
CORRECTIONAL CRIMINOLOGY: AN INNOVATIVE SOUTH AFRICAN PRACTICE**Anni Hesselink¹ and Karen Booyens²**

ABSTRACT

In South Africa, the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) presents a platform for criminological research, practice and expertise. Working with offenders offer criminologists an opportunity to link theory with practice, test and explore theoretical frameworks, and gain practical experience in working with, understanding and explaining criminal behaviour. In South Africa, criminological expertise has been offered to DCS since the middle 1990s. These criminological contributions assist DCS with overburdened case loads and the criminological involvement contributes to vital multidisciplinary inputs regarding offending behaviour and the rehabilitation of offenders. Correctional Criminology entails various forms of expert assistance to DCS regarding offenders and offending behaviour. One such is criminological offender assessments and profiling. Another criminological contribution concerns the rehabilitation and preparation of offenders for reintegration and the physical and emotional health of offenders (i.e. prison rape issues) in correctional facilities. This article briefly outlines international Correctional Criminology trends while alluding to unique (selected) South African criminological practices in corrections. The article further explores and describes South African criminologists specialising in Correctional Criminology.

Keywords: *Correctional criminology; criminologists and criminological practices in correctional facilities*

INTRODUCTION

Internationally, Correctional Criminology presents many facets in academic teaching and research endeavours. This specialisation field encompasses the normal run of academic teachings as found in tertiary institutions that denote Correctional Criminology curriculums to students who want to pursue careers within corrections (FresnoState, 2013). For students that major in this field, proposed career opportunities in *Prison Criminology* are advertised by Academic Investment (Criminology Careers, 2013), explaining what to do with a Criminology Degree in Corrections, such as studying for a 'Correctional Counsellor'.

Various Research Institutes that exist throughout the world are concerned with prison-related research. Examples hereof are the Prisons Research Centre (PRC) in England, the International Centre for Prison Studies (London, England), and the Centre for Criminology in Australia. All aforementioned Centres' focus is on prison-related research undertakings (Centre for Criminology, 2013; Prisons Research Centre, 2013). Criminologists are directly involved at these Centres and most of the mentioned Centres are headed by Criminologists. The research interests of these Centres comprise of issues pertaining to prison morality, staff-inmate relationships, rehabilitation efforts, identity and penal power, immigration detention centres, and gender and staff relationships (Centre for Criminology, 2013; Prisons Research Centre, 2013).

Furthermore, many publications exist on Correctional Criminology. As early as 1932, Loveland published a paper on *Criminological Laboratory in the Massachusetts Correctional System* in which he termed offender treatment as 'prison laboratory work'. Loveland (1932)

1. Professor. Department of Criminology and Security Science, School of Criminal Justice, College of Law, University of South Africa. Email: Hesselae@unisa.ac.za

2. Dr. Senior Lecturer. Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria. Email: Karen.booyens@up.ac.za

stated that individual treatment is the only way to obtain precise information from offenders and he impressed that prisons are valuable institutions for criminological research. There are also numerous books published on Correctional Criminology that address crime, punishment, and inmates' views and experiences. In this regard, *Correctional Criminology* (O'Toole & Eyland, 2005) conveys prison trends and explains special prison populations, such as female and ageing offenders. Another book, *Teaching Criminology to Prison Inmates* (Jablecki, 2013), demonstrates to inmates the science of Criminology in terms of crime, punishment, and the impact of crime and incarceration on the inmates' families and society in general. Therefore Correctional Criminology is offered to inmates with the aim to enhance the offenders' understanding and insight into their own behaviour. Remarkably, ex-convict Professors in Criminology (and/or ex-convict scholars who are completing their PhD's in Criminology) developed what is called a "New Criminology" or "Convict Criminology". Convict Criminology exemplifies revelations and personal experiences of the inmate Criminological Professors (and scholars) and it also includes inmates' perspective of life behind bars (Richards, Faggiani, Roffers, Hendricksen & Krueger, 2008). This brief international overview proves that Correctional Criminology is practiced and taught from many angles.

In South Africa Criminology has for years multiplied its academic focus to recognised practical multidisciplinary contributions and applications in practice. Various criminologists promulgated unique contributions to domains such as maritime issues (piracy), the Health and Law sectors ('EpiCrim' – foci on gender, violence, crime and the law), and the Banking Sector (South African Bank Risk Intelligence Centre – banking-related crimes) where theory and practice coincide. Criminological contributions within the Criminal Justice System have been well documented (Labuschagne, 2011), yet little is known about the expert criminological inputs and involvements related to Correctional Criminology in South Africa. Per se, the authors of this article have been rendering volunteer specialised criminological services (towards a multidisciplinary approach) to the Department of Correctional Services (DCS). Since 1993, Corrections have attained expert criminological services in offender needs and risk assessments and profiling practices. So too has DCS since 2003 valued volunteer expert criminological inputs and services from another criminologist who specialises in the reintegration preparation of offenders and issues pertaining to male rape in corrections. These two original and practical fractions of Correctional Criminology produced results in postgraduate qualifications (DLitt et Phil in Criminology) in the specialised correctional fields and it furthermore paved the way for Criminology Honours students to gain practical volunteer experience in offender assessment in the DCS.

