

1 Trends in Incarceration and Recidivism in Mauritius -Raising the 2 Alarm

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6

7 **Abstract**

8 Keywords : Recidivism, Re-integration of ex-detainees, ExpenditureCorrectional and
9 incarceration policies for crime and deviance have as consequences the following:
10 ?Retribution? â???" which is an expression of society?s moral outrage; ?Deterrence? â???"
11 which argues that punishment for offenders should be sure, speedy, commensurate with crime
12 and sufficiently conspicuous to deter others from committing crimes; ?Incapacitation? â???"
13 that is protecting the public from lawbreakers or habitual criminals by segregating them
14 behind prison walls; and finally ?Rehabilitation? whereby the theoretical paradigm is that
15 criminals are partly or entirely victims of social circumstances beyond their control and that
16 society owes them a comprehensive treatment in the form of rehabilitation. Rehabilitative
17 measures could be deemed as an attempt to equip them with the necessary skills in order to
18 try to re-integrate society and consequently prevent recidivism. Recidivism comprises a
19 common theme which is generally used for describing repetitious criminal activity, and a
20 recidivist offender is an individual who engages in such activity. Each year, a large number of
21 people are released from prisons in Mauritius. The obstacles to successful re-integration are
22 numerous, such as the challenge of finding stable employment. There have been no or few
23 rigorous studies of re-entry models, and there is a pressing need for more definitive evidence of
24 what works in order to prevent the gangrene of recidivism and degrading law and order to
25 permeate our society. This paper reviews theories, present facts and figures and initiatives
26 describing some planned or ongoing endeavours, and proposes some ideas for future efforts in
27 order to decrease recidivism in Mauritius.

28

29 ***Index terms***— Recidivism, Re-integration of ex-detainees, Expenditure

30 **1 INTRODUCTION**

31 risons are fundamentally, institutions known to be a means of punishment by confinement and deterrence for
32 deviants and criminals, through conviction by the Justice System and subsequently incarceration. However
33 incarceration in prisons also has as mission to allow reformation and rehabilitation for detainees and instead
34 deter recidivism. Moreover, according to the United Nations (UN) Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment
35 of Prisoners (SMR) it has been made clear that "the purpose and justification of a sentence of imprisonment is
36 ultimately to protect society against crime, and that this end can only be achieved if the period of imprisonment
37 is used to ensure, so far as possible, that upon returning to society the offender is not only willing but able to
38 lead a lawabiding and self-supporting life" (SMR, R.58).

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40 Huge investments to reform prisoners seem to be sunken money as repeat offending appears to be on the rise
41 as it will be seen in section 3 of this paper.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW: OVERVIEW OF THE RECIDIVISM AND RE-INTEGRATION THEORIES

42 According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime ??2006), "Social reintegration in the prison setting
43 refers to assisting with the moral, vocational and educational development of the imprisoned individual via
44 working practices, educational, cultural, and recreational activities available in prison. It includes addressing the
45 special needs of offenders, with programmes covering a range of problems, such as substance addiction, mental
46 or psychological conditions, anger and aggression, among others, which may have led to offending behaviour."
47 Mauritius is a developing country, signatory to UN guidelines where no serious study has yet been undertaken
48 concerning recidivism and its consequences. In spite of many efforts it seems that prisons in Mauritius, as would
49 probably be the case in many other societies, seem to be falling short of their mission. In fact, 85% of detainees
50 (Source: Mauritius Prison Services, 2011) incarcerated in the Republic of Mauritius in year 2009 are persons who
51 have been convicted and incarcerated for a 2 nd to a 5 or more time. Thus, these detainees are persons who can
52 be categorised as 'recidivists'. Recidivists are persons who are engaged in recidivism -a term originating from
53 the Latin recidere, which means to fall back. Recidivism is often used interchangeably with other terms such as
54 repeat offending or re-offending. In the case of this paper, we analyse the extent of recidivism as per secondary
55 data provided by the Mauritius Prison Services (M.P.S) and the Central Statistical Office (C.S.O), which are
56 both governmental agencies. The use of facts and figures provided government agencies does bear the risk of
57 inducing bias into analysis and has limitations; however, their interpretation has revealed interesting findings.
58 This paper considers incarceration and its subsequent side effect recidivism as a lost potential as a reason of the
59 amount of efforts and investment consented. In doing so, the paper which is an exploratory study succinctly
60 reviews the literature on recidivism and the critically assesses the impact of re-integration measures. Section 3
61 assesses the extent of the problem of recidivism in Mauritius to make a case of lost potential for the economy and
62 society. Section 4 brings some insight into the possible causes and socio-cultural obstacles to reintegration which
63 could palliate the problem of P recidivism while Section 5 draws some relevant conclusions whilst indicatively
64 pointing towards the need for new models to tackle such a problem for the good of the Mauritian economy and
65 society.

