



REPORT
on
*Pre-Disposing Factors to
Criminality in the Cayman Islands*

researched and written by

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submitted to

Hon. Samuel Bulgin, Q.C., JP
Attorney General of the Cayman Islands

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Yolande C. Forde
Consultant Criminologist

Terms of Reference

The Cayman Islands' Government is committed in its efforts to maintain a stable and safe environment in which people can live, work and enjoy themselves. The Office of the Attorney General is therefore interested in devising and implementing meaningful crime prevention strategies. In this regard, there must be some conceptual distinction between situational crime prevention and dispositional crime prevention. The former refers to what measures need to be adopted to control the physical opportunities that facilitate criminal activity. On the other hand, dispositional crime prevention focusses on the person committing the act and seeks to identify, through an examination of the offender's personal experiences, the factors which seem to have predisposed him to criminal behaviour. The proposed study is concerned with the latter. The process of determining appropriate interventions, however, requires a sound understanding of the nature and dimensions of causation. To this extent, a consultant criminologist with the requisite experience has been commissioned to conduct an empirical study on crime and violence and is being guided by the following Terms of Reference.

- i. Identify the factors which seem to predispose individuals to criminality.
- ii. Use an appropriate aetiological framework and research methodologies to collect and analyze relevant data.
- iii. Construct a profile of the average incarcerated adult offender in Grand Cayman.
- iv. Advise on any strategies and policies that would constitute an effective response to criminogenic factors cited.
- v. Document the research findings, analyses and policy recommendations in the form of a report to the Attorney General of the Cayman Islands.

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

YOLANDE C. FORDE

Yolande Forde is a Consultant Criminologist who specializes in policy initiatives which involve issues relating to judicial and correctional reform, trans-national organized crime and crime reduction strategies. Most of her projects are executed either in the United States or the Caribbean region. Ms. Forde is currently on assignment in the Cayman Islands and has responsibility for conducting an empirical study on the causes of rising crime and for advising the **Government of the Cayman Islands** on the strategies that need to be adopted, both in terms of primary crime prevention and also the management of offenders. Prior to this assignment, Ms. Forde was engaged as a consultant with the **Caricom Secretariat**. During this period, she conducted policy studies which examined critical issues related to narco-trafficking and drug demand as well as the impact of criminal deportees on the social and security services of Caribbean countries. Miss Forde, who has 15 years professional experience in her criminological practice, has also been a consultant with the **Inter-American Development Bank** on their multi-million dollar Administration of Justice Program for the Caribbean region, prior to which she was Director of the **National Task Force on Crime Prevention** in Barbados. When available, Ms. Forde also lectures part-time in the “*Law, Governance and Caribbean Society*” course at the University of the West Indies.

Miss Forde, who holds a **University of West Indies** Bachelors degree in Sociology and Law, received her specialized training in England and the United States. In 1991, she completed her Masters in Criminal Justice Policy at the **London School of Economics and Political Science** and was the inaugural recipient of the **Errol Barrow Memorial Award (UK)**. In 1993, she continued her post-graduate training in the PhD program at the **John Jay College of Criminal Justice** in New York, where she was also very active in the work of both academic and community-based organizations which articulated the needs of underserved groups in the society.

Yolande Forde's professional expertise includes *(a)* research and planning; *(b)* the designing of rehabilitation programs for prisons in the Caribbean, *(c)* the implementation and management of youth development and

criminality prevention programs; *(d)* mobilizing civil society and the private sector in collaborative arrangements with government and other institutions; *(e)* advising regional bodies, governments, and international agencies on policy reform as it relates to illicit drugs, crime and justice. In this regard, she has written a number of policy documents and presentation papers. These include such topics as:

- *“Crime in Caribbean Societies – Implications for Investment and Economic Development”(CDB)*
- *“Alleviation of Criminal Activity” (an address delivered to Heads of State of CARICOM Countries)*
- *“The CARICOM Drug Policy Report”*
- *CARICOM Policy Study on the Impact of Criminal Deportees in the Caribbean region”*
- *“The V-shaped Model of Criminal Aetiology”*
- *“Transnational Organized Crime: The Caribbean Region”(presented at Oxford University, UK)*
- *“The Problem of Over-reliance on Imprisonment in the Caribbean”*
- *“Reducing Recidivism”*
- *“The Social and Economic Costs of Crime: A challenge for Governments of Developing Countries”*
- *“Crime in Barbados: Contradictions of Modernization”*
- *“Parents: The Primary Agents of Crime Prevention”*
- *“Confronting Criminality: The proactive Approach”*
- *“Criminal Risk Factors: Findings of Prison-based research”-Report to the Attorney-General B’dos*
- *“Violence in Schools: Some Contributory Factors and Possible Interventions”*
- *“Inmate Training and Rehabilitation: An Important Aspect of Correctional Reform”*

Yolande Forde is the first-known female Barbadian criminologist. She is a member of the **American Society of Criminology**, the **British Society of Criminology** and a fellow of the **21st Century Trust** in England. In 2000, Ms Forde became the founder and Director of a private sector-funded Preventive Program for at-risk youth and their parents. She has also spent 8 years of service with the **Barbados Defense Force (Reserves)** and holds the rank of Lieutenant.

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, crime prevention in the Cayman Islands has essentially revolved around criminal justice responses to incidents of crime i.e. police investigation, apprehension, prosecution, court's ruling, and punishment of the criminal act. However, what has been discovered is that this "criminal justice-centered" approach to controlling crime has not been as effective as authorities would have wished. These measures, in themselves, just have not had the desired effect in terms of general nor individual deterrence. Many of the same people who commit crime appear before the court time and time again on various charges because the formal processes of the justice system do not really focus on the so-called causes of criminality. Rather, they aim to determine the legality or illegality of the act, the culpability of the accused, and to mete out punishment.

From a criminological standpoint, it can thus be argued that there has largely been an imbalance in the approach to the crime challenge, which has seen an over-emphasis on reactive measures and insufficient focus on proactive measures. Every time a major crime is committed e.g. a bank robbery or a heinous murder, there is a public outcry about the horror of the incident but, comparatively, very little attention is paid to the underlying determinants of criminal behaviour. But crime

does not commit itself; behind every criminal act is a person. So what are the factors that predispose a person to criminal involvement? What are the variables that tend to go into the equation of criminal behaviour? In the practice of criminology, these are perfectly valid research questions and are in fact the subject matter of this study on criminality in the Cayman Islands.

Criminal justice policymakers have been forced to turn their attention to understanding the aetiology of crime in order to facilitate the development of a more proactive approach to crime prevention. This approach is thought to be cheaper in the long term and appears to hold more promise of success in combating crime because it aims to keep people from offending in the first place.

“...investment in identifying the causes of crime is clearly preferable to paying for the damage once it has been done¹.”

It costs approximately \$53,000 per year to keep one man at Northward Prison. That is an astronomical figure and yet, as this research study will prove, 73% of the men re-offend and return to prison in the future. So the deterrent and/or rehabilitative effect hoped for by the experience of imprisonment is generally not achieved (see discussions at **Chapter 4, paragraphs 4.16 - 4.19**).

¹ British House of Commons Home Affairs Committee Report, 1993

Consequently, in an effort to adopt a more proactive approach to the problem of crime, the Attorney-General of the Cayman Islands has commissioned this research study. The purpose of the study is to scientifically identify those factors which would predispose an individual to criminal involvement (i.e criminal risk factors²) and to identify strategies that would constitute an effective response to the factors cited. This Report on **Pre-Disposing Factors to Criminality in the Cayman Islands** (i) documents the findings of the study, (ii) discusses their significance based on criminological analysis and (iii) puts forward a number of recommendations.

The report is based on the results of empirical research which sought to examine the backgrounds, key life experiences, behaviour and attitudes of a sample of offenders. Information was therefore gathered on a wide range of factors that could distinguish those who are at increased risk of criminality from those who are not. As a cautionary note, it must be mentioned that the features identified should not be seen as definite “causes of crime” although they may well have been contributing factors to the inmate’s criminal involvement. In the social and behavioural sciences, there is no strict determinism as individual temperament and

² A criminal risk factor is “anything that increases the probability that a person would offend.” Protective factors, on the other hand, are any circumstances that promote healthy behaviours and decreases the chance that a person will engage in criminal or other problem behaviour.

the vagaries of human nature must be taken into account. Nevertheless, a number of features have emerged as trends in the data and are therefore part of the profile of the average incarcerated offender in the Cayman Islands, whether or not these features are of proven aetiological significance.

Methodology of the Study

As detailed below, a series of research processes was executed to ensure that the study met the scientific standards of social investigation.

Choosing the Research Population

Empirical knowledge of a phenomenon can only be gained from a practical experience with it. Accordingly, it may be argued that insights into criminality are best gleaned from those who have actually engaged in criminal activity. It was therefore decided that the research subjects should be criminal offenders and, furthermore, that these should be drawn from the inmate population at HMP Northward and Eagle House. While, of course, all offenders are not in prison, inmates of these institutions were chosen as the research population for a number of practical reasons. Firstly, a large captive population was available that could yield a ready pool of prospective respondents. Secondly, there was the advantage of the assistance of prison personnel in making inmates available to the

interviewers, although, one should add that each inmate selected for research was made to understand that the interview was totally voluntary.

Sampling – The Process Used to Select Respondents

Having decided that the research subjects in this study would be offenders who were incarcerated as opposed to those who were not, the next step was to determine exactly how many people would be studied. Yet to maintain the integrity of the study, persons cannot be “handpicked”; respondents must be selected in a way that guarantees that each person in the research population has an equal chance of being selected. This ensures that the sample taken is representative of the entire prison population. At the time of sampling (December 13, 2005), there were 181 men in Northward Prison, and 10 young offenders and 3 juveniles in the Eagle House Facility. A statistically accepted method of random sampling³ was used to select respondents and, to this extent, the sample population can be considered as representative of the larger prison population.

Secondly, the researcher had to determine the sample size - the number of persons which ought to be studied in order to arrive at statistically sound findings that would allow for inferences to be made about the entire research population. A

³ Sampling is a technical procedure that often involves the mathematical principle of probability. An approved sampling method and the one deemed appropriate for this study is the use of Random Numbers.

statistical formula⁴ was used to determine that 15% of the Northward and Eagle House populations combined (n=194) would be an adequate sample size. This percentage yielded 30 convicted and remanded males to be studied.

Data Collection

Designing the Interview Instrument

A comprehensive data collection instrument was constructed (see Appendix A) and administered as a structured interview. The instrument was designed to capture information on the offenders' key life experiences, behaviour and attitudes. Questions were formulated based upon aetiological considerations rooted in the theories of criminology and upon consultation with criminal justice personnel and other stakeholders in crime prevention. The questions, which eventually numbered about 198, were organized into eight (8) areas of inquiry:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| a) Personal History | e) Employment/work History |
| b) Community and Organizational Involvement | f) Criminal Profile |
| c) Religious Participation | g) Family Background |
| d) Educational/School Background | h) Mental Health and Substance Abuse |

⁴ The statistical formula used in this study to determine sample size was selected from STATISTICS - A Fresh Approach 3rd edition, by D.H. Sanders, R.J. Eng. and A.K. Murph: McGraw Hill, 1985

The interview instrument incorporated 3 different types of questions. There were a number of dichotomous questions which required only a 'yes' or 'no' answer; closed-ended questions which called for specific, factual information; and several open-ended questions which were essential for probing and gaining greater insight into the respondent's opinions. Such questions allowed for the gathering of more detailed information.

Pretesting

To ensure that the interview instrument designed would meet the research objectives, the draft document was pretested before the official start of the data collection process. This exercise also allowed the research consultant to identify any areas of difficulty and to judge how long it would take to conduct one interview. Before the main stage of the field work commenced, necessary refinements were made to the questionnaire.

Interviewing

The response information which surfaced during the pre-tests signalled to the research consultant that the interviewers should be persons who were skilled and experienced in extracting sensitive information from persons, particularly respondents who may have negative experiences or feelings to relate.

Two persons who met the criteria were selected to assist the research consultant in conducting some of the interviews for this study. The interviewers were carefully briefed about their tasks and each question in the instrument was discussed with them. In the interest of confidentiality and security, interviews were conducted under a security camera or within sight, but not within earshot, of a prison officer.

Analysis of the Data

Coding

In order to facilitate scientific analysis of the information gathered and documented during the interview, this raw data had to be quantified. This was done through the statistical process of codification. Coding involves the tedious and meticulous process of transforming the original information (qualitative data) into numbers (quantitative data) in order to facilitate computations. This multi-stage process of codification entails examining the raw data in order to:

- 1) identify and name variables (i.e. measurable factors);
- 2) create a number of mutually exclusive code categories for each variable. These categories are brief or summarized descriptions of the information found in the responses. To facilitate computations, the categories are also represented by numbers- “codes”.
- (3) classify individual responses by assigning the appropriate code.

Codes are then entered onto a Code Sheet - a record of all selected responses in the form of digits. The data, now in numerical form, can be subjected to statistical analysis.

Most of the analysis done in preparation for the Report is based on the compilation of frequency distributions for individual variables. Frequency distributions list the categories within a variable and show alongside them the frequencies with which they occur. They can facilitate the main search for trends and also constitute one means of displaying the results of analysis i.e. findings. Frequency distributions are prepared using absolute frequencies, percentages and both in parallel if desired. In this Report, these findings are presented as Tables or Charts.

Time did not permit for the analysis of all the data collected. However, several variables were analyzed in all of the areas of inquiry (see Appendix B-**Tabulated Data**) and this process yielded some very interesting results which were used to inform the discussion and recommendations in this final Report.

Interpreting the Data

In order to compile a meaningful Report, the findings revealed by data analysis had to be subjected to a process of interpretation. This process involved the examination of additional variables, the careful study of associated factors and the collection of information from other sources. Explaining the significance and the implications of the findings also entailed speaking to persons with local knowledge, making site visits, and applying criminological knowledge and theories to the data.

Limitations of the Study

There are a number of constraints which should be noted.

1) This is a self-reported study and self-reporting was considered the most appropriate data collection method to conduct this research on criminality. Since there is no single official record in Grand Cayman which is a repository of information on the life history of offenders - precisely the information that should be studied in order to identify factors that pre-dispose to criminality, the information had to be gleaned from the offender himself. Although the self-report method is accepted as a valid and reasonably reliable means of investigating the characteristics of offenders, there are some obvious research limitations to this approach. Firstly, respondents may have concealed or exaggerated information.

For example, some may have been eager to satisfy the perceived needs of the interviewer, while others may have been reluctant to reveal the true extent of their criminal behaviour because of a lack of trust. Secondly, there may have been the problem of recall. As with all surveys which attempt to elicit information retrospectively, factual and temporal distortions may have occurred as a consequence of the respondent's inability to remember.

2) For reasons stated in the section on **“Choosing the Research Population”**, it was decided that the survey would be conducted among the inmates of the Northward and Eagle House facilities. However, this is not the only population of offenders in the Cayman Islands. There are convicted criminals who have received other judicial dispositions such as fines, probation, etc. Therefore, in drawing broad inferences and conclusions on criminality from this study, it must be remembered that the research population comprised a specific group of offenders - those who were incarcerated presumably because of higher security risk.

3) Another limitation of this study is related to what may be called the “dark figure of offences”. Northward's log of inmates, which was used in this study, does have its limitations in that this record only reflects the offence for which the inmate is serving the longest sentence. The log does not show the other offences

for which he may be remanded or serving time. This information constraint can therefore distort the reader's view of the extent and dimensions of criminality among the research population (see **para. 4.4 in Chapter 4 on Offence Distribution**). Further investigation, which entailed reviewing the personal files of each respondent, revealed that most of these men were in fact serving time for multiple offences.

4) A fourth limitation was the absence of a control group from this study. What would have been revealed had a similar questionnaire been administered to a group from within the wider society? In other words, it is well possible that there are a number of persons in the general community of the Cayman Islands who might have had very similar experiences to those currently incarcerated but who have not become criminal offenders. Accordingly, in terms of scientific rigour, this study on criminality permits us to have an important profile of the experiences and background of our average incarcerated offender at Northward and Eagle House but it limits the extent to which generalizations can be made with respect to the wider society.

Structure of the Report

The remainder of the Report is divided into five (5) Chapters followed by a short conclusion. **Chapter 1** examines the findings as they relate to community and organizational involvement, while **Chapter 2** focusses on the inmates' religious exposure and encourages the church to be creative in keeping its youth attached and involved. The educational and school experiences of an offender are usually critical variables in studies of criminality, **Chapter 3** therefore discusses the findings in this area of inquiry. **Chapter 4** on Criminal Profile presents and analyses the findings on the inmates' past involvement in crime and the criminal justice system. Pertinent issues related to recidivism, rehabilitation, reasons for committing crime, illicit drug use, the management of ex-prisoners and other correctional challenges are discussed. Using a number of verbatim accounts from the inmates, **Chapter 5** vividly demonstrated how negative home environments have been the productions mills of many of Cayman's offenders.

A number of important **recommendations**, some given in detail, are made at the end of each Chapter.

CHAPTER 1

COMMUNITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Introductory Comments

1.1 The network of social agencies and relationships which constitute community is a critical element of socialization. It is through these relationships that the individual develops positive social and interpersonal behaviours. From a socio-ecological perspective, it is expected that civic traditions would have a negative impact of criminality⁵. Civic traditions may be defined as that property of the social fabric that is characterized by shared values and a commitment to conventional activities which promote positive community relations, societal order, allegiance to state regulations and an adherence to normative and altruistic behaviour. In their book *Essays on Youth in the Caribbean*, Carter and Lewis argue that there is a causal relationship between a decline in community involvement and the decline of youth behaviour.

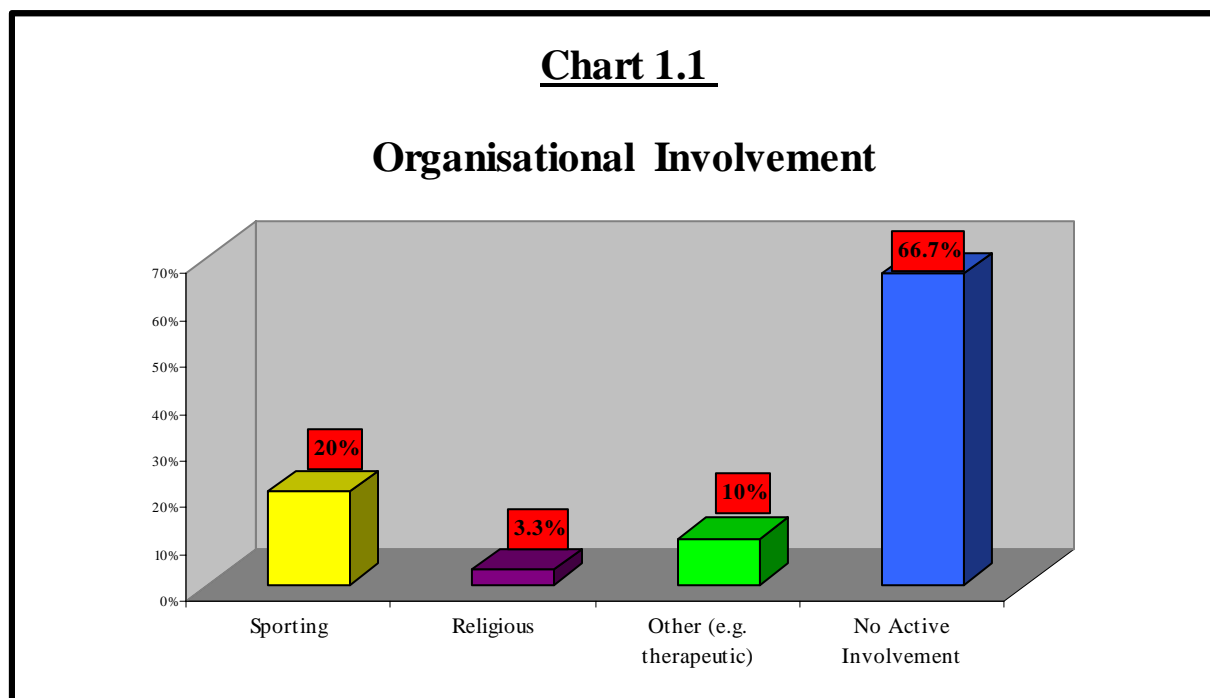
⁵ Gatti, U., Tremblay, R., and Larocque, D. "Civic Community and Juvenile Delinquency: A study of the Regions of Italy." in the *British Journal of Criminology* 43 (2003).

1.2 It was therefore considered instructive to examine: (a) the extent to which Northward and Eagle inmates were involved in structured, wholesome group-based activities prior to imprisonment; (b) the nature of the group's activities and (c) the way in which they spent their spare time before imprisonment.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Organizational Involvement

1.3 As the data below shows, the vast majority of inmates (66.7 %) had no membership in any type of social organization or association during the two-year period prior to imprisonment (See **Chart 1.1** below).



Of those who were associated with an organization, the largest proportion (20%) indicated that their affiliation was with sports clubs, predominantly football clubs.

1.4 The lack of involvement in conventional activities has long been cited as a cause of delinquency; and conversely, individuals who are involved in constructive, group-based activities are less likely to become delinquent. For example, the Social Development Model shows that communities can promote healthy behaviours by communicating healthy beliefs and clear standards for behaviour to young people⁶. The strategy identifies three processes through which this is done:

1. Youth must have opportunities for active participation in the family, school, and community
2. Youth must have the skills necessary to succeed in these opportunities for involvement
3. Youth must have consistent recognition or reinforcement for their efforts and accomplishments.

⁶ Hawkins, J.D., “Communities That Care Operating System and Building Developmental Assets: A comparison of Two Approaches to Positive Youth Development”. National Prevention Leadership Conference, July 2002.

1.5 It is interesting to note that in a study involving 760 young people in the Caribbean nation of Barbados, it was found that there was a low level of participation in social and community groups (Carter, R. 1993). This study suggested that instead there appeared to be a relatively high level of informal peer association. It was found that young people who were similarly located in the social structure with similar experiences, practices and problems, interacted with each other to the virtual exclusion of mainstream social institutions. It is important to note that through informal peer association and the negotiation of responses to their social condition, young people can become enmeshed in an ever-widening spiral of deviance which can result in drug abuse, crime and violence.

Use of Spare Time

1.6 The following nine (9) responses are a sample of the answers that were given when the inmates were asked how they had spent their spare time during the 2-year period before coming to prison (see **Question B1-Appendix A**):

Respondent 155: *“Only 6 months between coming back from reform school and coming to Northward”.*

Respondent 173: *“3 years before I came in, I used to sell coke, party and smoke a lot of ganja”*

Respondent 39: *“Running from the police and smoking weed”.*

Respondent 66: *“Only 7months between being released on parole and being recalled. Painting and drawing art, using drugs – cocaine and ganja”*

Respondent 15: *“driving round”*

Respondent 67: *“Buy crack, smoke it. Buy it from Dog City and Banana Walk.”*

Respondent 68: *“I was on the road for a year before I came back in for this incident. I was using ...cocaine... working and using. I was doing wrong but I wasn’t troubling nobody. I was hurting myself.”*

Respondent 189: *“Hang out with friends.”*

Respondent 04: *“Sell cocaine, smoke weed and look woman.And fights. I have fought a lot.”*

1.7 As the above sample of responses reveals, many of the inmates were not ashamed to indicate selling and using drugs as the highlights of their past-time activities. Having studied the life histories of these inmates at Northward and Eagle house, it can be concluded that the sale and the use of drugs are an integral part of the lives of these men. The above responses confirm that many of the men in prison, most of whom were in their 20s and 30s at the time of the interview, spent their spare time aimlessly or making money illegally. There was however a notable absence of active membership in any club or association with a positive and meaningful mandate.

1.8 The absence of conventional ties (affiliation to some type of organization or association) among most of the inmate population, the majority of whom are in the prime of their lives, is cause for concern. While more research would be required to establish why so many of the inmates were not members of any group(s) or club(s), it is noteworthy that organizations, even the smallest clubs, have rules, regulations and structure which automatically imply a measure of discipline and adherence to fixed principles. In this regard, it may be opined that it is this “control factor” that has kept these members of society out of this line of conventional activity.

1.9 Stakeholders and practitioners in community and youth development agencies in the Cayman Islands should note the findings in this study with regard to the apparent correlation between the lack of involvement in positive group-based activities and the risk of imprisonment. This is not to say that one causes the other; however, combined with other risk factors which will be discussed in the following chapters, a lack of participation in wholesome, organized activities along with associating with deviant peers can certainly increase the likelihood of offending among young idle men.⁷

⁷ Thornberry, T.P. et al (1994) “Delinquent Peers, beliefs and delinquent behaviour: A longitudinal test of interactional theory.” *Criminology*, 32, pp 47-83

RECOMMENDATIONS

1.10 Involvement in wholesome, group-based activities keep youth anchored in conventional thinking and practices, which are important “protective” factors against delinquency. Strategies must therefore be devised to get youth, who display less than conformist attitudes and behaviours, involved in positive organizations such as the Scouts, Cadets, drama society, the youth arm of service clubs, and other structured activities. Failing to do so leaves them to drift and form alliances with negative groups such as gangs. Rather than exclude troublesome youth because they may tarnish the “good name and reputation” of the particular group, seek specifically to include them. Have faith that, through your group’s activities, you can contribute to the process of positive behavioural change. For example, the Cadet Corps is a disciplinary organization which can promote self-control, co-operative behaviour and, generally, instill good conduct.

1.11 Recently, while accepting responsibility as Chief Scout for the Cayman Islands, Governor Stuart Jack is reported to have said “It’s a good idea to have young people involved in organized programmes and there is every indication that Scouting can provide this,” he said. Having visited Eagle House, he is also reported to have said “Boys need to be given hope and

structure, and society should treat them as human beings even when they get into problems. If we can change even one, we have done something invaluable for human life. Law and order is not just about the police, for each member of society has a role to play,” apparently emphasizing the crime preventive capacity of the work of youth associations.

1.12 The above comments attributed to the Governor should be ample encouragement to the Heads of various youth organizations to reach out to the more difficult youngsters. Many young people need assistance in forging pro-social relationships which might have been non-existent for much of their lives. It is the absence of pro-social relationships that permits the emergence and flourishing of anti-social ones, which in turn leads to delinquency and criminality.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

Introductory Comments

2.1 In this study, the variable of religious participation was specifically measured because, sociologically, religion is thought to be functional at both the social and personal levels. Social order is maintained by influencing members of society through religious and moral principles. At the personal level, a belief system in an individual's life is important. It is a stabilizing force particularly in times of crisis as it assists the individual in coping with the challenges of life. Some research has also suggested that attending regular religious services and being involved in church activities are likely to foster social networks with positive influence on at-risk youth and thus reduce delinquent behaviour and crime. For example, a study conducted by the Center for Research on Religion and Urban Civil Society at the University of Pennsylvania concluded that African American youth who regularly attend church services get into less trouble than those who don't.

“The study’s overall findings show that the contribution of the church to potentially reduce black youth crime should no longer be an overlooked or ‘invisible institution’ among criminologists,”

said the Director of the Center, Byron Johnson⁸. Gaining insights into the nature and extent of the inmates’ religious exposure was therefore thought to be a necessary part of this study on *Criminal Risk Factors*.

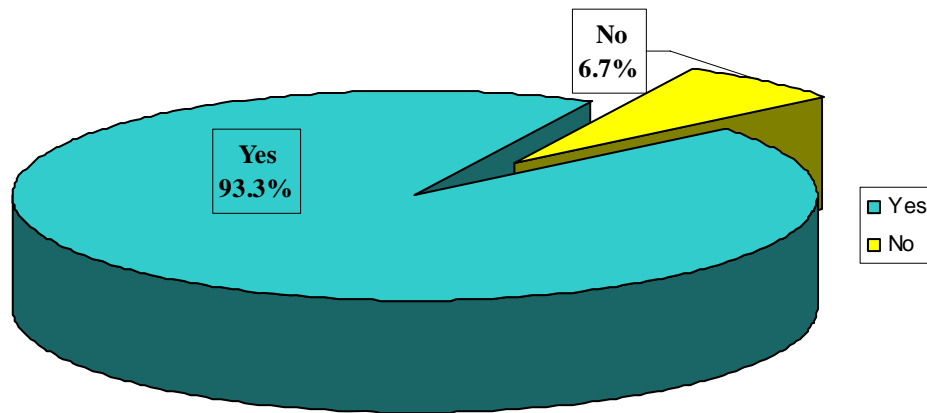
DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

2.2 The Cayman Islands aim to be a very religious society and the Government has even kept certain laws on the books in a deliberate attempt to maintain religiosity and sacredness of Sundays. However, as one would appreciate, a personal belief system and a personal relationship with God cannot be legislated and so the real test of the efficacy of church on the lives of the Caymanian people is in their daily living and conduct. From all impressions gained, nevertheless, it appears that a significant portion of the population in the Cayman Islands attends church. It was therefore not surprising to find that 93% of the inmates at Northward and Eagle House attended church as children (see **Chart 2.1 below**).

⁸ “The ‘Invisible Institution’ and Black Youth Crime: The Church as an Agency of local Social Control,” by Johnson, Joon Jang, De Li, and Larson. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 29, No4, 2000.

