

CHAPTER SIX

6. CRIMINOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT OF CASE STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to practically utilise the relevant assessment tools (observation, in-depth interviewing and theoretical explanation) to illustrate the practice of assessment (different dimensions of assessment) from a criminological perspective.

Relevant demographic details, causes, motives and factors pertaining to personal, social, psychological, criminological, educational and financial influences will be included in the assessments. Where necessary, triggers, high-risk situations, intervention indicators and custodial aspects (for management purposes) will be outlined and selected theoretical explanations will explain the behaviour in question. In this regard, many theories exist to explain criminal behaviour. However, to apply all the theories will be a daunting task as well as an impractical endeavour. Instead, selected theories applicable to behavioural aspects that should be accentuated are utilised to *holistically* explain the etiology, and to gain insight into the behaviour in question. The application of these theories does not necessarily imply that other existing theories are not applicable, but should rather be interpreted as suitable explanations to illustrate the practicality of this assessment tool.

The selected case studies are illustrative of both needs and risk assessment practices. These assessments can make a valuable contribution to the intervention, development and management plan of each individual and can be used as a unique profile of each offender. Where necessary, verbatim quotations by the offenders will be used to illustrate their views, perspectives and experiences.

The following case studies will be utilised to demonstrate the different dimensions of assessment:

- Mr. A: Assessment for *classification* purposes;
- Mr. B: Assessment for *intervention* purposes;
- Mr. C: *Risk management* assessment;
- Mr. D: *Pre-parole* assessment.

6.2 Case study one

Mr. A: Assessment for classification purposes

This assessment report is conducted for re-classification purposes to assist the Case Management Committee and prison authorities to determine if the client is suitable to be transferred to a medium facility. Research indicates that important aspects to consider for a classification assessment include dangerousness, adaptation, behaviour while incarcerated, personal development and therapy and/or treatment (Ellis & Sowers 2001:59; Howitt 2002:354; Offender Risk Assessment 2000:5).

6.2.1 Introduction

Mr. A is a maximum category prisoner at Leeuwkop Maximum prison, and is due to appear before the Case Management Committee for a possible re-classification to medium category. He voluntarily participated in the assessment and eight interviews (one and a half hour each) were conducted. The assessor also had access to reports from the inmate's case manager, social worker and psychologist. During the sessions, the offender cooperated fully, was very friendly and open towards the assessor and good rapport was established. The client is very articulate and expresses himself well, and communicates in a professional and an educated manner. He appears to be very intelligent and understood the interviewer at all times.

6.2.2 Biographic details

Mr. A is a 33-year old Xhosa male, he is single, has never been married (customary or legally), and has two children (a daughter of 14 and a son of 10) from two different women (Patricia and Lydia). Prior to his imprisonment, the offender was an Atheist, but since his incarceration, he has converted to Christianity and is now a reborn Christian.

Regarding his health, the client complains of headaches, which have occurred since his school-going years. This is still a serious problem to him and the prison doctor ascribes his condition to stress and a poor diet. Only with severe 'attacks' does he receive medication. While in prison, he was tested for HIV/AIDS but the results were negative. When asked about his sexual orientation he replied, " ... bisexual or rather heterosexual – I'm now heterosexual. My homosexual interests were due to prison circumstances." The client's sexuality will be discussed in Section 6.2.8.2 of this report. Mr. A is an active ANC (African National Congress) supporter and he reports

participation in rallies, gatherings and meetings since the age of 13 years. He resided in Soweto with his mother and sister, and does not own any property.

6.2.3 Culture

A specific culture and the *individual meaning* and *experience* attached to a culture, are important indicators of a person's "personality make-up", rationale, customs and behaviour. In this regard, Ovens (2003:67), a South African Criminologist, notes that when an expert strives to analyse and explain criminal behaviour, the value system associated with such an individual's inherent belief system should be taken into account. She states that specifically in South African tradition, culture and ethnic beliefs result in important influences on the thoughts and actions of people.

The offender is representative of the Xhosa culture. According to the Xhosa culture, the men are traditionally the hunters, stockmen and cattle herders while the women worked the crops, land and home. Traditionally, children are named by their fathers or grandparents and all names have special meanings (such as expressing joy, fruitfulness or noble characters). For instance, the offender's name means "gift", while *Mandela* (as in Nelson Mandela) means "strength". When children are old enough to attend school, they are often given an English name. Clan names are believed to be more important than surnames, and to call a Xhosa person by his clan name is considered friendly and warm. For example, *Madiba* is Nelson Mandela's clan name (Xhosa Culture and History: Internet site).

Newly married women receive new names from their in-laws, while boys receive new names from elder men during their initiation ceremony. In this regard, Mr. A never attended a circumcision ceremony because usually a boy's father directs and sends him to attend this school, and Mr. A's father abandoned the family when the offender was still very young. Therefore, he also did not receive another name.

According to tradition, men should wait four years after attending the circumcision school before they can marry. Most marriages are still arranged by the families and lobolla is paid in the form of cattle and/or material goods. Different rituals are performed during the marriage ceremony to ensure the approval of the ancestors of both families, and also to ensure fertility (Xhosa Culture: Internet site). Mr. A cites that homosexuality is not accepted in the Xhosa culture – it is a sin and such individuals are perceived as outcasts.

The Xhosa people also love beadwork and ornaments and Mr. A expresses a passion for beadwork, woodwork and sculpting. When a child is born various rituals are performed to welcome the child into the clan and the community. It is believed that non-performance of the rituals result in “punishment” such as bed-wetting, defecating in an improper place, or a ‘psychological problem’ leading a person to stab another without a reason (Xhosa Culture: Internet site; Xhosa Culture and History: Internet site). Ancestor worship and Christianity (especially membership to Methodist churches) are mostly practised among the Xhosa people and to disrespect God, ancestors and humanity creates disharmony in the community.

Mr. A cites that it is important to always greet everyone upon arrival and departure – especially the oldest person in the room. One may not greet someone older than you by his or her first name. The offender adheres to these customs and he refused to greet the interviewer by her first name during the interviews. Furthermore, when serving food, the oldest person should be served first, followed by the men, then the women, while the children are served last.

Mr. A can communicate, read and write in Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele, Afrikaans and English.

6.2.4 Education and employment history

Mr. A completed matric with good marks and as a result received a bursary to enrol at the Witwatersrand University (Wits). Halfway through his studies he was arrested for armed robbery. Since his imprisonment, the offender has completed both his B Com and LLB degrees (at UNISA), with three distinctions. He has never been legally employed and has no employment record.

6.2.5 Family of origin

Both his parents are alive, have no criminal and/or substance abuse records and were married according to customary tradition. They are divorced and two children (the offender and an older sister) were born from this marriage. Mr. A’s father abandoned the family when he was three years old. The following is a diagram of Mr. A’s family structure:

Family members	Occupations
Father: Moses, 54	Debt-collector for a financial institution

Mother: Lucia, 52	Factory worker and Head of a Day-Care Centre for children in Soweto
Sister, 35	Teacher
Mr. A, 33	B Com, LLB

This diagram illustrates the level of education obtained by his family of origin. The offender and his older sister obtained tertiary qualifications and both the offender's parents obtained a matric qualification.

Mr. A's mother is a devout Christian and worked as a seamstress at a clothing factory during Mr. A's school-going years. He explains that his mother used to work very long hours - from seven in the morning until six at night, six days a week.

Lucia was the only breadwinner, role model and provider for the family, and was very protective towards her children. According to the client, they did not have an immediate extended family to assist his mother in looking after the children and/or to support them financially. Lucia's family members reside in the Transkei, are very poor, and they never accepted her marriage to Moses as it was against their wishes. Mr. A states that his mother was too proud to ask her family for assistance. Although the offender's mother stayed in contact with her ex-husband's sister, she never informed the children about his whereabouts.

At one stage Lucia did have a male companion when Mr. A was between ten to 15 years. He was unemployed, and he "lived off" their mother's earnings and abused substances (alcohol and dagga) during the day. He never abused or harmed the children in any way. Mr. A's mother only managed to complete her matric when the offender enrolled at University. She is currently the head of a day-care centre at Soweto.

After his father walked out on the family, and up to his imprisonment, the offender never met or had any contact with his father. Moses made contact with Mr. A during his third year of imprisonment – apparently his father's sister informed him about his son's incarceration. The offender's father is a debt-collector at a prominent bank in Johannesburg. When asked why he thinks his father abandoned them, he replied: "My mother is a very strong and dominant person, they had arguments about everything, and I think my father just could not stand it anymore."

6.2.6 Childhood and school experiences

The offender describes his childhood as “not happy at all, filled with sorrow, poverty, confusion, financial deprivation and hunger – we (the offender and his sister) were always hungry. It was difficult times ... each child had one standard outfit, a jersey, a pair of shoes (for the school and church), a pair of takkies and one blanket. There was no extra money for school uniforms, lunch boxes, pocket money or any luxuries. I remember once forgetting my takkies at school, I got such a hiding and they were gone – I had to wait for months for a new pair.” The offender states that some of the children at school teased him and his sister for not wearing school uniforms and for being so poor. He argues that, “I always suppressed the fact that I did not have anything at home and I put up an impression that at least I have some means at home.”

According to the client he could never identify with his mother because he felt bored being surrounded by two women at home and “no one to share some boy-talk with.” He submits that she is a “very dominant person” and states that he respects her tremendously. The offender notes that he always longed for his father and he envied his friends when they spoke about their fathers and what they shared (activities and father- son talks) with them.

His mother was very strict, and she made all the decisions concerning the family. The client asserts that his mother constantly reminded them of their suffering, her demanding work hours, that she was the only breadwinner, and that they had to be thankful for what they had. The family resided in a one-room shack with no running water or electricity, and an outside toilet that was shared with the inhabitants of several other shacks.

The family only ate once a day and their diet mainly consisted of mieliepap and/or bread – they seldom enjoyed vegetables, fruit and meat. His sister was responsible for the cooking, cleaning and the preparation of their daily meal, while he had to fetch their daily ration of firewood and fresh water. Mr. A avers that it was difficult to concentrate at school because he was always hungry. In this regard, he submits that “I never liked it when I saw some of my friends having lunch boxes and I had none. That thing caused a great deal of pain to me ... but I never lost hope to be successful (University entrance and to have a good career) one day.” He furthermore holds that he used to visit some of his friends at lunchtime in the hope of receiving some food.

Mr. A attended a local township school, he never failed, and up to the end of his school career he managed to maintain the best marks in his class. He cites that he enjoyed school a lot and that “at school I developed a great interest in reading, so much so, that I was chosen to lead each and every debate about issues to be discussed.” He especially excelled in English and History and states that the teachers liked him.

The best experience of his life was when he was chosen by the *Star Seaside Fund* (a fund for the selection of students that excel in their schoolwork) to go on holiday to Durban’s Umgababa beach for two weeks. “It was a problem later because in terms of beach clothes, your family had to provide, and knowing my family background as it is, it became a headache. My mother was ecstatic and I don’t know how, but she managed to organise swimwear for me. It was one of the best experiences of my life!” He holds that this experience put even more pressure on him to do well at school.

At the age of 16 he impregnated a girl named Patricia – he had met her at a shebeen (tavern). He pleaded with her not to inform his mother and threatened that he would deny any knowledge of ever knowing her. He told her that he still wanted to go to university and that she (meaning the pregnancy) is “blocking” his future. Up to this day, his mother does not know about his daughter and his relationship with Patricia.

In his matric year he was granted a bursary to enrol at University and became the first pupil from his school ever to attend a University. He subsequently enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand for a B Com degree and passed all his subjects until his arrest. He achieved one distinction during his first year. Mr. A posits that he chose to study Law because a rich lawyer lived in Soweto and he “was very professional, he wore nice clothes and was respected in the community – I admired him.”

During his first year in prison, a fellow inmate introduced him to his sister, Lydia, whom he made pregnant during one of her visits to him. The offender states that his mother accepted Lydia and his child, and that she (Mr. A’s mother) is currently supporting the child. Lydia married another man in 2000 but they remain good friends and the offender receives two visits a month from his son.

Research demonstrates that childhood exposure to poverty, a broken home, the divorce of parents, an absent father figure, poverty, poor supervision, parental

rejection, a single-parent family and living in a disorganised slum area such as the offender experienced, make such children susceptible to antisocial, delinquent and criminal behaviour (Bartollas 2003:219, 222-223, 225-226; Bezuidenhout & Joubert 2003:26, 115; Reid 2003:135; Siegel 2004:196, 214-216). South African researchers, Schiff and Louw (2000:119), found that a large proportion of violent criminals in South African prisons rated the relationships with their fathers as distant and as “not at all close.” There is therefore, a definite link between an absent father, and/or a negative father-child relationship, poverty, broken homes, abandonment, divorce, rejection from parents and criminality. Research also indicates that children that were raised by their mothers alone and where a stable father figure was lacking are more prone to delinquency and involvement in crime (Schiff & Louw 2000:119, 120; Wedge, Boswell & Dissel 2000:32-36).

In addition, Markowitz (2003:145-147) found that those who are arrested for violent crimes are more likely to be representative of a lower socio-economic status group. In this regard, Oscar Lewis, a sociologist (1966), argues that the lifestyle of slum areas produces a culture of poverty, mistrust and helplessness. Research highlights that lower-class areas are scenes of inadequate housing and health care, disrupted family lives, underemployment, despair and poverty. Research also indicates a definite relationship between family poverty and behavioural impairments (Bezuidenhout & Joubert 2003:26, 115; Reid 2003:45; Siegel 2004:178-179, 229).

6.2.7 Crime analysis

Mr. A is a first offender and he is classified as an aggressive offender. He is currently serving an 18 years effective imprisonment sentence of which he has already served 12 years for armed robbery.

The onset of the offender’s antisocial behaviour was at the age of eight when Mr. A stole a loaf of bread and a tin of pilchards from a local shop. The shop owner knew his mother and informed her about the theft. According to the offender, he stole the items because he was really hungry and he wanted to assist his mother in providing food for the family. He furthermore, claims that he felt responsible for the family because he was the only “man” in the house. His mother was very angry, disappointed and embarrassed about this and she ordered him to clean the shop (wash the floors) for six months – which he did. The client states that he felt ashamed about this.

At the age of 12, Mr. A regularly stole money from his mother's purse. He furthermore, started stealing money from his schoolmates and used some of it to buy extra food for himself and his sister. The client concedes that stealing became so easy that he became reliant on it. He claims that as far as he can remember, he has never stolen any "paper money" (notes), only coins. On one occasion he also stole charcoal from neighbours. It was raining and they had no charcoal, so he stole the charcoal to make a fire in the shack for warmth.

Just before the offender turned 13, he broke into a lawyer's house and stole food from the fridge. He explains that he took the food home and shared it with his mother and sister (he told his mother that a friend at school gave him the food). An eyewitness reported the incident to the lawyer and he was arrested and taken to court. The offender pleaded guilty and due to his age he was given a warning.

Regarding his arrest, he maintains that, "I still don't know why he (the lawyer) went on with the matter (the charges) when one confessed, and what I stole was only cheese and some pork. He knew we had no food or money. I told him once that I'm also going to be a lawyer one day – I think he proceeded with the charges against me because he did not want competition."

During his first year at University, Mr. A joined a syndicate with some fellow students that targeted banks. He alleges that they executed more than ten bank robberies. It was his and another robber's responsibility to hold the security guard(s) hostage, while the rest of the members robbed the bank. They were all armed with AK-47's. He argues that he never used the weapon and that he never shot or killed anyone.

During this time, he financially supported Patricia and his daughter, bought his mother a "proper three-bedroom house with a bathroom, kitchen and a lounge. I also bought her furniture – we never had proper furniture - a nice table, chairs, a lounge suite, a TV and three beds." He told his mother that because of his good marks at University that he had been granted more bursaries. He also bought food for his mother and sister on a regular basis, and purchased a second-hand Toyota: "Everyone in the township envied me – they all thought that I was this bright student with a brilliant future – my mother told them that I was granted all the possessions and money because of my good marks at University." His interest in girls, dagga and alcohol also increased, and he apparently bought new clothes on almost a weekly

basis. The offender alleges that he was surrounded by girls and holds that “I had to look good and be good company.”

During a bank robbery at a shopping centre in Johannesburg, police officials in civilian clothes awaited them in the shopping centre. The offender and two other robbers were caught and arrested, while the rest of the syndicate escaped. The motive for his crime include financial and material deprivation and greediness.

6.2.7.1 Peer influences

While at school, the offender occupied himself constructively with his studies and sport. He mentions that he befriended two boys with similar interests and they watched movies, played soccer and concentrated on their schoolwork and studies.

Only at University did he befriend a crime syndicate that specialised in bank robberies. Four of the members, including the offender, were full-time students. The remaining three members were career criminals. The offender alleges that he noticed that “these guys (the three students that belonged to the syndicate) always had money, expensive clothes, and one guy had a BMW (motor vehicle). They all had bursaries like me (without financial support from their families).” He states that he joined the syndicate for financial reasons, to better his life circumstances and to make “easy money.” Reflecting back on this, the client posits that, “I think a lack of money and growing up so poor made me interested in money - that's why I think I started to steal money from such an early age – and then the bank robberies. I threw my life away!”

According to Bartollas (2003:286), most criminal behaviour occurs in groups and delinquent behaviour is related to delinquency of one's peers. In addition, Robert Agnew found that when there is a strong attachment to peers, longer periods of time spent with peers, and more extensive delinquent patterns present, then association with peers who engage in serious delinquent behaviour has a strong, positive effect on delinquency (Bartollas 2003:286-287; Bezuidenhout & Joubert 2003:26; Siegel 2004:217). Terrence Thornberry and his colleagues also found that a relationship exists between peer influence and delinquent behaviour (Bartollas 2003:287). This is also supported by the research findings of Wedge *et al* (2000:32-36), who found that most violent offenders in South African prisons have been exposed to negative peer pressure and associations.

6.2.8 Cognitive functioning

Mr. A is an intelligent individual who has succeeded in completing his studies in prison. He attended various self-enrichment programmes and consulted (and continues to do so) with the prison social worker and psychologist. He shows insight into, and remorse about his criminal activities and he understands the causes and consequences of his actions. He furthermore acknowledges the harm that he has caused to society and his family, and he now describes his deeds as “extremely stupid – just so stupid! I did not have much (at University), but I was short of nothing. I cannot believe the embarrassment and shame that I brought upon my family and myself - I could have been a successful lawyer by now!”