66 II.

67 2 LITERATURE REVIEW: OVERVIEW OF THE RECIDI- 68 VISM AND RE-INTEGRATION THEORIES

69 a) Employment-Focused Re-integration Programs Recidivism is not a new concept in criminology. It is defined as
70 a relapse into criminal behaviour. Maltz (1984) describes recidivism as 'the reversion of an individual to criminal
71 behaviour'. Recidivism comprises a common theme and is generally used for describing repetitious criminal
72 activity, and a recidivist offender is an individual who engages in such activity. Though no exact measures of
73 this exist, re-arrest and reincarceration are regarded as the best estimate in correctional data. The human, social
74 and financial costs of recidivism are enormous. Although the relationship between crime and employment is
75 complex, most experts seem to agree on some points which are discussed in the paper. It must be added at
76 this point that it is indeed noteworthy to observe that, the fact that ex-detainees tend to struggle in the labour
77 market and frequently end up back in prison does not necessarily mean that employment will reduce recidivism.
78 It is believed that the most promising re-integration models provide coordinated services both before and after
79 offenders are released; but it appears difficult to increase employment and earnings for apparently disadvantaged
80 and prejudiced persons. However, such initiatives have to be undertaken on two main grounds, firstly from a
81 Human Resources perspective, in sense of avoiding wastage of Human Resources or Human Capital and secondly
82 in order to avoid recidivism and the social, economic and financial costs associated with this phenomenon. It
83 is these offenders who are the subject of much debate as they have become variously described throughout the
84 literature as 'chronic', 'multiple', 'frequent', or 'prolific' offenders, among others.

85 One of the earliest and most frequently cited recidivism studies was conducted in Philadelphia, in the USA
86 (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin 1972). The authors used a longitudinal cohort methodology with official police arrest
87 data to measure the frequency of offending among nearly 10,000 males born in 1945. The authors found that
88 by the age of 18, only 35% (n=3,475) had been arrested by the police at least once, but that these offenders
89 had accounted for more than 10,000 episodes of arrest, giving an average of almost three arrests per offender.
90 However there are both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence from studies to support the notion that
91 crime is linked to unemployment, low earnings, or job instability as averred the studies and research by Bernstein
92 and Houston (2000); Sampson and Laub (2005) and Urban Institute Justice Policy Centre ??2006). Legitimate
93 employment may reduce the economic incentive to commit crimes, and also may connect ex-detainees to more
94 positive social networks and daily routines. Qualitative data such as that of Nelson, Deess, and Allen (1999) also
95 suggest that finding a job is the highest priority for prisoners upon release. Furthermore, the work of Travis (2005)
96 has raised the attention of policymakers and the public who have both begun to focus on the prisoner re-entry
97 issue, and there is a renewed willingness to spend some money on rehabilitation services. Nevertheless, the surge
98 of interest generated by the researches could easily dissipate, without solid evidence that the rehabilitation and
99 support services make a difference in the re-integration of ex-detainees. After all, there is significant underlying
100 scepticism about the efficacy of rehabilitation efforts from mainstream society perhaps due to the negative
101 portrayal of the ex-detainees or detainees by the mass media. On the positive side, the re-entry domain has
102 an integrated advantage over the welfare domain. Incarceration costs are so high that even small reductions in

103 recidivism could easily produce budgetary savings that outweigh the cost of rehabilitation and support services.
104 b) Incarceration, Education, Skills Building, Employment and Recidivism

105 Many researches have indicated that employment is a central component of successful reintegration (Laub,
106 Nagin, & Sampson, 1998; Sampson & Laub, 1990). It seems that connections made at the workplace may
107 serve as informal social controls and an instrument of value consensus and cohesiveness that helps to prevent
108 criminal behaviour. For former detainees, employment is correlated with lower recidivism (Rossman & Roman,
109 2003; Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2008) and rates of return to prison can be significantly reduced by participation
110 in work readiness programs (Buck, 2000; Sung, 2001). Although recent studies have indicated that work-oriented
111 programs can have a significant impact on the employment and recidivism rates of men (Bushway & Reuter, 2002),
112 vocational and educational programs are often unavailable in prisons, and their availability has declined (Lynch
113 & Sabol, 2001). Gainful and stable employments are among the key predictors of desistance from criminal and
114 deviant behaviour that can be directly addressed through a proper sentencing policy or programming in prison.
115 Accordingly, many reentry initiatives have typically focused on preparing returning prisoners to re-enter the job
116 market. Re-entry services often include interventions directly related to skill acquisition to improve labour market
117 prospects such as job readiness, training and placement programs. Although about two thirds of prisoners Trends
118 in Incarceration and Recidivism in Mauritius -Raising the Alarm Global Journal of Human Social Science Volume
119 XI Issue VII Version I below national averages for the general population (Andrews & Bonta, 2006), and the
120 stigma associated with incarceration often makes it difficult for them to secure jobs following release (Bushway
121 & Reuter, 2002; Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2006).

122 When former prisoners do find jobs, they tend to earn less than individuals with similar background
123 characteristics who have not been incarcerated (Bushway & Reuter, 2002). Thus, research from mostly the USA
124 supports and tends to advocate a strong program-focused emphasis on increasing individual employability of
125 detainees through education, skills training, job readiness, and work release programs, both during incarceration
126 and after release. Few such programs have been studied using a random assignment research design. One
127 exception is the evaluation of the Opportunity to Succeed (OPTS) program, which delivered employment services
128 within a set of comprehensive services for drug-using former prisoners, and found that participants were more
129 likely to be employed full-time in the year after release. However, self-reported arrests and official record measures
130 of recidivism showed no differences between participants and controls (Rossman & Roman, 2003). Employed
131 participants in the OPTS program, however, reported fewer arrests and less drug use. Another study of detainees
132 in Tennessee, a state in the USA, who were required to secure either employment or enrol in a training program as
133 a condition of release, found that those who qualified had marginally better outcomes than a matched comparison
134 in terms of controls, while those who failed had significantly worse outcomes (Chalfin, Tereshchenko, Roman,
135 Roman, & Arriola, 2007).