Chart 2.1

Church Attendance as a Child



We expect church attendance among children to be high in so-called Christian societies because it is the cultural expectation and the norm to take or send children to church and Sunday school.

- 2.3 Attendance among youth tends to be lower because as individuals develop into late adolescence and young adulthood, they acquire the independence to make personal choices about their activities and associations. Moreover, during early and mid-adolescence the influence of the peer group, if out of sync with positive values, could significantly rival the influence of the

established agents of socialization i.e. parents, teachers, church leaders, etc. But “participation in church-based activities as a youth” measured high in this Cayman Islands study on criminality. Seventy six percent (76.7%) of the inmates indicated that they were involved in church activities as youngsters, in most cases, the Friday Night Youth Groups. It was therefore surprising that despite such involvement, they were engaging in delinquency and offending behaviour⁹. Discussions with 2 leaders of these Youth Groups revealed much. One youth group leader from the Church of God Chapel, West Bay gave the following opinion:

“Churches are highly regarded here in Cayman. Once you are found to be involved, you are looked on as one who is decent in the community. People will just go to church for people to see them as upstanding in the community but they are really hiding behind the church to do unlawful things. Young people would often attend church activities almost as a cover up for their real delinquency. They would be aware of friends who are involved in wrongdoing and getting away with it. So they follow company but use the church to almost camouflage that conduct.....so people would never suspect them. So the church officials and members could say ‘I don’t think that this nice young man could do this or that crime.’”

With respect to the Friday Night Youth Group meeting at the various churches, she went on to say:

“Parents drop them off. Some don’t even wait to see whether their child goes into the church hall. Many of them will actually stand up outside while the meeting is going on inside. Some go inside

⁹. See section on **“Juvenile Experiences in the Criminal Justice System”** in Chapter 4 which proves that many of the Eagle House and Northward inmates began their criminal careers early in their youth.

for 5 minutes and spend the majority of the time outside hanging. Sometimes they will even leave and come back when church is finished.... in time for the church bus to take them home”.

If this 23 year old Youth Leader’s assessment is correct then it is no wonder that many of the inmates could indicate participation in church-based activities but not be impacted by Christian principles for living. Clifton Gale, who has worked with several churches in a youth leadership capacity, said that the majority of youth who attend youth meetings stay straight and don’t seem to be engaged in delinquent behaviour.

“But what will happen is that you will find a lot of young people going to youth group up to a certain age, let’s say 16, but after that going youth group is not an option for them. Before that, it is the normal thing to do, part of the Friday night regime. And there are a number of factors that determined this:

- 1. They were not old enough to go to the clubs;**
- 2. They were not old enough to have a driver’s licence and have (legal) access to a car;**
- 3. It was part of a strategy to avoid boredom. It was something to do on a Friday night**

What I have noticed here though is that for many there is hardly any difference between Christian living and secular living,” explained Mr. Gale.

2.4 Another interesting finding relates to **“Church Attendance 2 years prior to Incarceration”**. In the sample, 21 out of the 30 men interviewed indicated that they attended church during the 2-year period before coming to prison. Many however do not attend prison services. The whole phenomenon seemed very interesting. In a similar study conducted in Barbados, the

picture was very different. In that study, only 26% of the men reported church attendance during the 24-month period prior to their incarceration, a 64% reduction from attendance as children. However, only 30% of the men in Eagle House and Northward Prisons indicated that they did not attend church during the 2 year period prior to incarceration, suggesting a complete contradiction in their behaviour. In this regard, it leaves one to ask whether church attendance was just an activity based on habit and ritual rather than an activity directly related to a desire for personal spiritual growth. However, an interesting explanation was given as to why this pattern of behaviour might emerge here in the Cayman Islands. One legal official explained that:

“you would see them in church and know that they are before the courts for a criminal matter. Let’s say they are charged for an offence, they will then start to come to church. If they are placed on bail with restrictions, they would ask for permission to attend church. They would walk with a little bible to their hearings and use the idea that they are in the church and have asked for forgiveness to try to impress the Magistrate during their court appearances. But many times it is just a show. It is done in order for the Magistrate to say ‘well he is going to church and he is trying to make a change.’ They use the church for their own ends. Once you get a few church members to see you attending church, word can spread around Cayman quite quickly, and the accused believe that they will get off lightly....and sometimes they do. But they are only using the church as a shield and then, a few weeks or months later, they are back to their old practices and back before the courts on a new charge.”

If there is any truth to the above exposition, then there is no wonder why the prison is full of church goers. However, it is a fairly sad state of affairs when people can be comfortable in living a double life.

RECOMMENDATIONS

2.5 The implication from the above discussion is that churches have a great deal of work to do, perhaps specifically by reaching out to the most vulnerable people in their congregation. First, as a preventive measure, churches can play a more creative role by helping youth to forge pro-social relationships. Secondly, in terms of secondary prevention, the church can offer guidance and counseling to those who have already displayed delinquent and criminal behaviour.

2.6 To expound on the first suggestion, churches must design and develop a range of activities which would tend to keep youngsters interested and involved. It must always be remembered that a 14-year old is not going to cease being an adolescent because he is a Christian. Churches must therefore devise strategies through which the 2 phenomena –adolescence and Christianity- can have a happy co-existence. For example, young people like sports . Does your church have a sports program? Is there a basketball court

marked out in your church's parking lot on which the young members can play on Saturday evenings? Think about developing a volleyball team, for example; provide them with a coach if necessary, surely someone will volunteer. Then, to maintain interest in the church's sports program, invite other churches to play competitively, so that eventually the churches of Grand Cayman would be having basketball competitions, football matches, etc until it evolves into a full-fledged inter-church sports competition. For such a program to be successful and sustainable, it would have to be designed well, carrying a number of specific components but it is all possible and it is just one example of what churches can do to keep their youngsters involved in wholesome, positive activities and attached to the church.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

Introductory Comments

3.1 There has been a plethora of studies conducted in various countries which examine the correlation between low educational attainment and crime. Most of these studies have concluded that there is a strong link between low levels of education and a high rate of criminal activity. However, as a cautionary note, it is important to mention that underachievement as a criminal risk factor does not function independently of other crime generative factors. One would agree there are numerous persons who are not highly educated but are well-adjusted individuals who for the most part engage in pro-social activities and behaviours. But when low educational attainment coalesces with other variables such as a history of delinquency, dysfunction in the family and poor socialization, a lack of moral sensibilities, relative deprivation coupled with heightened materialistic expectations, etc, then criminal risk is compounded and the result will, more often than not, be negative. This is because risk factors function in a cumulative way; that is, the greater the number of risk factors the greater the likelihood of delinquent and criminal involvement. Nevertheless, for

purposes of analysis, the discussion on criminal risk factors has been segmented, with individual chapters focusing on specific variables in the criminal equation. It is important however to bear in mind the cumulative fashion in which risk factors operate in a person's life. Notwithstanding this reporting complexity, in this Chapter we will focus on the link between school-related factors and criminal behaviour.

3.2 In Britain, a 2000 UNESCO Report indicated that more than two million people are said to be completely illiterate and more than a third of the 11-year old children arriving at many of the secondary schools in Britain's inner cities are such poor readers that they cannot properly understand their textbooks. The Report attributed this to the increasing rate of violent crime against individuals in Britain which has increased a frightening 1200 percent in the last 33 years; while the number of robberies increased by 2700 percent. Similar reports in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South-Africa also point to the same results. In New Zealand, the report showed that no less than 48% of prison inmates were found to have reading capability less than that expected of a 10-year old. The findings of a study conducted in Nigeria on the link between education and crime, overwhelmingly support other reports that there is a strong correlation

between low levels of education and high rates of criminal activity among adults¹⁰.

3.3 In the Caribbean, the picture is probably similar. In a study conducted in Barbados (Forde, 1997), academic and vocational skills achievement measured low among the population of imprisoned offenders. This research involved interviews with a sample of 110 male inmates and it was observed that of the 78 respondents who attended secondary school, only 16 (20.5%) of them received some (CXC/GCE) certificates, the majority (79.5%) of them left school without any form of certification. Indeed, a well-established view in the aetiology of crime is that poor school performance is a significant risk factor with respect to delinquency and offending both during and beyond the school years. For example, Atchoarena in his 2002 article on “*The Importance of being Earnest about Skills*” argues quite convincingly that a large number of youngsters who are out of school, out of work and not undergoing any training are increasingly seen as contributing to the high incidence of juvenile crime, teenage pregnancy and drug abuse.

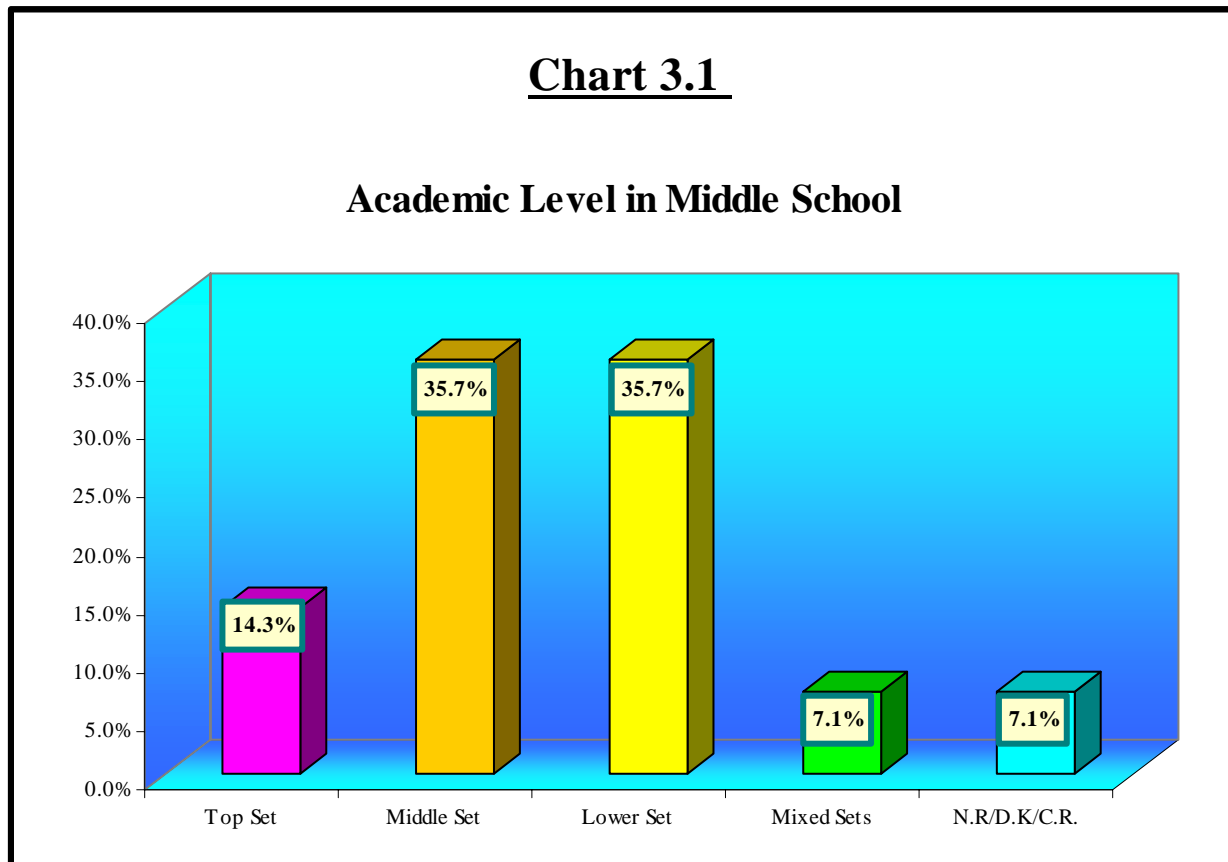
¹⁰ Akpotu, N.E. and Jike, V.T. “An Analysis of the Link between Education and Crime: Prison Inmates Perception in Nigeria”. African Educational Research Journal, Vol. 4, No. 4 December 2004.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Low Educational Achievement

3.4 Against this backdrop of research knowledge, it was therefore considered necessary in the Cayman Islands Crime study to examine the level of educational attainment among the offenders. All inmates interviewed had received a primary school level education (See “Primary Schools” attended in **Table D1, Appendix B**). Forty seven percent attended the Middle School which seems low. It should be remembered, however, that there is a time lag that must be taken into consideration in this analysis. At the time of this study, the majority of men in prison were over 30 years of age. Since the Middle School was only established in 1978, it is quite plausible that a number of these inmates would have received a secondary level education prior to the establishment of the Middle School. In fact there were a number of inmates who indicated that they attended the Cayman Islands High or the “Secondary Modern.” In addition there were a few (approximately 1/5 of the men interviewed) who did not receive their secondary level education in the Cayman Islands because they were not residing here at that period of their lives.

3.5 Nevertheless some attempt was made to determine the academic level of those who did attend middle school. The inmates were asked to indicate their “set” level while at middle school. As the results below reveal, the vast majority of them were in the middle and lower sets.



While most reached Year 9, the last year in Middle School, we must consider the 21 percent who did not get past Year 8. Moreover, the picture drastically deteriorates by high school level. Considering the whole sample of 30 males (i.e those who attended middle school and those who did not), it is interesting to note

that only 8 (27%) graduated from high school. Eighteen (18) attended but did not graduate and 4 did not attend high school at all (See **Table 3A** below).

TABLE 3A

Graduated from High School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	8	26.7
No	18	60
Not Applicable (those who did not attend high school)	4	13.3
TOTAL	30	100

3.6 However “graduation from high school” is not the best indicator of academic achievement here in the Cayman Islands since it is possible for a pupil to “graduate” without a single O’level to his name¹¹. Inmates were therefore directly asked what certificates they received, 2 out of 30 inmates had O’levels. Some of the remainder had done certificate courses. The Chief Education Officer explained that the Certificate Courses/COE (Welsh Board Examinations) were created to offer some very basic certification to pupils. The sad reality is that this is the low level of certification with which many of students in the Cayman Islands graduate. “Graduation here in the Cayman Islands is essentially based on good behaviour and attendance, not academic performance”, explained one education official. “So if a pupil doesn’t

¹¹ If a student has been fairly consistent in his/her attendance and good behaviour, he/she will gain a graduation certificate.

graduate here it is almost viewed by the pupil and the parent as a form of punishment because many times, apart from his Caymanian birth certificate, that is the only other certificate he can produce to get a job,” the official said.

3.7 It is not the remit of this research though to study and discuss the grave implications of the general low level of scholastic performance in the Cayman Islands. Suffice it to say that this does not augur well for future national development; that is if the Caymanian people are intended to play a leading role in the developmental process and be an integral, and not a marginal, part of the success story of this country. Education is at the heart of development as the most potent means of self and social transformation¹².

3.8 If it is perceived that the general level of educational performance in the Cayman Islands seems is low, then it would be disturbing to discover that educational attainment measured even lower among the prison population. Some never made it to high school, 60% attended but never graduated from high school, which in itself is suggestive of factors at play other than academic achievement (see **paragraph 3.6 above**). Moreover, a number of

¹² International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP),. IIEP Newsletter Vol. xx, No.1. January to March, 2002.

inmates, already in their twenties and thirties, either have only recently completed or are now doing the GED in prison.

Learning Deficiencies

3.9 A disturbing number of inmates described themselves as have learning deficiencies. Inmates were directly asked whether they had experienced any difficulty learning in school and 43.3 % responded in the affirmative. An even more disturbing statistic, however, is that the majority of those who indicated that they had difficulty learning deficiencies did not believe that those deficiencies were addressed by the school system. One inmate, who spent 3 months in Year 7 at George Hicks school before leaving to go to school in Colorado, indicated that he had difficulty reading. “A teacher at the Junior High (in US) saw that I could not read properly. She helped me with reading. That was good because it came in valuable.”

3.10 Many inmates in fact gave answers that confirmed that the educational system in the Cayman Islands embraces the principle of superannuation – i.e. promotion based on “aging out” rather than promotion based on achievement. So whether you achieve or not, you are moved along in the school system. Unlike the system in the rest of the English-speaking

Caribbean, students in the Cayman Islands' public school system do not, as a rule, repeat a year or grade in order to be adjudged competent at that given level. Therefore generally speaking children are promoted based on age..... whether or not they have mastered the work at the previous level. Authorities need to be aware that this is totally problematic because this is an approach that will breed incompetence and mediocrity once students "sus out" the system and realize that their promotion is not performance-based. Under such circumstances, important life skills such as goal-setting and perseverance are not being instilled in these pupils because they are not operating in an educational system based on meritocracy, i.e. one that requires them to achieve certain goals in order to get rewarded. Another difficulty is that these individuals would go into the workplace and expect promotion and reward on that same basis and generally that is a false expectation.

3.11 Many inmates appear to have gone through the school system with their learning difficulties unaddressed. For example one respondent, a cocaine user who is serving time at HMP Northward for manslaughter, had this to say when asked about his education and school experiences:

“I used to hide out from school. I never pay attention to school because wasn’t nobody paying attention to me. I would miss school a lot. I wasn’t performing so good, I was always slow. Teachers didn’t care. They never used to tell my mother that I used to miss school. I hated school. The thought of going to school used to make me feel real bad. I didn’t like school, I hate it up to today but I can read now. I taught myself how to read”.

- 3.12** This inmate confirmed that he was in the lower set in the Middle School and, just as he did in primary school, he would steal out of school while at George Hicks. But with problems unaddressed, this lad completed Year 9 at Middle School. “Did you attend High school,” he was asked during the interview.

“Yes, John Gray. Went there and hide out too. They sometimes wouldn’t even ask why I wasn’t in the class. They didn’t do nothing in none of the schools for me. When you slow in school, yuh stay slow. They nah business with you! All the teachers in school used to give me was puzzle. So I said if that is all they going to do, I don’t need to go.” When asked “Did your parent(s) or anyone else in your home show an interest in your homework”, this inmate gave an enlightening response. *“Wasn’t no example. Mummy*

was working like a horse and we running up and down bunning weed. This was my example a bad sister and 3 bad brothers. A child is like a piece of sponge, if I see my sister and brothers smoking ganja all the while....what you think I gun do? I guh think that right too.” He further explained “I used some cigarettes and weed in primary school. I was about 9. It was my bigger brothers gave it to me. What the (expletive) were they thinking?

3.13 The above vernacular account, given by this 35-year old inmate now doing his 4th term of imprisonment, reveals much. It exposes, *in toto*, a number of critical but complex dynamics negatively operating within and impacting upon the public school system in the Cayman Islands.

These are:

- (1) an inadequate Special Needs Programme;
- (2) the absence of a relevant curriculum for students who (a) are not academically inclined and (b) have learning deficiencies;
- (3) lack of parental support and a disjunction between the culture of the home and the values being promoted by the school.

Special Education Needs Programme

3.14 The Special Education Needs Programme in the public schools should probably be reviewed. There needs to be a set policy of conducting the necessary assessments and introducing the appropriate interventions to address cognitive and other deficiencies. A senior official at the Alternative Education Programme (AEP) had this to say. “Special Needs Class said that ‘you’re dumb’, it did not necessarily address the ‘need.’ Very often a child is suspended and comes to the AEP, and then we find out that the child has special needs. We see a lot of Set 4 kids, very rarely would you see a Set 1 kid. Sometimes we at AEP request samples of a student’s work and the school has none to give. There is nothing to show” he said.

3.15 At the same time, pupils who display difficulty learning in the standard curriculum cannot be simply lumped together in one broad band. Within the broad concept of “learning disability”, are nonetheless varying levels of “capability”. Students will have various strengths and weakness and different aptitudes. Therefore once deficiencies are professionally assessed, they can also be meaningfully addressed through appropriate educational programming.

Importance of a Relevant Programme of Education

3.16 Students of the lower sets in the Middle School and of the Support Unit at John Gray can no longer be permitted to simply drift through the school system largely on the fringes of the standard curriculum. “Certificate of Education courses have absolutely no relevance to the basic needs of the students in the lower ability classes. Why is a Set 4 student doing a COE in Geography rather than a course in mechanics?” said a former Deputy Principal of the John Gray High School as he questioned the logic of the current approach.

3.17 There needs to be a constructive, progressive programme that is relevant to the capabilities of weaker students. It is the only way that these students with learning deficiencies would maintain some commitment to school and achieve success in some specific capacity. For example, students who are not academically inclined and students who have some learning difficulties are often ‘good with their hands’ and could often do well if exposed, at an early stage, to a solid vocational training programme that allows them to

leave the institution with some qualifications in that area of training¹³. The 2005 Report on *the National Consensus of the Future of Education in the Cayman Islands*, endorses this position. The Report further states that “There was a call for schools to focus less on academic subjects and to give greater importance to technical subjects. Several respondents spoke of the need to improve the status of so-called ‘blue-collar’ professions, both amongst students and the community, so that these become seen as more attractive career options.” Pupils can also be encouraged to develop an interest in their local environment and consider career choices specifically related to it, for example, boating, diving, marine photography, etc. This is certainly better than leaving school unskilled, uncertified, unsuccessful and ill-equipped for the world of work, which was the state of affairs that obtained when many of the inmates left school.

3.18 Moreover, the appropriateness of the curriculum may seem remote from the causes of disruptive and delinquent behaviour, but it is not. There is a well-

¹³ However, interesting reasons have been proffered as to what might have prevented the development of a full vocational training programme as a viable alternative to the academic curriculum in the public schools. It is my understanding that many born Caymanians have views about which occupations have status and which don't. For years there has been a fully-equipped vocational training room at the community college (now UCCI) that has never been used because plumbing, masonry, carpentry, etc are essentially seen as ‘Jamaican jobs.’ Many of them want “white collar” jobs without possessing “white collar” qualifications and rather than a culture of academic/educational attainment, there is a culture of entitlement.

established correlation between lack of commitment to school and inappropriate conduct; and the absence of a meaningful curriculum for underachievers plays a major role in the process of disillusionment with school. Students who cannot tune into what is being taught in the classroom would, more often than not, be disruptive. This results in a very frustrating experience for both pupil and teacher because neither can achieve success. An alternative response to academic inadequacy is persistent truancy which was the response of the offender discussed in **paragraphs 3.11 to 3.13 above.**

3.19 We must therefore ensure that the same policy which allocates low performers to Set 4 at the Middle School and to the Support Unit at the public high school also makes provision for all the mechanisms required to cater to the specialized needs of these children. Such measures must be seen as crime preventive in themselves given the universally accepted relationship between early academic failure, low achievement and delinquency. In the USA, high school drop-outs are 8 times more likely to go to jail than high school graduates. In this regard, be mindful of the following caution: ‘educate now or incarcerate later’. The former is cheaper and creates an individual who is an asset to his/her society while the latter creates a liability.

Lack of Adequate Parental Support to school and teachers

3.20 The significant contribution that negative socialization in the home and family dysfunction has made to the level of criminality in the Cayman society will be discussed in Chapter 5. However, in this section on Education and School Experiences, it is nevertheless critical to mention the damage that has been done by the lack of support from parent(s) to the school and teachers in the latter's effort to address issues involving their child. It can be confidently argued that a number of individuals now in detention at Bonaventure, in prison at Eagle House and at Northward would have travelled a more positive path had the parents being actively supportive of the school's attempt to work with their child who was underachieving or displaying delinquency. That said, many parents of children in these circumstances do not wish to take parental responsibility and would much prefer if the "government", in one form or the other, took primary responsibility for raising and correcting their child. One parent, who was called in by an AEP official to discuss matters related to his son, declared "I don't want to hear anything more about this child. He has been removed from high school for gang-related stuff. Let the government send him somewhere because I can't deal with him anymore". This statement sums up well the "you fix him for me" attitude of many parents of

delinquent and troubled children, who prefer to relinquish their responsibility so they are not burdened with the demands of proper parenting.

3.21 Another dimension to the problem of inadequate parental support is reflected in instances where the parents are so irresponsible themselves that they actually support their child in wrong doing instead of encouraging the child to take responsibility for his actions. The parent(s) thus enables the negative behaviour while undermining the authority of the school official(s), to the extent that the child in fact feels empowered in his misbehaviour.

3.22 Moreover, it is frequently the child who displays the most problems that has the parent(s) that shows the least interest. This is often a very difficult matter with which school authorities must grapple and the child is usually the biggest loser. Such children really possess a set of attitudes and beliefs which synthesize the school experiences and lack of expectations of their parents. In other words, these children know that their parents also had negative attitudes while at school and that they were not exactly model students who graduated with honours. These are often your culturally deprived students who have culturally deprived parents who are either not

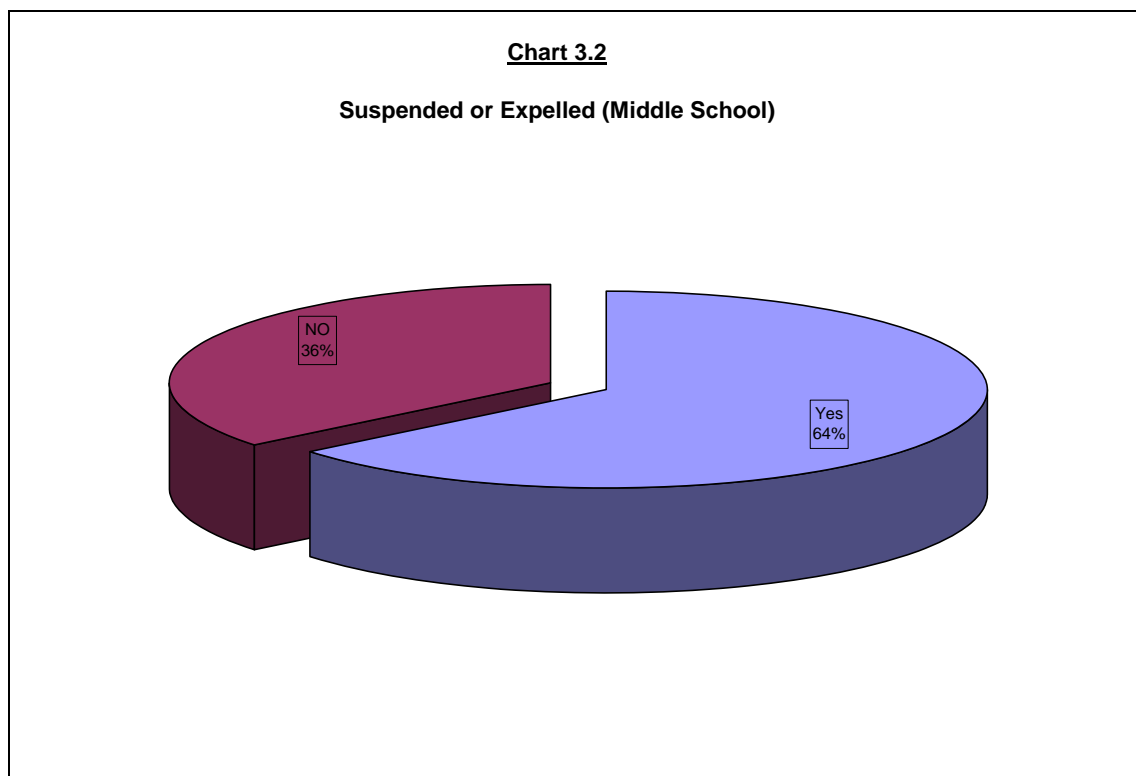
interested, willing nor capable of taking the action required to break the dreaded cycle of school failure and indiscipline.

3.23 The truth is that the home environment of delinquent children is usually one which lacks educational tools and support practices such as reading and homework supervision, and one which is generally in conflict with the culture of learning and the objectives of the school. In other words, the whole process of knowledge and skills acquisition is not supported by the home. The household culture is not one of academic success or achievement but one that is laissez-faire. There is no one in the home setting who institutes and enforces rules. It is an environment devoid of structure, order, and standards. Students of such homes exhibit serious behavioural problems cultivated over years of negative socialization. Subsequently, the burden falls on the school, the next main institution of socialization, to try and respond to these unfortunate behavioural developments.

Delinquency in School

3.24 During the data collection phase of this research project, inmates were also questioned about their personal conduct at school and the extent to which this might have resulted in certain disciplinary decisions by school

authorities. Many inmates gave information during their interviews that clearly suggested that they were engaging in delinquent behaviour during their school years and that their criminal careers in fact began quite early. As the graph below shows, 2/3 of the inmates who attended middle school were either expelled or suspended, more often than not for drug use and/or fighting. In other cases, they were on criminal charges before the juvenile court which often resulted in them being placed in lock-up and thus removed from school (see **paragraphs 4.20 to 4.23 in Chapter 4**).



3.25 Moreover, suspensions and expulsions were the reasons why half the inmates had their high school education interrupted or left high school before normal school leaving age. (See **Table 3B** below)

TABLE 3B

Reasons for interrupting High School attendance or stopping school before normal school leaving age		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Suspended (and attended AEP)	1	5%
Suspended (did not attend AEP)	2	10%
Expelled	7	35%
Did not attend High School	4	20%
Left on my own accord (including financial need)	5	25%
School Closed	1	5%
SUB-TOTAL	20	100

3.26 Below is a small sample of the typical answers given when inmates were questioned about their experiences and conduct at school.

Sample No.15– age 21 (only respondent that attended a contemporary private high school)

Q D12: Did you complete high school?