The offender displays a great sense of responsibility and this is evident in his school and academic achievements, his responsibility towards his mother and sister’s well-being, and his personal development and upliftment (the programmes that he attended) in prison. Since childhood, he has felt himself responsible for his mother and sister and he is very sensitive to the feelings of others. The offender furthermore has no history (during his childhood and in prison) of aggressive, violent and/or uncontrollable behaviour. He has never threatened to harm anyone and never attempted to escape from prison.

Mr. A respects his fellow inmates and the staff, cooperates in prison, motivates other offenders to develop themselves (in terms of schooling, education and recreational activities) and does not have problems with authority in general. He takes responsibility for his actions and accepts his predicament (punishment). The offender functions effectively under pressure and he seems to cope well with stress. This is evident from his school and academic achievements, which he obtained under difficult circumstances. The client also displays adequate communication and socialisation skills.

The client is, however, susceptible to peer influences and is easily manipulated and/or intimidated by his mother and sister. In this regard he maintains that, “I would like to stand up to my mother and tell her what I want, and not always just follow and accept what she wants me to do.” As a result of his background (poverty and an absent father figure) and homosexual experience in prison, the client displays a low self-esteem and he seeks reassurance and approval from others to increase his self-worth.

6.2.8.1 Attitude, associations and intimate relationships

Mr. A exhibits a positive and non-aggressive attitude towards his fellow inmates, staff and the interviewer. He states that he feels guilty about his involvement in crime, given the fact that he had had the chance and opportunity to study and better himself before he went to prison. He holds that he is not proud of being a “criminal role model” to his children and he expresses concern about having contact with other criminals once outside the prison. The offender cites that some of the members of the syndicate have made contact with him and that he is scared of “giving in to easy money again.”

Despite being surrounded with other criminals, the offender occupies himself with his studies, sport and recreational activities. He associates with other prisoners that choose to study and improve their lifestyles. Since childhood he has developed and maintained intimate relationships with meaningful and law-abiding others (school friends, teachers and family members). As a result of this he has an adequate support structure (Patricia, Lydia, his children, mother and sister). He also re-established contact with his father who now visits him regularly. He does not have a life-long record of substance abuse as he was introduced to substances (alcohol and dagga) during his involvement with the syndicate. The offender has subsequently successfully attended a substance abuse rehabilitation programme and he no longer abuses any substances.

6.2.8.2 Sexuality

The client maintains that up to six months ago he was of heterosexual orientation. He apparently started to develop intimate feelings towards another inmate (they share a communal cell) and felt aroused whenever he saw him undressing or showering. Mr. A reports that this prisoner has a feminine build and that he “just could not stop thinking about having sex with him.” He states that he was confused about these feelings and that he never used to have sexual interests in men outside the prison or during his childhood. The offender asserts that he tried to avoid personal contact with this prisoner, but “sexual desires and thoughts” pertaining to this prisoner, crossed his mind on a daily basis.

Initially Mr. A did not want to pursue his feelings for, and interest in, this prisoner as this goes against his culture and upbringing. He was also concerned with being stigmatised as a “haas” (a homosexual) in prison. After a while, he could not control these feelings anymore and a relationship developed between them. During the

second time that they had sexual intercourse, they were caught with their “pants down” meaning, that they were caught during intercourse. Apparently they locked themselves in a single cell (to ensure privacy), but a warden became suspicious, lifted the cover of the cell window and caught them. As a result of this both of them were charged with “sodomy and inappropriate behaviour.” He now posits that he feels ashamed and embarrassed about this. He mentions that he was brought up to believe that homosexuality is a sin and he knows that his family and friends (outside the prison) will reject him if they had to be informed about this.

Mr. A reports that since his homosexual experience / relationship his self-worth and self-esteem have diminished because he is now constantly concerned about what other inmates and staff think of him. A warder that used to be a friend approached him about his homosexuality and told him that he is very disappointed in him and that he never expected such behaviour from him. Some of the inmates at the D Section (education and schooling section) are now ignoring him and he feels that they are gossiping about him. The offender holds that they (the warder and his friends) lost respect for him because of his homosexual relationship / interests. He is furthermore, concerned that his mother and Patricia might find out and that they will reject him and withdraw their support. He told his sister about the incident and she was “extremely shocked” and told him not to reveal this to their mother.

The client also notes that he suffers from depression and that he cannot cope with the warder and his friends’ reaction to his homosexual involvement. When asked about his current sexual orientation, he stated that, “I still love Patricia very much, and I would like to resume our relationship and hopefully we can marry one day. I’m not confused anymore, I now know that I’m heterosexual – that (referring to his sexual affair in prison) was just curiosity and sexual deprivation ... I would say normal needs in an abnormal environment.” In this regard, Mr. A’s opinion regarding his “temporary homosexuality” is sustained by research that indicates that engaging in homosexual behaviour does not necessarily mean one is a homosexual. Instead, people may engage in homosexuality because heterosexual partners are unavailable (Siegel 2004:434).

When asked what contribution he thinks his fear of rejection and stigmatisation played in becoming heterosexual again, he responded, “No, not at all, I know it’s right to be heterosexual, I want to marry Patricia and spend my life with her.” This illustrates how the offender rationalises his guilt feelings, confusion and involvement

in homosexuality and how he succumbs to what he thinks society expects of him (heterosexuality). The offender is cautious not to lose face in society, prison and among his family and peers.

6.2.8.3 Leisure time and hobbies

While in prison, Mr. A occupies himself with positive, constructive and uplifting friends and activities. He successfully completed his studies, became a teacher for Grade 12 students (in prison), teaches Mercantile Law and Business Economics to Law students, participates in soccer games, assists fellow inmates with legal advice (compiling affidavits), is involved in various recreational activities (sculpting, woodwork and beadwork) and projects, participates in Biblical studies and is a member of the prison choir. The offender furthermore, shows interest in rehabilitating himself and he attended various programmes in this regard.

6.2.8.4 Future goals

The offender anticipates employment as a legal advisor and/or a legal representative at “a big company, a positive relationship between me and my children and to be able to care and provide for my family.” He furthermore, asserts that he once (before his incarceration) had a “golden opportunity” to further himself and to study and that he “wasted and threw it away on crime and the promise of easy money.” Mr. A also mentions that he would like to have more contact with his father once outside the prison, and to establish a positive father-son relationship.

6.2.9 Therapy and treatment in prison

While in prison, the offender attended substance abuse, anger-management and life skills programmes. He is currently consulting on a weekly basis with both the social worker and the psychologist to address his personal problems pertaining to his relationship with his mother (to stand up to her), his sexuality, the causes of his criminality, and to improve his relationship with his children and his father. Mr. A has also successfully completed an offender rehabilitation programme with *Criminon* – a Non-Governmental Organisation - that focuses on promoting human dignity, respect, patience, integrity, conventional moral codes and commitment to change and happiness among prisoners. The offender also participates in a “male-rape” project where possible victims and perpetrators are identified for counselling, prevention, control and treatment purposes.

6.2.10 Contributory factors to criminal behaviour

The following incidents and/or circumstances contributed to Mr. A's involvement in criminality:

1. Childhood problems

- Dysfunctional family life;
- A lack of supervision;
- Poverty.

2. Family problems

- Divorce of his parents;
- An absent father figure;
- Broken home.

The abovementioned factors contributed to the client's impoverished circumstances, which in turn led to his early involvement in antisocial and criminal behaviour.

3. Peer influences

- Association with other criminals at University;
- Criminal values;
- Exposure to substances and "easy money".

4. Personal problems

- Financial greed;
- Low self-esteem;
- Susceptibility to peer influences.

6.2.11 High-risk situations

The offender is unsure how he would react to his former criminal friends outside the prison. He admits that he is "scared that I might commit crime for easy money again." This illustrates Mr. A's criminal values (to commit crime for "easy money") and his susceptibility to peer influence.

6.2.12 A theoretical explanation for Mr A's criminal behaviour

The theoretical explanation for Mr A's criminal behaviour is rooted in his economic deprivation as a child, an early onset of offending, and his later involvement in criminality (Thornberry & Krohn 2003:93). This pathway to criminality accentuated the value and attractiveness that material goods held for Mr. A, which was later on strengthened by his association with a crime syndicate.

According to **Loeber's Pathways to Crime theory** (a developmental and life course theory), multiple pathways namely the authority conflict, the covert and the overt pathways to crime exist. The *authority conflict pathway* begins at an early age with stubborn behaviour which leads to defiance and ultimately to authority avoidance such as truancy and running away. The *covert pathway* begins with minor, underhanded behaviour such as lying or shoplifting, and leads to more serious offences. The *overt pathway* escalates to aggressive acts, beginning with aggression such as bullying and leading to physical fighting and violence (Siegel 2004:287-288; 2005:217-218). Mr. A followed a covert pathway by initially stealing food and money from his mother's purse. His behaviour, which was strengthened by his association with a crime syndicate, eventually progressed to armed robbery.

Thornberry and Krohn (2003:105-107) stress that the majority of offenders who escalated to a covert pathway of crime tended to begin by committing less serious behaviour such lying to their parents. These researchers note that an early onset of problem behaviour is strongly associated with boys' escalation to more serious pathways of crime.

In addition, Thornberry and Krohn (2003:102, 114-116) found that an individual's pathway to crime is determined by factors such as: a) An early onset of criminal behaviour, b) poverty, c) lower socio-economic status, d) disadvantaged neighbourhoods, e) poor supervision, f) poor parent-boy communication, and g) antisocial peer associations. In this regard, Mr. A continuously stressed that: Poor mother-son communication and supervision; exposure to poverty; economic deprivation; desperation and hunger; residing in a poor and disorganised neighbourhood; and association with criminal others (at University) determined his onset in problem behaviour, and his later involvement in criminality.

This theoretical explanation is a *holistic* perspective that attempts to explain Mr. A's initial involvement in antisocial and criminal behaviour.

6.2.13 Recommendations for intervention purposes

It is evident from the interviews with the offender that the following aspects should still be addressed to contribute to his rehabilitation process:

- ❑ Susceptibility to peer influences;
- ❑ Criminal values;
- ❑ Low self-esteem;

- ❑ Sexual orientation;
- ❑ An unbalanced mother-son relationship (the offender is “scared” of his mother’s reactions to his decisions and lifestyle);
- ❑ Financial greed.

Prior to his incarceration and while the offender has been in prison, there are no indications and/or history of attempted escape, violent, aggressive or uncontrollable behaviour. He voluntarily consulted therapists (a social worker and a psychologist), attended various rehabilitation programmes and completed his studies in prison. These are all positive aspects in his rehabilitation process and prove that he is not a danger to himself, the staff, or his fellow inmates in terms of violent, aggressive and uncontrollable behaviour. Mr. A occupies himself constructively in prison and for this reason the assessor could not determine any reason why the offender should not be re-classified to a medium category status. The aforementioned intervention indicators do, however, need to be addressed in order to enhance this individual’s rehabilitation process. The reason for this is that research demonstrates that even if offenders value education and other middle-class norms, desperate life circumstances and criminal values may put them at risk of further involvement in criminality (Siegel 2004:179). The assessor also suggests that the offender be re-assessed for pre-parole purposes to determine if any factors (or new factors) exist that would hamper Mr. A’s successful reintegration into society.

6.3 Case study two

Mr. B: Assessment for intervention purposes

According to Ellis and Sowers (2001:57), assessment for intervention purposes should entail the identification of personal, social and environmental influences. These factors can guide therapists such as psychologists and social workers in the effective treatment and rehabilitation of offenders. This report strives to identify individual offender needs and risks that will guide custodial therapists and management in purposeful and individualised intervention.

6.3.1 Introduction

Mr. B was referred to the assessor by the social worker to determine the nature and origin of his aggressiveness, and to indicate individual needs and targets suitable for intervention purposes. This offender is classified as a maximum category offender

(at Leeuwkop maximum prison) and he is currently serving a 32-year effective sentence for both economic and aggressive crimes. The offender cooperated fully during the nine interviews, and good rapport was established. In addition to conducting interviews, related court documents and reports in his Department of Correctional Services file pertaining to his behaviour in prison, including a report from the social worker, were also inspected.

6.3.2 Biographic details

Mr. B is a 36-year old white, single, heterosexual male. He has never been married and he has no children and/or dependants. The client was raised in a predominantly Afrikaans household – his mother is Afrikaans and his father is German. His home language is Afrikaans and he can communicate in, read and write Afrikaans, English and German, and can understand Zulu.

Regarding his health, the client reports to be suffering from headaches, insomnia and loss of appetite. While in prison, he voluntarily underwent three HIV/AIDS tests and the results were negative. Mr. B displays several scars on his forearms and has a deep scar on his left cheek. According to him, this is the result of “self-defence” during a fight that occurred while he was in the awaiting trial section. The client claims that he is a reborn and devout Christian, and that this devotion is in correlation with his family’s values and upbringing. Mr. B used to be a DA (Democratic Alliance) supporter, but since his incarceration he has lost interest in politics.

6.3.3 Family of origin

Both the offender’s parents are still alive. His father, Lüther, is 63-years of age and a Chartered Accountant by profession. He is in the employment of a prominent company in Johannesburg, of which he is also a partner. The client’s father has been in the employment of this company for more than 32 years and plans to retire within the next two years. Mr. B’s mother, Annemarie, is 62 years of age and she is a retired Radiologist. The offender’s parents met while they both studied at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr. B describes his parents’ marriage as a happy union. He reports that, “I think they really love one another - they have been together for almost 42 years. They have had their differences (arguments) ... but nothing serious or ugly (meaning violent or degrading)”. When asked with which parent he associates best, he stated, “my mother, she is extremely soft-hearted, feminine, a devoted Christian and the anchor

of the family.” The client describes his father as a person “with a hot temper, who likes to be in control, but he has never been violent or aggressive towards us.” Instead, when angry, the offender’s father withdraws and does not speak to the person who angered him for a couple of days. This, according to the offender, is his father’s ‘method of punishment’. Mr. B concedes that his father cannot admit when he is wrong, “but that’s him, he is just very stubborn.”

The offender states that during his childhood, he and his siblings never received hidings from their parents. They were mostly reprimanded and as punishment they were not allowed to socialise with their friends for a stipulated period.

The following diagram outlines the offender’s family structure.

Lüther, father: 63	Chartered Accountant
Annemarie, mother: 62	Radiologist
Jaco, brother: 38	Chemical Engineer
The offender: 36	B Com Accounting degree, Honours Degree in Accounting and a MBA Degree
Lynn-Marie, sister: 33	Physiotherapist

This diagram illustrates the offender’s family structure and the qualifications of the family members. The offender is one of three children. He is the middle child and all the members of this family obtained a tertiary education. They are all professionals, and they all obtained their qualifications at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Both the offender’s brother and sister are married with children, and he gets on well with his siblings. Mr. B is the only member of his family with a criminal record and who has been in conflict with the law. There is also no history of violent and/or aggressive behaviour within Mr. B’s family, or during his childhood years.

The offender was raised in an affluent home in Johannesburg. He purports that he comes from a privileged family background and that the family lived in a “big house with a tennis court and a swimming pool.” Mr. B states that all their basic needs were provided for, but according to him, his parents never “splashed” money (meaning wasted money) around. He states, for example, that the children had to work (gardening, wash their parents’ motor vehicles and sell newspapers) for pocket money. Mr. B recalls that, “we were not like the other children in the neighbourhood, they automatically received a substantial amount of pocket money and they even had

the best and most expensive toys and hobbies. Not us, our parents never spent money on us.”

All the members of the family are musically talented. Both Mr. B's father and sister sing in choirs, his mother plays the violin and the piano, and his brother plays the guitar. The offender also plays the piano and the guitar and since his imprisonment, he has played the guitar in the prison band.

6.3.4 Childhood and school experiences

The client displays a stable school record, never played truant, did not miss school, and has never been involved in the use or abuse of substances. He excelled in sport and played in the first rugby and cricket teams during his primary and secondary school career.

The offender concedes that his father had high educational expectations of the children, and as a result of this they took their education seriously. Mr. B reports that his father's expectation (to perform well at school) was in line with the family's values as they had been exposed to, and participated in, “uplifting” conversations with their parents. For example, during meals the family would hold “intellectual conversations” regarding the economy, religion, politics, philosophy, art and culture.

During his school career, Mr. B never failed a subject or a school year. He received various academic, sport and music awards. While in Grade 11, he was elected as a school leader and his brother, Jaco, was the Head Boy of the school. Later on, his sister was also elected as a leader at the school.

The offender states that he got on well with his teachers and peers. He was never involved in any violence and never displayed any aggressive behaviour. Since his primary school days, the client has maintained good relationships with three friends. These friends attended the same schools as the offender, and also played for the first rugby and cricket teams. They have remained friends throughout the years and they still, even while he is in prison, have regular contact.

Mr. B furthermore reports no childhood abuse (physical, emotional or sexual abuse) or neglect.

6.3.5 Education and employment history

Mr. B matriculated in 1985 with three distinctions in Mathematics, Science and German. He enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1986 for a B Com Accounting degree. He obtained this degree in 1989 and completed an Honours degree in Accounting in 1991. During 1994, he also obtained a MBA (Master of Business Administrations) degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The client displays a stable employment record. From 1992 to 2000, he was employed as a broker at a prominent firm at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. He held this position until his arrest. Congruent with past research (Joubert 1994:116-117; 1999:37-40), current research (KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004: Internet site; Walters & Geyer 2004:271) suggests that white-collar offenders are significantly older, intelligent, realistic, ambitious, highly educated and that they have more years of education than non-white-collar offenders.

6.3.6 Crime analysis

The client's criminal record can be analysed as follows:

6.3.6.1 First offence

Mr. B is a second offender. During 1987, he was found guilty of being drunk and disorderly in a public place. He received a suspended sentence and a fine of R 250 for this offence. The incident occurred during his second year at University, while he and other students attended an Intervarsity (between the University of Pretoria and the University of Stellenbosch) rugby match, in Pretoria. According to the offender, this was the first time that he had abused alcohol, and apparently, he went "so over board" that he was hospitalised for alcohol poisoning. The offender states that since this incident he has never abused alcohol again and that he only consumed alcohol on a social and/or an acceptable level (meaning one or two alcoholic beverages, mostly during social functions).

6.3.6.2 Second offence

While employed as a broker, the client purchased shares, which he "banked" into his own account before selling them for an increased amount to various clients. The shares were sold for a profit - more than what the clients would have paid if the shares were purchased directly from the initial seller. Through this method of trade, the offender obtained an unauthorised, undisclosed and illegal financial benefit for himself. The Securities Regulation Panel (the "watchdog" of the Stock Exchange)

discovered his crime and trading through an analysis and audit. Mr. B was arrested during 2000 and found guilty on seven counts of fraud, totalling an amount of R 53 million. He received a 15-year sentence for this crime.