136 In a meta-analysis examining the impact of employment training and job assistance in the community for
137 persons with a criminal record, Aos, Miller, and Drake (2006) concluded that these programs have a modest, but
138 significant, 5% impact on recidivism. However, in another meta-analysis, using a very similar set of studies and
139 methods, Visher, Winterfield, and Coggeshall (2005) concluded that community-based employment programs
140 do not significantly reduce recidivism for persons with previous involvement with the criminal justice system.
141 Contemporary job assistance and training programs for former prisoners in the USA such as the Center for
142 Employment Opportunities [CEO] (New York), Safer Foundation (Chicago), and Project Rio (Texas) are more
143 holistic in their approach and incorporate other transition services and re-entry support into their programs
144 (Buck, 2000) while maintaining a primary focus on job placement.

145 Although several rigorous evaluations are underway, the impact of these newer types of comprehensive,
146 employment-focused programs on former prisoners' employment and recidivism rates is not yet known and is
147 still underway. Still, in the USA, adult corrections have a long history of providing programs for education and
148 employment training (Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk, & Stewart, 1999; Piehl, 1998). Comprehensive reviews of many
149 of the individual program evaluations generally conclude that adult academic and vocational programs lead to
150 modest reductions in recidivism and increases in employment (Aos, 2006; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Gaes et al.,
151 1999; Gerber & Fritsch, 1994; Wilson, Gallagher, & MacKenzie, 2000). However, the majority of the evaluations
152 have one or more methodological problems according to Wilson et al. (2000). Despite the high demand for these
153 programs by inmates, participation in these programs declined from 42% in 1991 to 35 percent in 1997 (Lynch
154 & Sabol, 2001). Reasons for these declines include the rapid growth in prison populations in combination with
155 decreased funding for correctional programming, the frequent transfer of prisoners from one facility to another and
156 greater interest in short-term programs such as substance abuse and cognitive-behavioural programs (Lawrence,
157 Mears, Dubin, & Travis, 2002).

158 Research suggests that correctional education programming is most successful as part of a systematic approach,
159 integrating employability, social skills training and other specialized programming (Holzer & Martinson, 2005).
160 Education and job training for low earners are most successful when they provide workers with credentials that
161 meet private sector demands. Thus, comprehensive programs that provide training, a range of services and
162 supports, job retention incentives, and access to employers are promising, but rigorous evaluations are as yet
163 lacking.

164 **3 c) Current Studies on Attempts to Curb Recidivism**

165 Fortunately, the recent surge of interest in prisoner re-integration in the USA has triggered some new research
166 that should help to build the knowledge base. Three large-scale studies are under way and can be described as
167 follows:

168 ? The Serious and Violent Offenders Re-entry Initiative (SVORI). This is a \$100 million federal initiative
169 led by the U.S. Department of Justice. Grants were provided to all states, and the programs funded under this
170 initiative provide a wide range of pre-release and post-release services.

171 ? The Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO) Evaluation. CEO is one the USA's largest and most
172 highly regarded employment programs for ex-offenders. It uses a transitional employment model that places
173 participants in work crews within one week after enrolment, and pays them daily for the hours they work. Staffs
174 identify problematic workplace behaviours and try to resolve them, and then help participants find regular jobs.
175 As part of the Hard-to-Employ evaluation funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, MDRC,
176 in partnership with the Urban Institute, is evaluating the CEO program using a random assignment design. In
177 2004 and 2005, nearly 1,000 parolees who showed up at CEO were assigned to receive either the core CEO
178 program or a limited job search assistance model, also run by CEO.

179 The above studies are again still inconclusive; however, preliminary reports for SVORI and CEO have
180 demonstrated that small but noticeable progress in curbing recidivism has been made.

181 **4 III. INCARCERATION AND RECIDIVISM IN MAURITIUS**

182 The Mauritius Prison Services (MPS) under the aegis of the Prime Minister's Office and the Probation and
183 After Care Services of the Ministry of Social Security, National Solidarity and Senior Citizens Welfare & Reform
184 Institutions are the two official instances which deal with detainees and ex-detainees in Mauritius. There is a
185 perception conveyed by the local mass-media that the situation of law and order is deteriorating, hence criminality
186 and deviance is on the rise. However, even if the mass media portrayal of this situation can be flawed and biased,
187 it is perhaps the multiplicity of channels and medium of media which brings into public focus this perception.
188 Nevertheless, the population in the prisons of Mauritius is on the rise. According to the statistics available from
189 the MPS, the number of remand and convicted Detainees (including adult and juvenile, male and female) in the
190 11 prisons or detention centres in the Republic of Mauritius was respectively for each category namely on remand
191 and convicted at 707 and 1668, thus a total of 2375 as at 17 July 2009. In addition as at May 2010, the total
192 number of detainees stood at 3517 according to the Record Office of the M.P.S. The prisons are so over-crowded
193 that the State has averred of its will to build a new prison.