This article draws on three sections of Correctional Criminology as practiced in South Africa. The background, need, focus and contributions of the aforementioned criminological services are outlined, while a brief international overview of Correctional Criminology is sketched by the authors.

METHOD

The researchers followed a qualitative approach to explore and describe selected Correctional Criminology practices in South Africa. International trends related to this specialised field supported both authors involvement in Correctional Criminology.

According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouchè and Delpont (2011), the role of science in professional practice is twofold, namely diverting practice itself into research (a scientist-practitioner approach) and utilising scientific results to apply in practice (evidence-based practice). De Vos et al (2011) state that over the past 50 years there have been numerous challenges to support the scientific foundation of professionals in practice, especially the distribution and use of research findings by practitioners and it is from this angle that the

scientist-practitioner approach developed. The basis of this approach is that theory and practice should merge, thus the practitioner becomes both the researcher and the professional. Evidence-based practice involves adherence to a Code of Ethics while the professional utilises research to evaluate, analyse, assess and monitor the offender in order to make balanced decisions regarding the needs, risks and progress of the offender (De Vos et al 2011).

In this regard, both authors' are employed within the academia in Criminology (teaching Correctional Criminology) and practically involved within Corrections rendering expert self-created services to offenders. Scientific criminological (and subject-related) theories and research findings form the basis of the skills, knowledge, application and experience of criminological work and contributions in Corrections. This article presents Correctional Criminology as practiced in South Africa as an innovative, multidisciplinary and contributory specialised field.

KEY CONCEPTS

The following key concepts are central to the theme of this article.

Correctional Criminology

In South Africa, criminologists have been utilised in advisory positions within corrections, and as experts concerning the criminological understanding, profiling, analysis and assessment of criminal behaviour. These criminological assessments of offending behaviour are mostly based on theoretical explanations, personal experiences (involvement in the practical analysis of criminal behaviour), knowledge (qualifications) and intuition (based on experience in working with offenders). The inclusion of criminologists within custodial settings, both at private and national correctional centres, has contributed to a multi-disciplinary approach towards the intervention, management and rehabilitation of offenders (Hesselink-Louw, 2004).

South African Correctional Criminology originates from practical criminological work and services delivered to DCS; and/or practical involvement in skills and knowledge sharing (i.e. prison rape and criminological pre-parole reports) within corrections that are directed to the rehabilitation of offenders. These criminological skills and practical involvement are derived from scientific knowledge that explains crime, offending behaviour and victimology in totality. Hence, it includes the criminological analysis, assessment, identification and scientific explanation of the causes, contributory factors, social and environmental influences, personal and familial backgrounds, motives, triggers, high-risk situations, personality traits, and criminogenic factors of the behaviour in question (Herbig & Hesselink, 2012; Hesselink cited in Holtzhausen, 2012).

Criminological reintegration preparation

In the White Paper on Corrections (2005: 66; 141) it is stated that the preparation for the social integration of offenders commences upon their admission into the care of the DCS and continues throughout the time they are under the care and control of the Department. Furthermore the social integration of offenders will be an important part of their Correctional Sentence Plan, which is based on the total needs of the particular offender. Every offender who is due for release from a correctional centre undergoes a release preparation programme, which commences ten weeks prior to the offender's placement under correctional supervision or parole and lasts until two weeks before his placement. The aim of reintegration preparation is to give the offender intensive treatment during the last phase of imprisonment and covers the basic knowledge and skills that all offenders in the community need namely skills training, dealing with the stigma attached to imprisonment, financial planning and responsibility and accountability in society (Department of Correctional Services, [sa]).

Criminological assessment

Criminological assessment includes an all-inclusive criminological analysis that focuses on unique individualised offender needs and risks for offender management, treatment, therapy, personal development and rehabilitation purposes. Criminologists can compile profiles of offenders and expert reports for the Correctional Supervision and Parole boards (risks for re-offending and the progress of offender development) or for the courts (conversion of sentence purposes). The criminological assessments are derived from sound research findings and theoretical explanations on offender needs and risk criteria (produced in actuarial instruments) together with the offending behaviour in question. The criminologist focuses on offence-specific (serial rape) and offender-specific (paraphilias, and prosexual and proviolent thinking patterns) characteristics to establish individualised and unique personality traits, influences, causes, motives, contributory factors, high-risk situations, triggers and risks associated to the specific offender and offending behaviour (Hesselink cited in Holtzhausen, 2012).

DISCUSSION

The following discussion highlights the desperate need for criminological services in the DCS in South Africa. It furthermore demonstrates criminological practices within corrections, namely reintegration preparation of offenders, awareness of male rape and offender needs and risk assessments and profiling practices.