According to Joubert (1999:37) and the KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004 Report (Internet site), the amount of money involved (in this case R 53 million), distinguishes white-collar crime from all other types of crime except large-scale drug smuggling operations. Furthermore, a deliberate use of false presentation (such as selling shares for an illegally increased amount), and negotiable financial instruments (access to shares and dealing and bargaining with clients) among defrauders illustrate their criminal intent (Joubert 1994:116-117; KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004: Internet site).

Reflecting back on his crime and dishonesty, the offender recalls that, "I used to like taking risks (meaning the risk of buying shares into his own account and on-selling them for personal gain). I think I became greedy ... and maybe blasé ... about my skills, knowledge, image and lifestyle. I lived in the 'fast-lane', had money, a Porche ... and it wasn't a second-hand one, and a 4x4 (an off-road motor vehicle). I also had majority shares in an up-market game farm in Mpumalanga and I owed a beautiful four-bedroom penthouse at Clifton Beach (the Cape). I guess I took chances ... and not because I was in financial trouble, but because I was blasé, greedy and I wanted to prove myself."

Joubert (1994:118) and the KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004 Report (Internet site) found that money is not only a financial commodity. Money can be mollifying to a poor self-esteem and can also buy prestige, acceptance, recognition, status and power. The offender's exterior and/or superficial indicators of wealth (Porche, off-road vehicle and shares in expensive and exclusive property) were provided by the "spoils of fraud", indicative of Mr. B's need for recognition, acceptance, power and status, according to Joubert (1999:41).

Mr. B states that he knew that his "activities" were against the law, but he just thought that he would not be caught. He attributes his "financial greediness" to his father's "conservativeness" about money. The client posits that, "one thing that bothered me about my father is that he was never prepared to take a risk ... any risk, especially financial risks. Although he always had money, he was so conservative and passive about money. He never took us out to a restaurant, not even for hamburgers. Each

year we went camping for our annual holiday - he could have easily afforded better accommodation for us. I remember telling him that one day, when I'm grown-up, I will have a lot of money and that I'm going to dine out every night. He (the father) replied that it's fine, at least then it will be my money."

When the offender purchased his Porche, he took his father for a drive on the N1 highway. He says his father was speechless (about the vehicle and Mr. B's "financial success") and he congratulated him with tears in his eyes. Mr. B holds that "this was one of the greatest moments in my life." This illustrates the offender's need to be recognised and acknowledged by his father as being successful. This 'need' to prove himself, is linked to personal insecurities and a low self-esteem. Joubert (1994:118; 1999:38) and the KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004 Report (Internet site) concur that defrauders are prepared to take risks, that they commit crime to sustain expensive tastes and a high standard of living, and because they are profoundly ambitious individuals.

Mr. B concedes that the motives for his crime were "financial greed and a need to prove myself to my father and my friends." The offender claims that he became "obsessive with ambition and with money" because of his father's conservativeness about money. Research affirms that motives for fraud include financial greed, unresolved personal problems (such as a low self-esteem, to gain prestige and recognition) and ambition (Joubert 1994:117-118; 1999:37-38; KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004: Internet site).

Research furthermore illustrates that white-collar offenders are often not able to identify with their biological fathers, and as a result of this they may develop "an urge to prove themselves as eventually successful". It has also been found that white-collar offenders identify more readily with their mothers (Joubert 1999:41). Common personality traits of white-collar offenders include: Intelligence, experiencing unresolved personal problems (such as a low self-esteem, and seeking recognition, acceptance and status), the existence of unrealistic financial performance expectations (created by the offender), ambition, a disregard for rules, fear of failing, violating a position of trust, having access to finances and/or the opportunity to commit fraud, and a lack of a criminal self-concept (denouncing a criminal label) (Joubert 1994:117; 1999:37-38; KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004: Internet site).

6.3.6.3 Third offence

While in the awaiting trial section, the offender was gang raped by seven members of the 28 gang. He alleges that he was “sold” by two staff members to this gang. This occurred during his first night at the awaiting trial section. When he entered the cell, the perpetrators (the rapists) apparently befriended him, offered him coffee and helped him to make his bed and “to settle in.” The offender accepted their assistance and the coffee, not knowing that this was a *modus operandi* for recruiting “wyfies” (sexual partners) and/or gang members. Later that night, while most of the inmates were asleep, he was “strapped down on the floor” (held down) while they took turns raping him. This occurred in the presence of the other inmates and according to the offender the warders did nothing to help him. Some of the inmates were not asleep and they pretended not to notice the rape. Mr. B cites that he cried and he tried to scream, but he was silenced with beatings while they raped him. One of the rapists also inserted part of a broomstick into his anus. He says that he cannot remember how many times he was raped. After the rape, he remained on the floor “and just prayed to die.”

Later on, three prisoners from the opposite side of the cell (from an opposition gang, the 26 gang) offered him assistance. They took him to their side of the cell where he “just crawled up against the wall.” He remained in this position until the next morning. The next day these inmates provided him with a hand-made knife (made from a tablespoon), and encouraged him to take revenge. According to Mr. B, “this (revenge) was a natural process as I felt nothing ... I needed no assistance, and I did not care whether I would live or die anymore.” The result was that he killed one of the rapists, stabbed another rapist and one of the warders, who according to him sold him to the 28 gang. It was during this incident that the client obtained the scars on his forearms and face. He was arrested and charged with murder, attempted murder, assault and being in possession of a dangerous and illegal weapon.

The court referred the offender for psychiatric observation to Weskoppies (a psychiatric facility outside Pretoria), for a period of 30 days. During this time, Mr. B consulted with two psychiatrists and a psychologist. He was provided with medication to subdue his violent outbursts, to calm him down, and to help him to sleep. According to the offender, he was drugged most of the time and he cannot remember much during this observational period. It is stated in his Departmental file that he underwent three sessions of shock therapy in order to control and subdue his violent outbursts. Because of this treatment, the offender refuses to consult psychiatrists or

psychologists in prison. He maintains that he has no faith in these therapists, as they did not even attempt to inquire about the rape or the origin of his violent behaviour.

Mr. B received an additional 17 years prison sentence for the crimes that he committed while being detained at the awaiting trial section. He is currently serving a 32 year effective prison sentence. The rape incident is not recorded in his Departmental file. Only the crimes (murder, attempted murder, assault and being in possession of an illegal weapon) that he was found guilty of are recorded on his file. There are also no psychiatric and/or psychological reports from Weskoppies on his file.

According to the offender, his parents cried when they learned of the rape, murder and his “extended sentence.” He proclaims that as a result of this, his mother is permanently on anti-depressant medication and his father has suffered a mild heart attack. Since being detained as a “sentenced” prisoner, the offender has only revealed the rape to the social worker, the assessor and his parents.

6.3.7 Adaptation in prison

The client finds it difficult to adapt in prison. He maintains that he experiences sleeping problems – this is mostly because he is too scared to sleep at night for fear of being attacked or raped again. Some nights when he cannot sleep, he sits in an up-right position on his bed and just “thinks” or “cries.” He also experiences a loss of appetite – this has been reported to the medical doctor who referred him to the psychologist for counselling and/or emotional assistance. The client has consulted with the psychologist on two occasions but he did not discuss his rape victimisation with her.

Mr. B therefore, struggles to come to terms with his initial imprisonment (for fraud) and with the gang rape trauma. He does not want to reveal his sexual victimisation to his fellow prisoners or to the custodial staff. The reason for this is that he fears that they might gossip about him and he argues that he will be teased, manipulated, belittled and humiliated. He also thinks that the staff members will not have respect for him if they should learn of his sexual victimisation. Since the rape the offender finds it difficult to make friends within this enclosed environment.

The offender asserts that he cannot associate with, “ ... these immoral animals. They have sex with one another - some of them are married men with children, and they

are not doing it against their will! You must hear the disgusting and filthy jokes they tell about women – everything is about sex ... and they use the most vulgar language, that I cannot even repeat in your company (meaning during the interview). I cannot listen to it and I refuse to be in such company – how can I respect such a person? I am not used to this ... I was never exposed to this and I was definitely not brought up like this - it is degrading. I am an educated person, not an animal or a rapist like some these bandiete (prisoners)!”

Mr. B furthermore holds that, “I go to sleep with mixed emotions (regarding the rape and his imprisonment), and I wake up with intensified emotions (meaning being very emotional and angry).”

6.3.8 Aggressive and violent behaviour

Since his incarceration, the offender is said to be extremely agitated, anxious and aggressive. This behaviour was noted on his Departmental file by two warders. Since being classified as a “sentenced” prisoner, the offender has been involved in two fights in the prison. He claims that these were the result of provocation. Both the victims were apparently present on the night when he was raped at the awaiting trial section. They are currently incarcerated in the same prison as the offender and when they walk past him, they make “obscene and obscure gestures with their mouths and tongues - signalling sexual intercourse”. Mr. B believes that these gestures are related to the rape incident, and he also feels that they gossip about him and the rape. This behaviour angered him and, “ ... everything just went black in front of me. I lost control and if they did not stop me in time, I would have killed one of them. I do not know myself anymore, I cannot trust my feelings and emotions. One day I’m really going to snap and kill one of them ... I do not know how much longer I’m going to hold it out here!”

As a result of his involvement in these fights, the offender is perceived as a “trouble-maker, an aggressive, uncontrollable and obstructive person” – this is also noted on his Departmental file. Mr. B refused to provide a reason for his behaviour and his involvement in the arguments. This refusal was perceived by some of the staff members as “stubborn behaviour” and according to the client, one of the warders called him “hardegat” (meaning “tough guy”). For his involvement in the fights, and for refusing to cooperate with the prison authorities, Mr. B was placed in segregation (isolation) for a period of 30 days. His A category classification status was reduced to

a B category, which means that his visitations rights were severely limited and he is not allowed to have contact visits.

The offender cites that because he stabbed a staff member at the awaiting-trial section, some custodial staff members have “branded” him as a “dog” and they hold “grudges” against him. For this reason, he does not trust them and he cannot reveal the reason for his participation in the fights. Mr. B is of the opinion that when he is provoked in a sexual manner, he suffers from “black-outs”, which according to him makes him “see black in front of him.” This results in him becoming “very aggressive and short-sighted”. During such episodes, he has no control over his emotions and behaviour.

6.3.9 Gang involvement

Due to the nature of his crime (fraud of a large amount), his retaliation after his gang rape, and the fact that he murdered and injured members of the 28 gang and a staff member, the position of “President” of the 26 gang was involuntarily assigned to the offender. This means that he holds the highest position in the gang in Gauteng. This status was assigned to him because he associated with the 26 gang, and because he accepted their assistance. The client states that he had no choice in this and that he does not want to be a gang member. Apparently, according to the gang laws, he cannot refuse or resign from this position, and only death can relieve him from his association with the gang.

The offender states that his affiliation with, and his prominent position in the gang, bothers him. He asserts that he is “two persons with two minds and two personalities.” This means that at times the offender has to think and act like a gang member while his own personality, values and morals are repressed and opposed to gang membership and activities. According to the offender, his “own personality” is against violence and gang involvement. He would rather choose to occupy himself with “intellectual readings, uplifting conversations, music and Biblical studies.”

Mr. B contends that he tries to apply his position in the gang to his advantage. This means enjoying more privileges (more and better food) and luxuries (to have his clothes washed), and to prevent violence in prison. He claims to manipulate the decision-making process pertaining to gang fights and attacks. He notes that he has never instigated violence, and has as far as possible, refrained from “shedding blood in the prison.” The offender states that because of his position in the gang, he has

the power and the ability to control violence in prison as far as the involvement of his gang is concerned. Apparently, he holds the “white flag” (the flag of peace), and this gives him the power to re-channel grievances and violence into positive communication with the prison authorities and opposite gangs. Mr. B asserts that his gang will only retaliate once “blood has been spilled”. That is, when one of his gang members are stabbed or killed by an opposing gang. He has no power to sidestep this law because, “blood must be met by blood.” The client argues that he tries to think in a “preventative” and a “logical” manner whenever he has to make decisions regarding his gang. That is, he explores all possible options to prevent violence and gang fights. According to Mr. B, there have been no gang fights in this prison since his involvement in the gang.

Mr. B claims to have informed staff members and the head of the prison of possible attacks against them. In this regard, a certain staff member was identified to be killed by an opposing gang. The client informed the prison authorities about this and they provided the staff member with extra protection (another staff member was assigned to protect him during his duties). The stabbing occurred a week later than the offender predicted, but because of the precaution, the staff member was only stabbed in the shoulder and not seriously injured. Mr. B cites that after this incident some of the staff members became suspicious of him and his involvement in gang activities. Some of the members are of the opinion that he “staged” the attack to make himself look important, while other staff members expressed their shock at his involvement in gang activities. One such a staff member told the offender that, “A guy with your background, upbringing and education, should not be involved with dogs (meaning gang members).” Since this incident, this staff member has ignored the offender.

The offender argues that because of his prominent position in the gang, his life is in constant danger. He is often challenged to fight, prove himself, and to defend his position. This results in stress as he tries to re-channel the challenges to non-violent gestures and/or activities. Mr. B posits that he was once challenged (swore and spat at) by an opposing gang member. He explains that according to his gang laws, he has to defend himself, and that he has to stand up for his gang’s morals. Mr. B did not react to these insults. The opposing gang member attacked him with a hand-made knife and the client defended himself by pushing the person away. Luckily, bystanders witnessed the attack and they verified that Mr. B did not initiate the attack or provoke the opposing gang member.

Other daily challenges involve that “some opposite gang members carry stories (gossip) to the staff members informing them that I instructed them to “knife” (stab) a guy, or to smuggle dagga into the prison.” The offender was found guilty at an internal disciplinary hearing of being involved in, and promoting gang activities in prison. He received another 20 days in segregation as punishment and was not allowed to practice with the prison band during this period.

Mr. B claims that his position in the gang creates a lot of conflict as he is constantly nervous – especially when if he has to make decisions pertaining to gang violence. This also increases his anxiety level and has a negative impact on his emotions. Despite his gang membership, the offender displays no gang tattoos on his body. He fluently speaks the language of the 26 gang. The client claims that his gang involvement offers him protection and support during times of prison unrest and/or fights. His parents, friends and family are not aware of his position and/or involvement in the gang.

6.3.10 Cognitive functioning

It is clear from Mr. B’s education and employment achievements that he is a highly intelligent individual. Despite these characteristics and/or factors, the offender shows limited insight into his criminal behaviour. In this regard he asserts that: “Since childhood, my father taught us to take responsibility for our actions, if we did anything wrong, we had to admit it and we had to live with the consequences of whatever we did wrong. So, yes, I deserve my incarceration and I feel ashamed and embarrassed about it (fraud) ... the grief and heartache I caused to my family, friends and my own reputation.” This statement is a reflection of the offender’s lack of self-control, lack of responsibility (to trade in a responsible manner), as well as his personal moral outlook that fraud is not a conventional (aggressive) crime.

However, Mr. B justifies and rationalises his involvement in and the seriousness of his crime. This is evident in his proclaiming (as stated in Section 6.3.7, page 282) that he is “an educated man and not an animal or a rapist” like the rest of the inmates. An analysis of this statement highlights the fact that the offender places himself in a different and/or higher category to that of ordinary prisoners (those found guilty of rape). According to Joubert (1994:117) and KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the ‘Profile of a Fraudster’ 2004 Report (Internet site), rationalisation is a common trait among defrauders. This means that Mr. B is capable of setting aside his feelings of guilt, which enables him to perceive his initial crime (fraud) as less criminal and/or

barbaric than, for instance, the crime of rape. This in turn is linked to Mr. B's lack of criminal self-concept – meaning, that his crime of fraud is not criminal in the conventional sense (an aggressive and life-threatening crime), but rather a crime against which little social stigma exists (Joubert 1994:118).

In general, Mr. B has a negative attitude towards his incarceration, fellow inmates and the custodial staff members. This can be ascribed to his gang rape victimisation. The offender admits that he experiences feelings of helplessness, powerlessness, hopelessness, revenge, resentment, anger, hostility, fear, anxiety, frustration and aggression. He furthermore submits that he does not know how to cope with these feelings and emotions. For instance, the offender cried and started to shake when he reported his rape trauma to the interviewer. It took him some minutes to control his emotions, to calm down, and to resume the interview. He stated that, “I do not know why I am like this – I was never like this before (during his childhood or before his incarceration).”

As stated before, the offender struggles to come to terms with both his imprisonment and his rape victimisation. In this regard, it seems as though the offender is suffering from posttraumatic stress symptoms / disorder. This is evident in his inability to control his emotions, temper, violent outbursts, his medical problems (headaches, eating and sleeping problems), feelings of anger, hostility, helplessness and revenge. The client furthermore reports that he suffers from mood swings, depression and that he has many times (only since his incarceration), thought about suicide. Regarding his suicide thoughts he cites that, “I have no desire to escape from prison, it will not eliminate the stuff (the rape and the unresolved emotions) in my mind. I have thought about killing myself – I do not know how to handle this (the rape), and I don't know for how much longer I can take this anymore!”

Research (Karmen 2004:251; Siegel 2005:53; Wrightsman & Fulero 2005:155-160) confirms that emotions such as fear, anxiety, depression, suicidal thoughts and feelings, medical problems (such as headaches and eating and sleeping problems), violent and aggressive outbursts, mood swings, low self-esteem, and tension are associated with both *a rape crisis syndrome* and a condition called *posttraumatic stress disorder* (PTSD). Victims suffering from a rape crisis syndrome might experience an identity crisis, which is mostly manifested in emotional outbursts and an inability to function and cope with the rape trauma. As a result of this, psychological problems such as a loss of illusions about invulnerability and

immorality, a loss of meaningfulness of events in the victims' life, and a decline in the person's own self-worth occur (Karmen 2004:251; Wrightsman & Fulero 2005:155-160).

In addition, posttraumatic stress disorder is a psychological reaction to a highly stressful event (such as rape) (Siegel 2005:53). PTSD normally occurs in the aftermath (coping and coming to terms with the experience) of the trauma (gang rape) (Karmen 2004:251; Wrightsman & Fulero 2005:160). Psychological deficits such as re-experiencing the attack, flashbacks, nightmares, eating and sleeping problems, emotional outbursts, a lack of interest or enthusiasm in important events, an inability to concentrate, stress and increased irritability might occur (Siegel 2005:53; Wrightsman & Fulero 2005:160).