194 Furthermore, on the 29 th 1, it can be seen that the rate of imprisonment has been increasing from year 2007
195 to 2010. Moreover, the category "Two or More" number of previous imprisonment has increased by 27%; this is
196 linked to re-offending and consequently recidivism. It must be said that, while the CSO and the M.P.S collaborate
197 on the collection of facts and figures, each institution does keep its own independent records and compilation
198 of figures. As at May 2010, the Record Office of the M.P.S published the following statistics on recidivism (See
199 Chart 1) and which shows the level of recidivism, perceived by its trend as being acute and which at present is
200 our main concern.

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204 Source : M.P.S Website (2011) An analysis of Chart 1 shows that the sum of detainees incarcerated on a 2 nd
205 or more conviction for year 2010 is 3035 detainees out of 3551, thus giving a percentage of 85% of re-conviction,
206 which is quite high. Moreover, an analysis of Chart 1 shows a constant rise in detainees with a 5 th of more
207 conviction as from 2005. These figures are quite high for a small insular island state like Mauritius as compared
208 with the USA, where for example ??reeman (2003a) found from Langan and Levin (2002) that: "About 67% of
209 released prisoners are rearrested and one-half are re-incarcerated within 3 years of release from prison." In addition
210 ??reeman (2003b) found that: "Rates of recidivism necessarily rise thereafter, so that upwards of 75%-80% of
211 released prisoners are likely to be re-arrested within a decade of release?.. Fifty-six percent of state prisoners
212 released in 1999 had one or more prior convictions; and 25% had three or more convictions." In Mauritius, more
213 than 85% of released prisoners are re-arrested. So, where does the problem lie? Is it society, jobs, the present
214 laws and so on and so forth? While looking back at Chart 1, it can be observed that the rate for 5 th conviction
215 starts to fall as from years 2002 to 2005 which pre-supposes maybe a change in policy and as from year 2005,
216 there was a change in government by prompted by elections and that rate starts to rise as from 2006 to 2008. The
217 Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act 2008 was a more strict law which seems to have impacted on the gradient
218 of the rate of re-conviction for 5 th conviction which has peaked ever since. This assertion of the connection
219 between the Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act 2008 and the peak in re-conviction which will be seen further
220 in this paper tend to be mostly linked to drug related offences. Figures 1 to 6 relate to the analysis of the trends
221 for the number of male detainees with respect to the number of previous convictions. The various graphs were
222 derived from exponential models (as shown in Table 2) which were found to be produce the minimum mean sum

223 of square errors (MSE) as compared to other models (e.g., linear, quadratic, cubic) From the models, it can be
224 observed that male detainees having at least five convictions are more dominant than those having two, three or
225 four convictions. They are almost in the same number as those convicted for the first time. The above Figures
226 1 to 2 and using the Exponential Model Formula and , if we assume that t=21, thus year 2015, and with all
227 factors remaining constant we can set ourselves to predict the figures for re-conviction on different counts and
228 thus the incarceration rate for year 2015 as it is elaborated in the following Table 3. From the Table 3, above
229 showing the application of the Exponential Model shown, we expect about 4700 male detainees in the year 2015
230 in Mauritius, if no viable and sustainable solutions are brought forward and assuming that all factors remain
231 constant or *ceteris paribus*.

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234 At this point it would be suitable to analyse the most common deviant acts committed by detainees by referring
235 to Chart 2, from the Record Office of the M.P.S which shows the total number of admission on conviction to
236 Prison (adult male) as per offences from 1995 to 2009.

237 **7 Source : M.P.S Website (2010)**

238 From Chart 2, it can be analysed that the highest figures in terms of admission to prisons by category of offences
239 committed in year 2009 by Adult Male Prisoners is firstly 'Stealing' (1485 occurrences, thus 42% and secondly
240 'Drugs' (660 occurrences), thus nearly 19%. The category of offence 'Others' is not specified and so will be not
241 taken into consideration presently. Moreover, it can be seen from Chart 2, that over the last 15 years, the trend
242 for conviction has also been mostly for the categories of offences for 'Stealing' and 'Drugs'. It can be assumed
243 that people who steal are people without a gainful employment or as per temptation and opportunity. As for
244 drug addicts, they are often condemned as drug dealers when found in possession of a certain amount of drugs
245 as per The Dangerous Drugs Act 2000 and The Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act 2008 of the Republic of
246 Mauritius. It is commonly observed that often, it is the drug consumers or addicts who get caught up in small
247 scale drug dealing so that they themselves can afford their doses. Consequently, as per the above figures, it can
248 be reasonably said that two of the main causes of conviction are 'Stealing' and 'Drugs'.