THE NEED FOR CRIMINOLOGICAL SERVICES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICAN CORRECTIONS

In a country ranked first in Africa and ninth in the world regarding the inmate population, with approximately 160 000 inmates in South African correctional centres (Ndebele: SA has highest prison population in Africa, 2013), and the high recidivism rate, the work of criminologists within the field of Correctional Criminology become imperative. Amongst others, correctional criminology addresses the rehabilitation and preparation for reintegration (Corrections orientation session, 2012).

Criminologists have much to offer to the DCS as the foundation of Criminology comprises the causes, motives, triggers, high-risk situations, contributory factors, social, personal and environmental influences, criminogenic factors, personality traits, risks and scientific explanations of crime, criminology, and victimology – the core elements necessary to work with offenders and to understand criminality (Hesselink in Holtzhausen, 2012; Herbig & Hesselink, 2012). With such an under-build, criminologists can alleviate the heavy workload of correctional-employed professionals and assist with multidisciplinary contributions towards the rehabilitation of offenders (Hesselink cited in Holtzhausen, 2012; Hesselink-Louw, 2004). Support for much needed criminological services and contributions are also highlighted in the White Paper on Corrections (2005). Accordingly DCS must form and maintain partnerships with external service providers, stakeholders and the community to guarantee the rehabilitation and assessment of offenders (White Paper on Corrections, 2005).

The Government's Portfolio Committee on Corrections alluded to that fact that the DCS struggles to recruit and retain professional staff. In 2012, DCS acknowledged that high vacancy levels in the Care and Development divisions responsible for rehabilitation-linked efforts exist. The acute professional staff shortages and under-spending on staff who deals and assists with the rehabilitation of offenders do not reflect the priorities as set out in the White Paper on Corrections (DCS's mandate), thus adherence to (spending) budget was an impossible task (Portfolio Committee. Review of White Paper on Corrections 2005-2012; Portfolio Committee, DCS 3rd quarter 2011 performance report, 2012; Portfolio Committee, DCS Strategic and Annual Performance Plan, 2013).

Globally, the expertise, knowledge, skills and experience of professionals such as educationalists, psychiatrists, psychologists, and religious workers in Corrections have been acknowledged (Hesselink-Louw, 2004). Still, prior to 2004, the role and practical contribution of criminologists within a correctional environment have been severely ignored (Herbig & Hesselink, 2012; Hesselink-Louw, 2004; Maree, Joubert & Hesselink-Louw, 2003). By the by, it has been established that criminologists can contribute in integrated assessment approaches and interventions for the profiling, treatment and rehabilitation of offenders (Bergh, 2003; Cornwell, 2003; Du Preez, 2003). The British academic, criminologist and prior prison governor, Cornwell (2003) alluded that it remains a mystery why criminologists have been neglected and not been employed in prisons in the past. Cornwell (2003) ascribes this negligence to a total lack of understanding what the science and practice of Criminology have to offer in Corrections.

INNOVATIVE SOUTH AFRICAN CORRECTIONAL CRIMINOLOGY

The discussion comprises of three selected South African practiced Correctional Criminology fractions. The first is correctional criminological reintegration preparation services offered within corrections, secondly the physical and emotional health of offenders, especially in terms of prison rape, while the third focus falls on expert criminological offender needs and risk assessments and profiling practices within correctional settings.

Reintegration preparation

In its quest to rehabilitate offenders and reintegrate them into their communities, the DCS currently offers eleven correctional programmes to sentenced offenders. These correctional programmes are amongst others anger management, a preparatory programme on sexual offences, pre-lease programme, substance abuse programme, restorative justice orientation, new beginnings and two economic offences programmes. The ultimate goal of these programmes is to create positive changes in the offender and may include behavioural changes, acceptance of positive morals and values, increased knowledge, the acquisition of work related skills and improved mental and physical health. In South Africa it is compulsory for all offenders serving a sentence of two years or longer to attend correctional programme sessions (Corrections orientation session, 2012; Correctional Programmes targeting offending behaviour, [sa]).

It is stated in the White Paper on Corrections (2005) that the DCS should embark on a partnership with stakeholders and civil society in pursuance of the common goal of inducing and supporting change in offenders that attend rehabilitation programs. It is against this backdrop that one of the authors (researchers) of this article facilitates two life skills courses namely attitude adjustment and life application. Both these life skills courses were developed by Denise Dredge (2007) and initially presented to a homeless community. The content of the material was adapted by the researcher to the correctional setting. These life skills courses are presented once a week to a group of sentenced adult male offenders, who are currently serving sentences ranging between seven years to fifteen years for mainly aggressive crimes (hijacking, attempted murder, house robberies and bank robberies). Although Day, Tucker and Howells (2004) allude to the fact that coercing offenders to attend rehabilitation programmes is regarded as acceptable, especially for offenders who are considered as high risk, such as sexual and violent offenders, the authors hold the view that offenders in the group should voluntarily attend these adapted life skills courses. This is in line with the viewpoint by DCS that the responsibility to learn rests with the individual offender and that offenders must accept responsibility for their offences in order to gain insight and understanding of their deviant behaviour (Correctional Programmes targeting offending behaviour, [sa]). The author meets with the offenders in the library of the correctional centre

without the presence of a correctional official. This is important in establishing rapport and trust between the criminologist and the offenders. The official will, however, be situated in close proximity outside of the library. The session usually lasts two hours. Each session commences with an icebreaker, followed by the discussions of the content of the themes, completion of worksheets and conclusion.

