crime as a problem resolution tool.

- **Moral values**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.1) indicated that recidivists are of the opinion that they have high moral values. The researcher is of the opinion that recidivists are socialized by community systems to adhere to pro-criminal values. This has a negative impact or their ability to experience empathy and to interpret social situations (Lykken, 1995:8). In conclusion it can be stated that the recidivists' pro-criminal value system has a negative impact on their ability to be integrated into society as well as to conform to the expectations of society.

From the above discussion of the positive indicators of social functioning, it can be concluded that there is a discrepancy between the respondents' perceived functioning in relation to the reality of their current situation and past offending history. The researcher is of the opinion that this can be ascribed to the projected emotions and cognitions reflecting how the recidivists would like to perceive themselves and be perceived by others. It is furthermore an indication that recidivists are over compensating for dysfunctional areas that affect their social functioning negatively.

6.2.2.2 Negative indicators of social functioning

Conclusions were based on the findings of the negative indicators of social functioning, namely anxiety, guilt feelings, isolation,

stigma, lack of self-worth, frustration, helplessness and substance abuse.

- **Anxiety**

From the findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) it can be concluded that recidivists experience high levels of anxiety. These high levels of anxiety reflect a dysfunction in areas of the recidivist's social functioning (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:43). The researcher is of the opinion that it is highly unlikely to have an exceedingly high future expectation whilst simultaneously experiencing excessively high levels of anxiety. These feelings instil uncertainty within the recidivist on their ability to succeed.

- **Guilt feelings**

From the findings (see Chapter 5; point 5.4.2) it can be concluded that recidivists' guilt feelings are projected based on their perception of what is expected from them by society. Their lack of ability to experience empathy, as well as an inability to interpret social situations, highlights the dividedness between their projected emotional competencies and real life experiences (compare Hill, 2002:145). In this regard it can furthermore be concluded that there is a gap between their projected guilt feelings and their ability to take responsibility for their anti-social behaviour.

- **Isolation**

From the findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) it is clear that feelings of isolation have a negative effect on the recidivists' social functioning. A clear link was found to exist between the feelings of isolation and loneliness that recidivists experience as well as their inability to experience empathy (compare Jones & Sims, 1997:336 and McWhirter *et al.*, 2002:70-71). It can furthermore be concluded that recidivist's feelings of isolation reinforce their lack of integration and attachment with meaningful systems in society (compare Chapter 2; point 2.3.4).

- **Stigma**

From findings (Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) it can be concluded that respondents experienced themselves as being negatively labelled and stigmatised by society. Their internalisation of the acquired label impacts on their ability to form meaningful relationships with society as well as contributes to the establishing of pro-criminal behavioural patterns (compare Bartollas, 1997:184). It can therefore be concluded that a reciprocal relationship exists between social isolation, stigmatisation and recidivism.

- **Lack of self-worth**

Although findings (Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) indicated that respondents perceive themselves as not having feelings that could be associated with a lack of self-worth, it was contradictory to findings in the constructs stigma, anxiety and isolation. It can

therefore be concluded that recidivist's lack of self-worth is actually a projected emotional cognition, which is rooted in how they would like to perceive themselves and be perceived by others (compare Faul and Hannekom, 2002:16).

- **Frustration**

Findings (Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) indicated that feelings of frustration have a negative impact on the respondents social functioning. A link was established between the recidivists' inability to resolve problems effectively and the high levels of frustration they experience (Zamble & Quincy, 1997:34). It can be concluded that the recidivists' external locus of control as well as their inability to solve problems contribute to feelings of frustration (Faul, 1995:219). These feelings of frustration could act as a trigger mechanism for resolving a problem by means of pro-criminal actions.

- **Helplessness**

Findings (Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) indicated that recidivists experience excessive levels of feelings of helplessness. These feelings can be associated with an external locus of control as well as their inability to resolve problems effectively (compare Faul, 1995:219 and Maguire *et al.*, 1997:145). They tend to view themselves as the victim based on their assumption that the world is an unfair place. These cognitions together with their ineffective problem resolution skills and feelings of helplessness are typical of

characteristics that can be associated with a recidivist (compare Bartollas & Miller, 1998:104, Bartollas, 1997:84; Jones & Sims, 1997:336 and Zamble & Quincy, 1997:41).

- **Alcohol and drug abuse**

Findings (Chapter 5, point 5.4.2) indicated that specifically alcohol abuse had a negative impact on the respondents social functioning. A direct link between alcohol as risk factor for criminal causation was established (compare Conklin, 2001: 316-317). Findings indicated that drug abuse did not affect the respondents' social functioning. This is in contrast with findings from literature, namely that drugs and crime are part of a common lifestyle or sub-culture. This lifestyle can be associated with interaction between drug using offenders (compare Conklin, 2001:319 and Barkan, 1997:431). The researcher is of the opinion that alcohol and drugs are tools whereby the recidivists compensate for inadequacies in their social functioning. These inadequacies are for instance feelings of anxiety, isolation and lack of self-worth. It can therefore be concluded that alcohol and drugs becomes a coping mechanism and problem-solving tool to address inadequacies in the recidivists' social functioning. It can furthermore be associated with the recidivists' pro-criminal lifestyle.

From the discussion of the negative indicators of social functioning it can be concluded that several of the negative indicators, for example guilt feelings, isolation and stigma, are rooted in the

recidivists' interaction with, and their perception of their interaction with environmental systems. Findings indicated that they tend to project feelings of how they would like to be perceived by themselves and others. The discrepancy between these projections and the reality manifests itself in feelings of anxiety, helplessness and frustration. Ineffective coping mechanisms and inadequate problem solving skills furthermore strengthen these negative feelings. Recidivists often abuse alcohol and drugs in order to cope with these feelings as well as to compensate for inadequacies in their social functioning.

6.2.2.3 Functioning within the environment

The respondents' interaction with meaningful systems, namely family, care givers, partner, child, colleagues and friends will henceforth be discussed. Conclusions regarding the impact of peer pressure and a social support system as well as the respondents' perception of their responsibility towards others and integration into society will be presented.

- **Relationship with meaningful systems**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.3) indicated that respondents tend to project positive feelings regarding their relationships with environmental systems giving an indication of their desired relationship with these systems (compare Faul & Hannekom, 2002:16). Recidivist's lack of social ties and the unrealistic perception regarding these relationships are reflected in their

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feelings of isolation and stigma they experience. It can be concluded that the recidivists' lack of relationships with meaningful systems, and the absence of social support systems in their lives, has a negative impact on their social functioning.

- **Peer pressure**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.3) indicated that recidivists associate with friends that adhere to pro-criminal values. It was established by Siegel & Senna (2000:169) that friends could act as a powerful socialization agent in the learning of pro-criminal behaviour and attitudes. The respondents regard friends as a causative factor of their offending behaviour. It can therefore be concluded that peer pressure has a negative impact on the recidivists' social functioning.

- **Social support**

From findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.3) it could be concluded that recidivists do not always have stable support systems.

- **Responsibility for others**

As in the case with the construct *guilt feelings*, the respondents' perception regarding their responsibility towards others are also over activated (compare Faul & Hannekom, 2002:16). This is an indication that it is a projection of what the recidivist perceive as socially acceptable behaviour. The recidivists' lack of an ability to experience empathy was discussed in Chapter 3, point 3.2.2.

The recidivists' perception of responsibility towards others can also be associated with "pleasing behaviour" which supports the findings regarding the negative influence that peer pressure has on the recidivists' social functioning (compare Brown, 2001:258 and Bartollas & Miller, 1998:120).

- **Integration into society**

Findings (see Chapter 5, point 5.4.3) indicated that the recidivists' perception regarding their integration into society is based on projected feelings, which reflect how they would like their relationships ideally to be with the community.