249 Moreover, it is not indicated if the offenders as per the category of offence have been incarcerated on 1 st
250 conviction or conviction. However, it can be reasonably assumed that, recidivism is a key characteristic of
251 criminal justice conviction and admission to prisons. Consequently, a question and an assertion can be raised
252 as simply and logically put forward by ??reeman (2003c) and which is as follows: "The 2-3 years that many
253 inmates spend in prison and the additional years that some violent offenders are incarcerated provides society
254 with a unique opportunity to alter their behaviour and rehabilitate them to re-enter society and the job market as
255 productive citizens. Ideally, the incarceration experience should change offenders' assessment of the benefits and
256 costs of crime in two ways. It should shift their preferences or values, so that they weigh more heavily the costs
257 of crime on others relative to the benefits to them. And it should change the options or incentives facing them in
258 favour of legitimate work relative to illegal activities. By altering the values and incentives of inmates, the ideal
259 criminal justice system would release ex-offenders who would find work in the legitimate labour market and make
260 a positive contribution to their families and communities rather than return to crime." Furthermore, from Freeman
261 (2003d) "For many men aged 20-40, the prison door is a revolving one. Commit serious crime; get arrested and
262 incarcerated; spend some time in prison; get out; commit more crimes; get arrested and incarcerated; and so
263 on..... Not until men reach their mid-forties does the rate of re-arrest fall noticeably." it would be interesting to
264 analyse the situation in Mauritius with reference from figures provided by the M.P.S in the analysis of convicted
265 male detainees especially males, as per age group. As at May 2010, the Record Office of the M.P.S published the
266 following statistics on incarceration as per age group (See Chart 3) which is as follows :

267 Source : M.P.S Website (2010) Analysing chart 3, and referring to ??reeman (2003d), it can be said that with
268 some equivalence, for men aged 25 years and less than 50 years in Mauritius, the observation and findings of
269 ??reeman (2003d) about men aged between 20 years to 40 years coincides. It must be said that, the sample
270 analysed by Freeman will differ from the sample under study in Mauritius in terms of biographical characteristics.
271 However, the trend for a fall in the crime and deviance rate subject for conviction does also correspond for the
272 category of 50 years or more in Mauritius and for Freeman, in the USA, the midforties. Nevertheless, there
273 are some limitations with the comparison with figures from the USA, a developed country and Mauritius, a
274 developing country. However, data and information from the USA is more readily available as compared to
275 Sub-Saharan countries to which Mauritius belongs. Moreover, cross-comparisons in terms of multivariate data
276 such as detailed, digitally available bio-data of convicted detainees is yet to be made available. There exists at
277 present, individual files of convicted detainees which should be analysed individually for a better comparison and
278 possible regressions. This will be reserved for another study. In addition, it must be said that the above findings
279 reinforce the notion that 'Recidivism' is a universal problem still being tackled with its specificities in the USA,
280 while in Mauritius; the problem is still not addressed. The human, social and financial costs of recidivism are
281 enormous and from the preceding it seems that there is significant lost potential for an island economy with only
282 1.3 million population. The analysis of secondary data, though with its inherent limitations have had the merit

283 to bring in focus the acute problem of recidivism in Mauritius. Although the relationship between crime and
284 reintegration is complex, most experts, as we have seen from the first three sections of this paper, seem to agree
285 that some approaches are this paper, seem to agree that some approaches are possible to mitigate the impact
286 of recidivism and increase the possibilities for reintegration. Mauritius is already a country lacking Human and
287 having to resort to imported labour, thus decreasing recidivism and re-integrating some people in the labour
288 force is quite interesting for the nation itself. While the Economic and Financial cost in incarceration is an
289 ever-increasing burden on the Nation, investing in the rehabilitation of detainees and ex-detainees seems from
290 the international experience to be a venture which can bring return-on-investment.

291 In addition, the expenses of the State of Mauritius for the upkeep of detainees is one aspect, the Ministry of
292 Social Security does also contribute for the upkeep of the dependents of detainees in terms of pensions and social
293 aids during incarceration of detainees. The preceding is also a cost and an estimate will have to be devised so
294 as to give a better picture of the situation and will be very relevant for another study. However, there remain
295 intangibles which cannot be measured in terms of accounts and costs: the suffering of the family of the detainee,
296 the trauma of victims and subsequent sequels, divorce, adultery, prostitution, labelling of family and children as
297 being related to a detainee. These are huge costs which cannot be measured and are intangible but which are
298 issues to be further explored. This present section will examine and present some views of a small convenience
299 sample chosen in order to give some voices to some stakeholders of the incarceration world. At present as per
300 time limitations and the study still being at an exploratory stage, it can be said that there is dire need for
301 more scientific studies to bring validity and reliability to this present subject being examined. Some preliminary
302 findings are given herein to ring the alarm bell.

303 The challenges for rehabilitation and reintegration are manifold and start logically from the prison itself. The
304 Social Welfare aspect for the rehabilitation of detainees is a prime aspect, however, a prison welfare officer who
305 preferred to remain anonymous puts it as follows: "It can be said that as things are presently, there has been and
306 is still in the doing the process of pushing detainees who are Humans with their social realities and identities in
307 a Ghetto? There is no second chance being given in the present context where the State has as duty to promote
308 an equal and egalitarian society. Prison could have had a place where one pushes the 'reset button'? There
309 are too many problems and while we want to help? we are not God to be everywhere at the same time? Drug
310 addiction rehabilitation is useless, drugs are available in the prison? and education of detainees is presently an
311 empty slogan?" This statement from a Prison Welfare Officer concurs with ??reeman (2003c) in section 3 of this
312 paper.