In the attitude adjustment course the criminologist covers the following themes: self-control, honesty, integrity, trustworthiness, perseverance, endurance, respect and self-respect. The life application course focuses on the importance of personal hygiene, personal responsibility and work ethics (Dredge, 2007). The offenders are active participants in the discussions and gain some insight into their past choices, the reasons for their choices and their criminal path. The course, however, also aims to equip them with the tools to become law abiding productive citizens once released from the correctional centre. Both the attitude adjustment and the life application course can be regarded as moderate intensity and intermediate interventions. These interventions are usually recommended for offenders whose need levels are moderate or high. Furthermore the programme delivery of such interventions is usually 4-5 months and the programmes are closed with specific entry and completion dates. It is postulated that offenders who complete rehabilitation programmes have higher rates of success in terms of their reintegration and the factors associated with the completion of programmes are of a higher level of education, not having a history of sexual victimisation, fewer previous incarcerations and lower levels of justification of the offending behaviour (Correctional Programmes targeting offending behaviour, [sa]; Griffiths, Dandurand & Murdoch, 2007).

Lawrence (in Muntingh, 2005: 35) lists the characteristics of effective interventions as those that focus on employment related skills; matching offenders' needs with the objectives of the programme; programme participation is close to the release date so that skills are up to date and relevant; participation in the programme lasts several months; the programme deals with each offender's needs and is well integrated into the official correctional programmes; prison programmes are followed by post-release treatment and services, the programme is based on effective programme design, implementation and monitoring and researchers involvement in the programme as evaluators. The current life skill programmes offered by the criminologist adhere to most of these characteristics.

Physical and mental health

Another aspect that is closely related to Correctional Criminology is the general health (physical as well as emotional) of all inmates, as incarceration by its nature can have a damaging effect on the physical and mental well-being of offenders (White Paper on Corrections, 2005: 155). In this regard the criminologist specifically focuses on male rape in prison due to the impact of the crime on the victim which includes the risk of contracting HIV/Aids and STIs, as well as the psychosocial effects of the criminal incident. In South Africa it is difficult to determine the incidence and prevalence rates of male rape in prison, as sexual assault and rape are classified as *general assault* by the DCS. Despite this difficulty in determining the true extent of prison rape, the Correctional Services Minister announced in October 2013 that there is an increase of more than 40 per cent in the number of reported rapes and sexual assaults in corrections. This comes after a parliamentary question regarding the incidence of prison rape. The Minister stated that 643 inmates reported being raped or sexually assaulted over a three year period (2010 -2013). In 2010/2011 there was a total of 221 reported cases, in 2011/2012 it was 175 and for the 2012/2013 financial year there were 247 reported cases. Compounding this problem is the tendency of correctional authorities who neglects to report on the sexual violations that take place in their institutions once an individual has been incarcerated. Furthermore the informal prison Code of Silence prohibits

inmates to speak about these types of crimes. Recently the Portfolio Committee on Corrections questioned the DCS on their strategy regarding sexual abuse in corrections. The Committee suggested that sexual abuse and rape figures be disaggregated and plans be put in place to screen and categorise young boys so that they do not end up with hardened criminals (Big increase in prison rapes, 2013; Capers, 2011; Johnson, 2002; Lehrer, 2001; Portfolio Committee, DCS Strategic and Annual Performance Plan, 2013).

Based on the above, and the fact that there are currently no programmes to address prison rape in Corrections, the authors developed and present the Offender Sexual Assault Awareness Project (OSAAP) to juvenile and adult male offenders. The aims of this project are to raise awareness regarding prison rape and empower inmates to seek help should they become the victim of rape. As the project is presented to two separate categories of offenders, namely juveniles and adults, the language and style of the presentation may differ. With the adults it is easier to verbally present the information, whereas with the juveniles illustrations work better. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic a correctional official will be stationed outside the room when the presentation takes place. Since the (second) author has completed a postgraduate study on prison rape (Booyens, 2009) and has been actively involved with Correctional Criminology for the last ten years, use is often made of prison slang in order to gain the trust from the inmates. For example the criminologist will refer to “serope” or “passage” when discussing inter-femoral sex, “chocolate box” when referring to anal sex, “skommel” for masturbation, “bullet” when explaining that forcing someone to smuggle contraband into the prison by inserting the object into the anus is considered rape. The fact that no correctional official is present in the room also allows inmates to speak freely about the types of sex practiced in prison and reference to the different prison gangs and their role in prison rape.