The lack of contact that the respondents have with conventional society is supported by findings from the measuring of the constructs *isolation* and *stigma* (compare Chapter 5, point 5.4.2). The researcher is of the opinion that it is highly unlikely for the respondents to feel integrated in the community and at the same time experience intense feelings of isolation and stigmatisation.

From the abovementioned findings regarding the respondents' relationship with environmental systems it can be concluded that recidivists tend to over emphasise the positive part of their social functioning in order to rationalize the negative feelings they have regarding their lack of relationships, as well as the lack of

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emotional and social ties with individuals and systems in the community.

The discussed conclusions will henceforth be utilized to compile a profile of the South African recidivist.

6.3 PROFILE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RECIDIVIST

The profile of the recidivist is based on characteristics that can be associated with behavioural patterns that are typical of the recidivist. In Chapter 2 (point 2.2.1) the researcher highlighted the inconsequent use of recidivism as a label. She further emphasised the negative effect that labelling has on the social functioning of a person who has been labelled as a recidivist. The negative effect of labelling was further explored in Chapter 4, point 4.4.

Being aware of the negative impact of labelling, the researcher acknowledges the possible labelling effect that a profile of a recidivist could have. However, the aim of this profile is not to label an offender as a recidivist but rather to act as a tool to assist with the prevention and management of recidivism.In this regard the researcher concurs with Zamble and Quinsey's (1997:5): "What is needed is a better understanding of the role of current factors in the causation of new offences". The researcher is of the opinion that the road to this challenge lies within the profile of the recidivist.

The predominant characteristics of recidivists are their habitual re-offending. This stems from following a pro-criminal life style and multi-dimensional, anti-social behavioural patterns that recidivists adhere to. From the literature as well as quantitative study it was found that their life style is commonly rooted in pro-criminal socialization and is based furthermore on delinquent moral values and cognitions. These pro-criminal attributes and cognitions are enmeshed and present themselves by means of typical characteristics that could be associated with recidivism as a phenomenon. These characteristics act as risk factors that could contribute to the maintaining of recidivistic behavioural patterns. It is therefore of importance to note that it is not individual characteristics but the dynamic interaction between these characteristics that underlies a recidivistic life style and profile.

According to the researcher, the profile of the South African recidivist can be depicted as follow:

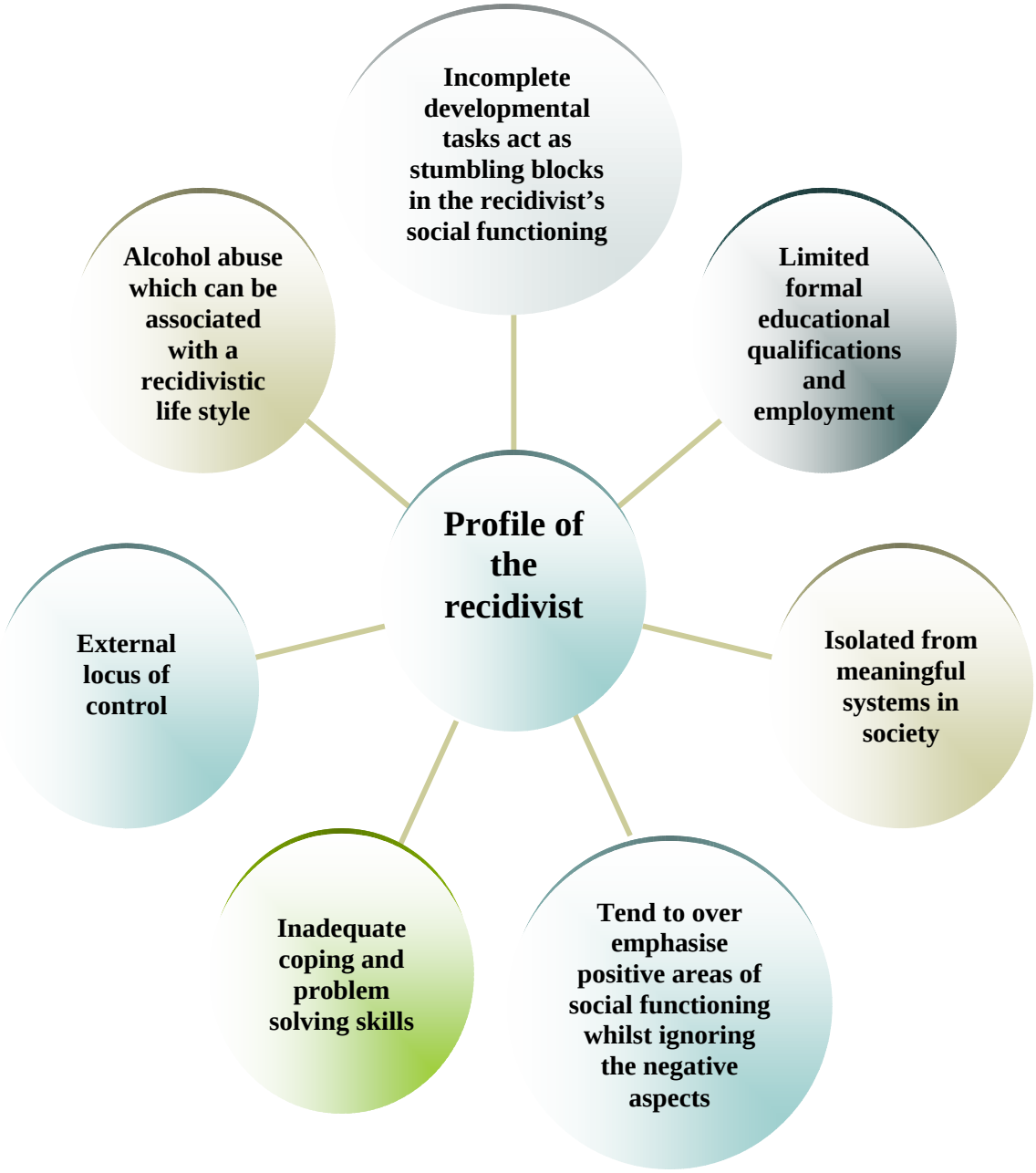

Figure 16: Profile of the South African recidivist

Figure 16 depicts characteristics which reflects the typical profile of the South African recidivist. Each characteristic will henceforth be discussed.

- **Characteristic 1**

Findings indicated that recidivism is not age bound. The emphasis rather falls on the reciprocal influence of incomplete developmental tasks in relation to the formation of recidivistic behavioural patterns and life style. Incomplete developmental tasks, such as the absence of formal educational qualifications affect future tasks, amongst others, the obtaining of employment and financial independence. These incomplete developmental tasks act as a developmental stumbling block which in turn affect the recidivist's social functioning negatively. These incomplete developmental tasks could act as a risk factor that can be associated with the causation of crime.

- **Characteristic 2**

The recidivist has limited basic formal educational qualifications as well as a lack of employment related skills. The lack of these qualifications and skills limit employment prospects and lead to unemployment as well as affect the recidivist's scope of financial income. Unemployment could furthermore be linked with idleness and boredom, creating the opportunity for offending. The inter-actional dynamics between the recidivist's educational and employment skills as well as unemployment, poverty and idleness act as risk factors that could contribute to criminal causation.

- **Characteristic 3**

The recidivist tends to be isolated from meaningful systems in society and lack relationships with support systems. Recidivists often view the community as a hostile environment within which they are stigmatised. The internalisation of these perceived negative labels further act to isolate the recidivist from society.

Recidivists furthermore lack the ability to form and maintain emotional relationships with support systems. The recidivists' relationship with support systems are often characterised by their unrealistic perceptions regarding these relationships. This leads to the projection of their perceptions of how they would like their relationships with support systems to be. These unrealistic perceptions further strengthen the feelings of isolation they experience.

The recidivist's lack of integration into conventional society as well as the absence of stable support systems act as risk factors that could be associated with criminal causation.