313 The Government and the State of Mauritius have a number of other arms, namely: the National Empowerment
314 Foundation, the Trust Fund for the Integration of Vulnerable Groups, the Eradication of Absolute Poverty
315 Programme, and The Decentralised Cooperation Programme amongst others. Are they contributing for the
316 reintegration and rehabilitation of exdetainees? The Civil Society, through the Mauritius Council of Social
317 Services has a number of NGOs which work with ex-detainees. Is their work having an impact? NGOs that
318 work on the rehabilitation of prisoners are mainly as follows: In prison -LOTUS Centreresidential; Outside
319 prison -Males (Groupe Elan, Centre de Solidarite); Females (Kinouete, Chrysalide); Other NGOs/ religious
320 institutions that visit prison: Brahma Kumaris, NATReSA, P.I.L.S. However, as per interviews carried with
321 representatives of NGOs and ex-detainees, some limitations in their ability to bring any significant contribution
322 to social reintegration are immediately apparent:

323 ? According to Lindsay Aza, an ex-detainee and president of Groupe Elan, a NGO at the forefront of the fight
324 for detainees' rights, one of the main obstacles, for gaining employment is the "Morality Certificate" which can
325 be understood as a certificate provided by the Attorney General's Office which after a police enquiry testifies that
326 a person has not committed a crime or an offence for the last ten years, as from the date of their release. The
327 fact that in Mauritius most, if not, all employers require such a certificate is a major obstacle for ex-detainees to
328 get employment.

329 As one ex-detainee J.P puts it: « meme si mo finne fini paye mo dette envers societe, quand mo finne alle
330 dans prison, sa zaffer qui mo pas gagne certificat moralite ek qui mo finne alle crazer la reste coller lor moi? »
331 A translation of the above could be: "Even if I have paid back my debt towards society by going to prison, the
332 fact that I don't get the Morality Certificate and that I had been convicted remains glued to me?"

333 ? The second major obstacle of re-integration through work, in Mauritius, often brought up by ex-detainees
334 and NGOs is the issue of frozen bank account. A woman P.F, an ex-detainee convicted for drug dealing and
335 mother of a 10 year old girl explained the situation in the following. Even if an ex-detainee succeeds in getting
336 work without a Morality Certificate, there is still the hurdle of the frozen bank account. This can be understood
337 as, for those person convicted to drug related offences (traffickers and consumers) even when they are released, the
338 enquiry conducted in their case is not yet over and as such they do not have access to their bank accounts. The
339 problem becomes dramatic when employers demand a bank account for payment of their salary. If the employer
340 did not know about the employee's, that is, the ex-detainee's past, the frozen ? A third major obstacle formulated
341 by an ex-detainee S.M is the prejudice, bias and stigma which law enforcement agents and police officers have
342 regarding them. detainees talk about being harassed, victimised, and taken to task and being always considered
343 as the usual suspects in many cases by police officers who know about a their convicted past. It is needless to
344 say that, this is one of the worst problems which they have to face.

345 VI.

346 8 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

347 The findings of this study are not conclusive as per the small sample size of the interviewees due to time and
348 resources constraints at this present stage. However, these findings are surely indicative of the consequences or
349 collaterals and challenges of recidivism facing Mauritius. There are already signs that if the problems are not
350 addressed at an early stage, the wounds inflicted to the Mauritian Society through recidivism will develop into
351 gangrene. Actions seem to be required especially at the state level in terms of firm and resolute policy decisions
352 to audit the current situation and stakeholders (The Government, Prison Authorities, The Judiciary, The Police
353 Force, NGOs, Employers), may be re-organise and take a fresh start. The laws might have to be re-visited
354 to re-look at discrimination against ex-prisoners along the lines of the fight against gender discrimination or
355 discriminations against HIV positives or handicapped citizens.

356 Mauritius is a developing country, as such, it is not about a question of re-inventing the wheel, we have since
357 our history as an independent country as far back as in 1968 emulated the models and strategies set forth by
358 different countries. Nevertheless, this country does have its own socio-cultural peculiarities and consequently,
359 what can be developed and practised in this country will tend to seem insular and specific. Nevertheless, it must
360 be said that, just as it is the case for Mauritius, all civilised societies and countries in the world have prisons
361 and ex-detainees. The issue of the re-integration of ex-detainees in mainstream society through one of the main
362 institution of society namely: work, is thus universal. Practical, pragmatic and workable ideas from a Social
363 Policy and Human Resource Management perspective for ex-detainees in Mauritius can also work for different
364 other countries. It must be said that Mauritius is a fast moving country and is on par with the New Economy
365 generated through Globalisation which is prompting for more Tertiary sector jobs in terms of the services and
366 outsourcing industries. Will Mauritius be able to meet the demands of the market in terms of the labour force?
367 Rehabilitation and re-integration of ex-detainees provided with proper training could be viable perspective, by
368 hitting two birds with one stone. This paper will form the prelude for more indepth has examination of issues
369 and alternatives which could be used as a roadmap in the attempt to see if the integration of ex-detainees in the
370 work life of Mauritius, is blocked by obstacles and how, perhaps solutions for a more inclusive and integrated
371 approach will allow exdetainees to become productive members of mainstream society by firstly being allowed
372 to and also be motivated to join the workforce. Although, further studies will be limited to Mauritius, it can be
373 said with a reasonable level of confidence that the findings will be with some adaptations, applicable to many
374 other societies. Even if detainees may only amount to 0.1% of the world population, an understanding and a
375 proper channelling, orientation, and re-integration of exdetainees will indirectly benefit the whole of the world's
population and societies.