“No, I wasn’t doing well, getting into trouble a lot. School advised my parents to send me overseas because I was getting a lot of detentions for fighting. When I was 15, I went to North West Academy in Miami. Came back to Triple C at 16. Got expelled for failing a urine (test) – positive for marijuana. Started smoking at Triple C at 14 before leaving for Miami. Got expelled before I was able to take any exams”.

Q D22: Since leaving school, have you pursued any further education?

“Now I am studying for the GED test here in prison.”

Sample No.189- age 19

Q D10: Did you ever receive a suspension while at Middle School?

“Yes, about seven. Expelled at Year 9”.

Q D11: Did you attend high school? “yes”. **Q D12:** Did you complete high school? “no.”

D18: If before normal school leaving age, why did you leave?

“I was told must not come back to school. Social worker was spying and saw me with a whole pile of money. Probably thought I was selling drugs and told the principal. Next day when I came in school, vice principal said they don’t want me in school anymore. After I was kicked out of high school, I went to Alternate Education. I graduated from there back to high school. Then I decided I just did not want to go back to school. I returned with a big bottle of alcohol, started giving it to everyone and then walked out.”

When the interviewer asked if the money was from the sale of drugs, he said “No, it was from burglary”. He expressed the view that no one listened to him, just went on the assumption of the social worker.

Q D21: What did you do when you left school? *“Be a trouble maker”*

Note: this inmate was in a Place of Safety – Joyce Hylton – from 6 years old. Father was in prison and mother went to Cayman Brac with her family. “Two brothers, 1 sister and I went to place of safety and from that time I had a social worker,” he explained.

Q E6: What would you say has prevented you from being what you wanted to be? *“Family life problems, emotional problems”*

Sample No.04 - age 26

Q D10: Did you ever receive a suspension while at Middle School?

“Yes ...2. (One for) pulling out a knife, I took the knife to school”.

“My father sent me to West Indies College high school in Jamaica. Got expelled from there for having ganja. I got introduced to ganja here (in the Cayman Islands). My older brother ran a drug boat. Had to do some look out work for him too when I was younger 11/12 years old”

Q D11: Did you attend high school? *“Yes, for 1 or 2 or 3 months. When I left the high school, from there it was ‘boom’.”*

NOTE: At 14 years of age, this inmate was placed in lock –up for 8 month for selling and using ganja. He was eventually sent to a reformatory school in USA - Kids Peace.

Q D18: If before normal school leaving age, why did you leave?

“Expelled for stupidity. Had on headphones in class and the teacher demanded them but I had drugs in the headphones. From the time I started high school I was on probation.”

Q D19: Did you attend AEP “No”

Q D21: What did you do when you left school?

“Went on the streets – Dog City / Watlers Rd”

Sample No.188 - age 19

Q D8: In Middle School were you in the top middle or lower set?

“Some subjects I was in Sets 1&2, other subjects I was in Sets 3&4”.

Q D9: Which year did you reach in this school (George Hicks)? *“I was kicked out in Year 8...for breaking a boy’s nose at school. My name get bring up in something I did not do and I was put in the withdrawal room all day, I was very ‘wex’. I was kinda ignorant then, nobody couldn’t say nothing too hard to me.*

Was suspended for 7 days, had to go to the Suspension Unit, went for 2 days at the AEP. Then got a letter saying I was suspended for another 30 days by that time I said 'to hell with school'. I went back into Year 9...returned to do 2 subjects but I did not finish – got locked up- manslaughter”

Q D21: What did you do when you left school?

“On de road, partying, drinking, smoking cannabis and selling cocaine. I was 13/14. I asked “Did you use cocaine?” He replied “No, my father uses cocaine. I don’t want to be no parro.”

Q E8: At the time of your conviction, what were you doing for a living?

*“Self-employed, selling drugs on the road in Scranton (Myles Rd) and in West Bay” What was the rate of pay?
“Over a \$1,000 a day. Some days when business slow, \$400/, \$500 a day. I would make about \$5, 000 a week.”*

Note: This inmate was charged at 14 years old with manslaughter. He was convicted and incarcerated when he was 15. He spent the first 3 years of his imprisonment in HMP Northward before being transferred to Eagle House.

3.27 Collectively, what do the above responses reveal? They reveal early signs of criminality. These boys were, metaphorically speaking, boarding the bus to HMP Northward and Eagle House and since they arrived there safely, it suggests that the correct types of behavioural interventions, which might have detoured them, were not instituted. Former Deputy Principal with responsibility for discipline at the John Gray High School explained that at present there is a blanket approach to behavioural problems and misconduct displayed by students. “The responses include withdrawal room, after-school detention, suspension and exclusion/expulsion. However, this is not

necessarily a very effective approach”, he admitted. Taken together, those responses by the school authorities essentially constitute a punitive approach. It is by no means being suggested that bad behaviour should not be punished by school authorities. What is being suggested, rather, is that a punishment-centered approach is primarily reactive and myopic because it allows authorities to respond to the symptoms/outcomes while the causes of the misconduct frequently go unaddressed.

3.28 Behaviour described under the broad rubric of indiscipline is very often a reflection of deeper, unarticulated issues with which the child is grappling. What a child might, in effect, be displaying is “acting out” behaviour, and there is no amount of withdrawal, detention, suspension and expulsion that could, for example, address parental rejection, parental neglect, parental separation and the psychological trauma that these of experiences have on a child. Secondly, there are pupils who have actual behavioural disorders such as Attention Deficit Disorder, Attention Deficit with Hyperactivity, Intermittent Explosive Disorder, Conduct disorder and a range of other psychological disorders. Some also have mental health needs, some have substance abuse needs and in the absence of a treatment approach, the school regime could very well be punishing students who in fact need help.

3.29 It should also be noted that in the middle and high schools, authorities are managing persons who are at a critical developmental stage- adolescence- when there are major hormonal changes. Such changes can often act as “triggers” and for those who are predisposed to psychological and psychiatric disorders, disturbing behaviours can come to the fore. What is therefore needed is a cadre of professionals who can identify and evaluate the problematic conduct and develop individual plans that systematically address the specific issues involved. Anything short of this is a superficial, band-aid approach which is not effective, and which allows these behaviours to pass from one institution to the other until the individual arrives at the prison gate.

Implications of the Findings

3.30 Criminological analysis of the commentary given by the inmate at **paragraphs 3.11 to 3.13** allows one to conclude that while there are many factors responsible for the respondent’s current plight, one of the pre-disposing factors to criminality in this case may have been the educational set-backs which he faced some 20-25 years earlier. This point is worth emphasizing. The failure of the educational system to identify his problem

and cater to his needs as a child and teenager may have robbed him of the wherewithal to become a productive, well-adjusted adult who could have been an asset, rather than a burden, to the state. This situation provides direct proof that phenomena such as education and school experiences, which might not be initially seen as having any bearing on the level of criminality, in fact do. Negative experiences in those contexts have serious ramifications for years to come and often have to be addressed by authorities in a different setting (e.g. the prison) at a much more difficult stage of intervention i.e. adulthood. The following recommendations should therefore be considered.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 3.31** First, it is imperative that a well-designed plan of remedial education is developed and firmly pursued in order to ensure that, from an early age, low achievers are given the kind of special and dedicated attention they need and deserve. This recommendation is supported by the **2005 Cayman Islands Report on Education** which states that there must be “a commitment in our schools to work with *all* students to improve their performance and to overcome obstacles to learning.”

3.32 Secondly, there needs to be a school program of technical and vocational education (see discussion at paragraphs 3.16 to 3.19 above). This would most likely include, but not be limited to, the development or utilization of a technical training institute to teach viable income-generating skills. We must allow non-academics to leave the school system with more than just a low self-esteem. Moreover, after the age of compulsory school attendance, it is often at the discretion of the student to explore avenues to continue his education or training. However, it is apparently at this transition stage that many ill-equipped and inadequately educated individuals often enter the ‘wasteland of unemployment’- out of school and out of work. They lack guidance and direction. This program should therefore be flexible enough to allow such persons, under some special arrangement, to remain in the system beyond the age of sixteen in order to leave that institution with some proper certification in a vocational or technical field.

3.33 Thirdly, the participants in the Education Conference 2005 developed a profile of the “Educated Caymanian.” It states that “an educated Caymanian will:

- Be enthusiastic and motivated about learning, and will continue to extend his/her knowledge and skills after leaving school
- Be literate, be numerate and adept at using information and communication technology
- Be a good communicator
- Be creative and appreciative of the arts
- Have a positive outlook and a high self-esteem
- Be well rounded, good at finding solutions to problems, flexible and adaptable to changing circumstances and demands
- Have a strong work ethic and willingness to become to an honest, reliable and responsible member of the work force
- Be respectful of God, himself/herself, others, people from different backgrounds, the environment and property
- Be proud of and knowledgeable about the Caymanian culture, whilst respectful of other cultures and beliefs
- Be a good team player, civic-minded and willing to serve
- Have an awareness of global issues affecting aspects of life in the 21st century”

This profile which includes a wide range of intellectual, personal, moral, spiritual, and social attributes of course goes beyond the profile of an “educated” individual. It speaks to the concept of a well-rounded and well-grounded individual who will most likely be successful in life, in the broad definition of the term, regardless of his or her level of academic brilliance. It is however unrealistic to believe that 2 public secondary schools with

student populations of over 1, 000 each and stringent syllabi to complete in limited time could achieve the above listed objectives by graduation date.

What should therefore be considered is the establishment of Cayman's own design of a Finishing School so that many broad-based life skills can be taught and values imparted and, whether a student is academically weak or strong, he/she can leave such an institution capable of becoming a responsible, well-adjusted adult. It is a consideration that such an initiative could be funded by the private sector assuming that collectively they would want to play their part in national criminality reduction efforts in the society in which they reside and have established lucrative businesses. No better way of doing this than by reducing the number of individuals who are at increased risk of criminal involvement because of negative school experiences. Moreover, the private sector, as employers, would be the primary beneficiary of this expanded pool of refined local talent. Cayman's Finishing School would be a first in the Caribbean and a tremendous asset in building human capital in this society.

3.34 Fourthly, parents' involvement in a child's learning and school life is critical but one which falls outside of the strict purview of school authorities to control and influence. Strategies must nevertheless be developed to achieve this goal. Lack of co-operation between parent and school tends to be bound up in the wider problem of irresponsible parenting and family dysfunction, matters that will be addressed in **Chapter 5**. However, while we realize that some action must be taken to increase parent-school partnerships, the reality is that one is confronted with the difficult job of attempting to alter entrenched adult behaviour. Home visits to address difficulties are one approach that can be utilized by school authorities. Other out-reach strategies would have to be developed. Consideration should also be given to establishing legal grounds on which parents could be held accountable in a court of law for neglecting their parenting responsibilities. The concept of "parental neglect" also needs to be re-defined in law so it can be construed more widely. Enforcement of what relevant laws do exist is also an issue. For example, the law makes provision for a financial penalty to be imposed on a parent for his/her child's truancy. However, one Magistrate indicated that, for what ever reason, such cases are never brought before her and, given the percentage of children not graduating from the John Gray High school, school attendance must be an issue. Is the fact that there is only one

truancy officer for the whole island a factor? This is a matter that needs further examination.

3.35 Fifthly, there needs to be a more proactive approach to crime prevention in the Cayman Islands. One area in which there can be early intervention is in the schools because, as the above discussion shows, authorities in these institutions - the teachers, guidance counselors, senior tutors, etc - are all well-positioned to see, in its embryonic stage, the behaviour that later mushroom into a full-fledged criminal career. Many teachers would confirm that they could have identified those students who were prison-bound because all the behavioural signs were on display in the school setting. In this regard, we must acknowledge that schools have a huge role to play in the crime preventive process. Everything must be done at this early stage to prevent the full flourishing of such conduct. What is therefore recommended is a well-designed behavioural modification program for at-risk youth **and their parent(s)**. One such program has already been designed and successfully implemented in another Caribbean country. It was an 8-month program developed by a criminologist and which contained the necessary components to bring about change with respect to both child and parent. It was fully funded by the business community, including many stakeholders

in the tourism sector, a community likely to benefit greatly from any crime control measures in the society in which they operate. A number of specific strategies, however, were adopted to ensure its success, from the program title to the location in which it was held. The program was developed, implemented and promoted in such a way that it was completely non-stigmatizing.

3.36 Finally, as **Table 3A** above confirms, most of the inmates' school lives were terminated prematurely. It should be noted that pupils who do not complete school, either because they dropped out or because they were "put out", have always featured prominently in the offender population. With the ability to pursue good-paying jobs drastically reduced by reason of inadequate education, it is quite likely that their risk of criminal involvement would be significantly increased, given their history of deviant behaviour. The sample of responses shown at **paragraph 3.26** reflects a considerable amount of juvenile delinquency and academic indifference during the school years of these offenders and since they are incarcerated today, it is suggestive of the early development of criminal conduct- aggression, drug use, etc - which has continued unabated. However, before repeated punishments and ultimately expulsion, are meted out for perpetual misconduct, the causes

should be investigated. When special needs are identified, cognitive or behavioural, the focus must be on supporting these children and addressing their problems. These are the children who are at the greatest risk of future criminal involvement and since suspending them or expelling them does not mean banishing them from the Cayman Islands society, then it is important to recognize the fact that they remain with us and become our thieves, our rapists, our drug dealers, our murderers. They are not going anywhere. Even when they are imprisoned, it is usually only for a time. They return. They stay within the limited confines of this island and become the criminal element that places us and our families at risk.

CHAPTER 4

CRIMINAL PROFILE

Introductory Comments

4.1 This Chapter examines the findings in relation to the inmates' past involvement in crime and with the criminal justice system. Critical issues such as recidivism, involvement with the juvenile justice system, substance abuse, rehabilitation and other correctional challenges are discussed with reference to the findings of the Cayman Islands study. A number of recommendations which are designed to confront these challenges are also presented. However before the main findings from the research are examined, an overview highlighting the nationality, offence and age distribution of the **total prison population** is presented below.

An Overview

4.2 This information was distilled from the population logs of the Northward and Eagle House Prisons which record certain information about all convicted and remanded inmates. At the commencement of the data collection phase of the study (December 13, 2005), there were 181 men in

Northward Prison, and 10 young offenders and 3 juveniles in the Eagle House Facility.

Nationality

4.3 There has been much discussion and speculation recently about the presumed impact of foreign culture, particularly Jamaican culture, on the disturbing incidence of crime in Grand Cayman. Indeed it is well-known and statistically proven that Jamaica is a country with a high level of violence, particularly its rate of homicide which stands at 34 murders per 100, 000 of the population¹⁴. However, while this study does not purport to measure the impact of Jamaica's criminal element on the Caymanian society, what is certain is that numerically Jamaicans are not predominate in the prison population in the Cayman Islands. Of the 181 men at Northward, 139 are Caymanians (77%), 39 are Jamaicans (18%) - see **Table 4 A** below. At the time of sampling, all persons incarcerated at Eagle House were Caymanians.

¹⁴ See UNODC's Crime Trends Surveys, various years. Also "*Understanding Crime in Jamaica: New Challenges for Public Policy*." Edited by Anthony Harriott, University of the West Indies Press, 2003. Also "*World Report of Violence and Health*," World Health Organization, Geneva: WHO, 2002

TABLE 4 A
Northward Prison Population by Nationality

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Number</u>
Caymanian	139
Jamaican	32
Honduran	1
Dutch	1
American	2
Cuban	1
British	2
Canadian	1
Bahamian	2
Total	181

Offence Distribution

4.4 While some attempt has been made to categorize the Northward Prison population on the basis of offences as reflected in **Table 4B** below, the reality is that the majority of inmates have been incarcerated for multiple offences. **Table 4B** is therefore a very modest, indeed almost veiled, indication of the criminal activity which has led to their imprisonment.

TABLE 4 B**Northward Prison Population by Offence**

Category of Offence	Number of Inmates	Percentage (%)
Murder / Attempted Murder / Manslaughter	26	14.4
Drug Trafficking: Importation / Possession of Ganja with intent to supply (W.I.T.S.)	13	7.2
Drug Trafficking: Importation / Possession of Cocaine W.I.T.S. (includes 1 case of importation of ecstasy)	32	17.7
Possession / Consumption of a Controlled Drug – Cocaine, Ganja, etc.	05	2.8
Sexual Offences: Rape, Defilement, Incest, Indecent Assault	20	11.0
Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH), Actual bodily Harm (ABH), Threatening Violence	12	6.6
Burglary / Aggravated Burglary / Attempted Burglary	34	18.8
Robbery	07	3.9
Firearm Offences / Offensive Weapon	15	8.3
Theft, Obtaining Property by Deception, Handling Stolen Goods	05	2.8
Traffic Offences – Driving under the Influence of Alcohol, Careless Driving	03	1.7
Other Offences – Arson, Trespass, Immigration Offences, etc.	09	5.0
TOTAL	181	100

For those interviewed, however, the full range of offences for which they have been imprisoned was examined. For instance, one inmate who was interviewed is actually on remand for 36 offences while being inconspicuously listed in the log of inmates as being imprisoned for “firearms”. **Table 4B** therefore only indicates the most serious offence which has been noted on the commitment or remand warrant for the individual. Moreover, the subjective opinion of the prison records officer regarding the gravity of one offence vis-à-vis the other offences is another reason why this offence categorization cannot be viewed too rigidly.

4.5 Nevertheless, for what it is worth, it should be noted the Drug Trafficking (n=45=25%) represents the largest proportion of crimes in the distribution of offences, a quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) of all listed offences. These offences are associated with persons who are in the very profitable business of the illegal drug trade and therefore should be seen, first and foremost, as the perpetrators of acquisitive crime. The second highest category of offence listed is burglary, 18%. Taken together with robbery and theft, it may therefore be concluded that crimes of gain constitute half of all the offences for which persons are primarily imprisoned.

4.6 Some would argue that this simply should not be in a country where unemployment is not an issue and so a closer examination of this behaviour is needed. However, it must first be understood that persons who engage in drug trafficking are not necessarily unemployed or unemployable. Rather, they are often motivated by greed and a “get-rich-quick” mentality and are willing to take the legal and, in some cases, physical risk in pursuit of this goal¹⁵. One drug trafficker interviewed in the sample is a Jamaican fisherman, he has an occupation; it must be understood, however, that the money made from two or three 18-hour trips to the Cayman Islands will easily outstrip his annual earnings from fishing¹⁶. Undoubtedly, quick monetary gain is a factor that has led to a number of our Caribbean people becoming operatives at various levels in the lucrative drug trade.

¹⁵ One “swallower” interviewed has made several successful trips to the UK carrying cocaine in his stomach, as many as 113 packages on one occasion.

¹⁶ Anecdotal information gleaned from discussions with prison officials revealed that there are at least 6 Jamaican fishermen in Northward who have been imprisoned for the importation of ganja and/or cocaine.

4.7 One 19 year old who was interviewed (Sample no. 188) and who has been incarcerated at Eagle House since the age of 16, described himself as self-employed prior to imprisonment. When asked ‘doing what’ he replied “*selling drugs on the road in Scranton and in West Bay*”. He indicated that he made \$500 CI on a slow day of drug dealing. On a normal day of sales that figure was doubled. Interestingly he, like a number of others interviewed, has never been caught or arrested for selling cocaine¹⁷. It is only a deep sense of morality, an awareness of the destruction that he is perpetuating and a high risk of apprehension that could stop a youngster like him; a youngster whose lack of educational attainment would almost certainly deny him such earnings legitimately.

Age of Inmates

4.8 At the time of the study, more than half (59%) of the men at Northward Prison were under the age of 36 - **Table 4C** below. This pattern is not unique to the Cayman Islands since crime is universally a relatively youthful phenomenon.

¹⁷ Another inmate interviewed who is serving time for GBH and possession of an unlicensed firearm said, with some measure of accomplishment, “I have never been caught or arrested here for selling drugs because when I sold, I sold smart” and he went on to explain. He, however, was convicted at the age of 17 on a drug trafficking charge when he travelled to Jamaica to make a collection.

TABLE 4 C

Prison Population by Age

<u>Age Cohort</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
21-25	37	20%	20%
26-30	30	17%	37%
31-35	39	22%	59%
36-40	28	15%	74%
41-45	23	13%	87%
Over 45	24	13%	100%
Total	181	100%	

What is however disturbing, and will be revealed when the main research findings are discussed, is that most of these individuals are recidivists and, moreover, repeat prisoners. **“Age at First Imprisonment”** is a variable that will be measured and will, with some statistical proof, confirm this assertion.

4.9 Furthermore, it should be noted that compared to similar research done in Barbados and Jamaica, the Cayman Islands prison population is not that young. There are exactly the same number of inmates in their 20s as in their 30s while most prisons tend to have the greater proportion of their

population in the 20s age group¹⁸. This is a troubling trend for the Cayman Islands, because it suggests that a number of people are not “growing out of crime” but becoming entrenched in it. A number of them would have spent a substantial part of their adolescent and young adult lives being caught up in the revolving doors of the criminal justice system; 5 and 10 years later they are still caught in this cycle. This has many serious implications, the most critical of which is perhaps the suggestion that effective rehabilitation is not occurring. Other factors of concern include the high cost to the state associated with imprisonment, and the development of institutionalized mentalities among a group of persons who are essentially “recurring decimals” in the prison statistics.

¹⁸ Y.C. Forde, Barbados Report on Criminal Risk Factors, 1997; Y.C Forde “ Rehabilitation Programme for Young Short-term Inmates of the Correctional System of Jamaica, 2001

Discussion of the Findings

Indicators of Recidivism

4.10 It would come as no surprise that the majority of inmates in prison in the Grand Cayman are not first time offenders, in fact they are perpetual offenders. A number of variables were utilized in this study to measure recidivism, one of which was a history of arrests (See **Table 4D** below).

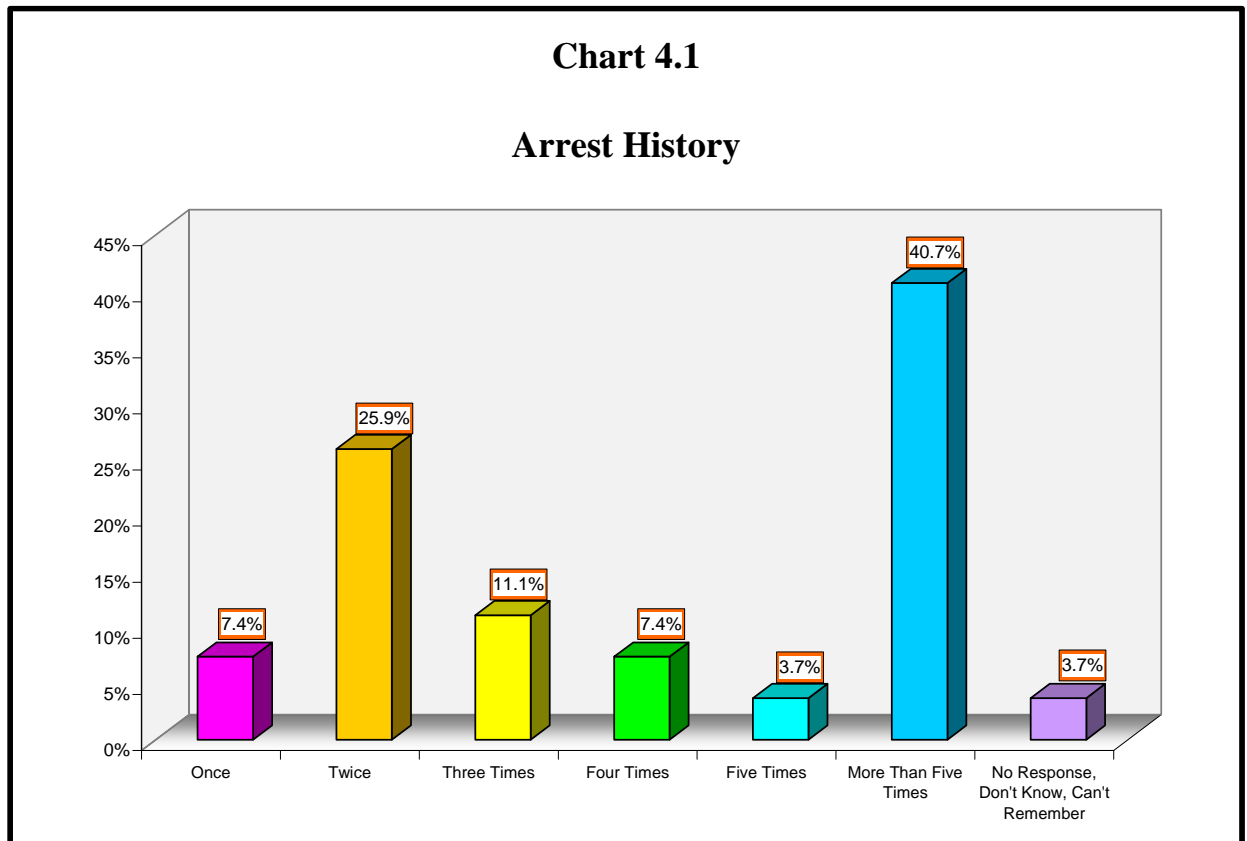
TABLE 4D

Inmates with prior arrest(s)		
Prior Arrest(s)	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	27	90%
No	3	10%
TOTAL	30	100%

Ninety percent (90%) of the men in prison have an arrest history, with the largest proportion of them (41%) having been arrested more than 5 times¹⁹ (See **Chart 4.1** below). This is proof that these individuals are repeatedly engaging in conduct that brings them to the attention of police as criminal suspects. Unfortunately, Eagle House inmates are also very much part of this

¹⁹ One inmate interviewed, who was 36 years of age when admitted to prison on this occasion, indicated 35 as the number of times he had been arrested in the past. Another, age 26, also indicated 35 as the number of times he has been arrested in the past. Others simply gave answers such as “too many”, as did inmate Sample no 172.

profile of multiple arrests. When one Eagle House resident, 19 years old, was asked to specify the number of times he has been arrested, he answered “many times ...about 10 times”²⁰.



²⁰ Like many of the other inmates, this youngster spent part of his childhood, 6-13 years old, in a place-of-safety- Joyce Hylton Center. He started smoking ganja from 9 years old, he explained, “*to relax my mind from thinking of all the family problem*”. He has been in “lock-up” as a child -15years old. At 16, he was found guilty of riding a motor bike unlawfully and committing a number of burglaries; he was sent to Northward for one year, along with a \$1700 fine and 1 year probation. By 19 years old, he is back in prison (Eagle House) and even though he is on remand, he admitted his guilt to the interviewer. Clearly, unless the right interventions are made in the life of such an individual, the Cayman Islands Government can expect him to become a permanent ward of the state costing the authorities hundreds of thousands of dollars before he dies. He is essentially a child of the system and the question must be asked “what life does he really know other than being a ward of state institutions?”

What is also notable is that the 3 inmates in the sample who had never been arrested prior to their present charge(s) do not reside in Cayman - 2 Jamaican fishermen and 1 British man.

4.11 An even stronger indication that some of these inmates have found themselves in the revolving doors of the criminal justice system is the fact that 87% of them have a record of convictions, including the youngsters in Eagle House (see **Table 4E** below). One Northward prisoner in the sample, No.04, who was unable to specify the number of times he has been arrested because he has lost count, answered the question by declaring “*I got 28 convictions, so...*”

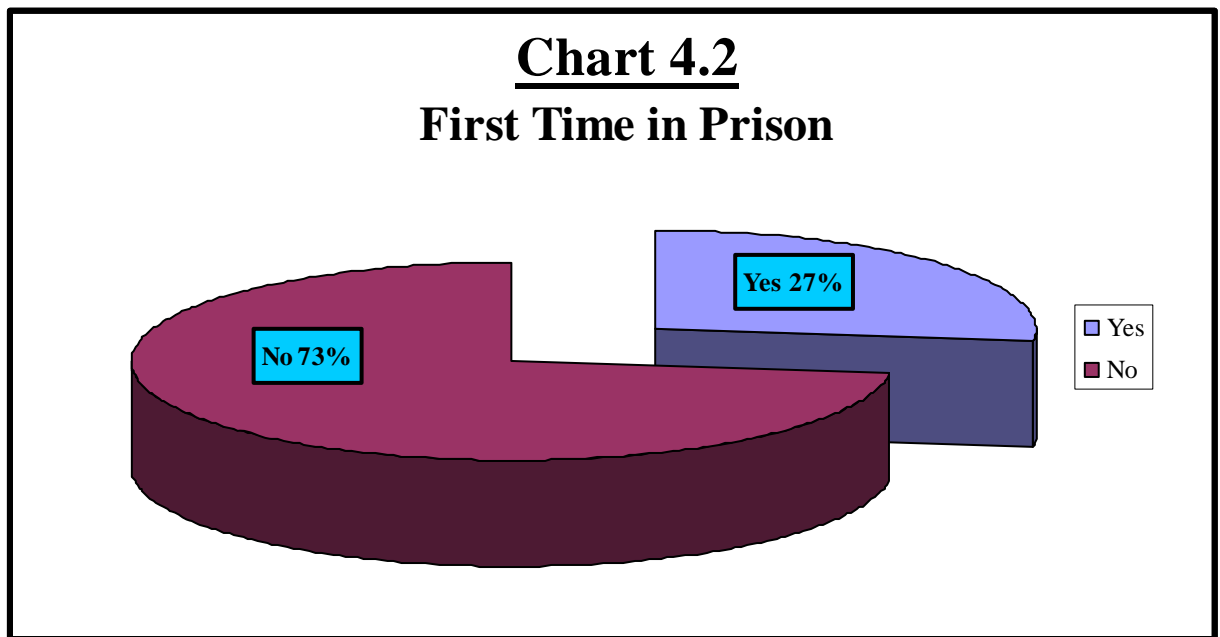
TABLE 4E

Rate of Re- conviction		
Convicted in the past	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Yes	26	87%
No	4	13%
TOTAL	30	100%

Interestingly, the 4 individuals in the sample who do not have past convictions are non-nationals - 2 Jamaicans, 1 Canadian and 1 British, only one of whom was residing in Cayman at the time of his arrest and

conviction. These findings therefore suggest that all of the Caymanian respondents in the sample have been convicted in the past. This is indeed a sad but not surprising revelation.²¹

4.12 Contrary to popular belief, the punishment of imprisonment is not necessarily as effective a deterrent as people are led to believe. It can be extrapolated from the data that the rate of re-imprisonment in the Cayman Islands is 73.3%. Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the men interviewed in Northward and Eagle House indicated that it is not their first time in prison (see **Chart 4.2** below).