- **Characteristic 4**

The recidivist characteristically tends to over emphasise the positive areas of their social functioning whilst ignoring the negative aspects. Their self-perceptions are based on how they would like to perceive themselves as well as how they would like to

be perceived by others. This is also evident in their future perception and expectations where they have an unrealistically positive perception regarding the future. In reality these positive expectations are built upon projected needs. It was indicated by the findings that recidivists do not take responsibility for developmental tasks in order to work towards realizing their perceived future expectations. This results in a hiatus between their projected perceptions and expectations, which results in experiences of dissatisfaction with their social functioning.

- **Characteristic 5**

Recidivists tend to have inadequate problem solving abilities. They furthermore tend to experience daily challenges as stressful problematic situations. This affects their abilities to cope with everyday mundane activities. Due to their pro-criminal socialization as well as delinquent life style they tend to resolve problems in an anti-social manner. They also lack the ability to anticipate the outcome of their actions.

- **Characteristic 6**

Findings (compare Faul, 1995:219) indicated that the recidivist has an external locus of control, which means that they perceive themselves as not being in control of their own lives. Feelings of anxiety, helplessness and frustration that they experience in this regard have a negative impact on the recidivists' social functioning.

Their external locus of control combined with their inability to resolve problems act as a risk factor that could be associated with criminal causation.

- **Characteristic 7**

Substance abuse, specifically alcohol abuse, was found to be associated with the recidivistic criminal life style. The abuse of substances acts as a tool for the recidivist to address and cope with inadequacies in their social functioning (compare Kuperminc & Allen, 2001:598, 615).

In conclusion, with regard to the profile of the South African recidivist, it should be emphasised that these characteristics should not be seen in isolation since they all form part of various recidivistic behavioural patterns. These behavioural patterns can in turn be associated with an anti-social life style.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusions from the quantitative findings of the study, the researcher proposed the profile of the South African recidivists. The South African profile of a recidivist concludes phase one, the quantitative research phase of this study. Recommendations following from these conclusions are as follows:

- An assessment scale should be developed to assist with the risk prediction of re-offending;

- Therapeutic intervention strategies and programmes should be developed based on the profile of the recidivist; and
- Further research should be conducted on a national basis in order to develop a profile that could be generalized to all South African offenders.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the conclusions based on the findings and interpretation of the quantitative data were presented. From the mentioned conclusions a proposed profile of the South African recidivist was compiled. In Chapter 7 findings of the qualitative data, i.e. phase two of the research study, will be presented and discussed.

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CHAPTER 7

EMPIRICAL STUDY AND FINDINGS OF THE QUALITATIVE STUDY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings of the second phase, namely the qualitative research of this study. The empirical study comprises of data gathered by means of expert interviews with the aim of compiling an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. The action plan will be presented in Chapter 8.

In this chapter, a brief summary of the research process followed during the quantitative phase of this study will be outlined, followed by the presentation and discussion of the findings of the qualitative study.

7.2 SUMMARY OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As stated in Chapters 1 and 5 a combined quantitative-qualitative approach was utilised for this study by making use of methodological triangulation, specifically Cresswell's two-phase model. By means of the two-phased model this study was divided in to a separate quantitative and qualitative phase. The research methodology of phase one, the quantitative phase of the study was discussed in Chapter 5 (point 5.3). In phase two, the qualitative phase of the study, interviews were conducted with experts in the field of crime prevention and management. These

interviews were based on the profile of the South African recidivist (see Chapter 6) and were aimed at the compilation of an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. Experts utilised as respondents in this study were identified by making use of the snowball sampling technique. The respondents who agreed to participate in this study completed a consent form whereby the voluntary nature of their participation was confirmed (see Attachment 4).

The interviews were conducted according to a semi-structured interview schedule (see Attachment 2). All interviews were tape recorded by the researcher. Data were transcribed and analysed through the identification of themes that were categorised.

The following experts were included in the study:

Table 21: Respondents for qualitative research

RESPONDENT	ORGANISATION	POSITION	QUALIFICATIONS	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN CRIME PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT
Mr. Mike Batley	Restorative Justice Centre	Executive Director	BA Social Work	9 years
Dr. W Coetzee	Consultant Previously involved with Department of Correctional Services, Technicon SA and UNISA		DPhil Education	35 years
Prof. J Prinsloo	UNISA - Institute for Criminological Sciences	Head of Division	D Litt et Phil	27 years
Ms. A Hesselink-Louw	UNISA - Institute for Criminological Sciences	Researcher Lecturer	MA criminology	6 years

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RESPONDENT	ORGINISATION	POSITION	QUALIFICATIONS	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN CRIME PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT
Ms. A Smit	NICRO – Gauteng	Provincial Programme Specialist - Diversion	MA social work	6 Years
Dr. C Bezuidenhout	Department Criminology – University of Pretoria	Senior Lecturer	DPhil (Criminology)	11 years
Dr. A van der Westhuizen	SAVF, Department of Correctional Services	Volunteer Researcher	DPhil (Social work)	8 years
Ms. C Domingo-Swarts	CSIR – Crime Prevention Centre	Criminologist	BA(Honours) Criminology	7 years
Ms. M du Plessis	CSIR – Crime Prevention Centre	Criminologist. Project Manager	BA(Honours) Criminology	7 years
Dr. J Coetzee	Department of Correctional Services	Director: Formal Education	D.Phil (Education)	7 Years
Ms. Estelle Matthee	Department of Correctional Services	Assistant Director: Curriculum Administra-tion	TED Education Management	12 Years
Mr. F Strydom	Department of Correctional Services	Deputy Director: Formal Education	Honours: Education Management	21 Years

Subsequently the findings from this phase of the research will be presented and discussed.

7.3 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS OF THE QUALITATIVE PHASE OF THE STUDY

As already indicated this phase of the research study consisted of data accumulation by means of expert interviews. Five themes were identified for discussion during the interviews, namely:

- Respondents perception of recidivism as concept;
- Prevention and management of recidivism from the perspective of the profile of the South African recidivist;
- Assessment of the need for statistics on recidivism;
- Identification of elements that should be part of an inter-disciplinary action plan for recidivism; and
- The identification of role players and partnerships that the inter-disciplinary team should comprise of.

The aim of theme one was to establish a shared cognition regarding the concept recidivism. Theme three was included in the schedule in order to highlight the lack of a statistical record on recidivism as well as to determine if a need for such a statistical record exists. The other themes were explored in order to identify actions, strategies and role players that should be included in an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. These themes will henceforth be respectively discussed.

7.3.1 The respondents' perception of recidivism as concept

In Chapter 2 it was established that recidivism as concept is characterised by the inconsequent use and dissimilar interpretations thereof. From this perspective the researcher

deemed it necessary to determine the experts understanding of recidivism as concept. However, it should be taken into consideration that recidivism is a relatively unknown field in South Africa. The only expert on recidivism that the researcher is aware of in South Africa is professor Prinsloo who conducted a study on this subject in 1995. The other respondents that were included in this study where therefore not necessary experts in the field of recidivism but rather in the field of crime prevention and management.

Findings indicated that the majority of respondents associated recidivism as concept with re-offending or repetitive offending. It was confirmed by the respondents that uncertainty on the concept recidivist would remain if it was not scientifically addressed and uniformly conceptualised.

With regard to utilising the type of crime and sentence as criteria for conceptualising recidivism, mixed viewpoints were noted. Some of the respondents concurred with the researcher's definition of recidivism, namely that the phenomenon is inclusive of all types of crime whilst others felt that a recidivist is a person who specialises in a specific type of crime. In this regard a need was identified to differentiate between the recidivist, repeat offender, chronic offender and career criminal.