¹ ²



1

Figure 1: Char t 1 -

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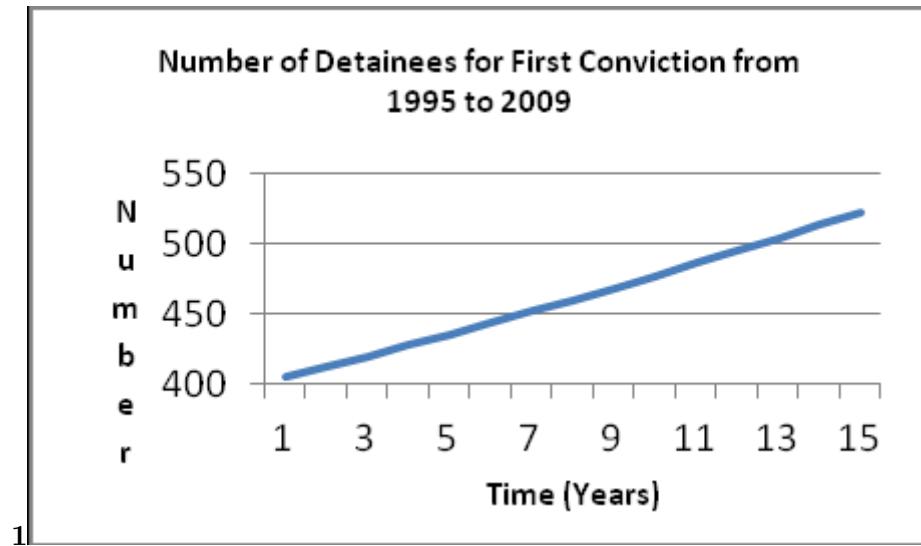


Figure 2: Figure 1 :

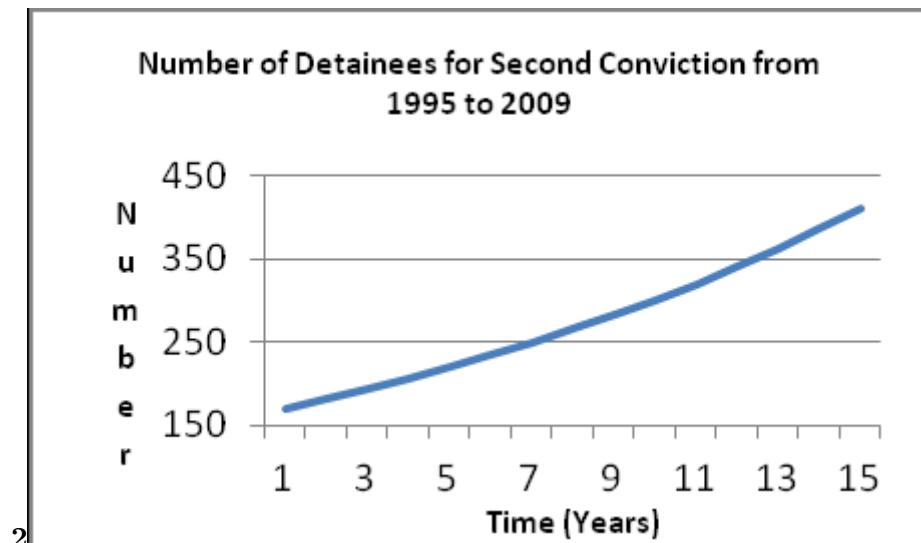


Figure 3: Figure 2 :

$$y(t) = 307.53(1.0133)^t$$

Figure 4: Figures

$$y(t) = 150(1.0133)^t$$

Figure 5:

$$2011 y(t) = 229.164(1.0133)^t$$

Figure 6: 58© 2011

$$3y(t) = 458.328(1.0133)^t$$

Figure 7: Figure 3 :

$$4y(2) = 3124.16(1,050^4)$$

Figure 8: Figure 4 :

$$5y(2) = 10000(1,050^4)$$

Figure 9: Figure 5 :

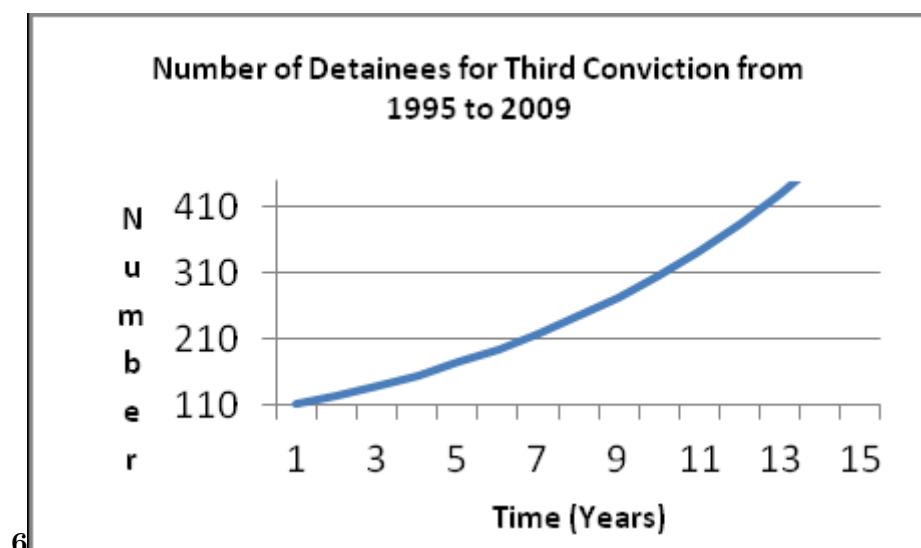


Figure 10: Figure 6 :