²¹ Repeat offenders are more likely to be imprisoned than first offenders. Moreover, they tend to “pool” in the prison system because they are more likely to receive longer sentences given the factor of previous convictions; whereas the turnover of first offenders is more rapid.

4.13 However, from a criminological and correctional standpoint this high rate of re-imprisonment comes as no surprise. While 73.3 % is disturbingly high for the Cayman Islands given its small size demographically, re-imprisonment rates in the Western world are often high (usually over 50%) because it has been proven that prisons, in and of themselves, have minimal rehabilitative and deterrent effect and that in the absence well-designed and targeted programming, incarceration is often an expensive way of making “bad-behaved” people worse. It must also be noted that the current inmates are not only recidivists but in many cases, they are committing offences of sufficient gravity to warrant re-imprisonment as apposed to a non-custodial sentence.

4.14 It is also noteworthy that many inmates have not only returned to prison but have in fact been incarcerated on a number of occasions and, in the absence of specific interventions, this trend is not likely to be broken. One inmate, 29 years of age, is spending his third prison term. Another, 40 years of age, indicated that this is his 4th time in prison (this of course excludes the time he did in Stony Hill (approved school) in Jamaica and the 3 occasions, between the ages of 12-15, that he had spent in “lock-up” as a child. When another respondent, 46 years of age, was asked “is this your first time in

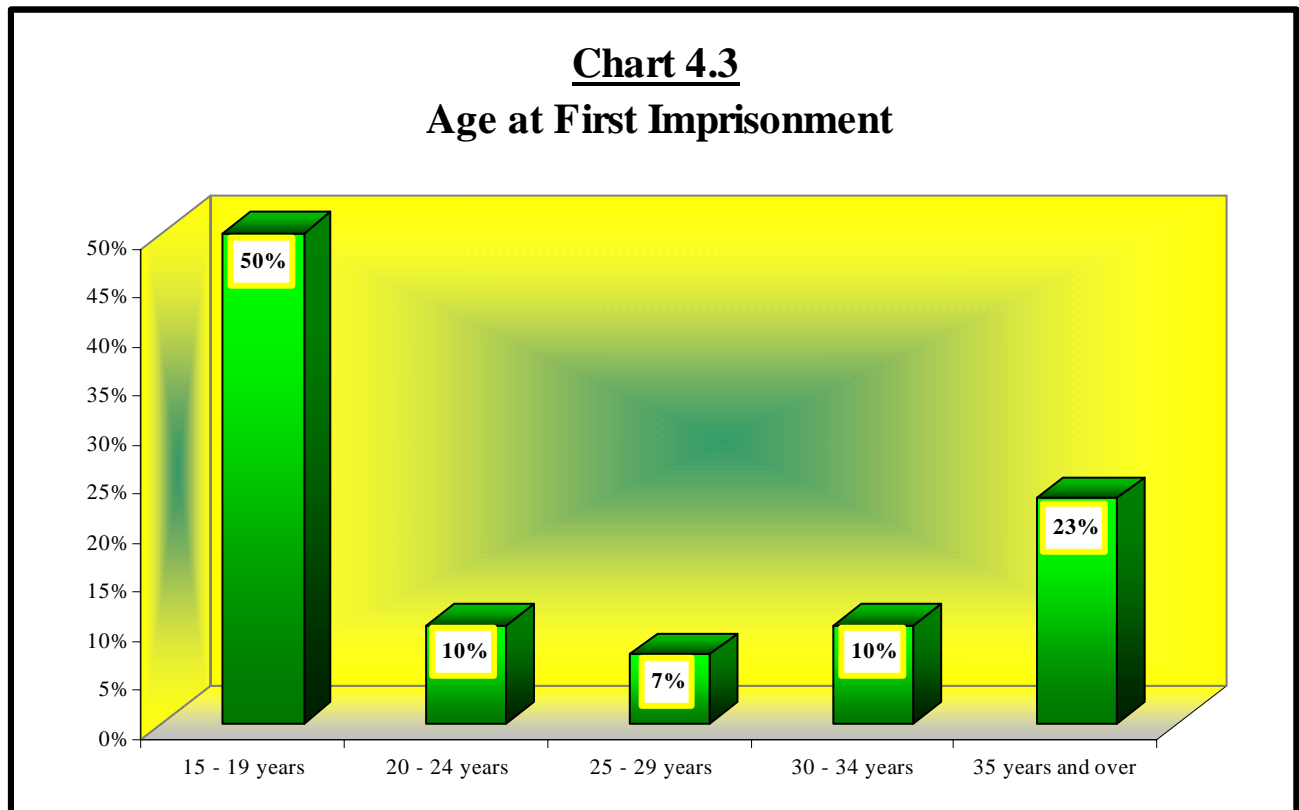
Northward”, he answered “*no, about 10 times before....mainly for diving out of season, thefts and burglaries*”. He is now “serving out” the remainder of his sentence after being recalled from parole. What was the offence? According to him, “Taking a lobster out of season” while on a Caribbean Haven outing and giving it away after the counsellor told him to store it and discuss the “offence” with the Head the following morning. As a result, the then resident of Caribbean Haven Halfway House was dismissed from the establishment and, according to the parole regulations of the Cayman Islands, had to be recalled to prison. But the following question must be asked ‘what is Northward going to do for this cocaine addict on this, the 11th, occasion that it was unable to do during his 10 previous sojourns?’²²

Incarceration at an Early Age

4.15 Findings in this study tend to support criminological convictions that involvement in the criminal justice system at an early age significantly increases the risk of recidivism. Research done in Germany and Barbados supports the view that the likelihood of re-offending is even greater if a first or young offender is institutionalized (Travis 1996); (Forde 1997). In the Cayman Islands prison population where the majority of inmates are repeat

²² It should be noted that drug addiction is a clinical problem which Northward Prison does not have the capacity to treat, so it is doubtful that this particular period of incarceration will yield magical results.

prisoners now in their twenties and thirties (See **Table 4C** on Prison Population by Age), it is pertinent to note that the largest proportion of them, 50%, were first imprisoned as teenagers (see **Chart 4.3** below).



4.16 Contrary to popular belief about the benefits of removing offenders from the wider society for correctional and punitive purposes, probably more of the latter, it has been argued in both sociological and criminological circles that the very experience of incarceration at an early age can be counter-productive. This is so for a number of reasons. First, persons who have had

the experience of total institutionalization, particularly at critical periods of their personal development, often cannot return to functioning successfully in a community setting ... and of course prisons are “total institutions”. Persons who live for a number of years in the artificial setting of a prison where almost all their needs – food, clothing, accommodation, etc- are provided for at Government’s expense, will often have difficulty coping with the demands of “real” life when they are released to the streets, sometimes jobless, homeless, and ‘skill-less’. Oft times such individuals do not, and should not be expected, to possess the skills necessary for responsible independent living and one inmate in particular emphasized this dilemma during his interview.

- 4.17** Secondly, and unfortunately, prisons can be criminal breeding grounds. Without even debating the limited rehabilitative capacity of such institutions, it cannot be denied that it is the place with the largest concentration of offenders at any one time. Younger, more inexperienced offenders often “mature criminally” while incarcerated just by virtue of the process of interaction and socialization with more seasoned offenders, albeit

negative in nature²³. As a result, their knowledge of how to commit crime smarter increases and their criminal behaviour is reinforced. In the case of HMP Northward this is even more easily facilitated because of familiarity among the inmates. The prison population, 77% of which is Caymanian, is drawn from a small, closely knit society and during the interviews all of the Caymanian inmates indicated that they have friends who are serving time with them and, in many cases, relatives too.

4.18 Thirdly, young entrants to the prison system may also find themselves enmeshed in the rules of the pecking order in prison. The seasoned and “senior” inmates draft younger blood to carry out certain tasks e.g internal drug “muling” and dealing and they are made to know the unsavoury consequences of non-compliance. So they operate under duress in order to have a comparatively “easy” period of imprisonment. In other cases, they execute their tasks because they receive payment in the form of cigarettes, phone cards, “weed”, etc.

²³ One inmate, Sample no. 04 , who is serving time for multiple offences and who has escaped from Northward on a number of occasions, highlighted this point during his interview. “*When I first came prison, at 16 years old, I was placed in HRU with (name called).He’s escape artist what do you expect, I learnt from the best,*” he said with smile.

4.19 Another reason why the incarceration of the young is often counter-productive relates to the detrimental effects of labeling, which either stigmatizes or heroizes the individual as being a “badman” depending on the value system of the person defining the act. Lastly, the risk of being questioned or re-arrested significantly increases because the person is known to the police and in his neighbourhood as a criminal.

Juvenile Experiences in the Criminal Justice System

4.20 It has been established in the criminology literature on risk factors that those who engage in anti-social or criminal behaviour at an early age are more likely to become serious and/or persistent offenders²⁴. It was therefore considered relevant to examine what experiences current inmates had with the criminal justice and court system as children. In this regard, it was disturbing although not surprising to discover how many men, currently incarcerated, had in fact begun their criminal careers at a very young age. **Table 4F** below shows that most of the current inmate population (53%) had been before the courts as adolescents and **Table 4G** shows why.

²⁴ **Capaldi, D.M. and Patterson, G.R.,** (1996). ‘Can violent offenders be distinguished from frequent offenders: Prediction from childhood to adolescence.’ *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 33.

Farrington, D., (1996). ‘Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime.’ Joseph Rowntree Foundation:York.

TABLE 4F

Inmates before Juvenile / Youth Court before the age of 17		
In Court before age 17	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	16	53%
No	14	47%
TOTAL	30	100%

Table 4G

Matter before the Juvenile / Youth Court		
Charge(s)	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Illegal Drugs	1	6.3%
Care and Protection	1	6.3%
Burglary/Theft/Stealing	4	25%
Multiple Offences	4	25%
Persistent Truancy	1	6.3%
Violence	5	31.3%
(In court before age 17) TOTAL	16	100%

In only one instance in the sample was that court appearance for the matter of Care and Protection. The data clearly suggests that as many as 88% of those presently incarcerated had been before the juvenile and youth court in Grand Cayman on criminal charges. More bad news is reflected in the ages at which these men appeared before the courts as children (see **Table 4H**) below. Fifty six percent

(56%) had been before juvenile/youth court by age 14, as the cumulative percentage column in the Table below shows.

TABLE 4H

Age at Court Appearance in Juvenile / Youth Court			
Age	No. of Inmates	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
11 Years and under	3	18.8%	18.8
13 Years	3	18.8%	37.6
14 years	3	18.8%	56.4
15 Years	2	12.5%	68.9
16 Years	4	25%	93.9
17 Years and over	1	6.3%	100.2
TOTAL	16	100%	

4.21 While the best crime control policy is indeed one of preventing at-risk youth from drifting into crime in the first instance, the state's response to juvenile delinquents and young offenders is also a factor which can determine the probability of re-offending. **Table 4I** below on Judicial Disposition reflects the "*Order of the Court*" in these cases.

TABLE 4I

Judicial Disposition		
Order of Court	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Community service/ suspended sentence/ probation	3	19%
Prison	2	13%
Placed in care and protection	3	19%
Curfews	1	6%
Fined	1	6%
Reformatory School	5	31%
Case dismissed/ Not guilty	1	6%
(In Court before age 17) TOTAL	16	100%

4.22 The largest proportion of these juvenile delinquents (31%) was sent off to reformatory school. Was this an approach that worked? In addition to those inmates who attended reformatory school more than once and are nonetheless in prison today presumably because they did not quit offending; there were those who did not fail to inform the interviewer of the criminal techniques they learnt at those institutions²⁵. Perhaps there are many success cases related to persons who went to reform school and were “reformed”.

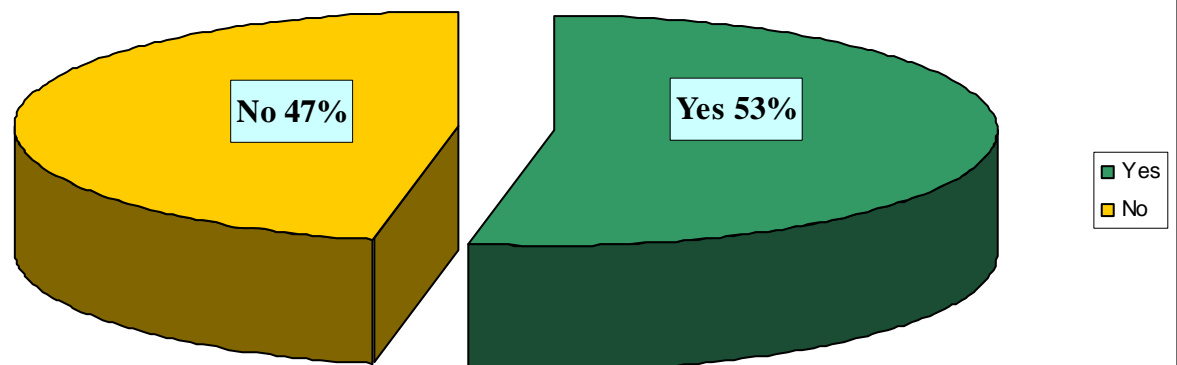
²⁵ For example, one inmate interviewed, Sample No.173, explained that he learnt how to “pick handcuffs” while at the Stony Hill reformatory school in Jamaica, which he attended at age 16. In his own words, *“I learnt a lot from the Jamaicans. When I went to Jamaica, it opened my mind more to the criminal element. You know their mentality. By sending a lot of Caymanians to approved school in Jamaica, it exposed them to a lot of criminology.”* “I could have a Masters degree in criminology”, he added. Also see paragraph 4.17.

This could only have been measured if a control group was included in this study in order to compare the outcome of those who attended and are now engaged in pro-social lifestyles and those who attended and are not. What may be more critical to examine in this area is the program content of these schools in order to determine the extent to which an individual is likely to benefit from attending. “We found that our children were coming back more sophisticated in criminal behaviour which is why we made the decision to stop sending them to Jamaica,” explained the Director of Family and Children Services during our discussions. For the most part, reformatory schools in the Caribbean have been little more than holding grounds for bad-behaved children, devoid of any constructive programming which has been informed by principles grounded in the discipline of Juvenile Corrections. Moreover, the efficacy of these institutions has not been evaluated over time.

- 4.23 Another measure of early delinquency was taken in this study – being placed in lock-up as a child.

CHART 4.4

Placed in "Lock- Up" as a Child



As the statistics in the Chart above show, the majority of men in Northward at present had the experience of being placed in “lock-up” at a young age. Moreover, in the research sample there were those inmates who indicated that they had been in “lock-up” a number of times during their childhood. It is understood that this was a fairly common practice in the Cayman Islands as a form of punishment, presumably for children thought to be uncontrollable and recalcitrant in their behaviour. This was an extremely bad idea. In criminology, it is known that the younger an individual is when

he/she is incarcerated, the greater the likelihood of re-arrest and this has proven to be a true assertion in the case of the Cayman Islands.

4.24 Moreover, in most cases, these children were detained in the West Bay (WB) Lock-Up. It has been revealed during discussions with various officials that the notorious West Bay Lock-up was a pretty awful place which was eventually condemned and closed by the authorities. Eagle House inmate Sample no. 188, who was in the WB lock-up at 14 years old, said that persons there were virtually in confinement “24/7”, the walls were painted black, there was no sunlight and it was kept freezing cold²⁶. A 25 year-old interviewee indicated that he was in the West Bay lock up for 8 months at age 14 for “selling and using ganja” until he was eventually sent to reformatory school in Philadelphia. He said that he enjoyed the stint at Kids Peace and described the experience as “good”. However that “stint” would have cost the Cayman Islands Government approximately \$110, 000 CI and despite that intervention, by age 16, he was serving time at Northward for stealing a car. In 2000, and at 19 years old, he was found guilty of rape and given a 10 year sentence at Northward Prison.

²⁶ This inmate was among those detainees who decided to torch the West bay lock up in 2000. He added that it was the girl who was locked up with them who came up with the idea to burn the place and so they started the fire.

4.25 Interviewee 42, perhaps the most painful interview conducted in the research sample, is the quintessential life-story of the development of a criminal, one too lengthy to detail at this point. He declared “I went to juvenile court a lot of times.” He was in the West Bay lock-up on more than one occasion, first, for defilement at 14 years old. *“Me and 2 other guys had sexual intercourse with her one after the other. The girl got pregnant out of that”*, he explained. The court’s decision was to send him to Glen Mills Facility in Philadelphia. He had also been in lock up at 15-16 years of age for handling stolen goods and burglary. By age 17, he was detained in Jamaica on drug trafficking charges and only the payment of a hefty fine saved him from a 3-year prison sentence in that country. He was returned to the Cayman Islands only to continue his criminal career and, by 19 years old, was sentenced to 10 years for Grievous Bodily Harm, 2 counts of discharging a firearm and related charges. So in these and many other cases of inmates life histories, the initial criminal justice tactic of “placing children in lock up” did not bear the desired fruit of “scaring these offenders straight.”

4.26 A point that needs to be carefully noted is that this type of incarceration of children presumably as a form of deterrence normally does not work unless the crime generative factors operating in the person’s life are also addressed.

To use a health care analogy, this is akin to reacting to the symptom of an illness without treating the cause, so the condition worsens and becomes chronic and/or acute in nature.

4.27 The ramifications of early involvement in the formal processes of the criminal justice system are serious. When an individual commits his first offence, particularly a youngster and goes through the criminal justice system, the public identification of the person as a criminal has serious consequences which may push him further along the deviance continuum. First, there is the possibility that the individual will act out the behaviours by which others define him (self-fulfilling prophecy). Given the large percentage of inmates with a history arrests and convictions, we must question whether some of Northward Eagle House's offenders have not simply been "living up to their reputations."

4.28 Secondly, re-offending may stem from the process of "*secondary deviation*". The argument is that as gregarious beings, people will seek to forge relationships of one type or another. If upon release from confinement the young offender is ostracized by persons in mainstream life (family members, teachers, etc), he may then be drawn even more towards those

persons with whom he can identify and with whom he shares similar problems, experiences and backgrounds. He does this in an attempt to cope with his new marginalized position. Therefore if the juvenile delinquent smokes ganja, he would align himself with other ganja users. If he has been committing thefts and burglaries, he might join with others who have engaged in similar conduct and plan even bigger, bolder, “better” crime.

- 4.29** For example, a 16 year old inmate, who was in lock-up for possession of a gun at 15 years old, is now in Eagle House one year later on remand for another incident -robbery. During his interview when asked the question “why are you now in Eagle House?” The youngster (Sample No. 198) replied “*Robbery. The teacher sent me home, ain’t had nothing to do – was pissed off and went to do something idle. Hooked up with bad company and went and rob a jewelry store...\$70, 000 worth of jewellery.*” “*Dah not much money,*” he added²⁷. This inmate has already said that he is guilty of the crime for which he is charged. It should be noted that association with criminal peers is thought to be a significant pre-disposing factor to

²⁷ The interviewer expressed the view that it was a lot of money. He replied that he will pay it back if that is what they want...and indicated that he “*will sell piece o mummy’s land*” to pay it back.

offending²⁸. This prediction has already been confirmed in this Cayman Islands crime study. All of the inmates interviewed, including the 4 Eagle house teenagers in the sample, indicated that they have friends who are in prison with them now or who have ‘done time’ in the past.

4.30 The foregoing discussion suggests that a history of arrests and convictions, imprisonment at a young age, juvenile delinquency and, importantly, the state’s response in the past to juvenile offenders are all factors that can promote more, instead of less, criminality. Furthermore, as the data and the discussion above reveal, these factors are part of the profile of many of Northward and Eagle House inmates who have now become Cayman’s persistent offenders. A number of recommendations will therefore be made to address these factors.

²⁸ Actually, research has shown that association with delinquent friends at age fourteen (14) was an important predictor of convictions as a young adult (Farrington, D.P., 1986).

Inmate's Perspectives on Prison Rehabilitation

4.31 Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the men replied “no” when asked “*In terms of programs, do you think enough is being done here at Northward/Eagle House to help you avoid getting into trouble/criminal activity again?*” See **Table 4J** below.

Table 4J

Rehabilitation Programs in Prison		
Inmates' Perspectives	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Enough is being done	7	23.3%
Not enough is being done	22	73.3%
Not sure / Don't know	1	3.3%
TOTAL	30	100%

In answering a number of questions in the interview, many inmates were able to articulate what was lacking in terms of rehabilitation at the prison. Moreover, they identified what types of support systems need to be in place to give them a fair chance at leading a pro-social life and avoiding criminal activity in the future.

Skills Training

4.32 Most inmates called for a better program of vocational skills training in prison so that they and fellow residents could leave prison:

1. having spent their time constructively;
2. better trained, perhaps even certified and therefore more employable

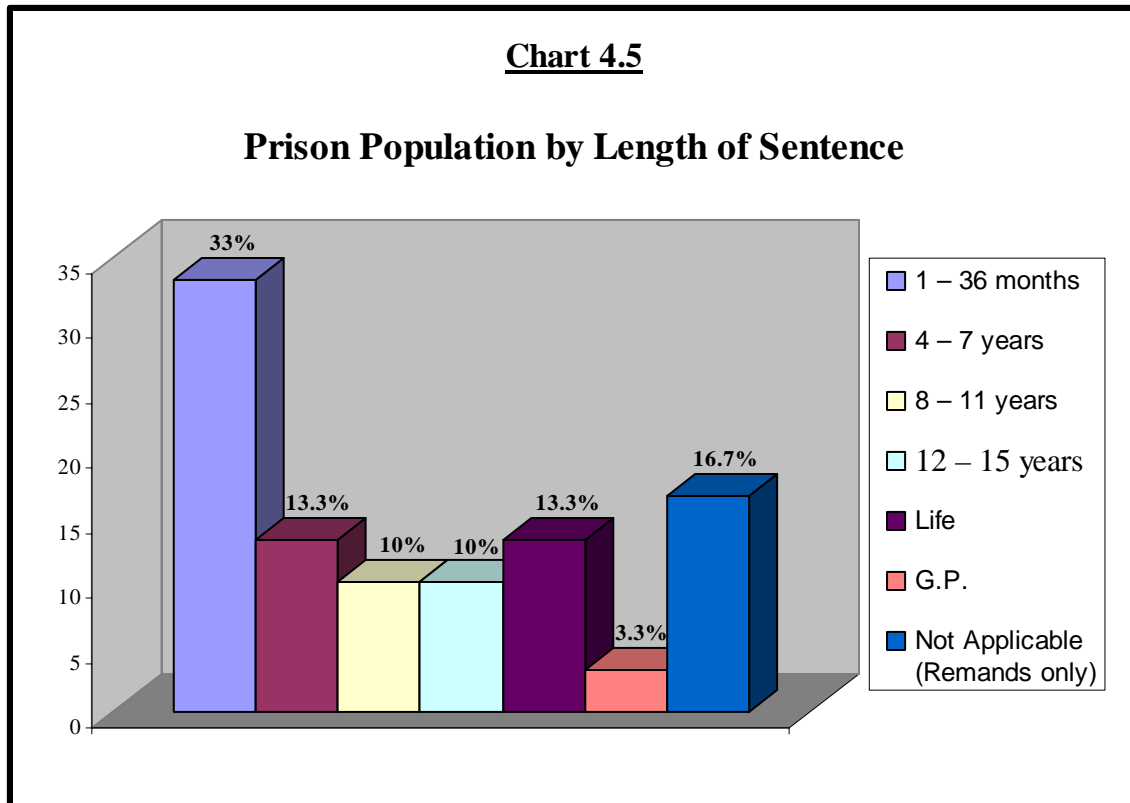
As expressed in some of the comments below, the absence of a proper vocational skills training program at Northward and Eagle House is a big disappointment. One Eagle House resident (Interviewee Sample no. 188) insisted:

“Need more training, more trades. Eagle House don’t have nothing. Not everybody is good at bookwork. Don’t have any facility for young offenders to learn trades and gain certificates with a known signature. We need to be taught life skills and they need more trained officers.”

Another Eagle House respondent complained about the lack of appropriate programming there.

“Stop treating us like a prison and more like a rehab place. The content of some of the school classes is too basic – treating us like infants. Should be classes geared to prepare you for a job interview and (to teach) technical skills.”

4.33 Programs at Northward and Eagle House facilities need to be compact and relevant, given the limited amount of time at the disposal of the educational and rehabilitation staff to make a difference in the lives of several inmates. As the Chart below shows, many inmates are not incarcerated for long periods of time.



One third (1/3) of the men's prison sentences range between 1 month and 3 years, with most of them serving only 5/9 of their sentence under the Earliest Date of Release arrangement. Therefore whatever intervention is made in the lives of inmates must be well-designed and fairly intensive.

Employment Opportunities

4.34 In addition, some inmates directly called for assistance with getting a job upon release. While a few inmates did state that they were assured of a job when they leave prison, others highlighted this as an area of concern. Some mentioned that getting a job was a problem in the past and likely to be one in

the future. A 41 year old inmate, who first came to prison at 17 years old and is now on his 4th term of incarceration as a recalled parolee, had this to say:

“People who have spent time in prison need help. Government could do more... by giving a job and a week’s start in an apartment. Also it would be better if you could get involved in a work release program, just to help you get used to waking up early on mornings and going to work. Sometimes, they (authorities) talk but they behave as though they are just waiting for you to fail and flop, so they can punish you again. Sometimes the system is cruel,” said this inmate who is bitter against the criminal justice system in Cayman.

Another inmate (Respondent No. 173) said:

“When I first left prison at 18, I tried to find a job but after 3 months , I gave up on that,”

In reply to the interviewer’s suggestion that every Caymanian is virtually assured of job if he wants one, he said

“It is not that easy if you have a record, Miss. I had a friend, offered me some weed to sell. At first I told him ‘no’ but I needed something, so....” he admitted.

In these instances, it is clear that if the authorities do not assist inmates in identifying employment prior to the day of their release, the drug dealer will.

4.35 Although establishing a causative link between unemployment and offending is problematic, there is evidence that ex-prisoners and probationers are more likely to re-offend if they are unemployed (Crow et al., 1989; Simon and Corbett, 1996). However, while getting a job is one thing, keeping it is another; this will be a challenge for several inmates for a number of reasons. During the Employment History section of the interview, some revealed that they have engaged in anti-social conduct on the job – fighting, smoking ganja, drinking alcohol, etc. Secondly, while at the outset the inmate may have all good intentions of being a dedicated worker, working steadily is a habit that many of the inmates have never developed and, moreover, one which is not being developed in prison either. Therefore, many do not possess the discipline, self-control, and work ethic to maintain employment. Recommendations will be made to address these issues.

Problems associated with the Management of Released Prisoners

4.36 Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of all the men released from Northward and Eagle House return to prison having committed offences of sufficient gravity to warrant a custodial sentence...again. This disturbing level of re-offending and re-imprisonment confirms the absence of appropriate programming and management strategies for released prisoners. First of all, those who are released from Northward at their “Earliest Date of Release” (EDR) and those who are released at their “Latest Date of Release” (LDR) receive no supervision and support whatsoever. Those who are paroled are usually inadequately managed by an overburdened and understaffed Probation Aftercare Unit. Under these circumstances, it would be unreasonable to expect a reduction in recidivism.

Recalled Parolees

4.37 An interesting dimension of the problem of recidivism is the number of recalled parolees among the Northward Prison population. More than a $\frac{1}{4}$, (27%), of all the inmates fail to successfully meet the terms and conditions of the supervised period of their release. Moreover, as this study proves, many of the parole violations are not minor e.g. changing one’s address and not notifying the parole officer. In a number of cases, it was returning to

criminal acts that placed them back behind bars. In one instance, an inmate, who also seemingly remains obsessed with his ex-wife, almost killed her present boyfriend. He ended up on a “grievous bodily harm’ charge and as a result got recalled to Northward to serve the remainder of a 10-year sentence for “possession of an unlicensed firearm with intent to commit an offence.”