Over two days the following issues get discussed: Reasons for prison rape (“trial to long”, “like other people’s things”, no visits, gangsterism, corruption and debt), the consequences of rape (STIs, HIV/Aids, Post-traumatic stress disorder and Rape Trauma Syndrome), possible avoidance behaviour, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, and most important where and how to get help.

In Adelaide, Australia, a similar project is offered to inmates. This is known as Preventing Prisoner Rape and consists of a support package provided to men who have been raped or sexually assaulted in prison. This package includes case studies of other prison rape victims, the effects of rape and ways in which to resist and survive prisoner rape (Denborough, 2005).

Although Fleisher and Krienert (2006) warn against folklore about prison rape as it may create anxiety and fear among new and inexperienced inmates, the authors are of the opinion that incarcerated inmates be made aware of the possibility of sexual assault and rape as well as the sexual offences legislation, in order to empower them if they do fall victim to such a crime while in a correctional centre.

Apart from the awareness project on sexual assault and rape in Corrections, the author also developed the Offender Sexual Assault Protocol for the DCS (Booyens, 2009). The aims of this protocol are to address correctional officials’ awareness of sexual assault and rape, the reduction of sexual assault and rape and intervention after the rape has taken place. This protocol should be utilised upon admission of an offender to the correctional centre and concludes with the social needs of the offender prior to his release. The Offender Sexual Assault Protocol consists of three components: The first component is the DCS awareness component, which consists of regular training of correctional officials regarding male sexual assault and rape; the second component is the reduction component and includes the orientation of all new inmates, the classification and placement of inmates according to the Sexual Assault Risk Assessment Instrument (also developed by the author); and the third

component is the intervention component which becomes relevant after an incident of rape and compels the correctional official to comply with the intervention standards of assisting the offender in reporting the sexual assault or rape, medical and mental health referral, investigation and legal services and the social needs prior to release.

Expert criminological offender's needs and risk assessments and profiling practices

Since 1993, volunteer expert criminological offender's needs and risk assessments and profiling services have been offered to the DCS. The aim has always been to establish individualised and unique criteria for offender management and rehabilitation purposes. During this period, expert criminological assistance was also rendered in conversion of sentences and pre-parole decisions for both the DCS and the courts. The focus of this type of Correctional Criminology fall on holistic and multidisciplinary contributions that steer correctional therapists, staff and management in their often dangerous and difficult task of interacting with the offenders (Hesselink cited in Holtzhausen, 2012; Hesselink-Louw, 2004; Maree et al 2003).

First-generation expert criminological offender assessments are conducted in the DCS. This type of assessment evolves from the practical experience, criminological knowledge, theories and research findings, intuition and offender assessment criteria derived from international actuarial scales. Both author's intuition and gut-feeling relates to more than a combined 40 years of practical experience in working with offenders in DCS. This approach draws on offender-specific (personal and unique characteristics and causes) and offence-specific (type of crime and associations) focus that ultimately assists with the compilation of the offenders' sentence plans – meaning, the stipulated rehabilitation path in corrections (Herbig & Hesselink, 2012; Hesselink cited in Holtzhausen, 2012; Hesselink-Louw, 2012). In this regard, the DCS requests the criminologist to assess pre-selected offenders. Such assessments occur in private with no correctional officials in the room. Thus, one-on-one, in-depth semi-structured interviews are conducted with the offenders. Each session lasts about two hours, and depending on the offender, behaviour in question, and crime(s) committed, numerous sessions will follow. Assessment criteria are determined for correctional therapists, staff and management to decide on the rehabilitation path and management style of the offender.

Aforementioned practical experience created more Correctional Criminology employment opportunities for criminologists. Within the DCS, the authors assisted in the development of the current offender assessment structure utilised in prisons. Subsequent to this development, one of the authors also became involved at a private prison in South Africa and there became involved with offender assessments and rehabilitation programmes. The acquired criminological skills, knowledge and experience created further work opportunities as an expert advisor on gang behaviour and gang involvement in prisons.

Hesselink (cited in Holtzhausen, 2012; Hesselink-Louw, 2004) proclaims that correctional criminologists have created a niche area that focuses exclusively on criminal behaviour (in all its facets), motives, causes, contributory factors, modus operandi, victimology (victim selection and victim offender relationship), triggers and high-risk situations and behaviour (risk prediction). Besides this, all factors, circumstances and possible influences that played a role in shaping the offender – from birth to imprisonment – are analysed, interpreted and assessed. Only then can the criminologist scientifically explain all aforementioned factors on the hand of relevant criminological theories.

Case study: Pre-parole assessment

The following criminological pre-parole assessment practically illustrates the criminologist's value and contribution in corrections. This case study was presented in a report with a

theoretical under-build and sources to sustain all the information. For purpose and length of this article, the following condensed version will suffice.