In relation to the type of sentence associated with recidivism as phenomenon the majority of respondents concurred with the

researcher's viewpoint, namely that either a prison or community correction sentence should act as classification criteria for recidivism. Two of the respondents were of the opinion that it would be beneficial for purposes of prevention if an offender's tendency to relapse into criminal behaviour is already documented before the judicial intervention phase commences. In this regard they specifically referred to juveniles that were included in diversion programmes due to criminal offending.

7.3.2 **Prevention and management of recidivism**

Data indicated that the prevention and management of recidivism could be divided into three phases, namely prevention, intervention and re-integration. The intervention phase refers to actions aimed at therapeutic or developmental growth of the recidivist. For each phase the research respondents identified prevention and management strategies. Each identified phase will subsequently be discussed.

- **Prevention**

Regarding prevention one of the respondents noted that in itself the rationale behind prevention is flawed. This view is based on the premises that to prevent crime, it must be present in the first place. This respondent furthermore stated that the type of crime would determine the type of prevention strategy required. The general opinion of all the respondents was that prevention of recidivism could be achieved by means of pro-active strategies. The aim of these strategies should be to

promote individual and community based moral regeneration. The moral reintegration initiative should commence within the systems where the formation of behaviour patterns is rooted, namely, community, family, church and educational facilities. In this regard one of the respondents emphasised the restoration of the social fabric in the community. He views social fabric as the glue that keeps a community together and refers to interfamilial bonds and relationships as well as the shared responsibility that exist amongst members of a particular community. Linked to this is the general opinion that was noted amongst the respondents, namely the need for moral regeneration in order to prevent crime. The rationale behind moral regeneration, according to the respondents, is rooted in the socialisation of community members in pro-social values and norms (compare White Paper on Social Welfare: 1997:11 & Howes, 1996:37). Based on this perspective the opinion was that change should literally begin with each community member by accepting responsibility for their own behaviour as well as the development of social responsibility. In this regard one respondent stated that social responsibility is a reflection of the humanitarian aspect that is unique to humans and that separates people from animals.

A further aspect that was identified by several of the respondents was the development of infrastructures within communities to facilitate an individual's development. These infrastructures should create an enabling environment to assist the individual to develop holistically on al levels of his/her social

functioning (compare Discussion Paper on Correctional Services in South Africa, 2003:18).

The general consensus amongst respondents was that moral regeneration should start at a young age, for instance in schools. One respondent emphasised the importance of pro-active early intervention initiatives at school. She stated that these initiatives should be aimed at addressing high-risk behaviour as well as the building of personal pro-social moral values. She further emphasised that the focus should also fall on addressing inadequacies within the community, for instance addressing the culture of violence that is currently prevalent in South Africa. Another respondent concurred with these prevention strategies and added that parental guidance skills should also be developed and positive role models should be created within communities. She further emphasised the importance of creating alternatives to delinquent values, stating that the community tend to identify and focus on negative behaviour without highlighting positive alternatives. As an example she mentioned the "Don't do crime" initiative stating that no alternative of what a person should do is indicated. In this regard she suggests that infrastructures should be developed within communities that create opportunities and act as positive alternatives for negative behaviour patterns.

The majority of respondents stated that prevention of recidivism should also take place in the sentencing phase of the judicial process. This view is also in line with the Financial Policy for

Developmental Social Welfare Services (1999:12). In this regard one respondent stated that the retributive approach promotes the victim's role that was identified as being characteristic of the recidivist (compare McGuire, 1995:145). He stated that a sentence is laid down without the offender taking part in this process, thus being denied the opportunity to take responsibility for his/her actions. The majority of the respondents were furthermore of the opinion that the aim of a sentence should be to prevent further offending (compare Discussion Paper on Correctional Services in South Africa, 2003:18). In this regard it was emphasised that a prison sentence could contribute to, or maintain recidivistic behavioural patterns. This point of view is based on the fact that whilst being in prison an offender is further isolated from conventional society and is further subjected to a system where pro-criminal values are prevalent. The respondents therefore concurred that an offender should only be sentenced to imprisonment as a last resort (compare Van Der Westhuizen, 2002).

- **Intervention**

From the purpose of this study intervention refers to actions aimed at addressing inadequacies in the recidivist's social functioning by means of therapeutic and developmental orientated actions and focus on offenders that were classified as recidivists.

The majority of the respondents concurred that the first step in intervention programmes is the assessment of the recidivist. One

of the respondents emphasised the importance of an in-depth assessment in order to determine each offender's unique set of causative factors that his/her recidivistic behavioural patterns are rooted in. Another respondent concurs, stating that this individual assessment should be the point of departure for therapeutic intervention. She was of the opinion that a specific therapeutic programme should be developed based on the profile of the recidivist. This therapeutic programme could be implemented within the method of group work. She was furthermore of the opinion that the programme should be flexible enough to accommodate need-based individual therapy, if required. Irrespective of the method of intervention the respondents concurred that programmes should be client centred and need directed in order to address the offender's recidivistic behaviour patterns.

Respondents were of the opinion that the presentation of programmes should not only be the responsibility of the Department of Correctional Services but should be conducted in partnership with non-governmental and community based organisations such as NICRO and the Restorative Justice Centre (compare Discussion Paper on Correctional Services in South Africa, 2003:18).

Respondents suggested that the following aspects should receive attention in a therapeutic programme for recidivism, namely:

- Reality therapy in order to assist the recidivist to become aware of his/her current situation as well as

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behaviour patterns that contribute to his/her backsliding into offending. The aim should furthermore be to address the gap between the reality and the recidivist's unrealistic cognition regarding his/her relationships, abilities and future expectations.

- The role of victim-offender mediation as means to develop empathy was emphasised by one of the respondents. He was of the opinion that it is more difficult for a person to offend once he/she has insight into the impact of the deed on the victim.
- Attention should be given to the rectifying of "thinking errors", as referred to by one of the respondents. The aim of such a programme should be to focus on rectifying pro-criminal cognitions, for example those associated with the offender perceiving him-/herself as a victim in society.
- Emphasis should be placed on the development of the recidivist's emotional intelligence in order to assist him/her to deal with his/her destructive emotions, for example anger, frustration and feelings of isolation. In addition focus should not only be placed on destructive emotions but also on equipping recidivists to experience positive emotions such as love and empathy.
- Life skills and developmental programmes should form part of the programmes which, address recidivism. These programmes should be in touch with the recidivist's behavioural functioning and geared to

develop the necessary skills for the recidivist to cope with and function in conventional society.

- Lastly, emphasis was placed on programmes to gear the recidivist for their reintegration into society. For this purpose one possibility could be where parallel programmes are offered, for instance where NICRO could present a pre-release programme while the recidivist is still in prison. This programme could then continue after his/her placement on parole.
- Respondents indicated that a relapse prevention plan should be part of the pre-release programme. The focus of relapse prevention falls on creating insight within the recidivist with regard to areas in their social functioning that contribute to their re-offending. A programme aimed at behavioural modification to prevent a relapse into criminal behaviour should also be offered.

Even though all the respondents concurred that intervention should not only be the responsibility of the Department of Correctional Services they emphasised the important role that all members in this department play as role models and change agents. According to the respondents, the Department of Correctional Services needs restruction in order to facilitate rehabilitation and development.

It is apparent that the suggested programmes are directed at the recidivist's offending behaviour as well as the

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development of skills in order to cope and function in conventional society. The role of partnerships in order to render these programmes is vital for successful implementation.

- **Reintegration**

The last phase, which was indicated by the respondents as being of importance in the prevention and management of recidivism, is the reintegration phase. Regarding reintegration most of the respondents emphasised the role that stigmatisation plays in the recidivist's reintegration into society. They stated that this could be addressed by sensitising community members towards offenders' reintegration into society as well as the building of partnerships with CBO's and religious organisations to act as support systems in the reintegration process.