4.38 Another interviewee (sample No. 66), who had been released on a life license having been previously convicted of murder, admitted that when he came out on parole, he was not working.... just doing some art for sale. He went back using cocaine and then committed a slew of burglaries in order to finance his habit. In describing the criminal cycle in which he found himself, at least with respect of some of his offences, he said

“need coke (cocaine) – commit burglaries – get strung out – need money – more burglary – more coke.”

He was out for only 6 months before being recalled. He is now serving time for 9 counts of burglary and escaping custody since being recalled. Interestingly enough, this inmate is not receiving any counseling or treatment at Northward for his cocaine addiction. So the driving force behind his burglary offences is not being addressed.

4.39 Yet another recalled parolee gave this account when asked “*Why are you now at Northward?*” He said “*Drugs and burglaries, smoking crack and weed, when my money runs out, I go and commit crime – do burglaries.*” “*Where?*” he was asked “*The Queen’s Highway,*” he replied. With further prompting this inmate proceeded to explain when and how he committed these burglaries. In addition to the drug use and burglaries, the respondent gave more information about his criminal activity while out on parole.²⁹ He only spent 8½ months out on parole before he was recalled.

4.40 What is clear is that while there is a system of enforcement for violations, a closer examination of the nature and extent of support given to inmates upon release is very much needed. Modern parole mechanisms reflect the reality that parole must extend beyond an ex-prisoner dropping in once a week at the parole office to indicate that he is still “holding down” a job and still lives the same place.

“We are failing a lot of them in terms of the level of intervention we offer and staffing is the issue,” said the Head of the Probation Aftercare Unit during an interview.

²⁹ “*In East End, I chop a man with a machete. He chopped me first.... over music CDs. I ran in the house, got a machete, ran after him and chopped him in his shoulder. Police got involved but there was no charge. I pay his hospital bill and he pay mine.*”

The Unit has 4 dimensions of responsibility:

- (a) management of persons on community-based orders - probation, community service, attendance orders
- (b) preparation of pre-sentencing reports (courts)
- (c) preparation of pre-release reports (Parole Board)
- (d) parole supervision

“The Unit is severely understaffed to execute all of these functions. The type of intensive supervision that needs to be meted out (to parolees) is often lacking,” she lamented. When asked about the type of supervision currently offered, she explained *“mainly office visits. Very often parolees have issues and need assistance that the probation officer does not have the time to give. It costs \$53,000 to keep a man in prison for a year. Give me that money to pay one staff member and that one person can successfully supervise 5 men in the community. Think of the savings there,”* proposed the Manager of the Unit.

Other Categories of Released Prisoners –EDR and LDR

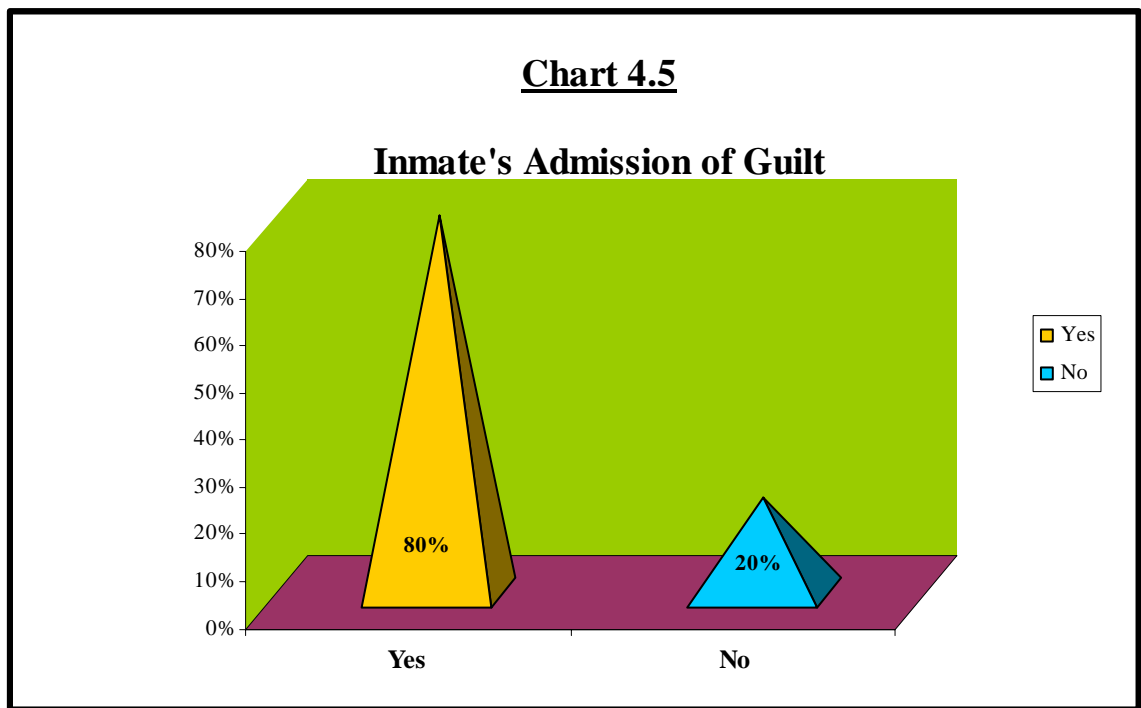
4.41 Parolees, however, are not the only category of ex-prisoners that requires supervision and support; so the policy in this area needs to be reviewed if there is any serious intention of reducing our 73% rate of re-imprisonment. As indicated earlier in the discussion on Recidivism, prison, being a total

institution, is an artificial setting; ‘good behaviour’ and compliance in the context of prison life are not very accurate indicators of how an individual will cope upon release. Interviews with inmates suggested that many of them wish to ‘turn their lives around’; however, a number of them are unlikely to achieve that goal without serious guidance and support.

4.42 Release to the wider community presents the former inmate with several challenges that he doesn’t have to confront while incarcerated - the need to get and keep a job; sensible management of income; payment of bills; finding residential accommodation; living again in the old “high risk” neighbourhood, avoiding “friends” who commit crime, abuse drugs, etc. Many inmates leave prison with good intentions but are unable to successfully manage these challenges for any length of time, hence they re-offend. Unfortunately, the personal and social skills required for independent, responsible adult living in the wider community cannot be effectively developed and nurtured in the artificial setting of prison. A number of recommendations will be made to address deficiencies with respect to the management of released prisoners.

Reasons Cited for Committing Crime

4.43 It is interesting to note that most offenders at Northward and Eagle House admitted their guilt as the Chart below shows. Inmates were directly asked if they committed the crime(s) for which they have been incarcerated. Eighty percent (80%) said “yes”.



4.44 Given the thrust of this study which is to identify the determinants of crime, inmates were further asked “Why did you do it?” A miscellany of reasons were given, however, some attempt was made to categorize the responses, as shown below in **Table 4K**.

Table 4K

Reasons Given for Committing Crime		
What caused you to do it	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Bad company/ Criminal association	4	16.7%
Desire for money	6	25%
Lack of proper guidance	1	4.2%
To support a drug habit	3	12.5%
Anger/Revenge/Retaliation	5	20.8%
Desire for material goods	1	4.2%
Sexual desire and lust	1	4.2%
Psychoactive effect of drugs and/or alcohol	1	4.2%
To help a friend	1	4.2%
Self defence	1	4.2%
(Those who Admitted guilt) TOTAL	24	100%

Desire for Money

4.45 In the Overview presented at the beginning of this Chapter, paragraph 4.4 on Offence Distribution revealed that half of the inmates (Northward Prison only) were incarcerated for crimes of gain - drug trafficking, burglary, robbery, theft, etc. The most outstanding of these was “Drug Trafficking”, which represented 25% of all offences. In **Table 4K** above, the focus is on identifying the reasons for committing the crime and, for the most part, the

motive of acquisition is confirmed. Twenty-five (25%) of the men who admitted their guilt indicated the 'desire for money' as the reason behind their criminal activity. However, this is an interesting finding against the knowledge that unemployment in the Cayman Islands is not a problem. Jobs are available. Therefore, why commit burglary? Apart from the force of habit, it may also be noted that potential property offenders tend to be among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in the society i.e transient workers, the unemployed, the uneducated and untrained, the deprived, the alienated e.g. ex-convicts and, of course, the drug addicted.

4.46 With respect to drug trafficking, the money that can be made from the business of illegal drugs cannot be matched by legitimate employment, for the most part (see **paragraphs 4.6 and 4.7 in this Chapter**). So the drug trade emerges as a viable economic option for those individuals who are willing to take the legal risk to provide themselves, and their significant others, with the material goods they desire. A materialistic orientation, when not tempered by morality and accepted norms and behaviour, is problematic and will manifest itself in illegal activity.

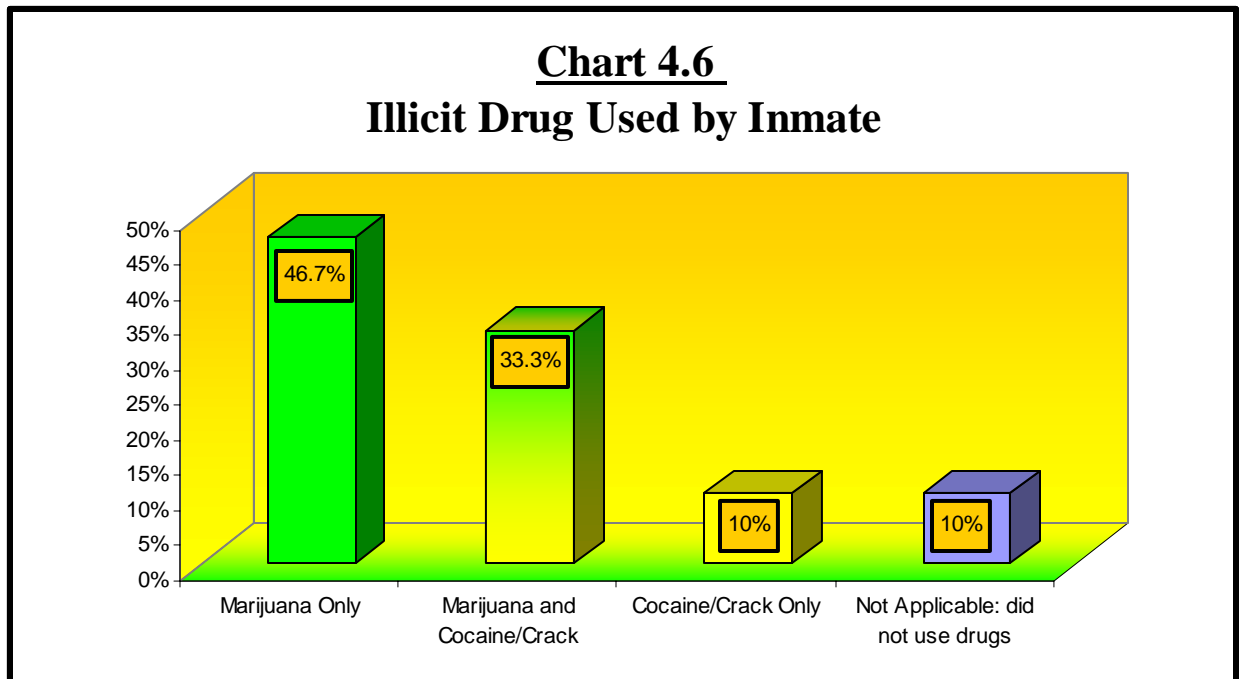
Anger

4.47 Twenty percent (20%) of the inmates cited anger, revenge or retaliation as the reasons for committing their offences. This is disturbing but not surprising. Many inmates displayed anti-social and pugnacious behaviour in school which reflected that they were angry, retaliative and revengeful. They fought, frequently, to the point where they had to be suspended or expelled (see Chapter 3 on Education and School Experiences). Obviously these inappropriate behaviours were never addressed by Behavioural Modification Interventions at the level of the school and so they have persisted. Also see **paragraph 5.22** in the following Chapter on Family Background which reveals the fact that several inmates have a lot of unresolved pain and anger dating back to their childhood. Under these circumstances, problematic conduct and maladaptive behaviour are a very likely consequence.

Illicit Drug Use

4.48 Data collected revealed that drug abuse has been widespread among inmates.

Chart 4.6 below shows that that 90 % of the inmates at Northward and Eagle House use(d) illicit drugs.

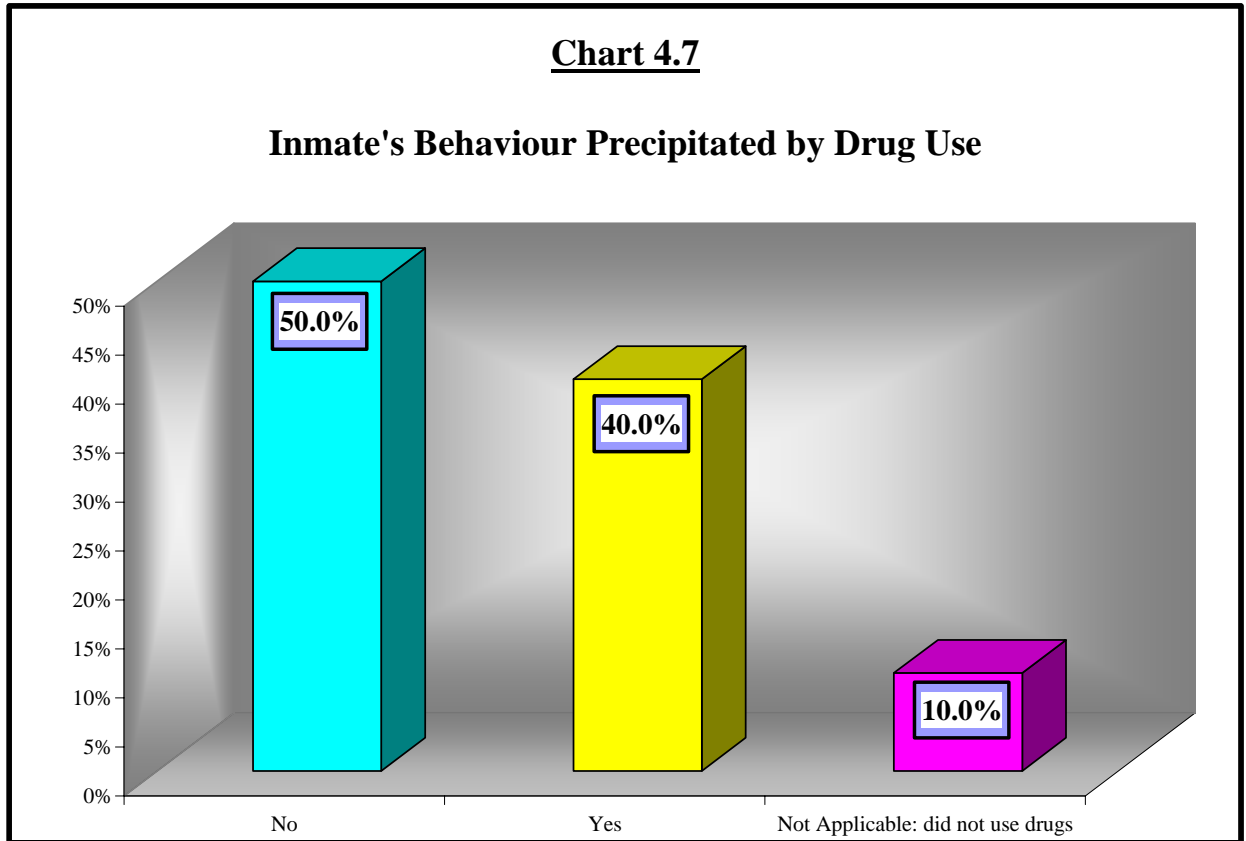


A most disturbing statistic however is the 43% who confirmed that they use cocaine, in some form. Cocaine is a highly dangerous and addictive drug. Its effect is one that releases, in mass, the neurotransmitters which stimulate the pleasure centers in the brain, thus causing an intense feeling of euphoria. Its health risks include epileptic fits, and cardiac arrest; chronic use leads to paranoid psychosis.

4.49 Seventy percent (70%) of the inmates interviewed indicated that they use(d) marijuana, and many were very comfortable with the use of this drug stating that it relaxes and calms them and helps them to forget painful episodes in their past. Whereas people are generally aware of the dangers of cocaine, many are still ignorant of the effects of marijuana. Marijuana is also quite a dangerous drug. Unlike alcohol, which leaves the body within 24 hours of intake, marijuana's psychoactive chemicals attach themselves to the fatty parts of the body (including the brain and the reproductive organs) for as long as four weeks. Extensive research has also indicated that marijuana impairs short-term memory, slows learning, interferes with normal reproductive functions, adversely affects the heart and seriously alters perception and judgement in performing complex tasks such as driving. Its use also precipitates latent schizophrenic illness.

4.50 Apart from the numerous health risks associated with drug use, research has demonstrated a strong link between drugs and criminality. Drug users report greater involvement in crime and are more likely than non-users to have a criminal record; criminal offences also increase with the use of drugs (Calkin and Calkin, 1990). The situation in the Cayman Islands gives some credence to these assertions. **Chart 4.7** below shows that 40% of the inmates

in prison believe that their drug abuse has influenced their involvement in crime.



One inmate, Interviewee 112, confessed that he was high on cocaine the day that he murdered his girlfriend. Another inmate, a cocaine addict who is serving time for 9 counts of burglary in addition to other crimes, had this to say when asked “Do you think your use of illegal drugs influenced your involvement in crime?”

“Yeah, if you can’t steal money, you may find a camera, gold watch or something the drug pushers would take as payment”.

4.51 The fact that drug abuse has been widespread among the prison population should come as no surprise since drug users are often forced to adopt deviant life-styles. Persons who are addicted to drugs will go to all lengths to support their habit. They will steal, drop out of school, leave their families, risk losing their jobs and risk going to jail in order to satisfy their addiction. Once a person is addicted to drugs, the cravings that are experienced can be so intense, that to simply stop taking the drug would result in painful physical and mental distress. Without professional help and a desire to help oneself, the drug addict is basically powerless to quit. Hence the extensive use of drugs in Eagle House and Northward. **Table 4L** below reveals that less than half of the prison population said that they do not use drugs in prison; the majority did, (57%), whether they have been caught through a urine test or not³⁰.

TABLE 4L

Positive to Drug Tests in Prison		
Drug Use in Prison	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	11	36.7
No	13	43.3
Use drugs in Prison but sometimes not caught	6	20
TOTAL	30	100%

³⁰ It is cold comfort for Cayman Island authorities to know that drug use in prisons is not uncommon. The 1997 report by the UN Centre for International Crime Prevention revealed that an estimated 50% of Jamaica's prison population uses illegal drugs.

Moreover, inmates in Northward and Eagle House prisons are also going to extraordinary and harmful measures to conceal their habit including drinking diluted bleach.

4.52 Also, as a reflection of their addiction, prisoners have used every strategy to get drugs into the prison and, unfortunately, they have done so successfully. In some instances, inmates were asked how did they get the drugs into the prison and they explained. For example, inmate Sample No. 173 indicated that he was caught bringing drugs into the prison after a visit to the hospital. During interviews, some inmates admitted that they do deliveries for other drug-pushing offenders. Marijuana is the drug mainly used in prison by the inmates. Some respondents revealed that cocaine is in Northward as well but to a lesser extent. It was explained that drugs are also “tossed over” to their Eagle House neighbours. This is a serious matter that needs to be addressed as part of a broader institutional assessment of Northward and Eagle House. However, a section on “Addressing the Problems of Illicit Drug Use” is included under the Recommendations section below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Some Alternative Sentences

Diverting Juveniles and Young Offenders

4.53 Provision has been made under Section 28 of the Cayman Islands Youth Justice Law for the police to caution a young person who admits to behaviour which constitutes an offence. Cautioning is a primary tool which is available to the police to divert juvenile/young offenders from the clutches of the justice system. A senior police officer gave assurance that this essential diversionary measure is being used, mainly where minor crime has been committed by first time offenders. However, one Magistrate indicated that, in her 8 years on the bench, she has never tried a case where a caution was part of the accused's records although "if a young person who has received a caution is convicted of an offence, the caution statement shall be produced to the court...." Nevertheless, whether the system of Cautions is being adequately used or not, it is being recommended that the existing system be enhanced and expanded to incorporate important features that can have a rehabilitative effect. Such a **Juvenile and Youth Diversion Program** would encompass two (2) aspects of diversion - pre court and post-court appearance. This recommendation is discussed below.

Pre- Court Intervention

4.54 Every effort should be made to divert juveniles from the formal processes of the criminal justice system. Therefore juveniles whose delinquency and criminal acts come to the attention of the police should, as much as possible, be cautioned and immediately referred to compulsory participation in a program of intervention for them and their families as an alternative to prosecution. This would include intensive counseling and treatment where assessments reveal that such intervention is needed along with measures to control the juvenile – curfews, etc. The family, which is responsible for the child/adolescent, cannot be left out of the intervention because the youngster’s delinquent behaviour is an indication of a breakdown in parental supervision and control and those at the helm of the delinquent’s family must be “called to account”.

4.55 Such an all-encompassing/holistic approach to the child’s delinquency and seeming criminal tendencies is critical and far more meaningful than simple prosecution because it seeks to address, at fairly early stage of secondary prevention, the factors which are predisposing the individual to delinquent behaviour and criminal involvement. It also gives the authorities a much-needed open door to the offender’s household, thereby giving them the

opportunity to deal with several factors in the home that signify general family dysfunction and which would also be placing other siblings at criminal risk - e.g. poor parenting, child neglect and abuse, domestic violence, alcoholism and other substance abuse by members of the household. As will be revealed in the Chapter on Family Background, family dysfunction is a significant criminal risk factor.

4.56 This type of alternative to “lock up” and other forms of detention of the youngster serves many purposes. It combines supervision of the delinquent with therapeutic intervention for the family. It therefore forces the family, and not the justice system, to take (back) responsibility for the proper rearing and supervision of the child and gives the relevant state agency an opportunity to address any criminogenic factors that are family-based. Under this policy of diversion, instead of there being simply a law enforcement response to the criminal/delinquent behaviour, there is a direct attempt to identify and address the factors which may be precipitating it. Such a program must be carefully designed to carry the necessary components of supervision and treatment. Authorities can however be assured that such an approach is likely to be a lot cheaper and more effective than a formal justice system response.

4.57 The goal of pre-adjudication intervention is to control delinquency by providing arrested juveniles and household members with short to medium-term treatment services without referring them to the court and risking detention. Unfortunately, at present in the Cayman Islands, there appears to be an over-emphasis on removal of the individual from home/society by institutionalizing him/her with other persons who share similar problems, delinquent behaviours and troubled backgrounds. However, under these circumstances, the precipitating factors of criminal conduct and dysfunction remain largely unaddressed through appropriate intervention.

Post-adjudication Intervention

4.58 The goal of post-adjudication intervention is to control delinquency by placing a convicted offender under the formal control of the state for purposes of rehabilitation, incapacitation, and/or deterrence. In some cases, the charge against the young offender is of sufficient gravity (e.g. violent crime) that the matter must be brought before the court. However, even at this stage, every effort must be made **not** to imprison the offender (see discussion at paragraphs 4.20 – 4.28). Appropriate sentencing options must therefore be developed and placed at the disposal of sentencers at both the

levels of youth justice and adult court³¹. Focusing on the juvenile and young offenders, judicial officers in the Cayman Islands have the following sentencing options: probation, admonish and discharge, conditional discharge, fines, parental fines, community service, fit person order, juvenile and youth rehabilitation orders, and finally there is Eagle House which is tantamount to a youth prison, even if only by virtue of its most unfortunate location. Extensive as this range of sentencing options might seem, there are still deficiencies in the system and some of the recommendations below seek to address these.

Intensive Supervision Programs (ISPs)

4.59 Probation in its present form has grave limitations which impact negatively on its effectiveness as a sentencing option. Generally speaking, probation officers have large caseloads and precious little time to do more than meet infrequently with their youthful clients. They rarely have time to strictly enforce the conditions of probation or provide the extensive assistance that these individuals often need. Intensive Supervision Programs (ISPs) solve both of these problems and is a measure that can be considered by the Cayman Islands authorities as a sentencing alternative for both young and adult offenders.

³¹ It should be noted that Youth Justice Amendment Bill, which will provide for youth conferencing, and an Alternative Sentencing Bill are currently under consideration by the relevant authorities in the Cayman Islands.

4.60 ISPs emphasize small caseloads that give probation officers time to intensively monitor, supervise and treat their clients. ISPs are intermediate interventions, in that they constitute a midway measure between routine probation and institutionalization.³² ISPs therefore fill important gaps in the range of existing responses to delinquent juveniles and young offenders. Magistrates regularly encounter offenders who require something more than routine probation, yet something less than institutionalization. Intensive probation fills this need. Instead of sending off this category of offender to an institution, judicial officials could sentence him/her to an intensive probation program which emphasizes close monitoring and supervision.

4.61 Intensive supervision programs represent **tough ways of doing time in the community**. Small caseloads allow for the strict enforcement of the conditions of probation. Officers have the time to ensure that clients are in school or at work each weekday and at home each night and weekend. Electronic monitoring devices can be utilized to enhance the surveillance of the client and his compliance with educational, work or curfew requirements. Frequent random urine checks for drugs dramatically increase the odds that offenders who continue to abuse drugs or alcohol will be

³² Morris and Tonry, *Between prison and probation, Intermediate Punishments in a Rational sentencing system*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

detected. New conditions can be added to this form of probation, including fines, restitution, community service and treatment for substance abuse. These are known as combination orders. Tough and intrusive supervision, surveillance, and control are central and deliberate features of contemporary ISPs³³. This type of program should be targeted at medium and some select high risk offenders. If properly designed and delivered, ISPs can be a very beneficial and cost-effective strategy in the management of offenders in the community. An intensive supervision program is therefore being recommended for the Cayman Islands which are currently considering a range of alternative sentences.

Youth Training and Rehabilitation Centre – Residential Program

4.63 Along the continuum of post-court interventions for youthful offenders must be a residential facility which can provide a comprehensive program of self-improvement for its participants. Stakeholders and key personnel within juvenile/youth corrections in the Cayman Islands have lamented the absence of an appropriate remand and rehabilitative facility for offenders. “We have less resources, less programming and less facilities for our young people than we had back in 2002. They reduced the services in the midst of greater

³³ Clear and Hardyman, “The new Intensive Supervision Movement,” **Crime and Delinquency** 36 (January 1990).

problems,” said the CEO of CAYS Foundation while reflecting on the irony of the situation.

4.64 A classic example of the lacuna in the current system was highlighted during discussions with Magistrate Ramsay-Hale. “Bonaventure is a Boys’ Home that has been gazetted as a juvenile detention centre and a rehabilitation school which in fact it is not. It has no educational component and no rehabilitative program,” she declared. As a result the Bonaventure Boys Home and Francis Bodden Girls home, which were designed to provide care and protection, are now ‘ending up’ with incorrigible youth and juvenile offenders among their residential population. Under these circumstances, the detention of juvenile offenders at the Bonaventure Boys Home is an unfortunate practice and a retrograde step in youth corrections in the Cayman Islands. It represents double jeopardy for those youth by:

(1) mixing offenders with children who are for the most part victims, and not perpetrators, of wrong doing;

(2) warehousing delinquents who are in fact in need of specific treatment interventions.

4.65 In continuing her exposition on the flaws in the juvenile justice system in the Cayman Islands, Magistrate Ramsay-Hale said “we need to reposition our thinking on a juvenile facility. Some kids’ home environments aren’t good; the parents are criminal in tendency or in fact. Secondly, some kids need a secure facility because they are inveterate runaways and they prefer to be on the streets. Bonaventure is not ideal because they run and, furthermore, there is no rehabilitative and educational intervention because it was not designed and structured to do such. The original Bonaventure (CIMI- Cayman Islands Marine Institute) had an educational component, a very strong one and had a wing in which residents could be detained. You were released from that detention on the attainment of certain targets. [The operation of the program] was based on system of rewards and consequences,” the Magistrate explained.

4.66 During our meeting, Dan Baccalao, former head of CIMI sadly reflected on the termination of the CIMI program in December 2002. “The damage done by the closure of CIMI was irreversible for some of those boys. Some were on the path of change and were far enough along to leave the program and stay straight. But a lot were just ‘turning the corner’ and the closure was their undoing,” he suggested. From all accounts, CIMI filled an important

void for at risk and delinquent youth. In the absence of such an educational and rehabilitative program, that is residential but non-incarcerative, delinquent youngsters are being fast-tracked into the revolving doors of the criminal justice system.

4.67 A residential **Youth Training and Rehabilitation (YTR) Center** is therefore recommended for Grand Cayman. While there will be no attempt to give a program description, some of the broad features that need to be considered for such a program are mentioned below.

Target population: Teenagers (perhaps 13 -19 years old). Pilot program may be for males but provision for the training and rehabilitation for females must also be made. Provision may also be made for a remand section for juveniles.

Intake Evaluation: The days of treating offenders as a monolithic whole are over and a full professional evaluation of incoming residents must be undertaken. This will include, but not be limited to, *Risk and Needs Assessments; Aptitude tests and literacy and numeracy tests; Psychological Assessment*. Many offenders have deep-seated “issues”. These need to be

identified by a trained professional in this field who has experience in working with populations under correctional control.

Rehabilitation: A range of well-established cognitive and behavioural techniques should be used to help offenders (a) face up to the consequences of their actions (b) understand their motives (c) develop new ways of controlling behaviour.