One of the authors was requested by the Correctional Supervision and Parole Board to criminologically access, analyse and evaluate Mr C for pre-parole consideration. The criminologist conducted nine in-depth interviews with Mr C, and each interview lasted approximately an hour and half. Extensive and valued clinical evaluations conducted by various correctional social workers and psychologists were also made available to the author involved for the purpose and completion of this report.

Biographic details

Mr C is a 63-year old white, Afrikaans offender. At the age of 31, the offender was sentenced for 32 years and three months imprisonment for three counts of rape and indecent assault of girl victims aged 8, 11 and 14 years – aforementioned victims, consisting of both white and black girl victims. At this age (being 31 years of age), the offender became a third time offender – with two previous convictions (in total six counts) of indecent assault of a minor female and an adult female. For these crimes he received an imprisonment sentence of two years (for the adult female) and six months (for the minor child).

There is no chronic medical condition to note. When asked about Mr C's sexuality, he replied "No mam, I am only in prison for indecent assault and rape – no other crimes." When requested to relate something special about his culture, or meaning hereof to him, he did not understand the question and despite several re-explanations, Mr C could not answer this question.

Offence and offender analysis

Mr C is a serial sadistic paedophile (intense sexual interest in pre-pubertal children); hebophile (intense sexual interest in children above puberty, but under the age of 18 years); and rapist. The offender is furthermore; an exhibitionist (derives sexual pleasure and gratification in exposing and flashing his sexual organs to others); and a stalker, who followed, lured and forced innocent child victims into submission. These sexual paraphilias are often commonly associated with serious and persistent sex offenders.

Family dynamics

Mr C's father completed Standard 6 (Grade 8) and became a professional hunter, specialising in jackal hunting for farmers. He passed away at the age of 87. His mother was a home-keeper and passed away at the age of 75 due to heart failure. Mr C is one of four children (two other brothers and one sister); but being the only one with a different father. When asked about his siblings, the offender could not recall his sister's name, stating "I cannot remember her name and age now".

There seem to be no parental or sibling criminality, and no substance abuse problems within the offender's direct family. According to Mr C, his parents had a good and stable marriage and they managed to resolve conflict in a very civil and unaggressive manner. Financially, all basic needs were met. When asked about his parents' best personality characteristics, the offender maintained that he cannot remember any (traits). Pertaining to childhood abuse and neglect, Mr C holds that he was never abused in any manner as a child and that he experienced a 'happy' childhood.

Schooling experience

Having said this, at the age of 12, the offender was placed in an orphanage until the age of 18 years. According to him, he was the only child from all his siblings who was sent to an orphanage and he does not know the reason behind this. Mr C's mentions that his parents used to send him money to the orphanage and that he visited his family during some of the school holidays. He holds that he really missed his parents, and there is no history of running

away behaviour during this period. The offender never really had friends while at the orphanage, stating that the children teased and bullied him about his personality and behaviour. Mr C reports that he had severe learning disabilities and concentration problems at school, and as a result of this, he was not an ideal learner and managed to pass Standard 6 after which he was allowed to develop his technical (i.e. introductory to carpentry work) skills.

During his imprisonment, Mr C was fully trained and skilled whilst incarcerated in carpeting, and according to the correctional staff he makes the most beautiful furniture at the correctional centre's workshop.

Employment and substance abuse record

Prior to Mr C's incarceration, he was employed as a truck driver. According to the offender he never used/abused alcohol in his life, and he says he only smokes in order to calm his nerves.

Institutional behaviour and adaptation

Regarding Mr C's institutional adaptation and behaviour, the offender assaulted a fellow inmate because of remarks made to him regarding his sexual crimes and daily functioning within the correctional centre. Mr C has several on-going and persistent serious sexual misconducts on his institutional file; ranging from exhibitionism (flashing to his fellow and especially younger inmates, as well as to correctional staff) to possession of illegal material – i.e. pornography, masturbation in open areas within the correctional centre, threatening behaviour towards correctional staff and fellow inmates, and possession of pictures of half-naked children. Mr C admitted all of these during the interviews and he confirmed said behaviour in a letter addressed to the criminologist. The head of his section/unit (a correctional member) confirmed that Mr C is a 'problem offender' who regularly flashes at his fellow offenders and the correctional staff, and that he displays unbecomingly deviant sexual behaviour and interests. Another fellow offender also confirmed Mr C's deviant sexual behaviour in the section and he mentions that the offender is very aggressive and that he swears and insults other inmates, which created a lot of conflict during the first few years of his incarceration. The other inmates try to ignore him, 'knowing that he has a serious problem and that he cannot help himself'.