The majority of the respondents indicated that an infrastructure should be created which could assist the recidivist in his/her transition from imprisonment to society. Offenders are isolated from society during their imprisonment and when released from prison, they are faced with reintegration into the high tempo demanded from society. It often is the case that recidivists do not have the necessary skills or support systems to be able to cope with this transition. In this regard one of the respondents suggested that community corrections residential centres (CCRC) could provide such a transition facility. She stated

that the aim of these centres would be to meet the recidivist's primary needs in society, such as housing, food as well as assist with finding employment. Services that are rendered in these centres should include monitoring, support and intervention programmes. Alternatively the respondent suggested that recidivists should periodically, as part of pre-release preparation, be placed in a CCRC before his/ her placement on parole. Suggested programmes that should be included in this transition phase are amongst others, life skills programmes and programmes which promote behavioural accountability. Job creation projects should also play an important role in employment training to equip the recidivist for the open labour market.

In summary, findings from the qualitative research on the prevention and management of recidivism indicated that in order to prevent and manage recidivism, prevention and intervention actions as well as effective reintegration of the recidivist into society are vital. These actions can only realise if partnerships are created between governmental, non-governmental and community-based infrastructures.

7.3.3 Assessment of the need for statistics on recidivism

All of the respondents agreed that there is a need in South Africa to keep a statistical record of recidivism figures. The aim of recording recidivism figures should be to measure the effectiveness of prevention and management service

delivery as well as to assist with the development of prevention and management strategies for recidivism. One respondent further indicated that statistics should also sensitise community members to the impact that recidivism has on the crime figures in South Africa as well as act as an agent to activate the community, NGO's, CBO's and policy makers to initiate change.

On the question of whom should take responsibility for the keeping of the statistical records for recidivism, all the respondents indicated it should be a joint effort between the Department of Social Development, the Department of Justice and the Department of Correctional Services who should also act as primary agent. It was furthermore suggested that a central database should be created that could be utilised by relevant role players. The aim of a centralised database on recidivism would be to enable role players to effectively prevent and manage recidivism. In order to reach this aim it is necessary that the statistics on recidivism should be a true reflection of the phenomenon and not be a politicised version of the crime statistics.

In summary, it can be stated that a centralised database on recidivism will play an important role in prevention and management strategies for recidivism. The statistical record on recidivism will reflect the extent of the phenomenon and from this perspective would guide prevention and management strategies.

7.3.4 Identification of strategies that should be part of an inter-disciplinary action plan for recidivism

As in the case with the prevention and management strategies for recidivism, the respondents agreed that an action plan should also be inclusive of phases, which address prevention, intervention and reintegration strategies.

The respondents were of the opinion that prevention strategies should focus on moral regeneration, the restoration of social fabric and the development of social responsibility within the community. Opportunities and infrastructures should be developed in communities to enable and facilitate personal growth and development, for example in the field of adult education and employment related skills. This could be accomplished through the development of partnerships with community-based organisations with a view to create job opportunities and render specialised therapeutic services. In this regard one of the respondents suggested that tax benefits should be granted to organisations that provide employment opportunities to assist with the offender's reintegration into society.

Intervention programmes should focus on the development of skills in order to assist the recidivist to be independent and successfully integrated into society. This is inclusive of social and employment related skills. In this regard, one

respondent emphasised that a balance should be maintained between knowledge, aptitude and skills development. Another respondent emphasised the importance of in-depth assessment as part of the intervention strategy to address recidivism. Re-integration programmes should be need directed and based on characteristics that are unique to the profile of the recidivist. One respondent emphasised that moral redirection should play an important role in prevention and intervention programmes.

Regarding the intervention programmes, the majority of the respondents emphasised the importance of continuous evaluation of these programmes in order to assess its effectiveness. The importance of continued research was also highlighted in order to develop scientifically based intervention programmes and strategies.

The respondents concurred that a reintegration strategy to facilitate the recidivist's reintegration into society should be developed. As part of such a strategy it was suggested that community-based support systems, such as CCRC's, should be developed to assist the recidivist with his/her reintegration into society. Services rendered at such a centre should be inclusive of therapeutic and developmental intervention programmes, support and skills development. One respondent alluded to the fact that it is not only of importance to develop skills but also to create job opportunities. In this regard partnerships should be established with relevant

organisations in the community. Respondents further emphasised the constant monitoring of the recidivist in the community. However, monitoring initiatives should not only be aimed at crime prevention but also on providing support to the recidivist.

Respondents concurred that an action for the prevention and management of recidivism only has value when it is enacted upon and implemented as an intervention strategy. It was furthermore stated that such an intervention strategy should be a long-term strategy that is not bound to political or personal agendas. In this regard two of the respondents referred to the lack of implementation of the national crime prevention strategy. Respondents suggested that an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism should create the platform to co-ordinate individual efforts. Networking should take place between role players in order to prevent the fragmentation and duplication of services. This includes the co-ordination of economic efforts.

Role players who implement the action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism should include various professional disciplines (see Point 7.3.5).

Lastly, the importance of continuous evaluation of an action plan was emphasised in order to increase the effectiveness thereof. In conjunction with evaluation activities, continued

research should be conducted in order to explore and develop alternative interventions.

7.3.5 Role players and partnerships involved in the inter- disciplinary action plan

The respondents who participated in this study concurred that the role players involved in an action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism should be inclusive of various professional disciplines as well as volunteers from the community. Social workers, psychologists, educationalists, religious workers and criminologists were mentioned as examples of various disciplines that could be included in the action plan. It was furthermore highlighted that partnerships should be formed between governmental, non-governmental and community based-organisations such as NICRO and churches. One of the respondents particularly highlighted that the criminal justice cluster, namely the Department of Justice, South African Police Service and the Department of Correctional Services should play an important role in this action plan. The Department of Social Development was also mentioned as an important role player.

Regarding the Department of Correctional Services the respondents held the opinion that intervention services should not only be the responsibility of professional councillors and developmental agents but that all members, inclusive of disciplinary members, should act as change agents. The respondents were of the opinion that the

Department of Justice should also play an important role insofar that sentences should be aimed at personal development and growth and not only retribution. In this regard one respondent suggested that restorative justice principles should be integrated into the penal system.

Some of the respondents indicated that training centres should play an important role by means of continuous research, which could facilitate the recidivist's rehabilitation and reintegration into society. Training centres, in collaboration with community-based volunteers could also render valuable services in this regard.

The respondents concurred that the purpose of an inter-disciplinary action plan is to effectively co-ordinate and manage strategies for the prevention and management of recidivism. In this regard one respondent recommended that the MEC of Safety and Liaison could possibly assist with the co-ordination of organisations involved in this action plan in order to prevent fragmentation and duplication of services. A further recommendation by some of the respondents was that standards for good practice should be identified and adhered to.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings and interpretation of the qualitative data of the research study. The data were obtained

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and analysed from interviews with experts in the field of crime prevention and management.

Based on the research findings from the qualitative study an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism as well as the conclusions and recommendations for the whole study will be presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY ACTION PLAN FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF RECIDIVISM AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present the conclusions of the study. The conclusions are inclusive of an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. The action plan is based on the data gathered from interviews with experts in the field of crime prevention and management as integrated with findings from literature. The profile of the South African recidivist that was compiled during the quantitative phase of the study was utilised to guide the interviews with experts. Finally, recommendations will be made on the outcomes of the study.

The researcher will first indicate how the goal and objectives of the study have been achieved as well as discuss the research questions that guided the research process of this study.

8.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim and objectives of this study were as follows:

8.2.1 Aim

The aim of the study was to formulate a classification system for the South African recidivist in order to compile an inter-

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disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

The aim was achieved, through the realisation of the following objectives.

8.2.2 Objectives

The respective objectives will be discussed by indicating how they were achieved in this study.