As a result of the rape, the client fears sexual intimacy and/or being intimate with a female. He says he does not know if he would ever be able to have sex with a woman. The offender fears that his rape victimisation might result in sexual rejection, and that females might be appalled by his rape victimisation.

Mr. B displays a low self-esteem. This is evident in the need to prove himself financially to his father and his peers, and also because he feels that females and society in general will be appalled by him. This fear is mainly based on his perception of being stigmatised as an offender (and being in prison), and on his rape victimisation.

The client displays a lack of trust in his fellow inmates, the custodial staff and prison authorities. This is the result of being "sold" by custodial staff, who ought to have protected him against the actual abuse. The client furthermore, fears sexual provocation and his reaction (aggressive and violent behaviour and outbursts) to such provocation.

The offender holds that he is confused about his personality and his emotional outbreaks and states that he does not know who he is as a person anymore. Mr. B does not have many friends in prison, as he does not trust anyone. He mostly functions in isolation and withdraws in order to avoid confrontation and/or conflict.

Mr. B is confused about his gang membership and involvement. On the one hand he enjoys the status, privileges, luxuries and the prominent position assigned to him. On

the other hand, his gang involvement and activities are against his moral values and upbringing, and the offender feels that he cannot associate himself with the gang.

The client argues that he has “too much energy” and that he does not know how to diminish his energy level. He fears being further isolated because this enhances unresolved feelings and emotions about the rape. This individual has difficulties in finding ways to cope with his emotions and frustrations. Due to these stressors, he cannot relax, and he finds it difficult to re-channel his energy into positive and uplifting activities. The offender claims to volunteer to clean the bathroom at night, which helps him to “refocus” his feelings, emotions and thoughts, if reading does not help him to relax.

Lastly, the offender expresses his concern regarding his lack and/or loss of his sense of humour. He attributes this to his sexual trauma in the awaiting-trial section. According to the offender, he is repulsed by “dirty” jokes about sex and/or homosexuality, because such jokes trigger violent and aggressive behaviour within him.

6.3.11 Peer associations

Prior to Mr. B's incarceration, he associated with positive (non-violent and non-criminal) peers and friends. During this period he never belonged to an antisocial subculture and/or a gang.

During the first two interviews the offender indicated that he does not have friends in prison. After the fifth interview, Mr. B indicated that he befriended another inmate with whom he can associate on an educational and an intellectual level. This ‘friend’ (inmate) is a medical doctor, and the client feels that he can trust him. Apparently, the friend managed to “talk him through” times of depression and when he feels suicidal. However, Mr. B does not feel comfortable in revealing the rape to his new friend.

6.3.12 Intimate relationships and support structure

Prior to his imprisonment, the offender was involved in a serious long-term relationship with a female partner. The relationship lasted over four years, and according to the offender, they had planned to get engaged at the time of his arrest. His girlfriend ended the relationship several months after his arrest and she is currently married, with a child. Since his incarceration, his ex-girlfriend and her new

husband have visited him on two occasions – once to introduce her new partner to the offender, and the second time was to introduce her daughter (five months after her birth) to him.

Mr. B has a good support structure outside the prison. He receives regular visits from both his parents, brother, sister, school friends and two of his ex-colleagues. These visits are noted on his Departmental file. From this it is evident that the client can form and maintain meaningful intimate relationships.

6.3.13 Leisure time and hobbies

Prior to his incarceration, the offender occupied himself with physical exercise (going to the gym), visiting his game farm and penthouse at Clifton, reading magazines pertaining to the economy and finances, and playing the guitar. Since his incarceration, the offender has enrolled for a diploma in Journalism at Intech College. As stated before, the offender plays the guitar in the prison band, participates in Biblical studies and plays rugby for the prison team. Mr. B reports that physical exercise is important to him, because it “opens up” his mind and it helps him to delay his feelings of anger and aggression.

6.3.14 Future goals

According to the offender, his long-term future goals are “to actively contribute to society again ... find employment in the field of Journalism, maybe publishing a book ... and to have a family.” Regarding his short-term goals, the offender expressed the need to “stay focused, ... control my emotions, stay alive, and avoid conflict in prison.”

6.3.15 Treatment in prison

Since his incarceration, the offender has consulted with the social worker regarding his aggressive and violent behaviour and rape on several occasions. Mr. B also consulted with the psychologist on two occasions. These sessions were related to his loss of appetite and did not involve psychological counselling and/or in-depth therapy. The offender has not attended any programmes towards his rehabilitation process to date.

6.3.16 Aetiology of criminal behaviour

The following incidents, factors and/or exposures contributed to this individual's involvement in crime:

1. Childhood experiences

- ❑ A personal sense of financial and/or material deprivation;
- ❑ A need to be recognised and acknowledged as an "important and financially capable individual" by his father and peers.

2. Personal problems

- ❑ Financial greed;
- ❑ A low self-esteem;
- ❑ Lack of responsibility;
- ❑ Low moral values;
- ❑ Risk-taking behaviour: Despite a successful career and a good salary, the offender was still prepared to take risks that would jeopardise his future and freedom;
- ❑ Being a victim of gang rape in the awaiting trial section;
- ❑ Lack of self-control: The client's lack of self-control is evident in his retaliative actions (murder, attempted murder and assault) after his rape trauma, and his aggressive behaviour when sexually provoked in prison;
- ❑ Posttraumatic stress disorder, emotional instability and mood swings: This explains the offender's unpredictable reaction to provocation and stressful events;
- ❑ Lack of trust in fellow inmates and custodial staff: The origin of Mr. B's lack of trust is situated in being "sold" to the 28 gang and being raped in the awaiting trial section. This contributes to this individual experiencing stress, depression, frustration, and unresolved emotional feelings (such as feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, anger, resentment, revenge, anxiety and fear) which are linked to his aggressiveness and social isolation.
- ❑ Social isolation: A lack of meaningful and significant friends in prison contributes to Mr. B's social isolation and it further limits the ways in which he can relieve his emotions and feelings;
- ❑ Lack of a support structure (fellow inmates and custodial staff that the offender can trust) inside the prison.

6.3.17 Intervention indicators

The following indicators can be utilised to guide custodial therapists (psychologists and social workers) with this individual's intervention process:

- Financial greed;
- Moral values and readiness to defraud his victims;
- Lack of responsibility;
- Lack of self-control;
- Low self-esteem and a need to prove himself;
- Gang-rape trauma;
- Posttraumatic stress disorder and/or symptoms;
- Eating, sleeping and medical problems;
- Lack of trust in fellow inmates and the custodial staff;
- Emotional instability and mood swings;
- Feelings of anger, hostility, helplessness, revenge, resentment, fear, frustration and anxiety;
- Adaptation problems in prison;
- Depression;
- Inability to cope with stress;
- Irritability;
- Reaction to sexual provocation and jokes about sex;
- Lack of positive coping mechanisms;
- Suicidal feelings and thoughts;
- Rationalisation of his involvement in, and the seriousness of, his crime;
- Aggressive behaviour and violent outbursts in prison;
- Gang membership and the offender's rationalisation of his involvement in gang activities;
- Negative attitude towards his fellow inmates and the custodial staff;
- Lack of anger and conflict management skills.

6.3.18 Antecedents and/or triggers related to aggressive and violent behaviour

The following triggers might contribute to this individual's violent, aggressive and/or uncontrollable behaviour in prison:

- Sexual provocation and "dirty" jokes about sex;
- High levels of stress and frustration;
- An inability to relieve anger, stress and frustration;
- Feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, anger, hostility and revenge;

- ❑ Being stigmatised as homosexual and/or as being raped;
- ❑ Personal insults;
- ❑ Suspicious looks, gossip and false statements about the offender;
- ❑ Unresolved emotional feelings pertaining to the rape;
- ❑ Challenging behaviour to prove himself (especially in a gang context);
- ❑ Obscure and obscene gestures related to sex and/or the rape incident.

6.3.19 A theoretical explanation for Mr. B's criminal behaviour

In order to explain Mr. B's behaviour holistically, one needs to take into account a non-violent white-collar crime as well as violent crime (murder and assault).

White-collar crime is an opportunistic crime that threatens the social fabric of modern-day society. Currently, debate continues to rage over whether white-collar offending should be considered distinct from other categories of criminal conduct (Joubert 1994:119; 1999:37; KPMG: Male Finance Execs Fit the 'Profile of a Fraudster' 2004: Internet site; Walters & Geyer 2004:264). According to Walters and Geyer (2004:364, 280), correctional researchers in Pennsylvania, white-collar offenders are not a homogeneous group with respect to their pattern of offending, level of deviance, attitudes toward crime or social identity.

When Edwin Sutherland introduced the term *white-collar crime* in 1939, one of his chief goals was to expose the inadequacies of traditional theories of crime causation (such as biological and sociological determinism) in illustrating the antisocial behaviour of affluent people (Walters & Geyer 2004:263-264). Adopting a contrary view, **Gottfredson and Hirschi** (1990) posit that white-collar offenders are just as criminally versatile and deviant as their non-white-collar counterparts. This means that white-collar offenders do not specialise in white-collar crime any more than robbers confine themselves to robbery. In addition, white-collar and non-white-collar offenders are equally likely to have a prior record of criminality and poor social adjustment (Walters & Geyer 2004:264). Various researchers support Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime. For instance, Benson and Moore (1992), Nagin and Paternoster (1994) and Weisburd, Waring, and Chayet (1995) uncovered a significant relationship between white-collar crime, a prior history of criminality and low self-control (Walters & Geyer 2004:264-265).

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime, Mr. B's involvement in crime could be viewed as a result of a lack of self-control. The offender defrauded

his victims by utilising the opportunity and the access that he had to trade in shares, to commit crime. It means that the offender could not resist the temptation to make an illegal profit from his victims (clients and his employer). This lack of resistance, despite his favourable circumstances (an affluent background and upbringing, education, a high salary, and a prominent position), is linked to Mr. B's lack of self-control (Curran & Renzetti 2001:160-161). Mr. B's lack of self-control can also explain his fraudulent behaviour to prove to his father how successful he is. This is evident in his purchase of the Porche and his father's reaction (see page 275) to it, which signifies the offender's need to be recognised and acknowledged as being successful by his father.

Mr. B's lack of self-control is furthermore evident in the commission of his violent crimes which he justifies as retaliation after being raped. In this regard, Mr. B admits to having no control over his emotions and behaviour (see Sections 6.3.7, page 278 and Section 6.3.8, pages 278-279). This lack of self-control also seems to be a quality that is admired within the prison gang culture where retaliation and a readiness to participate in violence, and/or to act violently are the order of the day.

6.3.20 Recommendations

It is recommended that the offender should receive in-depth psychological counselling for his rape trauma and posttraumatic stress disorder. This will assist the client to address his fears, insecurities, personal problems and unresolved emotions and feelings. Furthermore, the intervention indicators (as stated in Section 6.3.17, page 287), should be utilised to guide custodial therapists in addressing this individual's needs for individualised intervention. It is also recommended that Mr. B's intellectual capabilities and skills should be used for the intellectual upliftment of fellow prisoners by teaching them skills such as computer literacy. This will improve Mr. B's self image and increase his sense of responsibility.

6.4 Case study three

Mr. C: Assessment for risk management purposes

This risk-based assessment focuses on specific factors identified by research as related to risk. The purpose of the assessment is to:

- Determine the likelihood that Mr. C might reoffend after release, or at any other stage in the future;
- Indicate whether he would behave violently, aggressively or criminally;

- Identify the particular conditions under which the offender is likely to behave violently, aggressively or criminally (Ellis & Sowers 2001:76-77; Howitt 2002:356).

This assessment is primarily conducted to determine and identify risk-related factors that will assist prison authorities to effectively control and manage this offender.

6.4.1 Introduction

The assessor was requested to assess and profile Mr. C to determine the origin of, and factors contributing to his uncontrollable behaviour. On file, the prison authorities have identified him as a “trouble-maker, promoting gang activities, threatening staff, prison authorities and fellow inmates and displaying violent, hostile, aggressive and uncontrollable behaviour.” This client is a maximum category prisoner (Baviaanspoort Maximum prison).

During the first session, the client appeared to be aggressive, sceptical, suspicious and extremely negative towards the interviewer. As the sessions progressed, and after the assessor explained the purpose of the assessment, the offender became more relaxed and good rapport was established. After the first session he willingly cooperated and later on said that he eventually ‘enjoyed’ the sessions. He described the sessions as “ ... nice (meaning stimulating) and the first time ever I had the chance to talk about my past, family, upbringing and my criminal path (career) ... and gained insight into my manners (his behaviour).”

6.4.2 Culture

Mr. C is representative of the Zulu culture. He explains that from early childhood boys (in general) are taught to be warriors and to display aggressive behaviour. These characteristics are important for manhood as men are taught to hunt in order to be “good” providers for their families. Traditionally speaking, boys have to look after the cattle and practice their fighting skills. They are not allowed to have intercourse with girls until they can prove that they can earn a living and support a wife and children. Children are supposed to show respect towards the elderly and they should know their “place” in the family. For example, children eat separately from the elderly (grandparents) and their parents, and they should speak when they are spoken to (by adults and the elderly).

The Zulu women are the housekeepers, they should maintain the household and busy themselves with the cooking, cleaning and caring of the children. Wives should

be submissive to their husbands because they are the “property” of the husband. A “good” husband should discipline his wife and children to maintain order in his house, - so as to not diminish his respect in the community. If a husband dies then one of his remaining brothers and/or close cousins should marry the widow to support the family. Polygamy is allowed and practised in some Zulu communities, and Mr. C was raised in such a family structure.

The client reports that his family believe in, and practise “witchcraft”. From an Eurocentric perspective, witchcraft is a traditional African religion. The offender’s family regularly consulted with Nyanga’s for medical and personal purposes (relationship problems and financial guidance). For instance, he indicates that he had consulted Nyanga’s for “guidance, strength and protection” each time before committing a crime. Furthermore, Mr. C indicated that while incarcerated, illegal pills (drugs) that he received from a Nyanga were smuggled into the prison. The offender sold these drugs for an income in order to support his family and to pay bail.

6.4.3 Biographic details

Mr. C is a 42 year old male, he is divorced and has two children (boys, aged 17 and 14 years) from two different women. He was legally married to his first wife (in terms of common law), while he has never married the mother of his second child. Since 1998, he has had no contact with either the boys or their mothers, and he claims that his brother “John” (a labourer somewhere in Soweto) supports his children. Prior to his incarceration, the offender resided with this brother in Soweto as he does not own any property. The offender can speak and write in Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans and English.

Mr. C holds that he is a devout, reborn Christian and that he regularly attends church services. His continued belief in witchcraft, coupled with his devout Christian faith, causes a dual value system that he struggles to internalise (as Christianity is opposed to witchcraft practices).

Regarding his health, he has undergone several operations, mostly as a result of his criminal lifestyle. He was involved in a shoot-out with the police during a robbery where he sustained various gunshot wounds. The client displays several scars on his face and body - the result of stabbings and participation in fights and gang violence. Currently, he suffers from a foot abscess, but he claims to be receiving adequate and effective medical attention in prison for this problem. This offender indicates that he

has been tested for HIV/Aids approximately five times (since 1998) and that the results were negative. Furthermore, he sleeps well and reports no eating problems. Mr. C is an IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) supporter and maintains that he is of heterosexual orientation.

Regarding the client's school-going years, he completed Std 8, "Bantu-Education" at schools in Soweto. He mentions that he lost interest in schooling when his mother died. While she was still alive, he enjoyed school and found General Science and Agriculture stimulating subjects. Up to his mother's death, he never failed a standard, was not expelled or truant from school. He maintains that he really "liked" school, never missed classes, always did his homework, was serious about school and got along well with his teachers and schoolmates. Furthermore, he was a good soccer player and it was due to his soccer skills that he received the nickname "Shoes". He explains that he was "so quick with the soccer ball that one could only see his shoes (takkies)."

During this period while his mother was still alive, he had no contact with criminal others and mainly functioned in isolation. He did not have many friends due to the fact that he busied himself with schooling and soccer. Only after his mother's death did he lose interest in school, became truant, joined a negative sub-culture (criminal friends and gangs) and became rebellious.

6.4.4 Parents and childhood

Both the offender's parents are deceased. His father passed away (due to natural causes) during 1986, and his mother in 1973. The client's mother was murdered (stabbed) by the offender's eldest brother who was diagnosed with a mental illness and is currently housed at a facility for mentally ill persons in Gauteng. Both parents were representative of the Zulu ethnic group and were always employed. Mr. C's father was a labourer and his mother a teacher. They had no criminal records and never came into conflict with the law. His father had three wives (see Section 6.4.4.1), although the offender never met his father's third wife and fails to recollect any memories of her. The client states that his father was a good provider and their basic needs such as food, clothes and shelter were always met. The family resided in a house in Soweto (Gauteng).

According to the offender, his father never bestowed love, affection, acknowledgement or attention upon the children. There was no father-son bond

and/or meaningful relationship between him and his father. Due to the fact that his father had to divide his attention between three wives and ten children, he was frequently absent from home. Mr. C recalls that “ ... it was not nice to be one of many children, life was complicated and we had to compete for everything including attention, love and affection.”

Mr. C's father frequently abused alcohol and was very abusive and aggressive towards his wife (the offender's mother) and the children. The client reports that they were subjected to rigid discipline practices where they (the children) were “sjambokked” and beaten with sticks when they were naughty. His father also physically abused his mother in front of the children. When asked about his reaction and feelings at the time of the abuse, he said that: “I would hide and cry, I wanted to stop him (my father) and protect my mother but I was too small. I was very scared of him – we all were ... I just had no power because I was small.”

The offender furthermore, explains that his father loved his stepmother (second wife) more than he loved his mother. For this reason he spent more time with his second wife than with his other wives and children. According to the offender, his stepmother “bewitched” his father and other siblings with “muti”. He exclaims that because of her witchcraft practices his eldest brother murdered his mother; his father loved his stepmother more than his biological mother; and his father, sister and one brother died as a result of her witchcraft. This belief is consistent with the findings of Wedge *et al* (2000:32) who purport that several prisoners believe that loved ones who died due to illness had done so because of witchcraft practices.

His mother was a devout Christian and often attended church services. She never used or abused substances (alcohol and drugs). Mr. C claims that his mother was a respected member of the community because “... everybody loved and respected her, she was a good teacher, they came to her for advice, she was devout a Christian, mother and wife to my father. The children were her first priority ... she looked after us, cooked, cleaned the house and gave us love. I loved her too much.”