Cognitive functioning

Throughout the nine interviews, Mr C appeared very agitated and stressed out, he mentions that he struggles to cope on a day-to-day basis with his tasks within the correctional centre. He suffers from depression and this is well recorded on the offender's DCS file. It is clear from his deviant sexual institutional behaviour, that he exhibits obsessive compulsive deviant sexual behaviour and tendencies, as well as various other psychological problems also documented on his DCS file. Mr C is a 'loner' and he acknowledges that he 'functions best when left alone' – this coincides with Mr C's inability to form meaningful intimate relationships and is furthermore a reflection on his poor social, communication and problem-resolution skills. The only relationship skill Mr C displays is restricted to superficial greetings and he does not seem to have any mutual prosocial non-relative supportive relationships within the correctional centre. Hence, Mr C is a very shy person and mostly engages in solitary pastimes.

Mr C displays a very poor self-image and has no self-control regarding his immediate needs – thus, he cannot think things through, cannot delay immediate gratification and therefore, he seems to be a very impulsive being. This means that the offender often repeats mistakes, he is unable to see things from another person's perspective, has difficulties in creative and abstract thinking patterns, is unable to achieve long-term non-criminal goals, and

lacks both emotional and physical self-control. In this regard, Mr C's self-image is adversely affected whenever he feels alienated, isolated, teased and belittled or challenged.

It is also clear that the offender displays a history (especially while incarcerated) of violent and aggressive tendencies and he uses threats of violence towards correctional staff and fellow offenders. This behaviour is also well documented on his file and reflects a history of regular outbreaks of anger and rage during imprisonment. The offender uses aggression and violence in order to get 'his own way'.

Several clinical therapists, including the criminologist, found Mr C to be emotionally numb, and he has a total disregard for the feelings and respect for others, and the offender seems to be under assertive – all factors well documented on his DCS file. He cannot take responsibility for this action and shifts blame on others for his offending behaviour.

Support structure

The offender receives monthly visits from his brother, Johannes, who is a pensioner. Mr C states that his brother wants him to reside with him once he is afforded parole.

Mr C's opinion and version on children and his sexual interest in children

Mr C reports that his sexual interest in children is linked to revenge. In this regard, he mentions his niece who is severely physically disabled and in a wheel chair, that was raped by two farmers. Mr C states this rape as the specific reason and onset for his inappropriate and deviant sexual behaviour and interests – even said behaviour displayed in the correctional centre. He claims to flash (voyeurism) to other inmates because they and the correctional staff tease him about his crimes and his behaviour.

Mr C alleges that he gets sexually aroused, has a 'need' (urge) to have sex with children, and that displays sexual fantasies about children with sadistic tendencies. However, he says that he withheld this information from the therapists because he knows it is very 'negative' information. Mr C confirms that he had a sexual relationship with a younger looking inmate within the correctional centre – this was around 1976, however, he cannot remember his name now.

After dropping out of school, the offender never had a friendly platonic relationship with a female. He cried while revealing the rape incidents, saying he knows that he should not have done this, and the only reason was because the child female victims were 'small'. He also cannot provide an explanation for the rape of the one adult female victim. Mr C holds that he only looked for opportunities to satisfy himself because he is very lonely, and he 'cannot help' himself when he gets sexually aroused.

Precursors, motives and causes to Mr C's crimes

Regarding Mr C's motivation for his offending behaviour, he fails to recognise the causes and triggers that contributed to his offending behaviour. At the onset of contact with children, and for child sexual abuse and rape to occur, the offender must have some motivation to abuse a child sexually.

According to the offender his sexual interest in children commenced at the age of 20, he alleges, never prior to this, or during his school-going years, did he display deviant sexual behavioural patterns. Mr C claims that children sexually provoke him, they entice him and he never meant to 'hurt' them. He says that he feels more comfortable with children than with adults, because children 'do not tease' him, they 'understand' him, they 'listen' to him, ultimately, they do not reject him (as he experienced at home and the orphanage home), and he states that suffers from anxiety prior to contact with children. These aspects are directly linked to the offender's neutralisation, rationalisation and minimalisation of his own behaviour (and not foreseeing the consequences of his actions and decisions), and his childhood rejection. Related to this, the offender is of the opinion that some of the child victims 'seduced' him, and that they 'exposed themselves' to him in the way they conducted

themselves. The offender mentions that he always experienced anxiety problems. This reaffirms Mr C's self-serving and distorted thinking patterns.

Thus, the triggers to Mr C's sexual outlets stem from: fear of rejection, isolation, an inability to form and maintain appropriate long-term intimate sexual relationship, anxiety, rage, interpersonal conflict, sexual excitement, a low frustration-tolerance level, agitation, negative mood states, inadequate control of emotions, a lack of self-control, impulsivity, a low self-esteem, contact with children, and a total lack of insight and understanding into his own behaviour and actions. All of the aforementioned factors are linked to probable reoffending behaviour.

Sexual contact with a child seems to be more satisfying to the offender because he perceives children to be less rejecting, therefore he feels less vulnerable in his attempts to gain intimacy with children. This type of contact provides instant gratification, which are self-serving to his own needs, because Mr C is unable to meet intimacy needs with consenting adult partners. The offender affirms and acknowledges that at the time of his offences, he could only really associate, relate and communicate with children. This is a common characteristic of paedophiles.