Objective 1 - To conceptualise and define recidivism within the South African context

This objective was reached, as reflected in Chapter 2, by means of an intensive literature study of national and international sources as well as interviews with experts. The researcher's visit to the United States of America aided in the accumulation of information. The information acquired from the mentioned sources was assimilated and utilised to conceptualise and define recidivism within a South African context.

Objective 2 - To develop a classification system whereby an offender can be classified as a recidivist

The conceptualisation of recidivism from both a literature and expert perspective paved the way to a classification system whereby an offender could formally be classified as a recidivist (compare Chapter 2 point 2.3).

Objective 3 - To compile a profile of the South African recidivist

In order to compile a profile of the South African recidivist constructs that are characteristic of the lifestyle of the recidivist were identified from literature. In partnership with Perspective Training College, the identified constructs were utilised for the development of the PFIR eco-metric scale. This scale was used for the quantitative phase of this research with the aim to develop a profile of the recidivist.

Objective 4 - To develop an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism

This objective was achieved during the qualitative phase of the study (see Chapter 7). Interviews with experts were conducted based on the profile of the recidivist. Findings from these interviews were used to compile an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism. The action plan will be presented in this chapter as part of the conclusions of the study.

It can be concluded that the aim and objectives for this study were achieved.

8.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions served as framework for this study and guided the research process:

- What are the constructs relevant for the development of a classification system for recidivism?

- What is the typical profile of the South African recidivist?
- What components should an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism comprise of?
- Which role players should be included in an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism?

The achieved objectives of the study indicated that the research process was directed by these research questions.

8.4 KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

The conclusions presented in this section are based on the key findings of both the quantitative and qualitative phases of this research study as integrated with the literature.

8.4.1 Recidivism as crime management tool

Findings from this research study confirmed that recidivism is a phenomenon that contributes to the high crime rate in South Africa. It can therefore be concluded that interventions aimed at addressing the phenomenon of recidivist will be beneficial in reducing the current high crime rate.

From the conclusions it is apparent that the first step in this intervention process should be for government and all training institutions as well as organisations involved in crime prevention and management to adopt a uniform conceptual framework and

classification system for recidivism. Secondly, statistical records that are based on a uniform conceptual framework should be kept in order to determine the nature and extend of recidivism in South Africa. Thirdly, intervention strategies should be developed and implemented to address recidivism and lastly, these strategies should be evaluated to determine the success thereof.

8.4.2 Role players and partnerships

Findings indicated that due to the multi-dimensional nature of recidivism as phenomenon it could only be addressed from a multi-professional and inter-disciplinary approach. Social workers, criminologists, psychologists, educationalists and religious care workers, amongst others, were identified as role players for intervention strategies to address recidivism. The importance of participation of governmental, non-governmental and community-based organisations in addressing recidivism was highlighted in this study.

It can be concluded that partnerships on multi-dimensional and organisational level should be formed in order to effectively implement intervention strategies to address recidivism in South Africa.

8.4.3 Prevention strategies for recidivism

Findings from this study emphasised the importance of early intervention in community based socialisation structures, namely families, schools and religious institutions. These interventions should be directed at the restoration of social fabric and moral

regeneration. Infrastructures that give alternatives for delinquent and risk associated behaviour should be created.

It can be concluded that prevention strategies should be aimed at agents of socialisation within communities with the aim of curbing delinquent influences and risk factors that could be associated with the formation of pro-criminal behavioural patterns.

8.4.4 Intervention strategies for recidivism

As stated previously in this chapter (point 8.4.2) intervention strategies for recidivism should be formulated from an inter-disciplinary perspective. Findings indicated that intervention strategies should be need directed and client centred and should address factors that are characteristic of a recidivistic behavioural pattern. Findings also emphasised the importance that these strategies should be based on scientific research.

In conclusion it can be stated that intervention strategies for recidivism should, from an inter-disciplinary perspective, be scientifically validated and be based on the profile of the South African recidivist.

8.4.5 Reintegration strategy for recidivism

The lack of reintegration strategies as well as infrastructures to facilitate reintegration of released recidivists was highlighted in this study. The aim of re-integration infrastructures should not

only be limited to provide in basic physical needs but should also focus on personal and skills related development.

It can be concluded that re-integration strategies should play an important role in the pre-release preparation of the recidivist. It is furthermore important that facilities such as Community Corrections Residential Centres (CCRC's) be erected in communities to facilitate the recidivist's re-integration into society.

8.4.6 Continuous research on recidivism

Findings from this study indicated that little research was done on recidivism from a South African perspective.

It can therefore be concluded that a need for further scientifically validated research on recidivism exists in South Africa.

Based on the key findings and conclusions derived from this study, an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism was developed.

8.5 AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY ACTION PLAN FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF RECIDIVISM

The primary aim of the action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism is to break the cycle that recidivistic behavioural patterns are rooted in.

The conclusions from this study guided the researcher to the following principles on which the proposed action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism was based, namely:

- The strategy for the prevention of recidivism is largely based on moral regeneration and the restoration of social responsibility within communities;
- Inadequacies in communities should be addressed and infrastructures should be developed to facilitate and promote the holistic development of an individual;
- The aim of the penal system should be to restore, develop and contribute to the rehabilitation of the offender and not only to act punitively;
- Effective need directed and client centred intervention programmes should be available within correctional settings in order to address factors associated with the causation of recidivistic behaviour as well as to address risk factors for re-offending;
- Pre-release preparation forms an integral part of the intervention strategies and should be included in all interventions. This is inclusive of therapeutic and development programmes as well as programmes aimed at preparing the recidivist for the employment sector; and
- Continuous research and evaluation should be conducted in order to develop inter-disciplinary prevention and management strategies for recidivism.

The action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism can be depicted as follows:

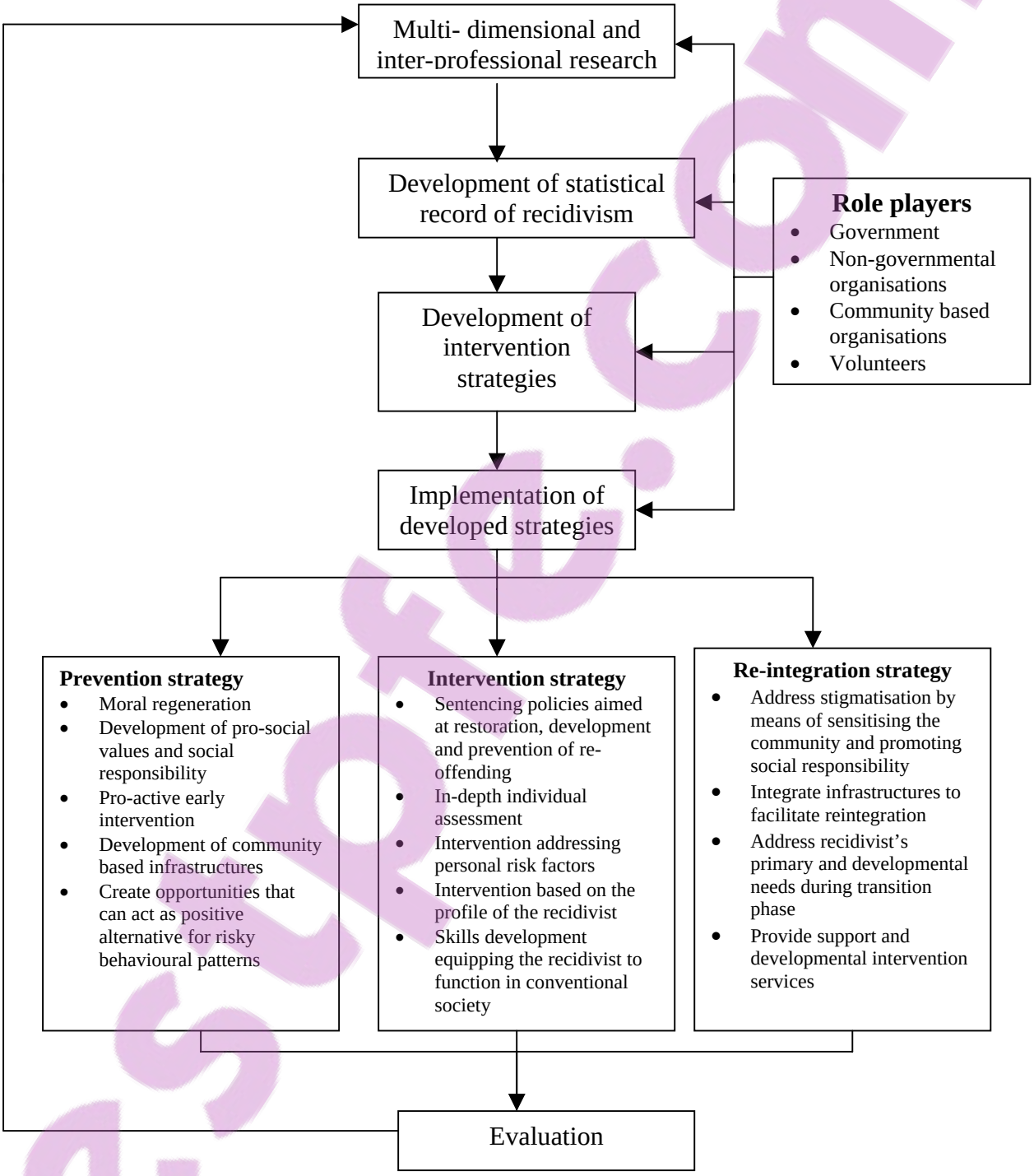

Figure 17: An inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

As indicated in Figure 17 the inter-disciplinary action plan commences with inter-disciplinary research on recidivism as

phenomenon. In order to comprehend the extend of recidivism in South Africa it is necessary to develop a statistical record base. Based on the research and statistical record, multi-disciplinary intervention strategies should be developed and implemented in order to prevent and manage recidivism.

The proposed inter-disciplinary action plan is based on three strategies, namely (1) prevention, (2) therapeutic and developmental intervention and (3) successful reintegration of the recidivist into society. Lastly, the action plan should continuously be evaluated in order to assess the effectiveness thereof. The action plan is based on a circular process ensuring regeneration and interventions based on current research. Governmental, non-governmental and community based organisations as well as volunteers are key role players in the inter-disciplinary action plan for recidivism.

8.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary recommendation of this study is that the inter-disciplinary action plan, as proposed in this study, should be implemented. In order to implement the proposed action plan it is necessary that governmental organisations, specifically the criminal justice cluster and the Department of Social Development should become willing and motivated partners in this process. This can be accomplished by including the proposed action plan in governmental crime prevention and management strategies. Partnerships should furthermore not be limited to the governmental sector. Non-governmental and community based organisations as well as

volunteers should also be taken on board and recognised as important role players to ensure the successful implementation of the proposed action plan on recidivism.

In summary the following recommendations were made in conclusion of the quantitative phase of the study (see Chapter 6, point 6.4):

- An assessment scale should be developed to assist with the risk prediction of re-offending;
- Therapeutic intervention strategies and programmes should be developed based on the profile of the recidivist; and
- Further research should be conducted on a national basis in order to develop a profile that could be generalised to all South African offenders.

Final recommendations for this study are as follow:

- The social work profession should actively engage as role players in the proposed action plan to prevent and manage recidivism and by doing so enhance forensic social work.
- The role of recidivism as contributing factor towards the crime rate should be acknowledged by Government and other role players and strategies to kerb recidivism should be included in governmental crime prevention and management strategies;
- A universal concept of recidivism should be used as point of departure for all agencies and organisations involved in crime prevention and management;
- A centralised statistical database on recidivism should be developed in South Africa; and

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- Recidivism should be further researched nationally in order to effectively design and utilise crime prevention and management strategies in South Africa.

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ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1	Psycho-social Functioning Inventory for Recidivism (PFIR)
Attachment 2	Semi-structured interview schedule
Attachment 3	Permission to do research in the Department of Correctional Services
Attachment 4	Consent to participate in research project

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List of research project topics and materials

Psycho-Social Functioning Inventory: Recidivism (PFIR)

Comprehensive Assessment Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIALITY

We want you to know that the personal information you share will remain just that. Your confidentiality will be respected.

PURPOSE

The PFIR is designed to assess your current social functioning. For the report to be accurate you need to answer all the questions to the best of your ability.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS

Grade yourself as quickly and as honestly as possible. Do not speculate to long before you answer. This is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. The first answer that comes to mind is usually the correct one**.**

PROCEDURE

Mark the relevant number and check to make sure that you have answered every question.

Perspective Training College, PO Box 20842, Noordburg 2522

Tel: +27 18 297 3716

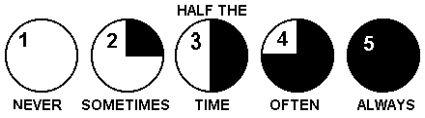
E-mail: **info@perspektief.com**

Research Package

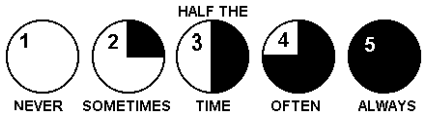
Section A

Age:		.....			
Qualification	**Lower than Grade12**	**Grade 12**	**Diploma**	**Degree**	**Postgraduate**
Number of years employed:		….....			
Marital Status:	**Unmarried**	**Married**	**Divorced**	**Widowed**	**Living together**
How many years have you been with your current spouse or partner?			….....		
How many children do you have?			….....		

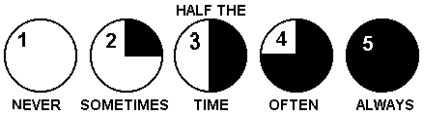
Section B



1. I keep on trying until I succeed	1 2 3 4 5
2. I keep on doing my work until it is done	1 2 3 4 5
3. It is important to me to understand my work	1 2 3 4 5
4. I complete my work even if it is difficult	1 2 3 4 5
5. It is important for me to do better and better	1 2 3 4 5
6. I work hard	1 2 3 4 5
7. It is important to me to do well	1 2 3 4 5
8. I am satisfied	1 2 3 4 5
9. I feel cheerful	1 2 3 4 5
10. I feel happy	1 2 3 4 5
11. I enjoy living	1 2 3 4 5
12. I don't things that I enjoy	1 2 3 4 5
13. I like my life the way it is	1 2 3 4 5
14. I make good decisions	1 2 3 4 5
15. I handle problems effectively	1 2 3 4 5



16. Failure makes me try harder	1 2 3 4 5
17. I believe I can make a success of my life	1 2 3 4 5
18. I feel in control of my life	1 2 3 4 5
19. I decide according to what I think is right or wrong	1 2 3 4 5
20. I know when something is wrong	1 2 3 4 5
21. I refuse to do something that I think is wrong	1 2 3 4 5
22. I feel guilty when I do something wrong	1 2 3 4 5
23. I feel like running away from things that scare me	1 2 3 4 5
24. Thing I don't know scare me	1 2 3 4 5
25. I get stomach pains from stress	1 2 3 4 5
26. I am afraid that things may go wrong	1 2 3 4 5
27. There are places that I feel scared	1 2 3 4 5
28. I feel afraid	1 2 3 4 5
29. I am to blame when things go wrong	1 2 3 4 5
30. When something is wrong, I am to blame	1 2 3 4 5
31. I feel I do to many things wrongly	1 2 3 4 5
32. I cause problems	1 2 3 4 5
33. I feel I should be punished	1 2 3 4 5
34. When I am on my own I feel less afraid	1 2 3 4 5
35. I am scared to make new friends	1 2 3 4 5
36. I am afraid of other people	1 2 3 4 5
37. I like to be alone	1 2 3 4 5
38. I do things alone	1 2 3 4 5
39. Bad things only happen to me	1 2 3 4 5
40. Other people are getting on better than I do	1 2 3 4 5
41. Other people are happier than I am	1 2 3 4 5
42. People like me	1 2 3 4 5
43.I like myself	1 2 3 4 5
44. I am important	1 2 3 4 5
45 People love me	1 2 3 4 5
46. I feel good about myself	1 2 3 4 5