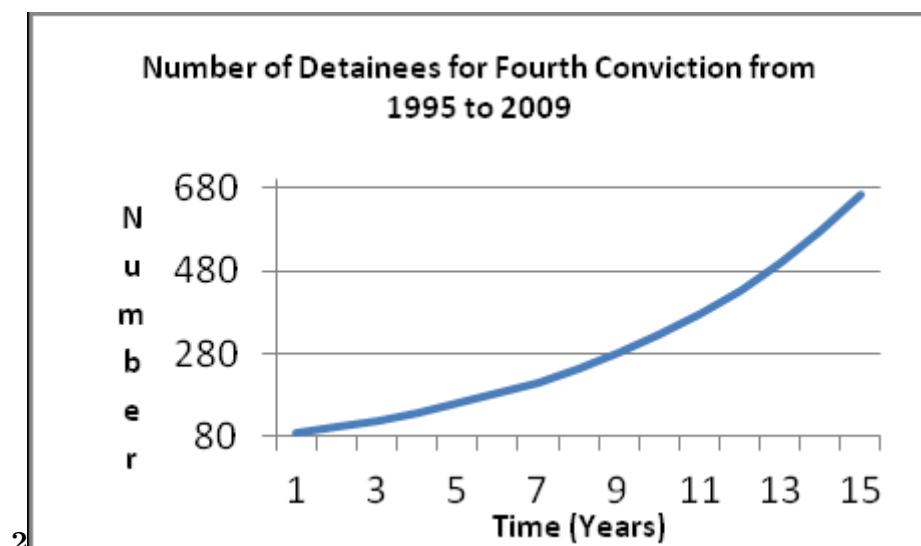


Figure 11: Chart 2 -

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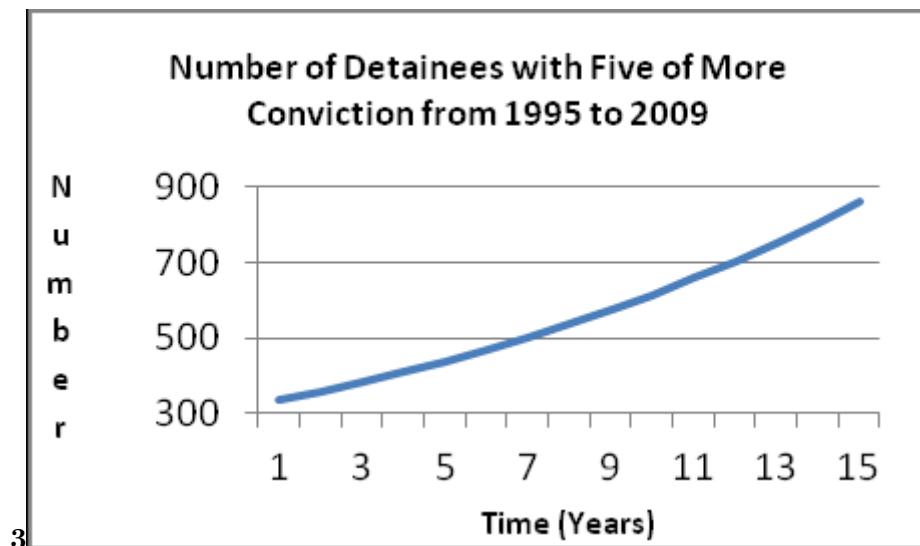


Figure 12: Chart 3 -

1

of Previous Imprisonment, Republic of Mauritius,
Years 2007, 2008, 2009 & 2010

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010
No previous	427	573	541	524
One	326	511	464	491
Two or more	1,873	1,948	2,562	2,596
Total	2,626	3,032	3,567	3,611

Source : C.S.O 2011

From Table

Figure 13: Table 1 :

2

where $t=16$ for analyzing Trend of Male Detainees as
per conviction

Figure	Exponential Model	MSE
Number		
1		0.014325
2		0.007011
3		0.013742
4		0.025751
5		0.026178
6		0.005098

Figure 14: Table 2 :

3

Conviction Counts	Exponent Model	Incarceration		Actual Increase of Incarceration from 1995 to 2010	Predicted Incarceration Rates for Year 2015	Predicted Increase of Incarceration from 1995 to 2015
		Rate	Rate			
		-Year	Year			
		1995	2010			
1 st	0.014325 344	516	50 %		583	69.5 %
2 nd	0.007011 229	466	103.5 %		600	162 %
3 rd	0.013742 121	375	209.9 %		1059	775 %
4 th	0.025751 97	538	454.6 %		1570	1518
5 th	0.026178 485	1656	241.4 %		1293	166.6
Total	0.005098 1276	3551	178. 3 %		4693	267.8

Figure 15: Table 3 :

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