When asked about his mother's bad points he declared that “she did not have any, she walked a straight path.” The offender states that his mother was the most important and significant person in his life, he clearly admired and idolised her. Whenever he experienced personal problems (during his childhood) he would approach her for protection and guidance. He says he “felt safe with her” and they

had a good (positive) and meaningful relationship. His mother died when the client was 11 or 12 years old – an extremely critical phase in his life because of his emotional dependency on his mother. According to the client, this was the most tragic moment in his life. He indicates that “...if my mother did not die ... I would have never ended up in prison. I would have been “someone” (an important and/or influential person) today. She was clever, she was a teacher, I would have finished school and studied, but when she died I just gave up. I lost everything. I started with crime to ... support myself and to be ‘away’ (to distance himself) from my father and stepmother.”

The family is a major determinant of criminal behaviour. Parenting factors such as rigid and/or poor parental discipline, improper socialisation, abuse, conflict, an absent parent, a lack of familial love and support, domestic violence, substance abuse, a lack of supervision, a stepparent, negative parent-child relationships and attachments play a critical role in criminal involvement (Geldenhuys 2004a:50-52; Perrone, Sullivan, Pratt & Margaryan 2004:298-301, 306-307; Reid 2003:135-136; Schiff & Louw 2000:122; Siegel 2004:214-215, 288-289; Sullivan *et al* 2003:17-20; Wedge *et al* 2000:34-36).

Research furthermore demonstrates a positive link between parental rearing practices, childhood abuse, neglect and trauma, exposure to violence, dysfunctional family relationships, lack of family support or resources, rigid discipline patterns, parental affection, cohesiveness of family, supervision, parent-child attachment, and aggressive behaviour and criminal involvement (Cullen & Agnew 2003:118; Geldenhuys 2004a:50-52; Naidu 2004:1-2; Reid 2003:135-136; Siegel 2004:229, 286; Sullivan *et al* 2003:17-19).

The death of the offender’s mother had a profound effect on his coping abilities. It resulted in emotional vulnerability and contributed to his childhood trauma. This is sustained by the findings of Wedge *et al* (2000:32) who confirm that children who experience the permanent loss of a significant figure to whom they are emotionally attached may suffer serious emotional disturbances as a result.

The following is a diagram of Mr. C's family structure.

6.4.4.1 Family structure

Biological mother (Zulu)	Stepmother (Xhosa)
1. Eldest brother (mentally ill)	1. Eldest stepbrother
2. "John" – brother (labourer)	2. Stepbrother
3. Brother (passed away)	3. Stepsister
4. Sister (passed away)	4. Stepbrother (co-accused in crime: motor vehicle theft, burglary and robbery)
5. Brother (police officer)	
6. The offender	

It is evident from the diagram that the offender has an extended family. Mr. C describes his childhood as "happy" up to the point when his mother died. His childhood was happy because he could cope with his abusive father while his mother was still alive. Since her death, "we experienced difficult times" which according to him, resulted in the origin of his criminal career. He indicates that he has a good relationship with his brother John, who subsequently took over the role of his mother and protected, cared, loved, nurtured and supported him.

Apparently, John was arrested once during the Apartheid regime for a "pass law / influx control" crime, for which he received a fine and a suspended sentence. His one stepbrother also has a criminal record – he committed robberies with Mr. C but is now paralysed due to a shoot-out with the police. None of his other siblings have a criminal record.

6.4.5 Analysis of criminality and associated factors

This offender's criminal career originated (onset) with petty crime (shoplifting) at the age of approximately 11 to 12 years, after his mother's death. It progressed when he joined a street gang named "Tamara", mainly a motor vehicle syndicate involved in stolen motor vehicles. His role was the actual breaking into of the vehicles and most of the crimes that he committed occurred in a group context (syndicates and/or gangs). At the age of 16 he was arrested for motor vehicle theft and sent to a reform school. The client reveals that he committed a murder during 1980, when he stabbed and killed someone who owed him money. He recalls being under the influence of alcohol during the commission of the crime. He was never arrested or tried for this offence.

An analysis of the client's criminal record highlights his criminal versatility. He is a multiple (6th offender) violent and aggressive offender and crime is his career. His crimes range from motor vehicle theft, burglary, robbery and armed robbery, aggravated assault, firearms offence, assault of staff and fellow inmates, to violent disorder. He was sentenced to 20 years (effectively) and 528 days imprisonment. From this outlay it is clear that the client displays a life pattern of crime with an early onset of criminal, violent and aggressive behaviour.

The offender also displayed physical violence towards a partner with whom he shared an intimate relationship. Except for this girlfriend, all his other victims were strangers. Mr. C has been institutionalised at various Departmental facilities since 1975), including C-Max Prison at Pretoria. In total, this individual has served almost 22 years in prison. From the assessment it is evident that the motives for his crimes include survival, independence, poverty, unemployment, financial need, maintenance of substance addiction, and maintenance of a high life style (such as luxuries, designer clothes and substances). He carried weapons (knives and firearms) during the commission of his crimes, accentuating his predisposition towards violent and aggressive behaviour.

Regarding Mr. C's employment record and work-related skills, he has no vocational skills or competencies related to a work and/or corporate environment. He obtained no experience, qualifications, formal or practical training during this 22 years in prison. During this period he also showed no interest in education and/or schooling and these important areas of self-empowerment and development were never pursued and/or stimulated by correctional officials and therapists. He says he would not mind working as an electrician again.

Prior to his incarceration, after his releases, the client had been unemployed for periods of time and committed crime in order to support himself. This is evident in the three "working" years of his life outside prison. In 1978 he was in the employ of DI Frame & Company (Gauteng), where he assisted in the manufacturing of shoes. During 1979 to 1980, he was employed at Kings Electrical Group (Gauteng), where he assisted with electrical fittings. He has no formal training in either of these trades. After this "working" period he concentrated on, and specialised in a career of crime and remained unmotivated to be legally employed in society. Despite his limited education, he adequately expresses himself in Afrikaans, English, Zulu and Xhosa and frequently applies words such as "provocation", "gratification" and

“rationalisation”. He can read and write, maintains good and uplifting conversations and understood the interviewer at all times.

Up to 1998/9 the offender had limited contact with his family and non-criminal friends. Since his current incarceration, he has lost all contact with his family. He explains that because of the distance, his family does not have the money to travel to visit him. Mr. C does not receive any visits - this means that he has no “mirror” and “hope” to the outside world. He also lost the address and contact details of his brother John and has no means or assistance in tracing his family to resume contact. In this regard, the client cites that “I do not know what the future holds for me, I have no contact with my family ... where must I go after prison? ...I will commit serious crime (meaning, murder) in prison to show them (the prison authorities) and the Magistrate that I do not want to be here. He will then believe me and send me back (closer) to my family ... and if this does not work then I will go to the media.” This highlights the client’s poor argumentative skills and his lack of insight as to why he is incarcerated.

6.4.5.1 Leisure and recreational activities

Since his current incarceration, the client spends most of his leisure time outdoors, playing and coaching soccer. He says he would like to be a soccer coach one day. He finds the physical exercise stimulating because “... it keeps my mind busy, I do not think so much ... and I like to gym – it makes me think clearly and it calms me.” Physical exercise diminishes his stress and frustration levels and it occupies him productively (keeping in mind that he has no other interests). During his adolescent years, he was a caddy at a golf course. He holds that he learned to play golf there and the manager of the club allowed the caddies to practice golf on rainy days when no golfers were on the greens.

6.4.5.2 Gang involvement

Mr. C joined the 26’s gang in 1975, while incarcerated at the Department of Correctional Services. He says the reason for his involvement is, and was to oppose management and to test boundaries. He explains that it is their (the prisoners’) only defence mechanism against an abusive management and prison system. Gang involvement and gang related violence is a destructive way to “make management listen to prisoners’ needs and complaints.

He holds the position of a “Fighting” General in the 26’s gang and he makes important decisions regarding gang violence and fights when there seems to be “no

other way out". He describes himself as the "look-out", responsible for solving problems, conflicts, lies and stories. It is his responsibility to find solutions to problems and to determine possible pathways and explore opportunities before resorting to violence. This is a very responsible "job" which increases his stress and frustration levels. He indicates that there is no "gate" out – once you have entered the gang sub-culture you can never leave.

His gang membership alleviates feelings of isolation and his feelings of frustration and stress are relieved in gang violence. A lack of meaningful support structures and contact with significant law abiding others promote gang involvement, which subsequently empower the gangs. Thus, the gang becomes the substitute "family" of the inmate. Mr. A's exposure to isolation, inadequate education and training, economic deprivation, a lack of recognition, status, acceptance, love, affection and attention made him vulnerable to substance abuse, peer pressure, criminal associates and negative group influences that promoted the attractiveness of an independent subculture (gang involvement) (Bennett & Holloway 2004:305-323; Eitle, Gunkel & Van Gundy 2004:95-97; Ellis & Sowers 2001:139-140; Schmallegger 2003:80, 112; Siegel 2004:199, 200, 217, 285).

Research suggests that gangs become new homes for individuals who are exposed to limited schooling and dysfunctional families – that is, gangs substitute the functions and role (support, security, attention, love, recognition, a sense of belonging) of the family (Bartollas 2003:304-305, 314-315; Cullen & Agnew 2003:186-217; Eitle *et al* 2004:95-97; Schmallegger 2003:80, 112; Siegel 2004:192, 196-197, 284; Wedge *et al* 2000:36). Gang involvement and involvement in criminality endowed the offender with important needs that he never received during his childhood (such as respect, *recognition*, acknowledgement, attention, a sense of belonging and acceptance).

According to Eitle *et al* (2004:97) and Rapp-Paglicci, Roberts and Wodarski (2002:215-216, 224), gangs are sources of criminal activities and increases in violent crime have been associated with increases in gang membership. Gang members are also more likely to commit violent offences and to participate in group violence such as fights. The more integrated an individual is into a subculture of violence, the more likely that person is to resort to violence (Bartollas 2003:303-304; Bennett & Holloway 2004:305-309; Cullen & Agnew 2003:155-158, 186-189). In addition, Eitle *et al* (2004:102) report that early deviance, low socio-economic status, early peer

deviance, poor family attachment, family disruption, dysfunctional family life, financial stress, substance abuse problems, self-derogation and pre-teen stress exposure are significantly related to gang formation and gang involvement.

6.4.5.3 Substance abuse

Mr. C has an extensive history of substance abuse and smuggling of drugs inside and outside the prison. He reports a lifetime abuse of dagga, Mandrax and alcohol. He states that between 1978/9 and 1982/3 he was continuously under the influence of alcohol. He sold Mandrax tablets for many years – both inside and outside the prison. Reflecting back on his involvement in substances, he indicates that “Mandrax is bad, it makes that you do not think clearly, makes you aggressive ... also alcohol.” He also committed all his crimes under the influence of substances, mainly to dull his feeling of guilt. Substance abuse enhances his violent and aggressive tendencies and becomes a coping mechanism for his problems.

Research demonstrates a strong relationship between substance abuse, violent and aggressive behaviour, negative peer influence and criminal behaviour (Bennett & Holloway 2004:305, 307-309; Duguid 2000:153; Ellis & Sowers 2001:139-140; Rapp-Paglicci *et al* 2002:82, 215, 218-219; Schmallegger 2003:80, 112; Siegel 2004:286, 297). Both Cox (2004:2) and Thompson (2004:6) found that unemployment and substance abuse (especially alcohol abuse) are common among the lower socio-economic strata of the South African population and that these factors contribute to the country's high rate of violent crimes. According to Bartollas (2003:343-344), individuals in disorganised areas that experience doubt, hopelessness and uncertainty on a daily basis, are encouraged to find ways to seek solace and relief from their disappointments and pain. Drug and alcohol abuse is an immediate fix for their problems – it becomes a coping mechanism to handle their problems.

6.4.5.4 Violent and aggressive behaviour

The offender's childhood exposure to violent and aggressive behaviour, aggressive role models (his abusive father), and interaction with aggressive and violent others (friends and peer group) desensitised him into accepting violence and aggression as acceptable methods to resolve conflict. Exposure to, and witnessing of violence and maladaptive behaviours on a daily basis, reinforces the display of violent and aggressive behaviour in children to resolve conflict (Fields & McNamara 2003:63; Naidu 2004:1-2; Rapp-Paglicci *et al* 2002:7, 91-92).

Research affirms that children that are exposed to, or living in violent homes, are four times more likely to suffer from psychological problems such as anxiety and aggression problems, than those living in non-violent homes (Ponce, Williams & Allen 2004:98; Rapp-Paglicci *et al* 2002:56-57). In addition, serious physical, psychological and social consequences accrue as a result of exposure to violence. Factors that influence the acceptance of violence and/or violent and aggressive behaviour are early childhood experiences (including maltreatment), harsh childhood punishment, exposure to violence in one's family of origin and attitudes conducive to the acceptance of violent and aggressive behaviour (Ponce *et al* 2004:97-98). When a child's imitative behaviour is reinforced or rewarded (by antisocial associations) by praise and encouragement from significant models, the probability that the behaviour will occur in the future is increased. In this instance, Mr. C's violent and aggressive behaviour was shaped and influenced by his abusive father as well as his association with a negative peer group (Bartol 1999:183; Fields & McNamara 2003:63).

6.4.5.5 Intimate relationships

The offender has no intimate and meaningful relationships with significant others such as family, non-criminal friends and/or a partner – this might be the result of unresolved feelings from his childhood. He furthermore has no relationship and/or bond with his children and he does not show particular interest in re-establishing contact with them, only with his brother John. When asked about contact with his children, he replied that “Yes, when I am outside again, I want to be a good father to them (support them financially).” This illustrates his unrealistic outlook on life – he is a career criminal and has spent 22 years in prison so far. Outside the prison environment, his only friends are criminal associates and ex-fellow inmates. One of his intimate relationships (with a previous girlfriend) was aggressive and abusive and he acknowledged that he physically abused her.

6.4.5.6 Previous treatment

Mr. C recalls that he once attended a life skills programme, but he fails to recollect the content of the programme. During his almost 22 years of incarceration, this individual received no meaningful intervention and/or therapy. He states that he was never psychologically tested and/or evaluated for his aggressive and violent behaviour. No personality tests were conducted to determine antisocial and mental illness within this individual. Social work services did not assist him in re-establishing his family relationships and to secure a meaningful support structure. The offender describes his imprisonment as a “donker gat met geen lig nie” (a dark hole with no

light). He seems to have lost hope and interest in personal treatment and development, although he expressed an interest during the last session to attend programmes where he can receive a certificate to enhance his practical skills, to have contact with his family and to utilise psychological services.

6.4.5.7 Personality and cognitive functioning

Mr. C has an “institutionalised and gang” personality. This means that he ‘lost’ his individuality (personal characteristics, needs and goals), and these have been substituted with custodial and gang norms, values and attitudes. Despite this, and his limited level of education and training, he seems to be intelligent and articulated. This is evident in the way he expresses himself, maintains, follows and understands conversations and other people’s views, interprets social situations and recognises the emotional state of other people. He can distinguish between right and wrong, identify and understand high-risk situations, triggers, causes and motives for his criminal behaviour. He does have limited insight into his behaviour, recognises the consequences of his decisions and actions, and does not excuse and/or justify his involvement in criminality.

The client displays an ability to recognise problems, he is aware of his personal problems (such as the lack of a support structure, education and employment skills), and of his own contribution (a lack of interest and motivation) to these problematic areas. In general, Mr. C demonstrates limited problem-solving skills, *especially in a gang-related environment* where he is compelled to explore limited options (aggression, violence and threatening behaviour) that are available and acceptable to the gang culture.

Except in a sub-culture situation (gang environment), this individual displays flexible structured thinking patterns and tries to generate alternative options. He tries to think things through before he acts, and to fully consider the consequences of his actions except when under the influence of substances. Regarding his thinking patterns, he states that, “ ... before I act, I really try to think what’s best for me”. Mr. C shows limited empathy towards his victims, he maintains that his status and position in the gang and prison compels him to take a stand and to make decisions to the benefit of the gang – even if this is to the detriment of other people.

Mr. C’s involvement in sub-cultures since childhood, indicates his susceptibility to influence (gangs, peer pressure and criminal others). He notes that he gets bored

easily and retains “grudges” (revenge behaviour) - a “gang characteristic” – against those who harm him. This means that his violent and aggressive tendencies are unpredictable. The client displays a high self-image in the company of those with similar values. He demonstrates adequate social interpersonal skills among his peers and fellow inmates. It is the opinion of the interviewer that although he is cautious about exposing himself to risks, he would take risks for personal and/or financial gain.

The offender admits that he has a negative, aggressive and hostile attitude towards *some* of the staff and management members. His attitude is the result of personal clashes with management and perceived unfair treatment. He says that he supports the values of the community (that criminal behaviour is wrong and not acceptable), but that he had no choice and he “got caught up in a lifestyle of abuse (during his childhood), survival and crime ... and I just never could get myself out of it.” Despite this recognition, he has made no effort in prison (during his 22 years of imprisonment) to obtain qualifications or to further his education in order to disassociate himself from crime. Instead, crime became a choice, a way of living and he ‘absorbed’ an institutionalised and gang personality where crime and antisocial behaviour are supported and promoted.

Mr. C displays a life history of violent, aggressive, uncontrollable, challenging and rebellious behaviour (fighting and aggressive behaviour at school). This is consistent with his upbringing and his criminal record. He lacks motivation and interest to change his behaviour and to uplift and empower himself in other meaningful and productive ways, such as education and training. Except for his criminal associates, he is isolated and alienated from positive role models, friends and significant others. He lacks meaningful short and long-term goals and lives on a day-to-day basis.

There is no history of self-harming behaviour, suicide and hostage-taking thoughts and/or attempts, no psychological and psychiatric evaluation, or evidence of sadistic, violent and/or sexual dysfunction (abnormal fantasies and/or preferences). The client reports that he suffers from high levels of stress and frustration, which can be contributed to his gang involvement and the lack of a support structure. He furthermore, lacks self-control, specifically when under the influence of substances, and positive coping mechanisms.

6.4.6 Origin and risk factors associated with criminal behaviour

The following exposures, associations and situations contributed to this individual's onset of criminality:

1. Childhood problems

- Exposure to violence, aggression and conflict during childhood;
- Childhood neglect, abuse and rejection;
- Dysfunctional family life;
- A negative father-son bond and an absent father figure;
- An over-dependence on his mother;
- Inability to cope with the death of his mother and unresolved feelings stemming from early childhood;
- A lack of childhood recognition, acknowledgement, acceptance, attention, affection, love, a sense of belonging and status.