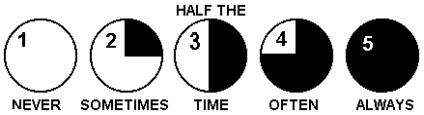
47. People listen to me	1 2 3 4 5
48. I easily feel angry	1 2 3 4 5
49. I bully my friends when they make me angry	1 2 3 4 5
50.\I get what I want by threatening my friends	1 2 3 4 5
51. I say nasty things to my friends when they make me angry	1 2 3 4 5
52. I feel like swearing when my friends make me angry	1 2 3 4 5
53. When I am angry I feel like breaking something	1 2 3 4 5
54. I feel like shouting when I am angry	1 2 3 4 5
55. I have stopped laughing	1 2 3 4 5
56. I feel down-in-the-dumps	1 2 3 4 5
57. I feel tired	1 2 3 4 5
58. I feel sad	1 2 3 4 5
59. I feel like a failure	1 2 3 4 5
60. I feel alone	1 2 3 4 5

Complete question 61 to 67 with regards to use of alcohol before imprisonment. If you did not use any alcohol at all, leave these questions and start at question number 68.

61. I drank when I was with friends	1 2 3 4 5
62. My friends and I drank in secrecy	1 2 3 4 5
63. It is OK to drink	1 2 3 4 5
64. I drank so much that I vomited	1 2 3 4 5
65. I drank to be popular	1 2 3 4 5
66. I got into trouble because of my drinking	1 2 3 4 5
67. It is fun to drink	1 2 3 4 5

Complete question 67 to 82 with regards to use of drugs (dagga, glue, mandrax ect.) before imprisonment. If you did not use any drugs at all, leave these questions and start at question number 83.

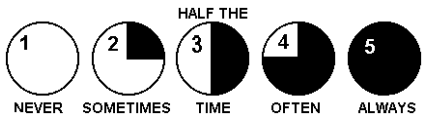
68. I use drugs when I am with friends	1 2 3 4 5
69. My friends and I use drugs in secrecy	1 2 3 4 5
70. It is OK to use drugs	1 2 3 4 5
71. I must use drugs	1 2 3 4 5



72. I use drugs to be popular	1 2 3 4 5
73. I get into trouble because I use drugs	1 2 3 4 5
74. It is fun to use drugs	1 2 3 4 5
75. I say no to bad things my friends want me to do	1 2 3 4 5
76. I show my friends when I dislike something	1 2 3 4 5
77.I tell my friends when I think they are wrong	1 2 3 4 5
78. In front of my friends I pretend to be satisfied	1 2 3 4 5
79. I keep quite even when I think my friends are wrong	1 2 3 4 5
80. There is a special person that respects me	1 2 3 4 5
81. There is a special person who cares for me	1 2 3 4 5
82. I can count on a special person when things go wrong	1 2 3 4 5
83. I can talk about my problems with a special person	1 2 3 4 5
84. There is a special person who understands my problems	1 2 3 4 5
85. There is a special person who is always there for me	1 2 3 4 5
86. I have a special person who is a real source of comfort to me	1 2 3 4 5
87. I must prevent others from becoming sad	1 2 3 4 5
88. I must prevent bad things from happening to other people	1 2 3 4 5
89. I am worried about other people	1 2 3 4 5
90. I make sure that other people are happy	1 2 3 4 5
91. I must keep other people out of trouble	1 2 3 4 5
92. Our family spend time together	1 2 3 4 5
93. I can be honest with my family members	1 2 3 4 5
94. My family helps me out of trouble	1 2 3 4 5
95. I share my secrets with my family members	1 2 3 4 5
96. I can share what happens to me with my family members	1 2 3 4 5

Complete questions 97 to 102 with regard to your caregiver. Your caregiver is the person who raised you, e.g. your father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, foster-parents etc.

97. I share my feelings with my caregiver	1 2 3 4 5
98. My care giver and I spend time together	1 2 3 4 5
99. I can be honest with my caregiver	1 2 3 4 5



100. My caregiver helps me out of trouble	1 2 3 4 5
101. I share my secrets with my caregiver	1 2 3 4 5
102. I can share what happened to me with my caregiver	1 2 3 4 5

Complete 103 to 108 with regard to your partner, e.g. your spouse, the person with whom you lived, with whom you had an intimate/sexual relationship, etc. If there is no such person, leave this blank and start at number 109

103. My partner and I have fun together	1 2 3 4 5
104. I share my secrets with my partner	1 2 3 4 5
105. I can be honest with my partner	1 2 3 4 5
106. I share my feelings with my partner	1 2 3 4 5
107. My partner and I do things together	1 2 3 4 5
108. I spend time with my partner	1 2 3 4 5

Complete question 109 to 114 if you have children. Complete the questions with regard to your children in general, or with regard to the child you have the worst relationship with. If you do not have children, leave this blank and start at question number 115.

109. My children frustrate me	1 2 3 4 5
110. I spend time with my children	1 2 3 4 5
111. My children and I have fun together	1 2 3 4 5
112. My children share their secrets with me	1 2 3 4 5
113. My children strive to be like me	1 2 3 4 5
114. My children and I do things together	1 2 3 4 5

115. I am involved in my community	1 2 3 4 5
116. I have meaningful relationship with people in my community	1 2 3 4 5
117. My community supports me	1 2 3 4 5
118. I enjoy prestige in my community	1 2 3 4 5
119. I care about my community	1 2 3 4 5
120. I have a positive bond with my community	1 2 3 4 5
121. I enjoy respect in my community	1 2 3 4 5

Interview schedule

Research title: A classification system and an inter disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism

Name
Name of organization
Position in the organization
Qualification
Years of expereince
Date of the interview

Questions

- Are you familiar with recidivism as phenomenon?

- Taking the profile of the South African recidivist into consideration, how do you think re-offending can be prevented?

Researcher present profile of the South African recidivist

- What role can you/ your organization play in the prevention of recidivism?

- Do you think it is necessary to keep statistical records of recidivism in South Africa, and why?

  If yes, whose responsibility should the keeping of the statistics be?

- What aspects do you think is of importance in the compilation of a multi disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism?

- What role players do you think should be included in the compilation of the action plan?

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Consent to participate in research project

Participant's name: _____ Date: _____

Researcher: M I Schoeman
Address: P/Bag X1
Lynn East, 0039

Informed consent

1. Title of the study
   A classification system and an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism

2. Purpose of the study
   The purpose of the study is to define and conceptualise recidivism as South African phenomenon in order to compile an inter-disciplinary action plan for the prevention and management of recidivism.

3. Research procedure
   You will be requested to fill in a questionnaire on various aspects of your daily functioning, behaviour and relationships. The questionnaire will take approximately 40 minutes to complete. During the time the researcher will be present to assist me with the completion of the questionnaire if necessary.

4. Risk and discomfort
   I take note that there are no known risk or discomfort associated with this research project.

5. Benefits
   I understand that there are no direct benefits for me from the participation in this study. However, the result of the study may help the development of better crime and recidivism prevention and management services.

6. Participants rights
   I may withdraw from participation in this study at any time.

7. Confidentiality
   The questionnaire will be completed anonymously to protect your confidentiality.

I understand my rights as research subject, and I voluntary consent to participate in this study. I understand what the study is about as well as why it is being done.

_____ _____

Subject's signature Date

_____

Signature of researcher

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List of research project topics and materials