Educational and Vocational training component: This would represent a substantial part of the overall program. It is envisaged that the participants would be divided into 2 groups – younger teenagers and the older teenagers.

Work Program (16-19 year olds): Work is an important part of rehabilitation and must be an integral part of this residential program. One of the reasons why prisons often fail in terms of reducing recidivism is because they function as “total institutions”. Everything is provided for the inmate - all at the government’s expense. This creates dependency rather than responsibility and laziness rather than a work ethic. One of the causal factors in re-offending is lack of a work ethic. It was surprising how many inmates interviewed at Northward and Eagle house sold drugs, although never caught

or convicted for the crime. For them this was much easier than working an 8 hour day under the stringency of rules and restrictions. However, short of fortuitous means, the only legitimate way to make a living is to work. Therefore part of the correctional process for young offenders is to teach them that they must acquire what they want by working for it, not by burglary and theft, not by selling drugs, not by robbery. Work opportunities can be created right on the premises of the facility. This may take the form of utilizing vocational skills gained through the skills program at the Center to do work in and around the establishment. Residents must do their own cooking under supervision. Animal husbandry and farming are viable occupations in the Cayman Islands and should be used to make the Centre as sufficient as possible in food provision.

Recreation: the complex must have adequate outdoor sporting facilities for the youngsters to exercise and enjoy themselves.

Therapeutic Interventions: As indicated earlier, many juvenile and youthful offenders are substance abusers and/or in need of psychological counselling. The necessary range of treatment and therapeutic interventions must be available at the proposed Centre.

The atmosphere at the Centre should be rehabilitative and supportive while maintaining discipline and adherence to program rules. In this regard, it must be appropriately staffed. It must also have a strict regimen, - specific times for wake up, personal hygiene, breakfast - similar to what the average law-abiding citizen in Cayman Islands subjects him/herself to everyday or most days of the week. Why shouldn't offenders?

Rehabilitation of Prisoners

4.68 A problem can only be properly addressed if it has been properly assessed. This is particularly true as it relates to human behaviour because human nature is complex. As much of the foregoing discussion reveals and as will be further confirmed in the following Chapter, those who come into contact with the criminal justice system often have multiple needs and difficulties that have a direct bearing on their propensity to offend and re-offend. In order to reduce criminality, these needs and difficulties must be identified and addressed.

Admission Assessments

4.69 A series of assessments upon entry to prison should be a basic part of admission procedure, however, this is hardly the case at HMP Northward. The offender arrives with little else but a committal or remand warrant from the court. He is then put to live, in some cases for several years, in an institutionalized setting with 181 other men without certain personal and pertinent information being collected and used to inform decision-making. As one would appreciate, the successful implementation of a meaningful inmate training and rehabilitation program (i.e. sentencing plan) under these circumstances is virtually impossible. It is therefore recommended that a number of specific assessments be conducted with each inmate upon admission to Eagle House and Northward Prisons³⁴. The necessary resources must be in place to do the various assessments. The results from this comprehensive inmate evaluation would allow an Inmate Training and Rehabilitation (ITR) Officer to develop a sensible and meaningful treatment and training plan for each inmate.

³⁴ For more information on Inmate Evaluation and the designing of inmate training and rehabilitation programs, see *“Inmate Training and Rehabilitation Program (Barbados)”*, Jan. 2001 by Yolande C. Forde, prepared for the Inter-American Development Bank. Also see *the “Rehabilitation Programme for Young , Short-term Inmates in the Correctional System of Jamaica”* June 2001 prepared by Yolande C. Forde for the Inter-American Bank.

4.70 Whether called sentencing planning or ITR, the following components must be in place:

- ❖ Remedial education
- ❖ A vocational skills training program
- ❖ Life skills training
- ❖ Specific behavioural modification programs*
- ❖ Therapeutic services e.g. psychotherapy, drug treatment
NOTE: drug treatment goes beyond counseling (see discussion on **Illicit Drug Use** in this Chapter)
- ❖ Pre-release Assessment and Exit Interview- to determine through-care needs.

*For example there is broad agreement that the most effective programs for addressing offending behaviour by adults and juveniles are skill-based, designed to improve problem-solving and social interaction and which also include a cognitive component to address attitudes, values and beliefs which support criminal behaviour (Lipsey, 1992, Vennard et al 1997).

4.71 An interview with the Educational Co-ordinator (ag) for Northward and Eagle House prisons confirmed that a number of programs have been implemented but she insisted that there is serious need for a cultural change among both the officers and the inmates. She correctly explained that the programs could only be successful if the rehabilitative efforts by her team receive the support of the officers. “If an officer knows that a particular offender should be attending a particular program at a given time, please make sure he is there. It is optional whether an inmate attends a program or not. The decision is the inmate’s. Then Northward is not punitive and it is

not correctional because the person who should be managed is calling the shots,” she said insightfully.

4.72 The ability of a prisoner, a ward of the state who has forfeited his liberties, to still possess the right to wake up in his own time, get out of bed when he feels like, and decides how he will spend his day at Northward is akin to being on holiday and must stop. Specific arrangements should be put in place to ensure that Northward and Eagle House facilities operate on a strict regimen. However, these and other matters are the subject of prison reform which cannot be addressed in this Report on criminal risk factors.

Post-release Program for Ex-prisoners

4.73 Given the foregoing discussion at paragraphs 4.36 to 4.42 on the problems associated with managing released offenders, a number of issues clearly need to be addressed in this area. Starting with what exists, the Probation After-Care Unit, which has responsibility for the supervision of parolees, needs to undergo institutional strengthening. It is recommended that the department be adequately staffed to execute its mandate with respect to supervising parolees. This is key to reducing offending.

4.74 Secondly, it appears as though some revision is necessary in terms of an understanding of what actually constitutes adequate supervision and support for ex-prisoners. The management of released offenders is a complex task and one which must be duly informed by a sound knowledge of criminological and correctional principles. Minimally and fundamentally, there is a requirement to :

- (a) assess an individual's propensity to re-offend and,
- (b) seek to address the human and criminogenic needs of that individual.

4.75 In this regard, a *Post-Release Supervision and Support Program and Unit* is recommended for the Cayman Islands³⁵. It will assist with the resettlement of **all prisoners** who have been assessed to be vulnerable and in need of supervision and support. Such a program is a necessity if authorities wish to address the high incidence of re-offending in the nation. However the program, which would have a number of components, has to be properly designed, culturally appropriate, and informed by the relevant expertise if it is to be a successful venture.

³⁵ It should be noted that the idea of a Post-Release Program is not far-fetched. Britain's Criminal Justice Act of 1991 introduced compulsory post-release supervision by the Probation Service for all offenders sentenced to terms of imprisonment , 12 months and over.

4.76 To give an example, the establishment of a Halfway House would be one of the recommended components of the *Post-Release Supervision and Support Program*. Why? Because an inmate's "risk" goes beyond criminal propensity and extends to a host of other human and social factors. Some inmates assessed risk is so high that it is better if they be given an intermediary stage of adjustment between incarceration and so-called "total freedom." Failure to do this is to concede high rates of recidivism.

Addressing the Problems of Illicit Drug Use

4.77 As the preceding discussion between paragraphs 4.48 to 4.52 reveals drug dependency is a major problem among incarcerated offenders. The recommendations that will be offered in this section will be made under 3 sub-titles:

- 1) Sentencing Drug Abusing Offenders
- 2) Drug Treatment in Prison
- 3) Throughcare

Sentencing Drug Abusing Offenders

4.78 An obvious complication that judicial officers face lies in the fact that a number of offenders who come before the courts are charged with more than

one offence, and drug possession/ use is often only one of 4 or 5 other “criminal” offences. If one of these offences is serious or reveals habitual criminal behaviour, then more likely than not, the individual would be incarcerated and understandably so. There is therefore the question of balancing offender rehabilitation with public safety. The institutional diversity or sentencing options that would allow the judicial officer to simultaneously achieve these two equally important objectives do not exist in the Cayman Islands. In the absence of day centers and the range of secure facilities designed on the “therapeutic community” model, courts are forced to manage the security risk posed to the public if nothing else. Therefore what are clearly needed in the Cayman Islands are sentencing options which allow the courts to respond in an intelligent way to drug abusers and drug abusing offenders. At present there is an over-reliance on fines and imprisonment, neither of which are known to be effective tools of behavioural change. The Caribbean Haven option is limited in capacity and has such strict rules and regulations that any infraction of them results in expulsion from the program....but expulsion to what end? Very often the problem of addiction has not been fully addressed when the person is asked to leave. There is need for the Caribbean Haven program to be evaluated so that maximum benefit can be reaped from that organization.

4.79 Would it be cheaper and more rational to focus on addressing the substance dependency needs of the drug “offender” rather than simply imposing a monetary penalty or institutional punishment for being in breach of the criminal law? This thinking has found favour with the judicial authorities in Bermuda and also Jamaica. In these 2 territories, Drug Courts have been introduced, a clear admission on the part of the relevant authorities that treating drug use and certain drug-induced behaviours as primarily a criminal offence is counter-productive and is tantamount to “scratching the surface” of the problem.

4.80 A Drug Treatment Court is a court designed for the specific purpose of supervising cases of drug dependent offenders who have agreed to accept treatment for their substance abuse problem. Drug Courts:

- give the offender the choice of opting to receive treatment and not just punishment for his addiction problem which led or might lead to criminal behaviour; and
- place at the disposal of the judicial officer a range of treatment-based and community-based sentencing options which have been evaluated to have a more meaningful impact in terms of behaviour modification.

In light of the fact that the Cayman Islands needs to be more innovative and solution-oriented in its response to drug abuse, implementing a drug court is recommended.

Drug Treatment in Prison

4.81 As has already been recommended as part of the broader program of inmate rehabilitation, drug treatment would have to be initiated at Northward given the apparent large number of drug abusers in prison. Consider the implications of Table 4L. Moreover, the data reveals that forty three percent (43%) use cocaine- a most addictive substance. The current drug counseling program at Northward prison is wholly inadequate. As a rule, one does not counsel a person out of addiction. Addiction is an illness that requires treatment and the inmates that require it are not getting the appropriate intervention.

4.82 Drug use is a complex phenomenon and there are different categories of users. Admittedly, not all drug users are addicts. Therefore a diagnostic system must be in place to identify those who need treatment. However, all in all, a program that has detoxification, treatment and rehabilitative

components is necessary for a number of inmates. Prison cannot solve the problem of addiction but is a very expensive way of containing its victims.

Drug Throughcare

4.83 In addition to the range of supports that need to be given to some ex-prisoners (see section on Managing Released Inmates), provision must also be made for rehabilitating drug abusers to access appropriate support services upon release. Drug Throughcare therefore relates to the treatment and support offered to prisoners making the transition from prison to community. Drug dependent offenders are a very vulnerable category of ex-prisoner. Unless the treatment they receive in prison is maintained on their return to the community, the chances that they will relapse and re-offend to support their drug use are great. Therefore a well-conceptualized program of drug throughcare is needed in the Cayman Islands through which rehabilitating drug abusers can access appropriate services upon release.

4.84 However, like much else in the criminal justice system, effective throughcare is reliant on solid inter-agency co-operation. As a matter of fact, in the entire process of the management of offenders, there needs to be greater awareness of how the actions—or inaction—of one agency impacts on the other. For example, the inability of the Probation Aftercare Unit to give

appropriate support and supervision to parolees will result in a high rate of recall, which impacts the prison. So all the various agencies- Probation, Department of Children and Family Services, CAYS Foundation, the Police, the Courts, the Prison...and eventually those organizations which are recommended in this Report, need to have a clear understanding of their connectivity. Powerful synergies should exist among them and they should remain acutely aware of the ripple effect that their efficiency (or inefficiency) can have through the whole system. Therefore there needs to be a common thread connecting the delivery of services in the management of offenders in the Cayman Islands.

CHAPTER 5

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Introductory Comments

5.1 Families are one of the strongest socializing forces in life. Parents, as heads of the household, have a tremendous responsibility to inculcate in their children, from birth, the norms and values they wish them to possess. Parents are to be loving, attentive, accepting of their children and play a pivotal role during the critical years of their development. At the same time parents, have the responsibility to guide and direct their children in pro-social behaviours, offer consistent discipline and impart a wide range of positive principles for living. During their most impressionable years, parents are duty bound to teach their children honesty, the ability to delay gratification and to control unacceptable behaviour, respect for themselves, and respect for the rights and property of others. In this regard, families are not only the cornerstone of society but parents should be the primary agents of crime prevention. They have the first chance, and indeed the most critical chance, to influence an individual's patterns of behaviourand of course the committing of crime is a behaviour.

5.2 Undoubtedly the responsibility that rests on the shoulders of parents is great and, generally speaking, there is no formal training and preparation for the role and function of the parent, only the individual's own observations and experiences of what obtained in their household when they were growing up. Let us therefore consider the fundamental and comprehensive damage that is done when the parenting process goes awry and the family, instead of being a source of positive socialization, becomes a dysfunctional entity characterized by negative practices and patterns of behaviour. The character development and the behavioural dispositions of young family members tend to be adversely affected.

5.3 In his article "*Early Predictors of Male Delinquency: A Review*", Rolf Loeber and colleagues extensively examined the most important predictors of male offending and found that the majority were specifically associated with the family³⁶. These included:

- a) separation from parents;
- b) domestic violence;
- c) poor parenting and child management (i.e. child abuse and neglect)
- d) childhood anti-social behaviour;
- e) low intelligence and low educational attainment;
- f) offending by parents and siblings.

³⁶ Loeber, R. & Dishion, T. (1983) "Early predictors of male delinquency: A review." *Psychological Bulletin*, 94, pp. 68-99; Loeber, R & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1987) "Prediction." In H.C. Quay (ed) **Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency**, pp. 325-82. New York: Wiley.

Against this backdrop, it was considered critical in this study on criminal risk factors in the Cayman Islands to examine the family background and experiences of inmates. In this regard, a number of variables were examined and will be discussed below. These included:

- Poor Parenting Skills – the teenaged mothers of offenders
- Parental Separation and Absence
- Rejection by Parent (s)
- Domestic Conflict and Violence
- Child Abuse
- Alcoholism among family members
- Illicit Drug Use among Members of Inmate's Household
- Criminality among family members

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Poor Parenting Skills

5.4 The first interesting finding was that a large proportion of the mothers of inmates started their parenting function while they were still teenagers. Inmates were directly asked “How old was your mother when she had her first child?” As the Table below shows, while there were a number of

inmates who did not know the answer that question, almost half of the inmates (47%) nevertheless gave information that revealed that their mothers took on the role of a parent while still a teenager, in some cases as young as 15 and 16 years old.

Table 5a

Mother's Age at Birth of First Child		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
16 years and under	5	16.7
17 -19 years	9	30
20 – 23 years	7	23.3
Over 23 years	2	6.7
N.R/D.K/C.R. (no response/ don't know / can't remember)	7	23.3
TOTAL	30	100%

5.5 While poor parenting can be delivered at any age, the reality is that a teenage mother is hardly in a position to provide quality parenting unless she, still a child herself, will be significantly supported in the parenting process by, let us say, the extended family. However, the trend in our busy modern world is that the traditional functions associated with the extended family are quickly disappearing and in this regard, the teenaged mother is essentially left to raise the child on her own. The father, often young himself, is either unable or unwilling to take on the parenting responsibility and is therefore often absent.

The mother becomes frustrated and angry because her own youth has been truncated or, alternatively, she is undedicated to the demands of motherhood. The result is that sometimes the child is either mistreated or neglected.

5.6 In the scenario of teenaged pregnancy, with children giving birth to children, the implications for proper child rearing are often catastrophic. Such individuals obviously have limited parenting skills and they themselves frequently originate from home environments which offered, and will offer, very little by way guidance and positive socialization. It essentially displays how anti-values are transmitted from one generation to another. This perpetuation of negative family culture is unfortunate and always proves to be strain on state resources. The Cayman Islands Department of Children and Family Services would confirm this since this grouping makes up a significant portion of their clientele. In this regard, however, the establishment of the Young Parents Program in Grand Cayman is a laudable effort in addressing the needs of teenaged mothers and fathers.

Parental Separation and Absence

5.7 In the Cayman Islands Crime Study, inmates were asked “Were your parents married or living together when you were growing up (before the age of 17)?” In many cases, the inmate’s parents were not together, either during most or all of his childhood and adolescence. It would be agreed that these are impressionable years and in social learning theory and behavioural science, it is thought best if the child is exposed to unified, positive parenting during his pre-adult years.

5.8 In most cases, it was the father who was absent. While Caribbean families have been traditionally matrifocal and matriarchal, it cannot be denied that fathers have an important role to play in the child rearing process. In terms of the development and socialization of male children, fathers need to be present to provide a positive mirror image of responsible fatherhood and spousal relations upon which the child can model his behaviour for the future. However, during the interviews, even at times when the information was not solicited, many of the offenders did not hesitate to relate the pain they experienced as a result of their parent’s abandonment and the way in which they believe it has affected them. Some inmates cried, others did everything to hold back the tears. For example, one 40 year old interviewee,

a convicted murderer and recalled parolee who has spent more time in prison than out, had this to say.

“Daddy was never around. He was either at sea or in another district with another woman. He stopped in now and again and I mean ‘now and again!’ I don’t know what a father’s love is or nothing like that. I had a rough life, you know.”

In the Family Background section of the interview, when asked:

Q. G (25): “Was there ever a period in your life when you felt rejected by either of your parents/guardians, as if they didn't care about you or love you or appreciate you as their child? ”

He replied *“Yes, my father. I didn’t know what a father was”*.

He was further asked:

Q G (25a) “Do you think that the relationship between the two of you has had any influence on you i.e. your outlook on life or your behaviour, or your being in here now?”

“Well if you have a good father, he will give you good advice, give you a little affection, little love. I never sat down with my father as a little boy. No advice on how to treat a girl. I don’t know what a father’s love is,” he declaredly sadly.

5.9 In commenting about the absence of this father, another inmate (Interviewee sample no. 68) said: *“He left and went to Miami when I was a baby. I raise up with out a father, I don’t know what a father’s love is.”*

When asked if he kept in contact with him, he said

“No, I never get a 1 cent from him.”

This inmate, who has 2 children, also made an interesting comment, *“I could only deal with a child based on what I have in my heart.”* He made reference to the fact that he, his 3 brothers, a sister are for 3 different fathers, none of whom were in the home to perform a parenting role. He explained that his mother was working 3 jobs. *“That’s why we turn out so wild, she wasn’t there in the night to keep us,”* he exclaimed. When asked:

Q. G 10 “With which household member did you spend most of your time when growing up?”, he replied, *“My sister was the one that kinda took care of me anyhow but she was kinda wild...smoking weed and stuff.”*

5.10 The above story, albeit sketchy, paints a picture of parenting deficiencies and a lack of parental guidance due to the mother being out to work and all the fathers being absent. It is interesting to note that all 3 of this inmate’s brothers and his sister have served prison terms for offences including drug use. *“If it was not ganja, it was cocaine, my sister used to be on cocaine”*, said the inmate, a cocaine user himself now serving time for manslaughter³⁷. Unfortunately, he was not the only inmate interviewed with this type of family profile.

³⁷ In this case, the inmate claimed he had to defend himself from another cocaine user with whom he had just shared his cocaine and who drew a knife to “attack me when I sat down to hit my piece.”

Parental Rejection

5.11 Several inmates told painful stories of how they were rejected by their mothers or fathers or both. Based upon studies reviewed, parental rejection appears to be among the most powerful predictors of juvenile delinquency and criminality³⁸ However, beyond this known correlation, much is still left to be learnt in terms of exactly how rejection contributes to criminal causation. Rejection versus affection, involvement and cohesion - how do these relate to criminal tendencies? One social control theory (Hirschi 1969) suggests that individuals conform to societal norms when they are bonded to society. When ties are weakened or broken, then the individual is free to be criminal. According to Hirschi, 4 elements determine the extent to which people bond to society: involvement, commitment, belief, and attachment to society's institutions. Attachment provides the necessary link that allows parents' ideals and expectations to be expressed and received. When alienated from the parent, the child will not internalize moral rules or develop an adequate conscience.

³⁸ Gray-Ray and Ray (1990); Simons, Robertson, Downs, (1989); Tolan (1988); Pfouts et al (1981).

5.12 Bonding to parents is therefore viewed as an essential element in the developmental process leading to conformity. Poor child-parent attachment reduces commitment to academic and long-term social and economic goals, thus reducing the chances of conventional success. In this manner, initial absence of child–parent bonding is tied to subsequent lack of adherence to society’s conventional institutions.

5.13 The interview instruments of some inmates in fact read like a soap opera—amazing, enthralling and a convoluted web of intrigue and painful experiences. *“I got raised with the mother and sister of the man I thought was my father. My grandmother told me that my mother wasn’t taking care of me, so at 6 weeks old my mother handed me over to the family of the man she thought was my father. It was only when I left prison the last time that I realized that he was not my father. The day before my 22nd birthday I found out who my real father was, and I didn’t need him then,”* he said in a quiet but matter-of-fact tone.

When the inmate was asked,

Q. G23 “When you were growing up, would you say that your parents/guardians did the best within their means to take care of you, or do you feel that you were neglected or treated badly in some way?” He replied,

My parents did not do nothing for me when I was growing up but the sister of my adopted father took good care

Q. G(25): "Was there ever a period in your life when you felt rejected by either of your parents/guardians, as if they didn't care about you or love you or appreciate you as their child? "

I still feel that way to this day, Miss. Mum, makes me feel like I was not good enough...me as a person.

When the inmate was asked "Do you think that the relationship between the two of you has had any influence on you i.e. your outlook on life or your behaviour, or your being in here now", he gave the following revelation.

"Yes, like my bad temper. I know it comes from the pain I feel. I had hated her for sending me away. I could not take it out on her, so I took it out on other people. That even used to affect some of my relationships. Me and a girl would be going good and from the time I see her talking with my mother, I don't want nothing more to do with her."

In discussing his long-held pain, he said,

"It makes me feel hateful, Miss. When I graduated, they had a function at the Lions Centre which I was involved in. I did it to get her approval but she never came. Nothing in my life she never been to, Miss. And then I started dropping from Set 1 to Set 3. I just stopped caring whether I did good or bad, Miss."

5.14 It pained this inmate to talk about his mother, yet he did not desist and, even on the brink of tears, he could not resist. It is clearly an experience which has wounded him deeply and which in turn has impacted his relationships

with females. At 16 years of age, he was sentenced to 2 years for Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) – cutting the throat of a girl in whom he was interested but who apparently rebuffed his advances. Perhaps his thinking was that he was not going to take anymore rejection from any woman. He is now serving 14 years for rape – a crime of violence against women. When asked about his recommendations for programs for Northward, he requested psychological counseling.....a clear cry for the help he is not getting.

5.15 What might have been a slight source of comfort was if the above interview was an exception but it was not. Forty three percent (43%) of the respondents in this study indicated that they did not feel accepted and loved by their parent(s)/guardians, as Chart 5.1 and Table 5A below show.

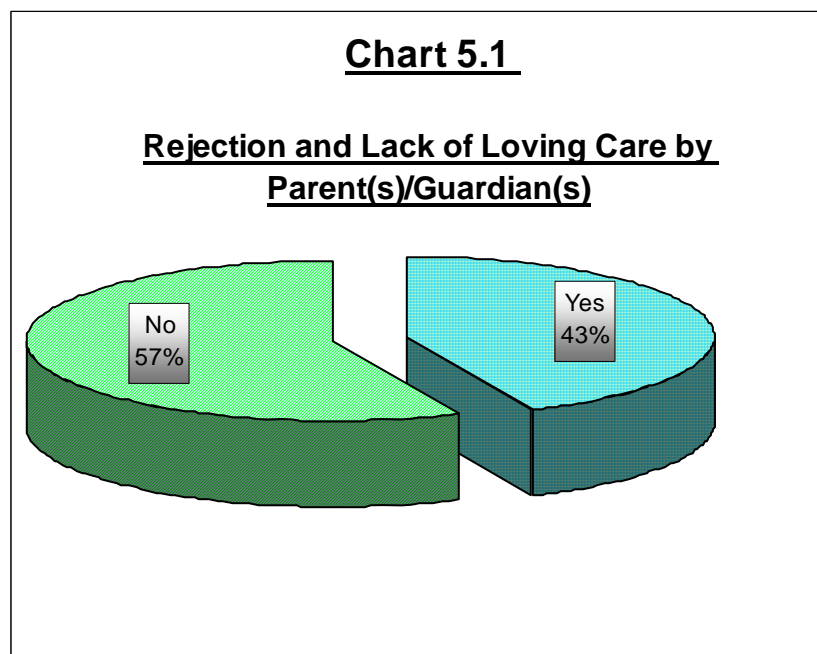


TABLE 5A

Rejected by Whom (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Father	3	23.1
Mother	4	30.8
Both Mother and Father	5	38.5
Foster family and Step dad	1	7.7
SUB-TOTAL	13	100%

5.16 Inmate Sample No. 39, a cocaine addict who commits burglaries to support his habit, is another case that comes readily to mind. Having indicated that his father was not around, that he did not know what accounted for his absence and that he did not know him until he was about 19 years old, the story gets uglier with the realization that the inmate also did not feel loved and accepted by his mother.

“About 3 or 4 weeks after I was born, she gave me away to my aunt. She left and came back when I was bout 10/11, then she left again. My mother had a boyfriend in prison last year and she would come and look for him but never look for me and we were in the same dorm,” he explained looking hurt.

When asked Q G23 “When you were growing up, would you say that your parents/guardians did the best within their means to take care of you, or do you feel that you were neglected or treated badly in some way?” He replied,

“My aunt did her best but I was treated badly by my mother and father. She did not look up to me as her son. My mother never sit down and had a conversation with me yet”.

How did this make you feel? *“Bad, I am nobody to her. Like if I am nobody that exists to her,”* said this inmate, who has 2 children of his own. He admits that he was a heavy drinker before he came to prison and that he would just get drunk. He also made to the following comment:

“Not feeling loved by my mother also pushed me to start hanging with older guys and they were using (drugs). So these older friends got me involved in using drugs.”

Many of the men interviewed related detailed life histories of being abandoned, being rejected and neglected, just being hurt as children and, as criminological literature would attest, these are crime generative circumstances.

Domestic Conflict and Violence

5.17 Inmate Sample No. 52, a well-established drug dealer who is on remand for 36 offences including possession of an illegal firearm, indicated during the interview that quarrelling, fighting and knife fights were “normal in our house”. When he was asked:

Q. G19 “How were disagreements in your family handled?” He unashamedly answered:

“Fighting. So often, it is normal. In fact it will teach my sisters to defend themselves if any man ever hit them and I am not there to defend them”.

“How do you feel about the way disagreements were settled in the family?”

“O.K. It taught you how to defend yourself.”

The above excerpt is a classic example of how young family members can be socialized into anti-values which in turn become accepted behaviour for them. Social learning theory argues that aggressive behaviour is learnt; as parents display aggressive behaviour, children learn to imitate it as an acceptable means of achieving goals³⁹.

³⁹ Mednick, Baker, and Carothers (1990) “Patterns of Family Instability and Crime: The Association of the Timing of the Family’s Disruption with Subsequent Adolescent and Young Adult Criminality.” *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 19 (3): 201-220

There were also a number of examples where inmates indicated that there was a great deal of marital discord and spousal abuse. In this regard it should be noted that the relationship between parental conflict and delinquency is well established. Several studies have examined the link between domestic disharmony and behavioural outcomes associated with delinquency and criminality. For example, families of delinquents and young offenders have a greater frequency of parental disagreements, more negative emotional experiences, and less willingness to compromise⁴⁰.

Child Abuse

5.18 Given the correlation between child abuse and subsequent delinquency and criminality by the abused individual, abusive home environments was one of the variables examined in this Cayman Islands Study on factors that predispose to criminality. It was unfortunate to discover that a number of the inmates had suffered various forms of abuse while growing up. Once again, it is important to note that child abuse is not just a serious social problem and a regrettable experience, it can be criminogenic; which is why it was thought necessary to report on it.

⁴⁰ Lorion, R., Tolan, P., Wahler, R., (1987) “**Prevention.**” In *Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency*, edited by Herbert Quay. New York: John Wiley and Sons: 417-450.

5.19 The relationship between abuse and offending has been described as the “cycle of violence” or the “inter-generational transmission of violence” and is attributed to the notion that violence begets violence (Widom, 1989). For years protagonists of this view have boldly stated that today’s abused and neglected children become tomorrow’s violent offenders (Curtis, 1963). Siegel and Senna (1991) claim that abuse “ encourages [the victims] to use aggression as a means of solving problems, prevents them from feeling empathy for others and diminishes their ability to cope with stress.”

5.20 During the interview, even at times when the information was not solicited inmates did not refrain from sharing some of the horrible experiences of maltreatment that occurred in their lives and which have apparently left them psychologically and emotionally wounded and mal-adjusted. For example, Inmate Sample No. 42, one Northward’s “big and bad” criminals, cried at 4 different points during the interview, not as a result of any remorse related to his criminal activity but specifically at times when he reflected on his childhood.

“She took her stress out on her children. Always used to beat me,”

he said referring to his mother. He then explained that his father, who has

served time in prison, also abused him and used to unmercifully beat him and his younger brother, who is also now in Northward Prison.