2. Financial problems

- Poverty;
- Unemployment;
- A lack of education and training.

3. Peer pressure

- Negative sub-culture (gangs) associations (inside and outside the prison);
- Substance abuse;
- Procriminal attitudes;
- Criminal associations and high levels of attachment to criminal others associated with offending;
- The lack of a meaningful support structure.

4. Personal problems

- Revenge behaviour associated with "grudges" against those who harm him;
- An inability to maintain and form intimate relationships;
- A lack of motivation and interest to change his criminal lifestyle.

6.4.7 Antecedents for criminal, violent and aggressive behaviour

Specific individual factors may "trigger" (release) violent and aggressive behaviour within Mr. C. These include:

- The lack of a support structure outside the prison;

- ❑ The lack of contact with family and significant others;
- ❑ Feelings of anger and hatred;
- ❑ Unresolved feelings from childhood;
- ❑ Challenging behaviour from management, staff and/or fellow inmates;
- ❑ Threats (to self, family, significant others and friends);
- ❑ Prison gossip, “set-ups” (being wrongfully indicted in crime and misconduct) and lies;
- ❑ Humiliation, especially in the presence of fellow inmates;
- ❑ Being cursed by staff, management and other inmates;
- ❑ Bullying behaviour;
- ❑ Substance abuse which affects his self-control and judgement abilities.

6.4.8 High-risk situations

Specific high-risk situations can be identified that should be avoided to effectively manage and control the client. These include:

- ❑ Gang retaliation and/or fights;
- ❑ Substance abuse;
- ❑ Challenging behaviour;
- ❑ Assault on fellow inmates in his presence;
- ❑ Bullying behaviour in his presence;
- ❑ Threats to harm his family or friends;
- ❑ To be segregated in isolation without an “apparent” reason made clear to him. This promotes frustration and anger and causes hatred, feelings of revenge and challenging behaviour;
- ❑ Demotion and/of removal of privileges;
- ❑ A loss of hope;
- ❑ A lack of contact with family and significant others;
- ❑ Hostile and negative attitudes of staff and management towards prisoners;
- ❑ A lack of meaningful stimulation (such as sport, contact with family and friends);
- ❑ Access to substances (for smuggling and for personal use).

6.4.9 Indicators for intervention

The following problem areas should be taken cognisance of when addressing the client’s problem behaviour:

- ❑ Childhood abuse, neglect, rejection and trauma;
- ❑ Limited education;

- ❑ Limited employment skills;
- ❑ A low frustration tolerance;
- ❑ The lack of conflict management skills;
- ❑ Poor problem-solving skills;
- ❑ Previous reliance on substances as a coping mechanism;
- ❑ Proneness to negative influences by criminal associates, peer pressure and gangs;
- ❑ Loyalty to criminal associates and gang members;
- ❑ A lack of victim empathy;
- ❑ An inability to form and maintain intimate relationships;
- ❑ Spousal abuse;
- ❑ The creation of positive and meaningful short and long-term goals;
- ❑ Proneness to social isolation when not among criminal associates;
- ❑ A lack of a meaningful support structure;
- ❑ Psychological intervention to address his aggressive and violent behaviour;

6.4.10 A theoretical explanation for Mr. C's criminal involvement

Mr. C's involvement in crime started at an early age and progressed into a life course of crime and criminality. The client's criminality is a function of individual socialisation and interaction with various organisations, institutions, and processes of society such as education, employment, family life, and peer relations. Research (Duguid 2000:163-164; Heck & Walsh 2000:178-181; Siegel 2004:214, 216) confirms that individuals who grow up in a household characterised by conflict and tension, where parents are absent or separated, or where there is a lack of familial love and support, are susceptible to the crime-promoting forces in the environment.

A lack of support and interest, a weakened father-son bond and strong attachment with criminal and antisocial peers influenced and reinforced Mr. C's antisocial (aggressive and criminal) behavioural patterns. This is sustained by research conducted by Rogers, Reinecke and Setzer (2004:79) who found that childhood experiences are related to cognitive vulnerability, interpersonal functioning and inconsistent personal coping strategies.

According to **Weis, Catalano and Hawkins's Social developmental model**, the weakening, absence or breakdown of social controls (attachment to parents and school, commitment to, and belief in education and conventional behaviour); exposure to aggressive behaviour, criminality and negative peer influences; and

living in a disorganised community, lead to criminal involvement. Weis *et al's* theory incorporates Hirschi's social control theory, Sutherland's Differential Association theory, and Shaw and McKay's social disorganizational theory into their social developmental model of crime (Bezuidenhout & Joubert 2003:92-93; Brown *et al* 2001:156, 344-345; 356-357; Reid 2003:176; Schmallegger 2003:118; Siegel 2004:219, 227-229).

A lack of meaningful bonds and attachments to significant others, institutions and processes contributed to Mr. C's criminal involvement. Mr. C only experienced a meaningful relationship with his mother. A lack of support and interest, a weakened father-son bond and strong attachment with criminal and antisocial peers influenced and reinforced the offender's antisocial (aggressive and criminal) behavioural patterns. As a result of the offender's weak attachment to his family and significant law-abiding others, Mr. C broke ties with conventional society and devoted all his time, energy and effort to antisocial and criminal peers and activities. A lack of involvement in conventional activities (schooling, recreation, family, a career, success and positive long-term future goals) and weakened bonds with meaningful law-abiding others, increased the offender's risk to become involved in criminality. Exposure to a violent and abusive father, criminal peers, and a disorganised community characterised by unemployment, poverty and high school drop-out rates, reinforced Mr. C's aggressive and violent behaviour and criminal involvement.

6.4.11 Recommendations

This individual will not benefit from group therapy because of his gang association and the influence that he might have on other inmates (non-gang members) in group therapy. Furthermore, personal and individual attention and treatment for Mr. C's violent and aggressive behaviour and tendencies are recommended in order to address the multiple causes and contributory factors to his involvement in crime. The intervention indicators should be utilised to develop an individual development plan to address this offender's needs. Personal psychological intervention (such as Cognitive Behavioural Therapy) is suggested to determine this individual's responsivity (treatability), aggressive behaviour and development abilities. Mr. C's strong and positive characteristics, namely Christianity, intellectual ability and leadership qualities, should be utilised to neutralise his negative characteristics, such as his gang involvement and violent behaviour.

With adequate support and individual intervention that is meaningful, stimulating and appropriate to the learning style of the offender, this individual can be developed to unlearn aggressive behaviour. Foci should be placed on healthy outlets such as soccer to reduce aggressive behaviour. It is further suggested that treatment should be monitored and that the client should be re-assessed at a later stage to evaluate his progress and to determine whether he benefited from this assessment.

The following indicators, together with the intervention indicators (Section 6.4.9), should be considered to correct Mr. C's offending behaviour:

- ❑ Channel his severe loyalty to criminal associates and gang members to non-criminal interests and others;
- ❑ Development of victim empathy;
- ❑ Secure a meaningful support structure;
- ❑ Re-establish contact with his family and significant others;
- ❑ Explore options and alternatives to positively channel his violent and aggressive behaviour;
- ❑ Address the onset, causes and consequences of aggressive and violent behaviour;
- ❑ Address causes of gang involvement such as status, recognition, attention, fear, a sense of belonging, acceptance and support structure;
- ❑ Promote anti-criminal attitudes;
- ❑ Change and promote non-criminal associations. Currently, this offender has no attachments and/or associations unrelated to criminal behaviour and his regular activities encourage offending behaviour;
- ❑ Promote contact and a positive relationship with children.

6.5 Case study four

Mr. D: Pre-parole assessment

Essentially, for an offender to be considered for parole, he needs to be perceived as unlikely to abscond from supervision and/or parole, to constitute little to no danger to the general public, to be rehabilitated, not likely to reoffend, ready to be reintegrated into, and to effectively adapt in law-abiding society (Ellis & Sowers 2001:62-63; Guay *et al* 2004:330-331; Howitt 2002:354, 358; Offender Risk Assessment 2000:5; Simourd 2004:306-307).

In this regard, for a pre-parole assessment to contribute to effective decision-making regarding a future parolee, an assessor should ideally consider (Howitt 2002:356-357; Offender Risk Assessment 2000:5; Quinn *et al* 2004:225):

- ❑ The origin of criminality;
- ❑ The likelihood that an offender will reoffend after release or at any other stage in the future;
- ❑ Indicate the likeliness of an offender to behave violently, aggressively or criminally;
- ❑ Identify the particular conditions (triggers and high-risk situations) in which a specific individual is likely to behave violently, aggressively or criminally.

This assessment aims to address these targets.

6.5.1 Introduction

The assessor was requested to assess, evaluate and analyse Mr. D for pre-parole purposes by both the chief social worker and the Parole Board of Medium C, Leeuwkop Prison. Mr. D is a medium category offender who found it difficult to communicate (he stutters) and to express his feelings to the interviewer. He utilises “gang-language”, for example, he refers to “my bra’s and brothers” as his friends, and “nchta” (meaning ‘nice’ and/or ‘okay’). His arms, shoulders and legs are covered in tattoos. When asked about his expectations from these sessions, he responded, “ ... not to reoffend” which indicates his fear to reoffend. After the assessor explained the purpose (pre-parole assessment) of the sessions to the client, he was concerned whether the sessions will “help” him and how he would “get through this.”

Mr. D willingly participated in the sessions and stated later on that he is “looking forward to each session.” The following information was gathered in ten consecutive assessment sessions.

6.5.2 Biographic details

Mr. D is a white, English speaking male. He is 25 years old, single, unmarried, has never been involved in any long-term meaningful relationships (heterosexual and/or homosexual), and he has no children and/or dependents. The client claims to be of bisexual, transsexual, homosexual and heterosexual orientation. According to him, he has been involved in all of the sexual activities and/or relationships. Mr. D maintains that he is an active Satanist and apolitical (he is oblivious to politics and does not support a political party).

Regarding his health, it is stated on his Departmental file that he suffers from depression, anxiety and stress. He has previously attempted suicide. According to Mr. D, these symptoms have occurred since the age of approximately 12 or 13 years. The client can speak and write English and Afrikaans, and he claims to understand and follow a conversation in Zulu although he cannot communicate in the language.

6.5.3 Family of origin

Mr. D originates from a middle- to upper socio-economic family. Both his parents are employed, generate an above average income and do not have criminal and/or substance abuse histories. Money is and never was a problem, as the offender indicates that he had access to everything. He indicates, “ I used to wear label clothes ... went out to nightclubs (with his friends) and I always had money for booze (alcohol) and drugs.”

The offender's parents are divorced and have been separated since Mr. D was two years old. Prior to his incarceration, the offender resided with his mother in Kempton Park. Mr. D's father is in his 50s (the offender is unsure of his exact age), resides in Midrand, and is a pilot by profession. He remarried soon after the divorce and another son was born from this marriage. The client reports that he does not have a positive relationship with his stepmother and brother. However, he indicates that a well-balanced relationship exists between him and his father, and they have contact whenever his father is available and in the country.

Mr. D's mother is approximately 44 years of age (he is also unsure about her age) and engaged to be married. He is of the opinion that his mother became pregnant at the age of 15 to escape her difficult childhood and home environment. As a result of her pregnancy, she left home and married his father. The client states that his mother is embarrassed and ashamed of him because “ ... her child is a rapist and her friends do not want to know her.” Both his parents visit him on a weekly basis.

6.5.4 Childhood experiences

Mr. D submits that his parents' divorce had a severe effect on his functioning, socialisation, thinking and coping patterns. He maintains that because of his parents' divorce, he never experienced a sense of belonging, attention, love, recognition and acknowledgement. The client reports an emotionally unstable relationship with his mother, and claims to have been the victim of her irrationality, anger, violent outbursts and physical and emotional abuse. Mr. D describes his mother's behaviour

as “naughty”, because according to him, she took all her anger, instabilities and insecurities out on him. During such incidents she would physically assault him, throw furniture at him, verbally abuse and belittle him.

The offender displays feelings of confusion, anger and hostility towards his mother. He submits that he knows that she loves him, but he finds it difficult to associate her behaviour (outbursts, irrationality and aggression) with love, and as a result of this he feels “rejected and abused.” When asked to describe his mother’s personality, he indicated that she is, “Not easy to get along with, ... irrational, aggressive, emotionally unstable ... and she drives me to everything”. He reiterates that she, “freaks me out” and “provokes me” (to be violent, aggressive and criminal), and he notes that he committed crime and certain acts (sexually abused children, stalked his victims and his mother’s friends) in order to “spite” and to “get back at her.” Mr. D is of the opinion that he loves and appreciates his mother’s interest and support in him, but he also cites that he “hates” her and cannot relate to her.

Mr. D reports to have been sexually abused (anally penetrated / sodomised) by a schoolteacher at the age of 11. This abuse continued for approximately a year and the offender was one of three victims. According to the client, he tried to inform his parents, but they did not believe him or take him seriously. Only after his trauma and abuse did he display antisocial and deviant sexual interests and behaviour. His sexual victimisation was only discovered and “believed” when the client was 13 years old - after one of the other victims revealed the abuse to his parents. Mr. D says that his father now feels guilty for not believing him and blames himself for his son’s criminality.

This early sexual stimulation, lack of significant support and the troubled relationship with his mother, enhanced various insecurities (low self-esteem, fear of rejection, belittling and abuse) and personality problems (deviant sexual fantasies and preoccupations and violent and aggressive behaviour) within this individual. As a result of the sexual abuse and emotional neglect, he withdrew into his “own world” where he created a safe environment where he felt important, wanted, loved, accepted and powerful. Mr. D admits that his deviant sexual fantasies, urges, thinking and arousal patterns originated during this stage.

Research demonstrates that childhood experiences are important in the development of antisocial, deviant and criminal behaviour and specifically the childhood

experiences of male sex offenders have been widely regarded as important by researchers seeking to explain the development of sexual behaviour. (Cullen & Agnew 2003:36-37; Heck & Walsh 2000:178-179; Howitt 2002:77, 94-95; Perrone *et al* 2004:298-301; Reid 2003:135-136; Rogers *et al* 2004:80-81; Smallbone & Dadds 1998:555).

Childhood experiences of maternal interaction, in this case mother-son interaction, play an important role in the development of antisocial and criminal behaviour. Research concurs that children of abusive or violent mothers develop disorganised strategies to interact with their attachment figures and they display aggressive and violent behaviour in unpredictable ways such as inappropriate sexual behaviour (Smallbone & Dadds 1998:556-557).

As a result of an emotionally unstable and unattached mother-son relationship, Mr. D developed feelings of anger and hostility towards his mother and other women. The offender became the victim of his mother's inability to control her anger, violent outbursts, and physical and emotional abuse. Research suggests that rape is associated with anger in many offenders and that deviant sexual arousal patterns, sadistic fantasies and anger towards women are common precursors to rape (Howitt 2002:124-125).

Intebi (2003:9-10) states that a positive link exist between parents who minimise or deny their own involvement in the child's allegation of sexual abuse, project anger onto others, accept no responsibility for their own behaviour, are domineering, impulsive, explosive, angry, demeaning, display no empathy, maintain a narcissistic focus, have a history of antisocial behaviour, display poor boundaries relative to the feelings of the child, argue and are unable to control their anger.

Research furthermore illustrates a strong relationship between aggressiveness and sexual offending and childhood abuse (sexual, physical and emotional), an unsupportive family structure, the absence of a parent, poor parental rearing practices, problematic parent-child relationships, an external locus of control, feelings of anger and hostility, disorganised attachment styles, poor supervision, inconsistent discipline, low levels of parental involvement, parental discord and divorce, the separation of children from their parents before the age of ten years, psychological rejection, an inability to form and maintain intimate relationships and isolation (Bezuidenhout & Joubert 2003:29, 114; Cullen & Agnew 2003:36-37; Heck & Walsh

2000:178-181; Hollin 2001:366-371; Howitt 2002:86, 91-92, 125; Kear-Colwell & Boer 2000:594-595; Marsa, O'Reilly, Carr, Murphy, O'Sullivan & Hevey 2004:228; Perrone *et al* 2004:298-301, 306-307; Reid 2003:135-135; Rogers *et al* 2004:80-81; Siegel 2004:284-285, 323-324).

According to Howitt (2002:91, 93), physical, emotional and sexual abuse during childhood may result in a heightened risk of violent and sexual delinquency and a borderline personality disorder. This in turn, may lead to a reciprocal cycle of abuse where the victim becomes the abuser (Geldenhuys 2004a:50-51). Karmen (2004:206-207) and Ponce *et al* (2004:97-99) suggest that being neglected and abused (sexually, physically and emotionally) as a youngster becomes a risk factor for entering into a cycle of delinquency, crime and violence later in life.

Geldenhuys (2004a:50-52), Luterek, Harb, Heimberg and Marx (2004:90-93, 97, 100) and Hollin (2001:366-371) advocate that childhood sexual abuse has far-reaching effects on survivors, which include rejection sensitivity, fear of criticism, anger, depression, dysfunctional interpersonal functioning, feelings of inferiority, misinterpretations of others, discomfort in the presence of others, self-deprecation, low self-esteem, dysfunctional beliefs (pertaining to trust, safety and intimacy), social isolation, poor social adjustment, dissatisfaction with personal relationships, difficulties in forming trusting, intimate relationships, being distant and controlling in relationships and avoiding of interpersonal contact.

The offender acknowledged that the divorce of his parents had an immense effect on his antisocial behaviour and that it promoted feelings of rejection, insecurity, isolation and confusion. The offender describes unpleasant, uncaring, hostile and indifferent relationships with close family members and his behaviour was clearly influenced by this experience. According to Louw and Scherrer (2004:17-19), divorce has a traumatic effect on all concerned – especially children. Children are emotionally, psychologically and psychiatrically more “tender” and vulnerable and can more easily acquire psychological lesions (damage). For example, literature highlights parental loss, marital discord, conflict, life changes (namely school and residential changes), poor parental adjustment and incompetence in the handling of children as part of the ‘tug of war’ between parents. The divorce of parents can be disruptive, traumatic and catastrophic for children – some even believe that the impact of divorce intensifies with the passage of time. Children may develop unhealthy communication patterns and distrustful, rebellious and aggressive behaviour patterns (Louw & Scherrer

2004:18-19). Research also confirms that the majority of violent criminals in South Africa tend to have been separated from their parents or one parent at the age of six or younger (Schiff & Louw 2000:122-123).