Regarding remorse and insight, Mr C's insight into his own sexual behaviour is non-existent. He states that his sexual crimes against children 'were wrong because they were still little'.

When asked about his current needs (at the age of 63 years), the offender replied that he 'wants to go home' and that he 'never want to have any contact with children again in his life'. This of course is an unrealistic expectation, as he will be residing in a normal neighbourhood characterised with families with children, should he be granted parole.

Rehabilitation

Mr C reports that he is now a 'rehabilitated man'. He ascribes this reformation to the regular contact with a priest who visits him in the correctional centre and who manages to calm him. The offender furthermore, reports to be a reaffirmed new Christian (since his contact with the priest). It is documented on Mr C's file and reiterated by the correctional therapists that he was placed on special medication by a psychiatrist for his extremely high and uncontrollable sex drive. But, according to correctional personnel, the offender fails to take his medication on a daily basis. When asked about his medication, the offender replied that it was "sex medication" and he says he cannot remember the names of the pills. When questioned about the difference in functioning regarding taking the pills or not, Mr C noted that when he does take the medication he does not sexually fantasise about children.

Vis-à-vis correctional therapy, Mr C received extensive, in-depth and long-term psychological and social work therapy. In this regard, the offender received numerous one-on-one psychological sessions with five different psychologists and nine social workers during his imprisonment term – all of this is confirmed in his DCS file.

Unique offender risks linked to risk assessment

The risks for possible reoffending and future dangerousness are derived from reports on Mr C's institutional file (DCS file), his institutional behaviour, professional correctional reports on his behaviour and numerous other risks identified by the criminologist. A summary hereof are:

A well-documented criminal history related to various sexual crimes, offence planning and grooming, marital status (single, never married), a preference for child victims, diverse victims (adult and children), prosexual and deviant sexual attitude and thinking patterns, no insight and understanding into own behaviour, poor communication, interpersonal, anger management and problem-solving skills, deficits in self-management and impulsivity; and crime-related compulsivity, denial and lack of responsibility for own

behaviour, lack of victim empathy, low self-esteem, a hostile attitude towards women and children, dysfunctional personal and social relationships, a history of violent and aggressive behaviour and tendencies, unbalanced sexual preoccupations, paraphilias (stalking, exhibitionism, sadism, paedophilia and hebophilia), antisocial personality traits/characteristics, an inability to cope with stress and frustrations, anxiety problems, strong and uncontrollable sexual fantasies, needs and urges, and low intelligence level.

Mr C's age of possible release is 63 years. The criminologist wishes to refer the Correctional Supervision and Parole Board to the well-known media case of "James McNeil", who in the midst of his seventies was convicted and sentenced for child molesting. Other risks include: low schooling and education level, low motivation for treatment and personal change, poor and limited support structure, contact with children, documented cognitive distortions and prior psychiatric treatment.

Recommendation

Although future dangerousness and reoffending behaviour can never be accurately predicted, in the light of all the factors discussed in this report, it is the criminologist's opinion that Mr C poses a high risk for reoffending.

CONCLUSION

Criminologists are schooled professionals in understanding crime and criminality in its totality. As such Criminologists are trained to analyse, explain and understand the conditions and influences that contribute to crime. The behavioural background of offenders, triggers to criminal actions, the causes of crime, and the different motives for crime are all factors that are considered by Criminologists in the services that they provide to the DCS.

In South Africa the role and function of Criminologists have extended over the years to professional practitioners ('contemporary criminologists') and it is evident from this article that as experts in the field to explain crime and criminality makes a vast contribution to the Department of Correctional Services in terms of expert writing of pre-parole reports, assessment of offenders and facilitating reintegration preparation programmes.

A productive relationship between the DCS and Criminologists may address many of the DCS's other rehabilitation needs. Criminologists can assess and profile certain categories of offenders to determine unique and common denominators for correctional therapy and/or the development of offender-specific and offence-specific rehabilitation programmes. The DCS can furthermore consider the formal employment of professional Criminologists who want to practice with the DCS. Such Criminologists can for instance, focus on the individual assessment of difficult and unmanageable offenders or gang members to assist the DCS with the management of these offenders. Alternatively Criminologists can exclusively focus on offender risk prediction with pre-parole consideration, which may assist in alleviating the high reoffending rate in South Africa.

Lastly, due to the volunteer criminological services rendered to the DCS and the good rapport and trust that were established between the researchers and the DCS, both authors are involved in the DCS's needs-based (DCS identified) research projects. These research projects include 'female offenders that killed their intimate partners/spouses', 'female offenders that killed their children/babies', 'elderly men that sexually abused the children in their care', 'the profile of the short-term female offender', 'mothers and babies behind bars', 'Unisa incarcerated students' needs and challenges', and 'the impact and effectiveness of the DCS rehabilitation programmes (with specific reference to correctional programmes)'.

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