“One time he beat me so bad that the skin had come off my leg. I was in hospital for 2 or so months,” he said wiping the tears from his eyes with his T-shirt. *“They used to beat me so much that sometimes I used to get headaches for hours. That is why there is so much anger in me. I was small.....I could not defend myself. Now I am older, somebody do me something, I retaliate,”* said this 28 year old inmate. He has been recalled from parole because of a Grievous Bodily Harm charge and must now serve out his 10-year sentence having shot someone.

5.21 During his childhood, after his mother moved from East End to Georgetown, he was placed in foster care but

“me and this guy ran away from the foster home because it was abusive at times and I ended up going by my Mum’s apartment. But my mother took me back to the foster home and they beat me and tied me up for about 3 days with rope,” he said crying. *“If I had a more supportive family, these things would not have happened to me. The social worker (named) was not even checking on me. The foster father (named) ended up molesting one of the girls and that is how they found out that it was not a good situation and moved everybody from the home. I went to Bonaventure,”* he explained.

What is more unfortunate is that, as a juvenile, this particular inmate was in foster care and then the Bonaventure Home -official placements - and yet

has never once been in therapy for the abuse and eventual rejection he received from BOTH his parents. Time does not permit the reporting of some of the other stories of abuse.

- 5.22 In summary, there is a lot of unresolved pain and deep-seated hurt in the lives of many inmates, mainly as a result of negative childhood experiences. This is not a matter of someone being “soft and sensitive.” These men, in some cases hardcore criminals capable of the most serious and violent crimes, are not “softies”. However the reality is that unresolved pain often deteriorates into unresolved anger which often finds violent expression. In other words, it can be one of the contributory factors to criminal behaviour. In many cases, the anger is displaced. However, as any psychologist would confirm, it is a serious realization that unresolved issues will always result in maladaptive behaviours, although these can take on many forms and have a variety of manifestations. Drug abuse, alcoholism, fighting, sexual assault, even gang involvement are all maladaptive behaviours, i.e. inappropriate adaptations to some void or unfortunate occurrence in the past. In some cases, these would have been phenomena over which the individual had no control but which have severely affected him.

5.23 Other problematic behaviours in the family setting were examined in this study mainly because of the terrible impact they can have on the entire household, either in terms of socializing young members into those patterns of behaviours or in terms of the devastating effects that sometimes result from such practices. Below the findings are presented and discussed.

Alcohol Abuse in the Family

5.24 Alcohol abuse refers to the drinking of alcoholic beverages to such an extent rational thinking is impaired and major aspects of the individual's life - such as work, school, family relationships and responsibilities, personal safety and health - are seriously and repeatedly affected. It is important to stress that, perhaps more than the person with the drinking problem, it is members of the household, particularly the young and vulnerable, who suffer the most in the process. Destructive experiences - domestic violence, child abuse and neglect- tend to be common in households in which an alcoholic is present. The child is constantly exposed to inconsistent and unpredictable behaviour and is often deprived of support, adequate supervision and love. As a result the children of alcohol abusers tend to lack basic trust, avoid intimacy, have poor interpersonal relationships, exhibit low tolerance to frustration and have poor control of their impulses (Mendelson and Mello, 1992). Poor

educational performance, disruptive behaviour at school, delinquency, as well as alcohol and drug abuse are some of the negative expressions of children who feel trapped in the snare of an alcoholic-centred home.

5.25 Given the factors associated with alcohol abuse, it is not surprising that 53% of the prison inmates in the Cayman Islands indicated that they were raised in a home in which a heavy drinker resided (see Table 5B below). Moreover, the majority of those identified with the drinking problem were men – mainly the fathers. This finding suggests that the male role modeling experienced by these inmates was truly a negative one, a factor which in itself predisposes the young male to antisocial and maladaptive behaviours.

TABLE 5B

Alcoholism among Family Members (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
Relationship to Inmate	No. of Inmates	Percentage
No One	14	46.7
Father	8	26.7
Mother	1	3.3
Brother(s)	1	3.3
Brother(s) and Father	1	3.3
Uncle	2	6.7
Uncle and Father	1	3.3
Grandmother, Mother and Father	1	3.3
Other (includes Sister, Cousin, Step-parent)	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100%

5.26 One inmate, a 46 year old cocaine addict now in HMP Northward for approximately the 10th time, told of the trauma of residing with his alcoholic father. When asked about the social climate within his family, he referred to the quarrelling and fights that characterized his home.

“Dad started drinking hard and my sister and I used to be crying all the time. My father used to burst my mother’s....too. When he was drunk, he would come home and fight. These are the things I sits down and cry (about), the way he used to abuse us. I was afraid to go to sleep around him when he angry and drunk. I went and sleep under the floor boards,” said the inmate who indicated that they were “real poor.”

“I always ask myself if I going to be like my father and if I going to treat people, especially my children, the way that he treated his,” he commented.

Although the children of alcoholics sometimes minimize the extent to which this experience has contributed to their personal difficulties, they nevertheless carry lifelong emotional scars, whether they recognize it or not. It should however be noted that early intervention in problem families could reduce the criminal risks associated with alcohol abuse. Therefore, it is recommended that help is needed not only for the problem drinker but for the members of the household as well who are usually traumatized and seriously affected by the behaviour of the alcoholic.

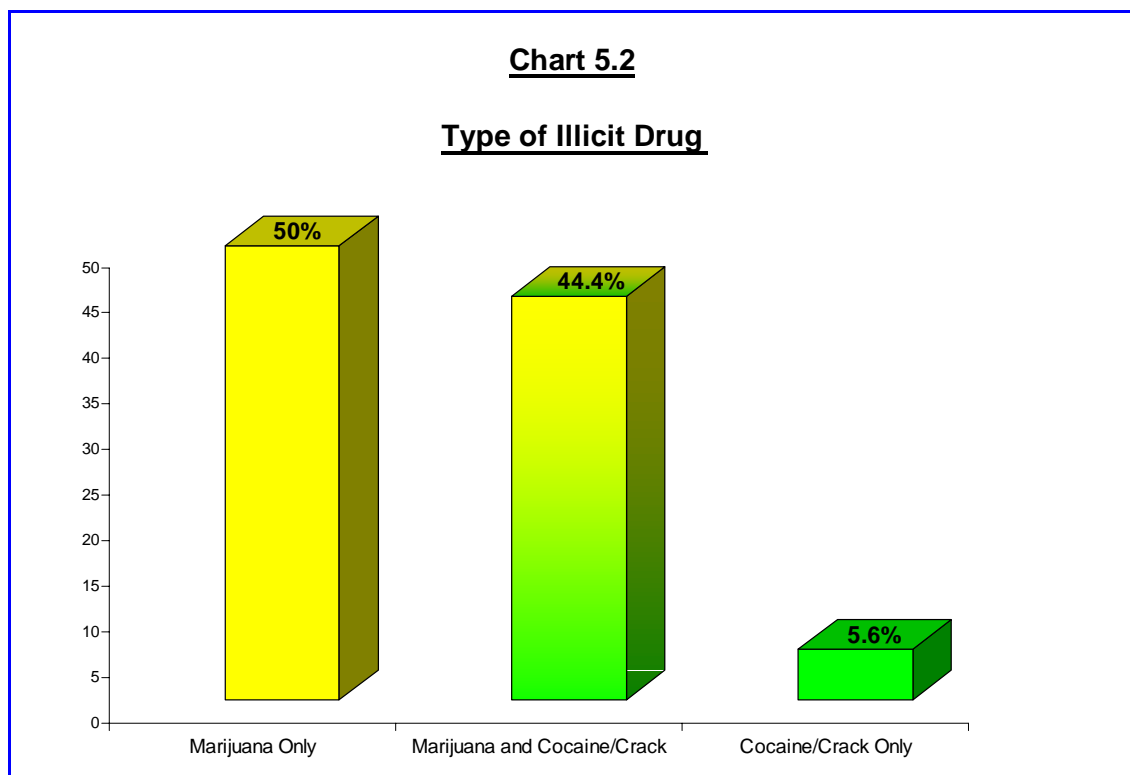
Drug Abuse in the Family

5.27 Drug abuse in the families of inmates at Northward and Eagle House measured disturbingly high. As Table 5C below shows 60% of the men in prison come from a household in which illegal drugs were used. In most of those cases, it was the brothers of the inmates who were involved in drugs. Based on the anecdotal information gleaned from the interviews, if the brothers were older, they were also often the ones responsible for introducing the inmate to taking drugs. It is interesting to note that in a number of instances, there was multiple drug use i.e. instances where more than one member of the household was abusing drugs, as reflected in Table 5C below.

TABLE 5C

Illicit Drug Use among Members of Inmate's Household (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
Relationship to Inmate	No. of Inmates	Percentage
No One	12	40
Father	3	10
Father, Mother, Sister and Uncle	1	3.3
Brother(s)	8	26.7
Brother(s) and Sister	3	10
Brother(s) and Mother	1	3.3
Other (Step-parent, People in Reformatory School, etc.)	2	6.7
TOTAL	30	100%

5.28 The Chart below reveals more disturbing information. Among those household members who did use illegal drugs (n=18 in the sample), half of them use(d) cocaine in some form. This is a different profile from most other Caribbean countries where marijuana is still the drug of choice⁴¹. Fifty percent (50%) is a high rate use for cocaine, which is a very dangerous illegal substance (see discussion in Chapter 4 on Substance Abuse).



⁴¹ See Forde, Y. C., *Report on Criminal Risk Factors*, 1997 and Forde, Y. C., *Caricom's Drug Control Policy*, 2004

5.29 In some instances, drug abuse was not just a “family” activity but it was part of the culture of the neighbourhood. One inmate, Sample No. 66 a cocaine addict who committed burglaries to support his habit, said:

“As a child I grew up right in the crossroads – the centre of drugs. All my neighbours sold and smoke drugs –The (name), the (name). All those boys were older than me and used” Where? *The Land on Watercourse Road,”* he replied.

Q. H (6) Did any member of your household use drugs?

“Yes, all (4) of my brothers and 1 sister”

He further explained that all 5 have served time, either for importation and/or use of cocaine.

Q. H (6c) Would you say that it affected you in anyway?

“Definitely, my brothers involvement affected me because it was all around me....their friends,...my friends, next door neighbours,I just followed them. As a child, I can’t even remember ever having a good conversation with any of my brothers. Nobody was concerned about nobody’s future or any thing like that.”

Here we see not only the destruction of a family by drugs but the desecration of a community. Illegal drugs had so permeated the neighbourhood that it was not uncommon for there to be drug abuse by more than 1 member of several households in a given area. It cannot be denied that there are

neighbourhoods like this in Grand Cayman which are essentially known for extensive drug use and drug dealing (See Table G8 in Appendix B). If the recommendations that will be made at the end of this Chapter are implemented, a miscellany of problems would be addressed including the substance abuse in the family.

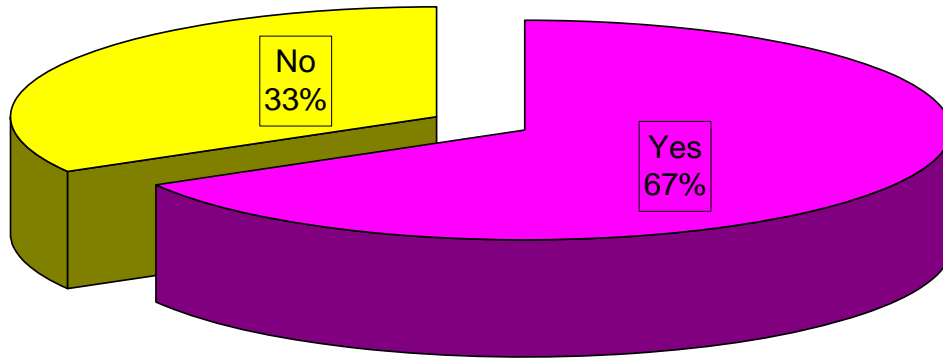
Criminality among Family Members

5.30 Given the forgoing discussion on unwholesome family life and the impact of negative socialization on its members, it was not surprising, although telling, to discover what appears to be a criminal culture existing among some families. As Chart 5.3 below shows, two-thirds (2/3) of the inmates indicated that members of their household have been before the courts on criminal charges, have been convicted and in many cases have serve sentences in prison⁴².

⁴² This statistic of 67% (See Chart 5.3) compares to 45% in the Barbados study of the male prison population (Forde, Y.C., 1997 Report on Criminal Risk Factors)

Chart 5.3

Family Members of Inmates with Criminal Charges/Convictions



As was the case with other negative behaviours in the family, there was multiple involvement. As Table 5D below shows, in 70% of the cases, the brother(s) of the inmates were cited as the one(s) having been criminally involved while the father featured in 35% of the relationships mentioned.

Table 5D

Relationship of Accused to Inmate (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Father	2	10
Father and Cousin	1	5
Brother(s)	4	20
Brother(s) and Father	1	5
Brother(s), Father and Other (Wife etc.)	1	5
Brother(s), Father, Uncle and Cousin	1	5
Brother(s) and Mother	1	5
Brother(s) and Cousin	3	15
Brother(s) and Other (Wife, Nephews etc.)	2	10
Brother(s) and Sister(s)	1	5
Sister(s)	2	10
Sister(s) and Father	1	5
SUB-TOTAL	20	100%

This finding is quite significant since a self-reported study in Britain on *Young People and Crime* has shown that nearly three-quarters ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the offenders had siblings who were also in trouble with the police (Graham and Bowling, 1995). This suggests that in some families offending is not an individual occurrence but more than one child has become predisposed to criminality, most likely because of negative socialization in the home. Explanations of these types of behavioural trends are mainly premised on

modeling or social learning theory. The argument is that behaviours can be learnt vicariously...by observing other people and adopting their patterns of behaviour. This process tends to occur in personal groups such as the family and peer groups.

5.31 Secondly, what about parents who engage in criminal behaviour? Are their children at increased risk of delinquency and criminal offending? Research in the area of parental criminality has clearly demonstrated that children whose parents have criminal histories are at extremely high risk of delinquency⁴³. The most extensive investigation conducted on the relationship between parental criminality and delinquency/offending on the part of the children actually concluded that “the fact that delinquency is transmitted from one generation to the next is indisputable” (West and Farrington, 1973 and 1977 p.109). Their longitudinal study of British boys shows that criminal fathers tend to produce criminal sons (p.116). These two prolific criminological researchers and writers posit that while criminal fathers do not directly involve their sons in criminality or encourage them to become delinquent, the difference between criminal and non-criminal fathers appears to be related to the inadequate supervision and general poor quality

⁴³ Robins et al, 1975. “**Arrests and Delinquency in Two Generations: A Study of Black Urban Families and their Children.**” *Journal of Psychology and Psychiatry* 16:125-140.

of parenting they provide. In other words, their criminal involvement is just part of a larger picture of irresponsible conduct which happens include poor parenting.

5.32 However, the Director of Cayman Islands Department of Children and Family Services indicated during an interview that in some cases children are under the direction of their parents in the commission of crime. “We have had children who sell drugs for their parents. We know that they do. So the parents are really responsible for destroying their own children,” she said. In the final analysis, it can be assumed that situations vary and certainly there are elements of truth with regard to both positions. Nevertheless, given the reality that behaviours are learnt, there is some validity to the perspective of negative role modeling. A parent who is a “successful” drug dealer making \$8,000 a month, as one remand in Northward indicated as his average income, is a powerful example to a child; particularly if that child has the same “get rich quick” mentality or perceives that that he would never acquire the professional wherewithal to earn that type of income legally.

One may well consider the implications of the above findings against the backdrop that 65% of Northward prisoners have children although, in the majority cases, the children were not in a residential setting with the inmate (their father) prior to his imprisonment (see Tables A11 and A12) in Appendix B). However, in terms of criminality reduction planning, one must consider whether the families of offenders would not benefit from some form of counseling intervention.

Conclusion

5.33 Given the above discussion on Family Background, it is not difficult to conclude that the majority of inmates currently incarcerated came from households which really characterized dysfunctional entities in which the family culture was essentially negative. During the in-depth interviews conducted with the inmates, they had the opportunity to reflect on their experiences in the past and interestingly enough, they displayed a level of discernment which confirmed that they were very much aware of the damage that was done by their home environments and by poor parent-child relations. See Table 5E below which reveals that almost half (43%) of the respondents felt that their parents and family relations in general had a negative and destructive influence on their lives.

TABLE 5E

Inmate's Perception of the Impact of his Parents/Guardians on his Life		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Positive Influence	4	13.3
Negative/Destructive Influence	13	43.3
Take responsibility for my actions	6	20
Not Applicable	6	20
N.R/D.K/C.R.	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100%

5.34 As the excerpts from the interviews presented in this Chapter prove, many inmates spoke candidly about the parental abandonment, the parental rejection, the child abuse, and various other traumatic experiences which have left them emotionally wounded, psychologically warped and mal-adjusted as individuals.

5.35 There is however one interview which is the epitome of negative family experience and highlights a number of factors which, in coalescence, seem to have positioned the 19 year old Eagle House inmate on a path of criminal activity (see footnote 2 in Chapter 4 re his criminal profile).

“I started smoking marijuana from 9 years old to relax my mind from thinking of all the family problems”, said interviewee Sample No. 189.

When probed he explained that they were *“left alone as children”* and that he watched his father rape his oldest sister and burn down the house.

“I saw my father trying to kill my mother, using cocaine and being a nuisance to himself and everyone else”.

He explained that his mother was “afraid of Daddy”, so she went to the Brac to be with her relatives and all the children were put into a Place of Safety. “Mother was in the Brac and my father was in prison”, he explained, so he was placed in the Joyce Hylton Center from 6 until 13 years old when he went to live with his grandmother (father’s mother). See paragraph 3.26 in Chapter 3 re his Education and School Experiences.

5.36 When questioned about the social climate in the household, he said

“My mother and father fought a lot, my grandmother and my mother fought....quarreled and fought. There was fighting everyday”

Q. G 20: “How do you feel about the way disagreements were settled in the family?”

“Upset, broken-hearted. I don’t know how to explain....”

Q G23: “When you were growing up, would you say that your parents/guardians did the best within their means to take care of you, or do you feel that you were neglected or treated badly in some way?” He replied,

“My parents treated me badly. Guardians did the best that they could.”

Q. G25: “Was there ever a period in your life when you felt rejected by either of your parents/guardians, as if they didn't care about you or love you or appreciate you as their child? ”

“Yes, by my parents. I felt that all the time –still feel that way”

Q. G26: Were you ever put down by adults who you came in contact with who told you that you were ‘no good’ or ‘no use’, etc?

“Yes, my mother and my father.” he replied.

Q. G26b: How did this make you feel? *“Like I wanted to kill myself.”*

Q. H4: Was any member of your household an alcoholic?

“Yes, my father, uncle (not the uncle who is my role model),” he emphasized.

Q. H 4a: How did it affect you?

“It got me into drinking, smoking and drugs (adamant no cocaine).”

He was further asked “Were there times when you drank (heavily) alone?

Yes, sometimes..... just did it for myself. When I was by myself and I thought of things – drink helped me to relax from the anger and hurt,” he explained.

Q. H 6: Did any member of you household use drugs?

*“Parents, uncle and sister. Mother and father used cocaine.
Uncle and sister – marijuana.”*

Q. H 6c: Would you say that it affected you in any way? “

*“By my mother and father using it, it ended up in my genes...that’s why I **cherish**
marijuana*

5.37 This inmate, who was first imprisoned at Northward at the age of 16 for offences including burglaries, said that he believed that his use of illegal drugs has influenced his involvement in crime. He has also tested positive for drug use while incarcerated. When asked what he planned to do when he left prison, the inmate, whose girlfriend was pregnant at the time he was interviewed, had this to say:

“Change my life in a better way, stop using drugs and be a good father ...better than mine was to me.”

He is unlikely to achieve any of his above stated objectives without intensive counseling and drug treatment and since the only intervention he is presently getting at Eagle House is drug-related, then the cycle is set to continue. The above account is a powerful example of the fundamental damage that is

done when the parenting process goes awry and of how negative family-related experiences can adversely affect the character development and dispositions of the children.

5.38 The discussion in this Chapter is not some lame attempt to blame other people for the actions of offenders, because ultimately a person must take responsibility for his actions. However, given the purpose of this study, which is to identify the factors that pre-dispose to criminality, it would be remiss not recognize and report on these criminogenic factors which are family-based. As shown throughout this chapter, there are well-established sociological and criminological perspectives on the powerful socializing influence of the institution of the family/household. What occurs during childhood and adolescence - the impressionable years of an individual- often predicts much of the behaviour that will be exhibited in the future and again it must be emphasized that **crime is a form of behaviour**. Therefore, it must be reiterated that any attempt to understand the causes of crime must, first and foremost, seek to understand the causes of behaviour of those who commit it.

RECOMMENDATIONS

5.39 First, a multi-faceted strategy is needed to address the myriad issues discussed above. That approach must be divided into interventions that are preventive and those that are curative.

Curative (reactive)

5.40 Undoubtedly, negative family experiences have done a great deal of damage to the psyche of many of the individuals who we now fear as criminals. The interviews held with the inmates prove this. What is evident is that these hurting men, who have masked their pain over the years with tough exteriors, need, and have long needed, appropriate intervention to address the negative effect of experiences that have left them psychologically scarred and criminally pre-disposed. Had there been a different approach during the school years, many issues might have been resolved at that stage by counsellors. Clearly, they were not. These men are now in prison, usually not for the first time, and they are still hurting and still angry, factors which are most likely contributing to problematic behaviour. It is therefore recommended that psychotherapy and psychological counseling services be made available on frequent basis to the inmates at Northward and Eagle House. These services would allow the inmates to ventilate their feelings

and get professional assistance in confronting and dealing with problematic emotions such as anger, resentment, remorse and deep-seated hurt. Against the backdrop of the above discussion, it must be emphasized that putting a mechanism in place through which issues can be responsibly addressed is not just a nice gesture for someone who has had an unhappy childhood, it is crime preventive in itself.

Preventive (proactive)

5.41 Parents are the primary agents of crime prevention in any society. It is necessary to understand and embrace that concept. Once that is done, one would appreciate the critical importance of supporting parents and the institution for which they are responsible – the family. Parents are potentially the primary agents of crime prevention because they are the primary agents of socialization – the process through which patterns of behaviour are first learnt. It is also the process through which values, norms, and societal mores are passed from one generation to the other. If this process breaks down and the family becomes dysfunctional, then what would be transmitted are anti-values and anti-social, as opposed to pro-social norms, and one could expect problematic behaviours to flow from that household. Everything, therefore, must be done to prevent this from occurring. But how, one may ask? The answer is through family support

programs – interventions which aim to strengthen families and improve the quality of child rearing which occurs in the home. The advantage is that such interventions always yield multiple preventive benefits and in that regard can be viewed as highly cost effective.

5.42 Family support programming has to be multi-tiered. It must be designed and structured to cover the developmental span from infancy to adolescence and programs must range from those that are general to those that are highly specialized, which are intended for parents and children under severe stress and where the family is in crisis. Programs may be categorized as follows:

- Universal Services – offered to any parent or family who might find them helpful;
- Neighbourhood Services – available to families experiencing problems and/or which are living within areas of disadvantage i.e. communities known for drug dealing, extensive drug use, gangs, and other crime related conduct.
- Family Preservation- ‘intensive care’ interventions aimed at families under severe stress including families where children may otherwise be taken into care⁴⁴. Family preservation services tend to be ‘eleventh hour’ interventions offered close to the point of breakdown. Nevertheless, the cost will be lower than allowing the next crisis point to be reached.

5.43 Time does not permit one to give descriptions of programs in the above categories, however, be assured that various programs in those areas of

⁴⁴ The relationship between young people’s care experiences and criminality is not straightforward (Hardiker, P., Exton, K & Barker, M.1991). However, a disproportionate number of inmates in Young Offenders Institutions in England have a care history. In the Cayman Islands, interviews revealed the 33% of the men in prison have been in care and protection or reformatory school as a child (See Table F6 Appendix B).

classifications do exist in other jurisdictions. Moreover, they have already been tried and tested and found to be cost effective methods of improving family life. They can be adopted and adapted to the Cayman Islands so that they are culturally appropriate, but reducing program content should be avoided less the strategy be compromised. It is also advised that these programs are not run by the statutory social services agencies i.e. Department of Children and Family Services in the case of the Cayman Islands. These are to be independently-funded, independently staffed, community-based programs which have a life of their own. Once properly and strategically designed, they would have developed acceptable, non-stigmatizing ways of reaching out to vulnerable families. However, the statutory social services agencies can make referrals to the respective programs.

- 5.44 If the Cayman Islands do not have this range of family support programming, the country needs it....for reasons clearly detailed throughout this Chapter. There are families in our communities that are experiencing various levels of dysfunction and that are in need of therapeutic intervention. However, all intervention cannot be state – driven.

5.45 It is also recommended that the necessary legislative arrangements be made to place on a sound legal footing the ability of judicial officers to order mandatory family therapy in situations where the case reflects evidence of family breakdown. In this regard, judges and magistrates would be encouraged to make full use of the new battery of family support interventions at their disposal in order to assist with attaining the overall objective of delinquency and crime reduction.

5.46 Finally, institutional strengthening for the Department of Children and Family Services and the CAYS Foundation is recommended. These departments have a vital role to play in the crime preventive process simply because clients present daily with problems which are criminal risk factors in themselves – the parental neglect and rejection, child abuse, domestic violence, alcoholism in the family, etc. In other words, these are all the factors which, as discussed throughout this Chapter, serve to pre-dispose individuals to criminal involvement. Therefore, these departments are not just our welfare and social services agencies; they are part of the country's crime prevention strategy and must be given the necessary human, physical and financial resources to carry out their respective mandates effectively.

Negative home environments are the production mills of our future offenders.

CONCLUSION

What are the causes of crime, people often ask. To understand the true cause of crime, one has to focus on the dynamics and processes that have produced the disposition of the criminal. Crime is not some sort of abstract, obtuse phenomenon; crime is about the behaviour of an individual. Therefore in seeking to understand the phenomenon, it is important to ask 'what are the factors that have moulded and influenced that behaviour'. This question is at the centre of the aetiology of crime and the one which has been the subject of this research study.

Through the application of an appropriate criminological framework and a sound research methodology, this study was able to expose those factors that pre-dispose individuals to criminal involvement in the Cayman Islands. This entailed the critical examination and analysis of certain variables which reflected key life experiences, backgrounds, attitudes and behaviours of a sample of imprisoned offenders. In this regard, what has emerged is a profile of the average incarcerated offender in Grand Cayman.

It can be extrapolated from the data that the average incarcerated offender is one who:

- 2-years prior to imprisonment, has not been involved in any wholesome, structured, group-based activity and has spent his spare time aimlessly and using and/or selling drugs;
- attended church as a child and might have even attended Friday Night Youth Group meetings but often engaged in delinquency and offending behaviour despite such involvement;
- (a) performed poorly at school and was in the lower and middle sets if he attended the Middle School, (b) in some cases, had learning deficiencies which went largely untreated in the public school system, and (c) was not exposed to an appropriate educational program that would have allowed him to maintain some commitment to school and achieve success in some specific area of training;
- displayed serious delinquency during his school years and in many cases, (64%), was suspended or expelled more often than not for fighting and/or using drugs;
- had parents who did not support the school teachers and officials in their efforts to address issues involving their child - whether educational or behavioural, and generally came from home environments which were “laissez-faire” and out of sync with the culture of learning;
- is a born Caymanian;
- is incarcerated for multiple offences but the most predominant of which are crimes of gain – drug importation, burglary, etc;
- is not that young –over 25years of age;

- is a persistent offender – with a history of arrests, prior convictions and who has served time in prison on previous occasions;
- began his criminal career early in life, had appeared before juvenile/youth court usually on criminal charges before the age of 15 and probably went to reformatory school;
- in 53% of the cases, was in “lock-up” as a child;
- was first imprisoned as a teenager (50% of the cases);
- does not believe that enough is being done at Northward/Eagle House in terms of rehabilitating him;
- is, if paroled, being insufficiently supported and supervised and who, if discharged at his “earliest date or latest date of release,” does not possess the personal skills required for independent, responsible adult living in the wider society;
- uses drugs, usually marijuana, but a 43% chance of cocaine use at times;
- uses drugs in prison, whether or not he has tested positive during urine checks;
- grew up in a dysfunctional household characterized by negative practices and patterns of behaviour;
- experienced parental separation, abandonment or rejection or child abuse;
- witnessed domestic violence;
- was raised in a household (a) with a heavy drinker, (b) where there was multiple drug use particularly among brothers, and (c) where other member of the family have been convicted of criminal charges and in many cases have also served prison sentences.

One can therefore conclude that the determinants of crime are rooted in the life experiences of the individuals who have been arrested, convicted and incarcerated. Moreover, as the study reveals, the seeds of destruction were often sown early in their youth. However, it is critical to note that when criminal risk factors are present in the life of a child, there must be appropriate early intervention if one wishes to save that individual from drifting down the path of anti-social behaviour, delinquency and ultimately into the revolving doors of the criminal justice system.