According to Bezuidenhout and Joubert (2003:116-117), it can be proposed that Mr. D's offending behaviour is related to his self-concept, which is related to the following phases and characteristics:

- The offender was abused (sexually, physically and emotionally) and neglected by his parents (especially his mother and a teacher).
- As a result of being treated in such a negative way and with limited respect, he felt humiliated, demeaned and unworthy. As a result of this negative socialisation, Mr. D developed a low self-concept and feelings of self-hatred.
- Together with his low self-esteem, he developed feelings of anger, hostility and rage towards his mother, women in general and authority figures. These feelings were subsequently displayed in terms of his antisocial, sexually deviant and violent and aggressive behaviour.
- As a result of this Mr. D cares little about what happens to him, he does not value himself and displays a negative attitude towards society. The result is an individual who has no respect for the rights of others, and with an impaired moral development.

In summary, the main risk factors for the early onset of Mr. D's deviant and offending behaviour before adulthood can be divided into (Cullen & Agnew 2003:36-37; Farrington 2003:224-225; Howitt 2002:77-81; Sullivan *et al* 2003:17-20, 30-36):

- *Individual factors*: Low self-control, compulsive-obsessive behaviour, low frustration tolerance level, immediate gratification, low self-esteem, a lack of love, rejection, emotional isolation and instability, feelings of anger and hostility, impulsiveness, risk-taking, early aggressiveness and display of sexually abusive behaviour.
- *Childhood and family factors*: Punitive child-rearing practices and attitudes, poor parental supervision, harsh discipline, child abuse (emotional, physical and sexual), weak parent-child attachment styles, violent and aggressive parents, low involvement of parents, parental conflict, lack of parental support, family disruption (separations, divorce and instability), and a broken family.
- *School factors*: Poor school performance, limited achievement and dropping-out from school.

Mr. D furthermore cites that he does not want to live with his mother should he be considered for parole. The reason for this is the constant disagreement and conflict between them, which occurs during every prison visit. Instead, he expresses the need to reside in a Halfway House until such time that he can support himself financially.

6.5.5 Schooling, education and employment

Mr. D was expelled from school on numerous occasions – according to him, between four to five times. He recalls the following incidents:

- *Preschool*: For fighting with the other children and swearing at them;
- At the age of *13 to 14 years*: Displaying violent and aggressive behaviour (fighting) towards other children;
- At the age of *15 years*: Again for displaying violent and aggressive (fighting) behaviour and for cursing and threatening his teachers. During this phase the client became truant at school, joined a criminal gang, associated with negative peers, abused alcohol and drugs and continuously displayed violent and aggressive behaviour.

As a result of his behaviour he attended between five to seven different schools, but was always asked to leave because of his uncontrollable behaviour. He obtained no academic or sport achievements and dropped-out of school after he completed Grade 10. Since then, he has never pursued and/or showed interest in completing his schooling. The client indicates that he did not enjoy school and that he could not get along with his teachers and fellow pupils. When asked why he did not complete his schooling in prison, he replied, “I was only interested in drugs, gangs, pornography, fantasies (meaning sexual fantasies) and my sexual urges.”

The client exhibits a limited and unstable employment record. He had been employed for some weeks as a sales person, promoting alcoholic beverages for a company for which his mother worked. He was also a waiter and barman at a nightclub for a period of three months and a cashier and assistant at a bookshop during school holidays. He is not qualified and/or skilled in any market-related profession or occupation. The offender is not interested in qualifications, education and meaningful future employment.

When asked how he plans to support himself financially in the future, he responded that his parents will assist him financially and if they do not want to support him then

he can always, “sell drugs, become a drug-runner, steal to make money or become a pimp (for prostitutes).” This indicates the offender’s readiness to reoffend, attitude towards crime and insight into his behaviour and imprisonment.

6.5.6 Crime and criminal history

According to his Departmental file, Mr. D is a first offender. He had been arrested at the age of 15 for shoplifting and theft, but he received a suspended sentence for these crimes. At the age of 17, the offender was arrested for rape, theft and impersonating a police officer. He is currently serving a seven year prison sentence of which he has already served four and a half years. The client is expected to appear at the Parole Board for possible parole release within the next six to twelve months.

6.5.6.1 Offence analysis

The client acknowledges that he stalked, threatened, verbally and physically abused and raped a 34-year old female. He followed her home, pretended to be a police officer and gained access into the victim’s premises where he raped and abused her.

Although the offender is incarcerated for this rape incident, he has admitted to a history of stalking, paraphilias, sexual violence, physical assault, serial rape, infantophilia (sexual interest in, and/or sexual abuse of infants and children under the age of two years), child molestation and paedophilia. These “non-convicted” crimes are discussed in Sections 6.5.6.4 – 6.5.6.6 of this report. The victims of these crimes include known individuals, strangers, infants and children. Mr. D furthermore utilised force, threats and weapons (a handgun) in the commission of most of these crimes. He alleges that his mother can confirm his history of sex and predatory crimes. This information was also revealed to the social worker at the prison. These antisocial, deviant and criminal tendencies seem to be behaviour patterns and personality characteristics that manifested in early adolescence (from the age of 12 to 13 years). The rape and “non-convicted” crimes underline Mr. D’s criminal versatility, “criminal history” in sexual offending and antisocial, deviant, violent and aggressive and criminal tendencies. The motivation for his crime(s) includes feelings of anger, revenge, resentment, hostility, rejection, helplessness and social isolation.

6.5.6.2 Peer pressure and influences

Mr. D’s association with antisocial peers originated after he was expelled from school at the age of 13 or 14 years. The offender states that his association with antisocial

and criminal others was due to his inability to cope with his childhood trauma and abuse, as well as a lack familial support. At the age of 15, the offender joined a Satanic cult / subculture where he participated in Satanistic rituals where, among other things, a baby was crucified and his / her blood was drunk. Mr. D holds that a friend introduced him to this practice and upon initiation a bucket of blood was poured over him while the cult members licked the blood off him. He is still an active Satanist and practises and participates in cult rituals in prison. He confirms that he still has contact (inside and outside the prison) with cult members. The offender reveals that he could not associate with conventional peers at school; experienced family problems; was subjected to “unhappy” home circumstances; did not get along with anyone (friends, teachers and mother); hated his life and that he just “wanted to be someone”. As a result of this he started to steal, lie, abuse substances, and associate with antisocial peers. He also joined a Satanic cult for status, acceptance, respect, a sense of belonging and acknowledgement among his peers.

Research suggests a causal effect between association with delinquent peers, law-abiding peer rejection, low popularity, substance abuse, involvement in a negative subculture (such as Satanism), the lack of a sense of belonging, low educational attainment level, early antisocial behaviour and pro-deviant values and involvement in gangs (Bennett & Holloway 2004:305-323; Eitle *et al* 2004:95-97, 100-101, 105-106; Cullen & Agnew 2003:36-37; Farrington 2003:224-225; Howitt 2002:77-81; Reid 2003:313-314; Sullivan *et al* 2003:17-20, 30-36). From this it is evident that certain adolescents are attracted to gangs because the family failed to fulfil their basic needs and demands that families typically provide. Hence, adolescents who join gangs are assumed to have deficient or destructive family lives and they were most likely exposed to stress in childhood (Eitle *et al* 2004:96, 105; Hodge *et al* 1997:108, 116; Rapp-Paglicci *et al* 2002:218-220, 224; Siegel 2004:286). According to Karmen (2004:218-219), believers in the existence of a Satanic conspiracy circulate accounts about bizarre “wedding” ceremonies, substance abuse, animals, humans and newborn babies are sacrificed, kidnapped, tortured, mutilated and murdered.

6.5.6.3 Leisure time, hobbies and personal interests

Prior to his incarceration the offender had no interest in meaningful and uplifting hobbies. He spent his leisure time with antisocial and criminal peers and in deviant sexual thoughts, fantasies and preoccupations. Since his incarceration, the client has not been involved in any organised voluntary activities such as woodcraft, schooling or sport. He chooses only to associate with other offenders who share his views and

does not take part in opportunities to join in activities other than those linked to offending and deviant behaviour.

6.5.6.4 History of antisocial and deviant sexual behaviour

From the age of 12, Mr. D stole money from his mother and displayed cunning behaviour (lying to his mother). He cites that after he became a victim of sexual abuse, he developed deviant sexual interests, thoughts, fantasies, preoccupations and paraphilias. It was also during this period that he started to display violent and aggressive behaviour toward his schoolmates and teachers.

Research affirms that younger criminals are overrepresented in sexual aggression (sexual assault, rape and armed sexual assault) crimes. The seriousness of the crime in terms of the presence and use of weapons, force and the age of the victim(s) are also important determinants of the profile of sexual aggressors (Eitle *et al* 2004:96; Guay *et al* 2004:330-332, 336; Hodge *et al* 1997:108, 116; Howitt 2002:85, 142-143, 157; Rapp-Paglicci *et al* 2002:218-220, 224; Reid 2003:210; Schlesinger 2000:103-104).

6.5.6.5 Multiple paraphilias

The offender alleged that he displays / displayed various *multiple paraphilias* associated with deviant sexual interests. He admits that since his early adolescence (12 to 13 years) he exhibited the following paraphilias:

- *Stalking*: The client used to stalk most of his victims, mostly adolescent and adult females.
- *Exhibitionism*: According to the offender, he regularly masturbated in public places such as parks and movie houses. He also once “flashed” his penis to a lady that was unpacking her shopping bags into the boot of her vehicle.
- A “*peeping tom*”: Mr. D became a “peeping tom” between the ages of 12 and 13 years and he regularly peeped into women’s dressing rooms at gymnasiums and public cloakrooms. He states that he watched the women undress and use the toilet facilities. He client also indicates that he used to peep through the key holes and watch his mother undress.
- *Sadism*: Mr. D indicates that he derives sexual gratification from physically abusing, humiliating and displaying violent and aggressive behaviour towards his victims. The offender holds that he likes to put people down and to humiliate them - he avers that it makes him feel “powerful.” He mentions that he used force to get “what he wants” (meaning to submit his victims to his

demands) from women. In this regard, he blindfolded, tied up, strangled, threatened to kill (specifically when under influence of substances), pushed, pulled hair, and used a gun (only to silence) to submit his victims to his needs. The offender claims that he “feels bad about this, because it was wrong.” He furthermore states that he derives power and sexual satisfaction from acts of cruelty and torturing others. According to him, it gives him a sense of security. During one of these sessions, while discussing his sadistic tendencies, the offender became sexually aroused and he explained this reaction as a “natural” reaction to the topic of discussion.

- *Bestiality*: Mr. D asserts that he once attempted to have sexual intercourse with a dog and a cat. He claims that the cat scratched him on his thighs and as a result of this he had to let the cat free. On another occasion he apparently almost managed to penetrate a dog. He furthermore reports that he once watched a pornographic video where a woman was masturbating a horse – he cites that at one stage he wanted to try this but did not manage to fulfil this fantasy.
- *Scatophilia / Scatologia* (obscene telephone calls): The client used to make “prank”, obscene and vulgar phone calls to strange women and to some of his mother’s friends. He claims that this aroused him sexually. Apparently, his mother caught him phoning one of her friends at work and she “completely freaked out.” He revealed his foul sexual fantasies (to have anal and oral sex with her) to her to “get to” his mother.
- *Infantophilia and paedophilia*: Mr. D displayed sexual interest and curiosity in babies, toddlers and young children. He claims to have sexually molested between 15 to 17 children and this behaviour continued until his incarceration. He recalls two incidents where he sexually molested a baby boy (the baby was under the age of 12 months) and a girl (aged between five and six years). During the first incident, the offender was approximately 15 years old and the baby-victim belonged to a friend of his mother. He wanted to change the baby’s nappy and in the process he “fiddled” with the baby’s penis, trying to get it erect. Apparently, after a while the baby started to cry and he managed to change the diaper just before the mother entered the room. The second incident is related to his “urge” to explore what it is like to “finger” (insert his fingers) and “lick” the vagina of a girl. At approximately the age of 14 to 15 years, Mr. D participated in a game with a girl called “mommy and daddy” where he played the role of the daddy while the girl was the mommy. At first the girl appeared to be “harde gat” (being difficult or stubborn) and

“cheeky” but after a while she allowed him to fondle her breasts, to insert his fingers into her vagina and to lick her. According to Mr. D, she “enjoyed” this because she did not complain, did not ask him to stop and she ever told anyone about it. He says she “enjoyed it, because she became wet”.

- *Transvestic Fetishism* (cross-dressing): At the age of 14 the offender started to wear female underwear and his mother’s make-up. Mr. D confirms that he cross-dressed because he wanted to be “close to women, ... feel wanted, love, warmth and intimacy.”
- *Sexual fetishism*: Mr. D points out that he used to steal female underwear (especially panties) to smell at them.

The abovementioned antisocial behaviour and paraphilias seem to be repetitive impulses with a long-term compulsive overtone. The display of deviant sexual fantasies, preoccupations, arousal and thinking patterns, sadism, multiple paraphilias, substance abuse and exposure to pornography are mostly related to a history of sexual abuse (Eitle *et al* 2004:96; Guay *et al* 2004:330-332, 336; Hodge *et al* 1997:108, 116; Howitt 2002:85, 142-143, 157; Rapp-Paglicci *et al* 2002:218-220, 224; Reid 2003:210; Schlesinger 2000:103-104).

Research demonstrates that individuals who display multiple paraphilias might progress to more violent sexual crimes (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell 2000:98-115; Schlesinger 2000:103-113). Mullen *et al* (2000:98-115) assert that individuals that display multiple paraphilias such as stalking, telephone scatologia, exhibitionism, fetishism, voyeurism, paedophilia and/or sexual masochism and sadism are predatory stalkers. This means that the predatory stalker’s behaviour is a means to an end, and that end is an attack, usually sexual, on the victim (Mullen *et al* 2000:98).

Mr. D acknowledges that he used to be “addicted” to pornographic magazines and videos, and that this apparently continued in prison. Although the relationship between sexual offending and exposure to pornography is unclear, McMurrin and Hodge (1994:58-59) found that sex offenders with extremely high arousal levels find it difficult to control their arousal and sexual fantasies, and exposure to explicit sexual material could motivate them to reoffend.

Furthermore, the offender admits that he has a high sex drive and cannot delay gratification. Mr. D states that he is a “fast guy” in relationships. He explains that during the first contact with a female he has higher sexual expectations than what

she has and that he wants to “go all the way” - to have intercourse within minutes of meeting her. Research confirms that deficits in sexual knowledge, intimacy, courting skills, interpersonal relationships, poor self-esteem, rejection, interpreting social cues, feelings of sexual inferiority, impulsivity and low control mechanism are common characteristics of serious sex offenders (Mullen *et al* 2000:99; Schlesinger 2000:3, 34-36, 103-104).

The client furthermore claims to masturbate between two to four times a day and this illustrates his high and uncontrollable sex drive. Normally, sexual fantasy and masturbation are acceptable and normal in healthy relationships. However, research reports a positive link between deviant, violent sexual fantasy and excessive masturbation and sexual offending (Howitt 2002:133).

The offender “categorises” females into the following classes:

- ❑ Class A: Females of 20 years and younger (including children and babies);
- ❑ Class B: Females aged between 20 to 27 years;
- ❑ Class C: Females of 30 years and older.

The client submits that while in prison, he has developed a sexual interest in the “Class C” female category because they are the “safest” category. When asked about his sexual fantasies about children, he replied that he “is not sexually interested in children anymore”. He says he “used to be, but it changed in prison. I saw on TV that child abuse is wrong and how it damages children when they grow up. Because as grown-ups these children take revenge on innocent children.” His previous actions against children apparently still “haunts” him.

6.5.6.6 Deviant sexual fantasies and arousal patterns

As noted before, this individual exhibits various deviant sexual arousal patterns (sadism, fetishes, stalking and bestiality) and he admits that he cannot control these urges, thoughts, needs and fantasies. When asked what he fantasises about, the offender replied, “My own world where I am liked, ... the hero, sexually wanted and desired, ... with many girlfriends and relationships ... and power.” Mr. D affirms that in this world he still stalks, flashes, peeps, rapes and displays sadistic and violent behaviour towards his victims. The lack of normal non-violent fantasy is what is dangerous in these activities. In this regard, Howitt (2002:133-134) found that more than 80 percent of sex offenders reported having deviant, violent sexual fantasies by the age of 15 years.

Another fantasy is where he abducts a female and “makes her like and love” him. If she does not want to submit to his needs, he kills her. The client asserts that this fantasy occurs on a daily basis. His participation in garden work on the prison premises is an example of this. Because of his medium-category classification and the fact that he is due to be considered for possible parole, this individual is allowed to participate in a gardening group. He reveals that whenever he sees “the female of the house” that he “cannot stop staring at her private parts” and that he “thinks and wonders” about how it would feel to have intercourse with her. He admits that these thoughts arouse him sexually. This behaviour is evidence of his lack of insight, low impulse control, lack of self-management strategies and low frustration tolerance.

6.5.6.7 Substance abuse

Mr. D exhibits a history of substance abuse and has been involved in alcohol and drug abuse since early adolescence (12 to 13 years). He notes that during this period he used to “skip” school and “hang out” with peers who introduced him to alcohol and drugs. Substance abuse plays a significant role in his life and he acknowledges that he was under the influence of drugs (Mandrax and dagga) during each session (assessment). When asked why he needs to use drugs before each interview, he replied, “I smoked tablets because I’m stressed out ... and we (the offender and his mother) had a screaming match again - it helps me to relax and I can think better.” Mr. D cites that he smokes an average of four to six dagga joints and one to two tablets (Mandrax) a day. The client also admits that he was under the influence of dagga and Mandrax when he committed his crime. He claims that he cannot cope without drugs and shows no interest or future plans to part with drugs.

6.5.7 Prison gang involvement

During the first few months of his imprisonment, the client joined the 26 gang. He holds the rank of a “fighting soldier”, or, one who participates in life and death fights for the gang. He participated in a gang fight where he stabbed an opposing gang member three times in the neck with scissors. The inmate survived the attack and the client was promoted to his current position in the gang. He seems to be very proud of his status and association with the gang and utilises “gang language” to communicate. Mr. D asserts that it is the aim of the 26 gang to accumulate money and “wyfies” (wives or male sex partners). Since his incarceration, he has been involved in two sexual relationships with “wyfies.” When asked why he joined the

gang, he replied, "It was a natural, they approached me, and I joined them ... they support me."

6.5.8 Cognitive functioning

Mr. D is susceptible to negative, deviant and criminal influences. Because of his low self-esteem, he associates with criminal and deviant peers, subcultures, norms, values and goals in order to achieve a sense of belonging, status, respect, acceptance and acknowledgement. This individual exhibits distorted thinking patterns, deviant sexual "urges", "needs", fantasies and arousal patterns that he cannot control. He furthermore suffers from anxiety and displays a low frustration-tolerance and impulse control and cannot delay gratification.

6.5.8.1 Aggressive, violent and sadistic behaviour

The offender displays a life history of violent, aggressive, uncontrollable, challenging and rebellious behaviour. This is consistent with his upbringing, school-going years, socialisation patterns and criminal record. He lacks motivation and interest to change his behaviour and to uplift and empower himself in other meaningful, productive and law-abiding ways such as investment in sport, education and training.

He exhibits feelings of anger and revenge (especially towards women), and likes to scare and threaten people. The client holds that this gives him a sense of power and control and makes him feel important. From this it is evident that the offender lacks conflict management skills. This is related to his unresolved feelings of anger, revenge and rejection. Instead, when confronted with fear, rejection, isolation and conflict, he reacts in sexually deviant, aggressive, violent and sadistic ways.

6.5.8.2 Attitude

Mr. D shows no respect for other people, particularly towards females and/or authority figures. In this regard, he refers to females as "bitches of mine", and he perceives them as sex objects. He also knows no sexual and/or personal boundaries and cites that, "I don't care, because no one cares about me." The client reports that his mother thinks that he does not love and respect her - when asked whether this statement is true, he stated that, "I think she is right."

6.5.8.3 Intimate relationships

This individual has no meaningful long-term intimate relationships. Since early adolescence, he could not get along with his mother, stepmother, stepbrother, friends

and teachers at school, or with the authorities. Except for his criminal associates, Mr. D is isolated and alienated from law-abiding peers and significant others. He is a loner and he functions in isolation. When asked what he perceives as a meaningful relationship, he replied, "love, compassion, acceptance, a nice lady, commitment and trust." This is indicative of his distorted thinking patterns, lack of insight into his inability to maintain, understand and relate to these indicators of a "meaningful relationship."

According to Hudson and Ward (1997:324) and Marsa *et al* (2004:229), sexual offending is a distorted attempt to seek interpersonal closeness in the absence of the ability to form appropriate relationships. This results in the development of an insecure attachment style, which renders possible perpetrators vulnerable to child sex offending. When people with this vulnerability are exposed to other predisposing or precipitating factors (such as low frustration tolerance, immediate gratification, low self-control and impulsivity), they become more likely (than people without this attachment style vulnerability) to engage in child sexual offending. Once a sexual offence has been perpetrated, memories are established that may be elaborated into inappropriate sexual fantasies, thus leading to urges and reoffending behaviour (Marsa *et al* 2004:229).

Hudson and Ward (1997:324) state that emotional loneliness leads to difficulties in forming intimate relationships with women and children, hostile attitudes towards them, as well as acceptance of violence and interpersonally aggressive behaviour. The fusion of the need for emotional closeness with sexual behaviour can lead to sexual preoccupation and sexual deviancy as offenders escalate their attempts to gain intimacy through sexual contact. In this regard, Mr. D admitted that he is isolated from conventional society and meaningful law-abiding attachment figures and friends. This reinforced his hostile attitude and aggressiveness towards females.

6.5.8.4 Suicide attempts

The offender reports that he suffers from chronic depression and suicidal tendencies. This seems to be a consistent behavioural pattern since early adolescence (from 13 years). He claims to have received professional treatment prior to his incarceration. His attempted suicides include slitting his wrists and cutting his hands, overdosing on his mother's sleeping pills and playing "Russian Roulette" with friends. Mr. D points out that he really "likes to see blood" and that he still thinks that suicide is the only solution to all his problems. He also states that his mother used to threaten on

previous occasions (prior to his imprisonment), during arguments to commit suicide. The client's suicidal tendencies might be a result of exposure to, and learned behaviour from his mother's suicidal attempts.

6.5.8.5 Insight, remorse and rationalisation

The offender maintains that he can distinguish between right and wrong and that he knows that his behaviour is unacceptable to society, *but* he struggles to integrate and control this fundamental characteristic. Mr. D lacks self-control and self-management strategies, does not show any desire to make amends and rationalises his behaviour by stating that his victims "enjoyed it, ... did not complain, ... did not stop me and ... became wet", when he touched them. He evidently minimises the consequences of his offending behaviour, and shows little or no consideration for the feelings of his victims. The offender furthermore "misreads" female reactions and intentions and he interprets their actions as sexual invitations and "teasing" behaviour.

When asked: "If you know that you will not be caught, will you do it again?" He responded, "Yes, I will take the chance". Throughout the sessions, the offender constantly expressed his fear of reoffending and of not having any control over his actions. In this regard he cited, "I do not want to reoffend." He furthermore indicates that he is "scared of the community - their reactions, and the landlord at my mother's complex ... I might just snap if he stares at me and become violent."

When asked if he is still sexually interested in children, he reported that "it's wrong and I do not want to end up in prison again". This indicates his lack of insight into his behaviour and the harm and damage that he has caused his victims. Instead, he is only concerned about his own predicament and safety (not ending up in prison again).

6.5.8.6 Future goals

The assessor asked the interviewee on two separate occasions, during the third and the last sessions, what his expectations for the future are. During the first session he indicated that he wants to "go on the straight' road again - not the 'off' road. I want to have a normal life, no crime, ... I want to work, have a family and build a home." When asked what he means by an "off road", he replied "going into the deep end – my own world ...stalking, flashing, peeping, rape, sadistic actions ... and being sweet." During the last session, the offender expressed the need to, "have work, nice friends (non-criminal friends), ... and I want many girls to fall over me – then I will

stop doing this ... and I will not think about it so much.” From this it is clear that the offender lacks meaningful and realistic short and long-term goals, cannot delay gratification and tends to live on a day-to-day basis.

6.5.9 Previous treatment

Mr. D received therapy from three psychologists (all females) and two psychiatrists (male and female) prior to his incarceration. It is alleged that therapy was stopped and/or unsuccessful because he tried on numerous occasions to seduce some of the therapists. The offender also received “chemical therapy” while in Phoenix Rehabilitation Centre (a substance abuse rehabilitation centre in Johannesburg).

While in prison, Mr. D showed no interest in rehabilitation and only attended a Sexual Offender Programme and consulted with a social worker when a parole officer advised him to do so in order to be considered for parole. This individual was asked to leave the Sex Offender Programme because he became aroused during the sessions. He indicates that the content of the programme “gives me ideas to put a puzzle (his next rape) together, it gives points, opportunities and weaknesses about women. It gives you more power to overcome women, it gives you skills for the future.” The client is hesitant to consult with male therapists because he perceives them to be “judgemental”. Despite his severe drug addiction, he refuses to participate in a substance abuse programme - instead, he holds that he “does not feel up to it now.”

In this regard, Drapeau, Körner and Brunet (2004:69-70) found that treatment of sex offenders is a significant variable related to lower recidivism. However, treatment is only successful if the offender is motivated to change his behaviour. These authors furthermore suggest that in the field of sexual abuse, more attention should be given to individualised development (the origin of the behaviour) and the emotional history of sex offenders in treatment. Wormith and Olver (2002:449) furthermore, found that sex offenders who do not complete therapy and/or treatment are likely to reoffend. For this purpose, this assessment highlights among other things the origin, onset, causes and treatment attrition related to Mr. D’s behaviour.

6.5.10 Origin of deviant behaviour

The onset of the client's criminality can be categorised into the following categories:

1. Childhood problems:

- Emotional, physical and sexual abuse;
- Neglect and inconsistent care;
- Early sexual stimulation;
- Feelings of rejection;
- Isolation.

2. Family problems:

- Divorce of his parents;
- An emotionally unstable mother;
- A negative mother-son relationship;
- Constant conflict between the offender and his mother;
- Poor parenting practices (namely poor discipline and supervision)
- A lack of love, compassion, acceptance, acknowledgement, affection, status, security and respect;
- An absent father figure;
- A lack of familial support.

3. Peer pressure and school problems:

- Susceptibility to negative and criminal peer and subcultural influences;
- A lack of positive and law-abiding friends and associations;
- Substance abuse;
- Involvement in occult practices;
- Expulsion from various schools;
- Failure to complete his schooling.

4. Personal problems:

- Low self-esteem;
- Low impulse control;
- Obsessive-compulsive tendencies (paraphilias);
- Cognitive distortions and thinking patterns;
- Inability to form and maintain intimate relationships;
- A lack of interest in uplifting leisure and recreational activities and positive and constructive hobbies;

- ❑ A lack of self-control;
- ❑ Poor problem-solving, communication and conflict management skills;
- ❑ Anxiety;
- ❑ Immediate gratification;
- ❑ Unresolved feelings of anger and hostility towards his mother;
- ❑ Deviant sexual interests: preoccupations, fantasies, urges, arousal and thinking patterns and sadistic tendencies;
- ❑ A lack of insight and understanding into his antisocial, deviant and criminal tendencies.

6.5.11 Triggers

The following trigger events might have preceded this individual's antisocial, deviant and criminal behaviour:

- ❑ Childhood sexual abuse;
- ❑ Conflict with his mother;
- ❑ Verbal abuse, taunts, insults and belittling;
- ❑ Humiliation;
- ❑ Stress;
- ❑ Depression;
- ❑ Social isolation;
- ❑ Exposure to pornography;
- ❑ Substance abuse;
- ❑ Feelings of anger, frustration, hatred, rejection, helplessness, hopelessness and powerlessness;
- ❑ A challenge to his social status (his image as perceived by his peers);
- ❑ Provocation.

6.5.12 High-risk situations

Mr. D might be susceptible to antisocial, deviant and criminal influences in the following circumstances:

- ❑ Peer and subcultural pressure;
- ❑ Associations with antisocial, deviant and criminal others;
- ❑ Substance abuse;
- ❑ Exposure to stress;
- ❑ Exposure to pornography;
- ❑ Contact with children;
- ❑ Rejection or humiliation by females;

- ❑ Access to female facilities (such as cloakrooms);
- ❑ Social isolation.

6.5.13 Probability to reoffend

The aforementioned high-risk factors and/or circumstances increase the offender's probability to reoffend. Because of the client's suicidal tendencies, lack of control, impulsiveness, deviant and antisocial emotions, urges and his own fear of reoffending, he may still pose a danger to himself and to the community. If released without adequate treatment, this offender might have the potential to become a serial perpetrator.

According to research, the majority of the best-established predictors for criminal and sexual recidivism include antisocial attitudes and associates, an antisocial personality, a history of antisocial and problematic behaviour, a lack of education and employment, difficulties at home, school and work, a lack of uplifting leisure and recreational activities, multiple victims and crimes, the age of the offender, the use of weapons and/or force, substance abuse, multiple paraphilias, deviant sexual preoccupations, fantasies, thinking and arousal patterns, an inability to cope with stress, anxiety and depression, cognitive deficits, a lack of empathy, low impulse control, poor problem-solving skills, an inability to see others' views, rigid and inflexible thinking, feelings of anger and hostility, an inability to form and maintain intimate relationships, impulsivity, aggressive and violent behaviour, an unsupportive family structure, a history of childhood abuse, inconsistent care and neglect (Barbaree *et al* 2001:497-501; Barbaree *et al* 2002:2; Benda *et al* 2001:599, 604-605; Bonta 2001:25; Bonta 2002c:363, 366; Council on Sex Offender Treatment 2004:3-4; Greenberg, Bradford, Firestone & Curry 2000:1485-1494; Hanson 2003b:2; Hanson & Harris 2000:6, 9, 18-19, 20, 22-25, 29; Harer & Langan 2001:515; Howitt 2002: 85, 357, 363, 369-370; Långström & Grann 2000:855, 857, 860-862, 865, 867-868; Loza 2003:191; Quinn *et al* 2004:225-226; Roberts 2003:85-87; Scalora & Garbin 2003:309-313, 318-319; Offender Risk Assessment 2000:4).

All of the aforementioned predictors are present in this offender's personality and life style.

Quinn *et al* (2004:225) suggest that pre-parole and risk assessment of sex offenders are mostly "limited, misleading and information about groups says nothing about the individuals." These researchers urge greater attention to the causes and triggers of

sex offenders as a source of guidance for its control and correction. This pre-parole assessment report underlines the causes, triggers and high-risk situations pertaining to Mr. D's behaviour.

6.5.14 A theoretical explanation for Mr. D's criminal behaviour

The following theoretical outlay supports the research findings pertaining to Mr. D's antisocial, deviant and criminal behaviour. Of importance is the research findings that indicate that sex offenders experience problems pertaining to cognitive distortions, deviant sexual preferences, a lack of willpower, seeking of immediate gratification, substance abuse, low self-esteem, anger, a history of severe family problems, separation from parents, sexual, emotional and physical abuse, isolation, social incompetence and emotional distrust of adults. These characteristics are positively linked to sex offenders' inability to control their needs, urges and thinking patterns - thus, their *lack of self-control* (Alexander 2000:221-222, 277; Fisher *et al* 1999:474; Hodge *et al* 1997:121, 124; Hollin 2001:336-337; Hudson & Ward 1997:336; Hudson *et al* 1999:780-781; Lea *et al* 1999:111; Marshall *et al* 1999:955; Starzyk & Marshall 2003:93; Veneziano *et al* 2000:364).

Within the framework of **Constructivist Self Development Theory (CSDT)**, McCann and Pearlman (1992) argue that childhood trauma can produce negative, overgeneralised "disrupted" *schemas* that fractionate personal identity, damage emotional and interpersonal life outside of the traumatic environment, and interfere with the ability to meet core psychological needs. This framework for understanding trauma and cognitive schemas sheds light on the links between the experience of trauma and the propensity to accept antisocial, deviant, aggressive and criminal behaviour (Ponce *et al* 2004:98).

According to this psychological framework, a "cognitive scheme" refers to the "cognitive representation of one's past experiences with situations or people, which eventually serves to assist individuals in constructing their perception of events within that domain" (Ponce *et al* 2004:98). Such schemas are believed to develop early in life, and are reinforced and influenced by others and one's own experience of the world. Schemas thus function as memory structures and can connect old information and experiences to new situations and events.

According to CSDT, experiencing trauma is likely to produce disturbances in the following five basic psychological “needs” areas (Ponce *et al* 2004:99):

- ❑ *Safety*, the need to feel safe and shielded from harm;
- ❑ *Trust*, the expectancy that one can rely and believe in the promise or word of other;
- ❑ *Esteem*, the need to feel valued and believe that others are also valuable;
- ❑ *Control*, the need to control one’s own behaviour, feelings and thoughts and the need to exert control over others;
- ❑ *Intimacy*, the need to feel connected to others through individual relationships and the larger community.

McCann and Pearlman suggest that when schemas are disrupted, distorted, or maladaptive, individuals become vulnerable to negative psychological and behavioural outcomes (Ponce *et al* 2004:99). The experience of trauma, according to CSDT, is a product of the individual’s interpretation of the event, his sense of self and others, and how he responds to the event. It is also influenced by the social and cultural context in which it occurs. Experiences such as childhood maltreatment and sexual abuse may place one at risk for developing distorted or maladaptive beliefs about the self and others. These distorted beliefs in turn may increase the risk to deviant, violent, aggressive and criminal behaviour (Ponce *et al* 2004:99).

According to this theory, Mr. D’s exposure to, and experience of childhood maltreatment, trauma and sexual abuse directed how he experienced others and the world. As a result of this he developed distorted and maladaptive thinking, functioning and coping patterns whereby he:

- ❑ Felt unsafe;
- ❑ Distrusted significant others (especially his mother) and the world;
- ❑ Developed a low self-esteem;
- ❑ Has no control over his actions, needs, urges and thinking patterns – and has a need to control vulnerable others;
- ❑ Shows an inability to form and maintain intimate relationships.

This in turn, made Mr. D vulnerable to negative and antisocial peers, subcultures and other deviant and criminal influences (namely substance abuse and acceptance of deviant and violent behaviour). This is also supported by the findings of Hudson and Ward (1997:324-325), Intebi (2003:9) and Kear-Colwell and Boer (2000:596-597),

who found that sex offenders experience problems pertaining to trust, intimacy, a low self-esteem and an insecure attachment style.

In this regard, Mr. D was raised in an unstable family background characterised by parental divorce, marital conflict, inconsistent discipline, poor supervision and a lack of a positive parent-child relationship. He became the victim of his mother's rage, irrational behaviour and abuse. At school he was severely sexually abused and as a result of unresolved feelings regarding this, and a dysfunctional family life, he resorted to his 'own world' where he displayed antisocial, deviant sexual and criminal behaviour. This included impulsiveness, risk-taking behaviour, multiple paraphilias, deviant sexual fantasies, arousal and thinking patterns, a lack of self-control, immediate gratification, a lack of diligence, substance abuse, short-sightedness, association with negative peers, a lack of interest in meaningful long-term occupational pursuits, self-centeredness and insensitivity to the needs of others.

6.5.15 Recommendations

It is recommended that a clinical psychologist evaluate Mr. D's personality and distorted cognitive thinking patterns. This offender should not be considered for group therapy, as only individual therapy could possibly have a positive effect on him. The reason for this is that personal attention and/or therapy should be considered to change his distorted cognitions, modify his deviant sexual preferences, enhance his relationships and interpersonal skills, improve his awareness and victim empathy skills, address his deviant arousal patterns / interests, anger management, assertiveness training, low frustration tolerance / impulse control, low self-esteem, problem-solving, conflict and communication skills, anxiety problems and his learning problems. It is strongly suggested that this client be considered for in-depth psychiatric evaluation.

6.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to assess four selected case studies' diverse crime activities from a criminological perspective in order to demonstrate the different dimensions (re-classification, intervention, risk management and pre-parole) of offender assessment practices. Each criminological analysis is supported by recent and relevant research findings and a holistic theoretical explanation of the behaviour in question. The purpose of a holistic theoretical explanation is to provide one suitable explanation for the offender's behaviour up to his present incarceration.

Furthermore, important assessment tools such as interviewing, observation and theoretical applications were utilised in determining the motives, origin, onset and contributory factors of crime. In addition, treatment targets, risk factors, behavioural triggers and high-risk situations were identified. The important contribution of criminologists is accentuated by individual assessment of serious, dangerous and troublesome offenders to determine and identify individualised offender needs and risks and to enhance an inter-disciplinary rehabilitation process in corrections.