It is important to understand that there is a fundamental difference between controlling the incidents of crime and teaching people, from a young age, how to control themselves. Everything must be done to address the circumstances that are crime generative in nature so that the individual does not develop a criminal pre-disposition. It is unfortunate that, over the years, myopic and blinkered views about crime prevention have led to an emphasis on situational crime prevention and control (i.e. policing) much to the neglect of more primary forms of prevention which would have ultimately meant less hassle for the police and also less expenditure. One approach needs to complement the other. Therefore what is hoped for in the Cayman Islands is a comprehensive and holistic crime prevention strategy, one that contains elements of situational crime prevention and dispositional crime prevention which has been the focus of this Report.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

APPENDIX B TABULATED DATA

CONFIDENTIAL

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Sample No:

Date of Interview:

Start Time:

Finish Time:

Introduction (Serves only as a guide to interviewer)

I am a member of a government-sponsored research group and am interested in finding out about the ways in which government, as well as other organisations in Cayman, can offer help and support to communities, families and persons out there. We would like to hear your views on this matter.

I am also going to ask you a number of questions about your past experiences - mainly "things" related to your education, your employment, how you spent your free time before coming to prison, your family background and a bit about life when you were growing up.

As you know we all face challenges, difficulties and frustrations in our lives and I would want you to share freely with me some of the problems you have faced over your lifetime and how you have dealt with them. What you tell me today is very important because it would help me to see life through your eyes and also to understand what government and other organisations can do to ensure a better Cayman Islands for all.

I assure you that this research is strictly confidential. Therefore no reference will be made to your name when compiling the research findings. Your participation in this project is voluntary, so if you don't wish to talk with me, you don't have to.

(FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES ONLY)

(1) AGE (at admission).....

(2) GENDER.....

(3) CONVICTED OR ON REMAND.....

(4) OFFENCE.....

.....

(4) LENGTH OF SENTENCE/PENALTY.....

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(A) PERSONAL HISTORY

(1) Gender:

Male

Female

.....

☐

(2) What was your age at your last birthday?

(Please record age at last birth date).

.....

☐

(3) What is your nationality?

.....

☐

(4) Have you lived in Grand Cayman all your life?

Yes

No

☐

If yes, go to Q 8.

If no. where else?

.....

.....

☐

(5) (For all non-Caymanians): What is your status here in the Cayman Islands?

.....

.....

☐

(6) At the time of your arrest for this present charge (s), were your immigration papers in order?

.....

.....

☐

(7) Do you have any family or friends living here?

.....

.....

☐

(7a) If family, how are they related to you?

.....

.....

☐

(7b) What is their area of residence (district e.g Shedden & Myles Rd; Watlers Rd, etc)?

.....

.....

☐

(8) What is your marital status (e.g. single, married, separated, divorced, widowed)?

.....

☐

(8a) If none of the above, enquire about other type of relationships: visiting, cohabiting, common-law.

.....

.....

☐

(9) Do you have any children?

Yes No

If no, go to the next Section

.....

☐

(9a) How many?

.....

☐

(10) How old are your children?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(11) Were the children living in a family setting with you before you came to prison?

.....

.....

☐

(12) Where are the children now?

.....

.....



(13) How is the child and caregiver (e.g mother, grandmother, etc) being supported?

.....

.....

.....



(B) COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

(1) During the two years before you came in here, how did you spend your spare time?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(2) During this period, what did your leisure activities include?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(3) During the two year period before coming to prison, were you a member of any club(s), association(s) or organisation(s)?

.....

.....

☐

(a) If yes, which?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(4) Tell me something about the nature of the club's activities?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(C) RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT

(1) Did you attend church or any other religious meeting as a child?

Yes

No

.....

☐

What was the denomination?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(2) Did you attend Sunday school?

.....

.....

☐

(3) Would you say that you came from a very religious family?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(4) Did you participate in any church youth group activities?
(prompt: youth groups)

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(a) Were you ever a leader in any of the group's activities?

.....

.....

☐

(5) Who took/sent you to church as a child?

.....

.....

☐

(6) During the two years before you came to prison, did you go to church or to any kind of religious meeting?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

If no, go to question (8).

(7) How often did you go?

.....

.....

☐

(8) How old were you when you stopped attending church?

.....

.....

☐

(9) Why did you stop?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(10) What guidelines for living, if any, would you say you have learned from attending church and/or Sunday school?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(11) Do you now attend the prison church services?

.....

☐

If no, why not?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(D) EDUCATIONAL/SCHOOL BACKGROUND

Primary Education

(1) Which primary school did you attend?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(2) Did you take the Year 6 test?

Yes No

.....

.....

.....

☐

(2a) If no, did you take the National Achievement Test?

Yes No

.....

.....

.....

☐

- (3) Did you take part in any after-school activities at this school?
(Prompt: clubs such as football, cubs, after school program etc.,)

.....

.....

.....

...

☐

- (4) Have you ever had a suspension while at primary school?
- Yes No

.....

.....

..

☐

- (5) How old were you when you left primary school?

.....

.....

☐

(6) When you left primary school, did you attend?

(a) George Hicks / Middle School

☐

(b) Cayman Islands High School

☐

(c) a private school. Specify

.....

.....

☐

(d) other

.....

.....

☐

Secondary Education

(7) Did you attend middle school?

Yes

No.

.....

.....

☐

If no, go to question (11).

(8) In middle school, were you in the top, middle or lower Set?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(9) Which Year did you reach in this school?

(Prompt: Year 7, 8 or 9)

.....

.....

☐

(9a) If not year 9, why?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(10) While at Middle School Did you ever receive a suspension or attend the alternative education programme?

.....

.....

☐

(11) Did you attend high school?

.....
.....

☐

(12) Did you complete high school? (i.e complete Year 12)

Yes No

.....

☐

(12a) Did you receive a graduation certificate?

Yes No

.....
.....

☐

(13) What certificates did you receive?

(Specify if basic or general CXC, GCE, City & Guilds, COSE / Certificate courses)

.....
.....
.....

☐

(14) Did you attend an after school program in which someone showed an interest in your homework?

Yes

No

.....
.....

☐

(15) Did your parent(s) or anyone else in your home show an interest in your homework?

Yes

No

.....

☐

If yes, who?

.....

☐

(16) Did you take part in any after-school activities at high school?
(prompt clubs such as house competitions, scouts, Duke of
Edinburgh award, key club, etc)

.....
.....
.....

☐

(17) At what age did you leave high school?

.....

(18) If before normal school leaving age, why did you leave?

.....

.....

.....

(19) Did you ever receive a suspension while at high school or attend the alternative education programme?

Yes

No

.....

(19a) If yes, did you complete your stint in the program or did you drop out?

.....

.....

(20) Did you experience any difficulty learning in school?

Yes

No

.....

.....

☐

(20a) If yes, did anyone pay attention to this problem?

.....

.....

☐

Post-Secondary Education/Training

(21) What did you do when you left school?

.....
.....

☐

(22) Since leaving school, have you pursued any further education?

Specify:

.....
.....

☐

(23) Have you ever received any vocational or skills training?

.....
.....
.....

☐

(23a) If yes, which type?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(24) Do you have any qualifications in this area of training?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(E) EMPLOYMENT/WORK HISTORY

(1) While you were at school, did you do any part-time or vacation work?

Yes No

(a) If yes, specify work and years

(2) Please provide the following information about your employment history.

(a) Period of Employment		(b) Emp't/Job	(c) Reasons for
Leaving	From	To	
.....	
.....	
.....	
.....	

(3) With respect to the first job that you had, was that the kind of job you wanted?

.....
.....

☐

(4) When you were in school, what type of work did you want to do as an adult?

.....
.....
.....
.....

☐

(5) Do you think that the school or educational system did enough to prepare you for the job that you wanted? Yes No

☐

(a) If yes, go to question (6).

(b) If no, what else do you think could have been done?

.....
.....
.....

☐

(6) (If applicable) What would you say has prevented you from being what you wanted to be?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(7) Who is your role model? (Expand: When you think of a successful person that you would wish to be like, what is it about that person that makes them successful in your eyes?)

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(8) At the time of your conviction/(you were placed on remand), what were you doing for a living?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(a) If yes, were you working full-time, part-time or were you self-employed?

.....

.....

.....

(Record all occupational activity)

☐

(b) What was the rate of pay per day/week/month?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(F) CRIMINAL BACKGROUND

(1) Why are you now at Northward/Eagle House?

(This question is intended to get the inmates' subjective opinion on the reasons for their incarceration)

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☐

(2) Were you ever arrested for matters other than this present charge(s)?

Yes

No

.....

.....

☐

If yes, specify number of times

.....

.....

☐

(3) As a child, were you ever placed in lock-up?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

(3a) If yes, for what?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(3b) How old were you?

.....

☐

(4) Did you go before the courts on any matter before the age of 17?

Yes No

.....

If no, go to question (7)

☐

(4a) If yes, for what?

.....

.....

☐

(b) How old were you?

.....

.....

☐

(b) What was your penalty if applicable?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(6) Were you ever sent to the CIMI, Bonaventure or any similar institution
e.g. place of safety or reformatory School?

.....
.....
.....

☐

(7) Is this your first time in Northward/Eagle House?

.....
.....
.....

☐

(7a) If no, when you were last released, were you released on EDR or
parole?

☐

(7b) Were you put on an after-care plan? Yes No

☐

(7c) If yes, what happened?.....

☐

(8) If inmate indicates no involvement in the Juvenile Justice System,
 ask: Apart from your present charge, were you convicted of any offence(s)
 in the past?

Yes

No

.....

☐

(a) If yes, list the following

Offence	Date of Conviction (month and year)	Order of Court	Type of drugs (if applicable)
.....
.....
.....

☐

(9) If not indicated in the response to question 8(a), ask the inmate:
Have you ever been involved in any incidents of violence (whether
charged or not)?

Yes

No

☐

(a) If yes, ask respondent to give details. If no, go to question (12).

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(10) Was a weapon involved in these acts of violence? If yes, specify
weapon.

.....

.....

.....

☐

(11) Did you take a weapon to the scene?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(12) Have you ever been involved in criminal activity or violence as part of a group activity?

(Probe for gang involvement).

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☐

(13) How old were you when you were first sent to Northward/Eagle House? (this includes remand periods)

.....

.....

.....

☐

(14) How old were you when you were convicted for your present offence(s)? (convicted prisoners only).

.....

(15) Did you do it/Are you guilty? (convicted prisoners only)

Yes No.

If no, go to question 16.

(a) If yes, what would you say caused you to do it?

.....

.....

.....

(b) Now that you have been in here, how do you think you would respond to the same circumstances now?

.....

.....

.....

(16) Has being in prison changed you/your views about life?

.....

.....

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☐

(17) In terms of programs, do you think enough is being done here at Northward/Eagle House to help you avoid getting into trouble/ criminal activity again?

Yes

No.

.....

.....

☐

If no, what do you recommend.

.....

.....

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☐

(18) What do you plan to do when you are released from this institution?

.....

.....

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☐

(19) Upon release from here what sort of supports do you have in terms of employment, housing, staying drug free, and not re-offending

.....

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☐

If no, what do you recommend?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(G) FAMILY BACKGROUND

(1) What is the nationality of your parents?

Mother.....Father.....

☐

(2) What do they do for a living?

.....

.....

☐

(3) Were your parents married or living together when you were growing up (before the age of 17)?

Yes

No

.....

.....

☐

(a) If no, who was not around?

.....

☐

(4) Can you say what accounted for his/her absence?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(5) Who raised you during these years? (Note changes in guardianship during this period).

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(6) If guardianship indicated is other than mother or father, then ask:

Where were your parents?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(a) If emigration, where were they residing?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(b) Did you visit them at any time?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

(c) Did you live with them at any time?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

If yes, when, and for what period of time.

.....

.....

☐

(d) If no, did that person keep in contact with you?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(7) In which district/area did you live during the two year period before coming to Northward/Eagle House?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(7a) Did you live there all your life?

.....

.....

.....

☐

If no, where else?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(8) Where did you normally "hang out"?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(9) Do you have any brothers and sisters?

Yes

No

.....

☐

(a) If yes, specify number?

.....

.....

.....

.....

(b) How old was your mother when she had her first child?

.....

.....

(10) With which household member did you spend most of your time when growing up?

.....

.....

(11) Who (r/ship) was the main provider in your household when you were growing up?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(12) Were all of the adult members of your family working?

.....

.....

☐

(13) Have you ever received services from any of the social work agencies? (e.g. Children and Family Services)

Yes No

☐

If no, go to question 14.

.....

☐

(a) What was the reason for going to that department/ agency.

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(14) Has any member of your family/household ever received any type of assistance from a Social/Welfare Agency?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(15) Has any member of your family ever been before the courts on a criminal charge?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

If yes, [document the following: the relationship (e.g. father), the charge, penalty if any imposed].

Relationship.....

.....

☐

Charge.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

Penalty.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(16) If the household in which inmate grew up is not composed of immediate family members only, then ask about criminal activity among household members

.....

.....

.....

☐

(17) Do you have friends who have been before the courts on criminal charges or have done time?

.....
.....

☐

FAMILY AND CHILD ABUSE

(18) (To get a picture of the social climate within the family, ask the following): When you were growing up, was there a lot of quarrelling, shouting between family members or even fights between, let's say (state guardians or other adult members of household who the inmate would have mentioned).....
.....

Yes No

☐

If yes, specify

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

☐

(19) How were disagreements in your family handled?

If domestic violence is indicated as a problem solving technique, then enquire about the nature and frequency of the violence.

.....

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.....

.....

.....

☐

(20) How do you feel about the way disagreements were settled in the family?.....

.....

.....

☐

(21) When you were growing up, (let's say before the age of 14) and you did something wrong, what happened to you? How were you punished? (Take note of any physical abuse).

.....

.....

.....

☐

(22) At anytime, were you ever put out of the house as a form of punishment?.....

.....

...

.....

☐

(23) When you were growing up, would you say that your parents/guardians did the best within their means to take care of you, or do you feel that you were neglected or treated badly in some way?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(24) Before you were 12 years old, were you often left at home by yourself? Were there times when you had to fend for yourself (or for yourself and younger ones)?

Yes

No

.....

.....

.....

☐

(24a) If yes, do you know why?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(25) Was there ever a period in your life when you felt rejected by either of your parents/guardians, as if they didn't care about you or love you or appreciate you as their child?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

If yes, specify who?

.....

.....

☐

(a) Do you think that the relationship between the two of you has had any influence on you i.e. your outlook on life or your behaviour, or your being in here now?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(26) Were you ever put down by adults who you came in contact with, who told you that you were 'no good' or 'no use', etc?

Yes No

.....

.....

☐

(a) If yes, by whom?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(b) How did this make you feel?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(27) When you were growing up, did anyone encourage you to be sexually involved with them, touch you in a way that you didn't like, etc.?

Yes No

.....

.....

.....

☐

(27a) Do you feel that you were sexually abused?

(Interviewer to expound if necessary)

.....

.....

.....

☐

MEDICAL

(1) Do you suffer from any medical condition? (List if inmate volunteers the information)

.....
.....
.....
.....

☐

(2) Do you know if any members of your family have a history of mental illness (or had a nervous breakdown)?

.....
.....
.....

☐

(3) Have you ever been treated for any mental/emotional illness?

Yes

No

.....
.....
.....

☐

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

(4) Was any member of your household an alcoholic?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(a) If yes, who (relationship)?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(b) How did it affect you?

.....

.....

.....

☐

(5) Before you came to prison, were you a heavy drinker?

Yes

No

.....

.....

.....

☐

(5a) Were there times when you drank alone or needed to have a drink as an eye opener?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(5b) Did the drinking cause a problem (e.g. were there times when you felt like you had to have a drink, or that you needed to cut down on your drinking)?

Yes

No

.....

.....

.....

.....

☐

(6) Did any member of your household use drugs?

Yes

No

.....

.....

☐

(6a) If yes, who? (Relationship)

.....

.....

☐

(6b) What drugs did they use?

.....

.....

☐

(6c) Would you say that it affected you in any way?

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(7) Did you take any form of illicit drugs before you came to prison?

Yes

No

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(7a) If yes, which drugs did you take?

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(8) Have you ever received a drug detox?

Yes

No

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(9) Have you ever been to Caribbean Haven?

Yes

No

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If yes, as an out patient or as resident in the programme?

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(9a) Did you complete the program or did you drop out?

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(10) Do you think your use of illegal drugs influenced your involvement in crime?.....

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(11) Here at Northward/Eagle House, are you in treatment/counselling for drug use?

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(12) Have you ever tested positive during random drug testing in here?

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(13) What do you plan to do when you leave prison?

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(14) If you had to live your life over, what would you do differently?

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INTERVIEWER'S REMARKS

Tabulated Data

Note: *The Tables in this Appendix were compiled based upon the quantification of variables which were selected from the below areas of inquiry.*

- **Personal History**
- **Community and Organisational Involvement**
- **Religious Participation**
- **Education and School Experiences**
- **Employment/Work History**
- **Criminal Background**
- **Family Background**
- **Substance Abuse**

PERSONAL HISTORY

(AA1) Age at Admission		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
15 – 19 years	6	20
20 – 24 years	2	6.7
25 – 29 years	5	16.7
30 – 34 years	6	20
35 – 39 years	3	10
40 years and over	8	26.7
TOTAL	30	100

(AA5) Sentence		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
1 mth – 36 mths (3 years)	10	33.3
4 – 7 years	4	13.3
8 – 11 years	3	10
12 – 15 years	3	10
Life	4	13.3
G.P.	1	3.3
Not Applicable (Remands only)	5	16.7
TOTAL	30	100

(A9) Off-spring		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	17	56.7
No	13	43.3
TOTAL	30	100

(A11) Children's Residing with Inmate prior to Imprisonment		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes (all)	2	6.7
Some	4	13.3
None	11	36.7
Not Applicable	13	43.3
TOTAL	30	100

(A12) Children's present living arrangement		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Mother	2	6.7
Respective Mothers	7	23.3
Varied (some on their own, some with mothers)	2	6.7
Various Family Members/Relatives	2	6.7
On their Own	3	10
Social Services Agency/Institution	1	3.3
Not Applicable	13	43.3
TOTAL	30	100

(A13) Support system for child/children during father's imprisonment		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Respective Mothers	6	20
Grandmother	1	3.3
Support from various sources (e.g. mother with social service assistance)	1	3.3
Varied (some self supported, some supported by mother(s))	1	3.3
Various Family Members/Relatives	3	10
Self Supported	3	10
Social Service Agency/Institution	1	3.3
Not Applicable	13	43.3
N.R/D.K/C.R.	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100

COMMUNITY and ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

(B3) Club Membership		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	10	33.3
No	20	66.7
TOTAL	30	100

(B3a) Organization/Club Identification		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Sporting	6	20
Religious	1	3.3
Other (e.g. therapeutic-AA, NA, etc.)	3	10
Not Applicable	20	66.7
TOTAL	30	100

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

(C1) Church Attendance as a Child		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	28	93.3
No	2	6.7
TOTAL	30	100

(C4) Participation in Church-based Activities as a Youngster		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	23	76.7
No	7	23.3
TOTAL	30	100

(C6) Church Attendance Two Years Prior to Incarceration		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	21	70
No	9	30
TOTAL	30	100

EDUCATION/SCHOOL BACKGROUND

(D1) Primary School Attended		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
West Bay Primary/ John A. Cumber	5	16.7
George Town Primary	2	6.7
Savannah Primary	2	6.7
East End Primary	3	10
Northside Primary	1	3.3
Overseas Primary Schools	6	20
Attended More than One Primary School	7	23.3
Other (e.g. Ms. Gleeda Forbes, etc.)	4	13.3
TOTAL	30	100

(D7) Middle School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	14	46.7
No	16	53.3
TOTAL	30	100

(D8) Academic Level in Middle School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Top Set	2	14.3
Middle Set	5	35.7
Lower Set	5	35.7
Mixed Sets	1	7.1
N.R/D.K/C.R.	1	7.1
TOTAL	14	100

(D9) Educational Attainment at Middle School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Year 7	1	7.1
Year 8	2	14.3
Year 9	11	78.6
TOTAL	14	100

(D10) Suspended or Expelled (Middle School)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	9	64.3
No	5	35.7
TOTAL	14	100

(D12a) Graduated from High School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	8	26.7
No	18	60
Not Applicable (those who did not attend high school)	4	13.3
TOTAL	30	100

(D18) Reasons for interrupting high School attendance or stopping school early		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Suspended (and attended AEP)	1	3.3
Suspended (did not attend AEP)	2	6.7
Expelled	7	23.3
Did not attend High School	4	13.3
School Closed	1	3.3
Left on my own accord (including financial need)	5	16.7
Not Applicable (i.e. left at normal school leaving age)	10	33.3
TOTAL	30	100

(D20) Learning Deficiency		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	13	43.3
No	17	56.7
TOTAL	30	100

(D20a) Learning Deficiency addressed		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	5	38.5
No	7	53.8
N.R/D.K/C.R.	1	7.7
TOTAL	13	100

(D21) Use of time upon leaving School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Work	20	66.7
Went on the streets/selling drugs	3	10
Further Studies	1	3.3
Reform School	1	3.3
Went to Prison	3	10
Delinquency	2	6.7
TOTAL	30	100

(D22) Further Studies since High School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	17	56.7
No	13	43.3
TOTAL	30	100

EMPLOYMENT/WORK HISTORY

(E5) Occupational Preparation by School		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	11	36.7
No	10	33.3
Can't blame educational system	5	16.7
N.R/D.K/C.R.	4	13.3
TOTAL	30	100

(E8) Source of Income at time of Conviction		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Legitimate Employment	15	50
Not Employed	2	6.7
Illegal Source of Income (i.e. Selling Drugs)	5	16.7
Both Legitimate employment and illegal source of income	5	16.7
Committing Crime	2	6.7
Not Applicable (in school, AEP, etc.)	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100

CRIMINAL BACKGROUND

(F2) Inmates with prior arrest(s)		
Prior Arrest(s)	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	27	90%
No	3	10%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F2a) Arrest History		
No. of Arrest(s)	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Once	2	7.4%
Twice	7	25.9%
Three times	3	11.1%
Four times	2	7.4%
Five times	1	3.7%
More than five times	11	40.7%
N.R/D.K/C.R.	1	3.7%
TOTAL	27	100%

(F3) Inmates locked-up as a child		
Locked-up as child	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	16	53%
No	14	47%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F4) Inmates before Juvenile / Youth Court before the age of 17		
In Court before age 17	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	16	53%
No	14	47%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F4a) Matter before the Juvenile / Youth Court		
Charge(s)	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Illegal Drugs	1	6.3%
Care and Protection	1	6.3%
Burglary/Theft/Stealing	4	25%
Multiple Offences	4	25%
Persistent Truancy	1	6.3%
Violence	5	31.3%
(In court before age 17) TOTAL	16	100%

(F4b) Age at Court Appearance in Juvenile / Youth Court			
Age	No. of Inmates	Percentage	Accumulated Percentage
11 Years and under	3	18.8%	18.8
13 Years	3	18.8%	37.6
14 years	3	18.8%	56.4
15 Years	2	12.5%	68.9
16 Years	4	25%	93.9
17 Years and over	1	6.3%	100.2
TOTAL	16	100%	

(F4c) Judicial Disposition		
Order of Court	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Community service/ suspended sentence/ probation	3	19%
Prison	2	13%
Placed in care and protection	3	19%
Curfews	1	6%
Fined	1	6%
Reformatory School	5	31%
Case dismissed/Not guilty	1	6%
(In Court before age 17) TOTAL	16	100%

(F6) Correctional / Protective Custody as a child		
Place of Safety or Reformatory School	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Yes	10	33.3%
No	20	66.7%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F7) First Imprisonment		
First Time in Prison	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Yes	8	26.7%
No	22	73.3%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F8) Past Convictions		
History of Convictions	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Yes	26	86.7%
No	4	13.3%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F13) Age at First Imprisonment		
Age Cohorts	No. of Inmates	Percentage
15 – 19 years	15	50%
20 – 24 years	3	10%
25 – 29 years	2	7%
30 – 34 years	3	10%
35 years and over	7	23%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F15) Admission of Guilt		
Did you do the crime(s)	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Yes	24	80%
No	6	20%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F15a) Reasons Given for Committing Crime		
What caused you to do it	No. of Inmates	Percentages
Bad company/ Criminal association	4	16.7%
Desire for money	6	25%
Lack of proper guidance	1	4.2%
To support a drug habit	3	12.5%
Anger/Revenge/Retaliation	5	20.8%
Desire for material goods	1	4.2%
Sexual desire and lust	1	4.2%
Psychoactive effect of drugs and/or alcohol	1	4.2%
To help a friend	1	4.2%
Self defense	1	4.2%
(Those who admitted guilt) TOTAL	24	100%

(F15b) Perceived Reaction to repeat of Criminal risk		
Responses	No. of inmates	Percentage
Would react differently	13	54.2%
Would not react differently	3	12.5%
Uncertain	2	8.3%
Conditional on other factors (e.g.drugs/desire of money/ hope that he would not be caught)	4	16.7%
No response	2	8.3%
TOTAL	24	100%

(F16) Change of Perception as a Result of Imprisonment		
Has prison changed you or your views about life	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	25	83.3%
No	4	13.3%
Maybe	1	3.3%
TOTAL	30	100%

(F17) Rehabilitation Programs in Prison		
Inmates' Perspectives	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Enough is being done	7	23.3%
Not enough is being done	22	73.3%
Not sure / Don't know	1	3.3%
TOTAL	30	100%

(G8) "Hang Out" Spot(s)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Drug areas (according to Inmates: Scranton, Dog City, "the East", Banana Walk, Central, Logwoods, "the Land" – Watercourse Road, Rockhole etc.)	12	40
Bars, Nightclubs	6	20
Other forms of entertainment and relaxation (beach, movies, etc.)	8	26.7
Not Specified	1	3.3
Not Applicable (Don't hang out)	3	10
TOTAL	30	100%

FAMILY BACKGROUND

(G9b) Mother's Age at Birth of First Child		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
16 years and under	5	16.7
17 -19 years	9	30
20 – 23 years	7	23.3
Over 23 years	2	6.7
N.R/D.K/C.R.	7	23.3
TOTAL	30	100%

(G13) Social Services Assistance		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	15	50
No	14	46.7
N.R/D.K/C.R.	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100%

(G15)Family Members of Inmates with Criminal Charges/Convictions		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	20	66.7
No	10	33.3
TOTAL	30	100%

(G15a) Relationship of Accused to Inmate (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Father	2	10
Father and Cousin	1	5
Brother(s)	4	20
Brother(s) and Father	1	5
Brother(s), Father and Other (Wife etc.)	1	5
Brother(s), Father, Uncle and Cousin	1	5
Brother(s) and Mother	1	5
Brother(s) and Cousin	3	15
Brother(s) and Other (Wife, Nephews etc.)	2	10
Brother(s) and Sister(s)	1	5
Sister(s)	2	10
Sister(s) and Father	1	5
SUB-TOTAL	20	100%

(G23) Neglect and Mistreatment of Inmate during his Youth		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	9	30
No	21	70
TOTAL	30	100%

(G25) Rejection and Lack of Loving Care by Parent(s)/Guardian(s)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	13	43.3
No	17	56.7
TOTAL	30	100%

(G25a) Rejected by Whom (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Father	3	23.1
Mother	4	30.8
Both Mother and Father	5	38.5
Foster family and Step dad	1	7.7
SUB-TOTAL	13	100%

(G25b) Inmate's Perception of the Impact of his Parents/Guardians on his Life		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Positive Influence	4	13.3
Negative/Destructive Influence	13	43.3
Take responsibility for my actions	6	20
Not Applicable	6	20
N.K/D.K/C.R.	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100%

(H4) Alcoholism among Family Members (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
No One	14	46.7
Father	8	26.7
Mother	1	3.3
Brother(s)	1	3.3
Brother(s) and Father	1	3.3
Uncle	2	6.7
Uncle and Father	1	3.3
Grandmother, Mother and Father	1	3.3
Other (includes Sister, Cousin, Step-parent)	1	3.3
TOTAL	30	100%

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

(H6) Illicit Drug Use among Members of Inmate's Household (compiled by Geometric Coding)		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
No One	12	40
Father	3	10
Father, Mother, Sister and Uncle	1	3.3
Brother(s)	8	26.7
Brother(s) and Sister	3	10
Brother(s) and Mother	1	3.3
Other (Step-parent, People in Reformatory School, etc.)	2	6.7
TOTAL	30	100%

(H6b) Type of Illicit Drug		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Marijuana Only	9	50
Cocaine/Crack Only	1	5.6
Marijuana and Cocaine/Crack	8	44.4
SUB-TOTAL	18	100%

(H7) Illicit Drug used by Inmate		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Marijuana Only	14	46.7
Cocaine/Crack Only	3	10
Marijuana and Cocaine/Crack	10	33.3
Not Applicable	3	10
TOTAL	30	100%

(H10) Inmate's Criminal Behaviour precipitated by Drug use		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	12	40
No	15	50
Not Applicable (did not use drugs)	3	10
TOTAL	30	100%

(H12) Positive to Drug Tests in Prison		
	No. of Inmates	Percentage
Yes	11	36.7
No	13	43.3
Uses drugs in Prison but sometimes not caught	6	20
TOTAL	30	100%