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## **Dynamics of the Recidence of Residents in the Special District for Minors of the Daloa Arrest and Correction House, (Centre-West, Ivory Coast)**

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### **Abstract**

Many individual and social factors influence the appearance and persistence of acts of delinquency. Several clusters of factors concerning delinquency in general and recidivism in particular have thus been identified: criminal history, psychological, psychiatric and somatic diagnoses, socio-demographic characteristics, family situation and dynamics and the influence of social groups. The objective of this study is to identify the factors behind the recidivism of minors detained in the Special Quarter for Minors of the Daloa House of Arrest and Correction during detention. It is based on quantitative and qualitative data collected on the basis of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The results revealed that the recidivism of incarcerated minors is linked to different cognitive and psycho-sociological factors due to the poor quality of institutional care. This study makes it possible to scientifically understand that the treatment of minors detained by the justice of youth protection in Daloa, has the difficulty of finding appropriate strategies and in line with the realities of adolescents on the margins of society.

**Keywords:** identity; self-representation; recidivism; cognitive; delinquency.

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## 1. Introduction

As with any other behavior, many personal and environmental factors interact on the onset, persistence and disappearance of recurrence. Faced with this complexity, many professionals, particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries, refer to risk factors to identify the variables statistically associated with delinquency and analyze the mechanisms at work. Empirical studies disagree on whether or not the cognitive abilities of juvenile delinquents explain their likelihood of recidivism. On the one hand, the empirical studies carried out by the authors in [1,2,3], conclude that minors with lower cognitive abilities have a higher chance of reoffending than those with higher cognitive abilities. On the other hand, two other empirical studies contradict the significance of the link between cognitive abilities and the likelihood of recidivism. This is the case of the study by the authors in [4,5]. Immaturity also appears to be linearly and positively correlated with the intensity of recidivism. Indeed, the study of descriptive statistics by the author in [6] reveals the existence of a significant negative linear correlation between maturity and intensity of recidivism in juvenile delinquents. On the other hand, the authors in [7], note that certain psychological disorders reduce the likelihood of recurrence. This is the case with the fact of suffering from severe depression which, after controlling for socio-demographic factors, the delinquent past of adolescents as well as possible ill-treatment, reduces the chances of recidivism. Faced with this divergence in results, we refer to the conclusions of the meta-analysis by the authors in [8], which makes it possible to make a synthesis of various empirical studies carried out on the recidivism of juvenile delinquents. According to this analysis, three of the four variables reflecting the results of juvenile offenders on various aptitude tests significantly predict the probability of recidivism and are consistent with the hypothesis that the higher the adolescent's cognitive abilities, the greater his chances of recurrence are low. By reciprocity, certain psychological disorders contribute to increasing the probability of recidivism of juvenile delinquents.

Among the psychological disorders having an impact on the probability of recidivism of juvenile delinquents, the author in [9], observe the presence of asocial behavior, thought disorders and self-denigration. A dishonorable perception of oneself undoubtedly constitutes one of the mechanisms of self-regulation among detained minors. This is an unfortunate perception which has the direct consequence of inserting the minor into a reclusive identity, as the author in [10], points out. From this angle, the prisoner seeks to exercise control over his own behavior, his relationships with others, his presentation of himself, his non-verbal expression, his affects and others. Once immersed in this universe, he wonders how to react, how to act, how to feel or feel, how to accept or not accept what is happening, how to agree to reconsider certain realities or certain errors. The detained minor finds himself at the heart of a prison system and a population that disturbs or threatens him, and obliges him to demonstrate self-regulation. This functioning corresponds to a form of adaptation of the individual to the social context in which he evolves. The author in [11], theorized this functioning under the term "*self-monitoring*" which is most often translated as "*self-control*". This author describes social interaction as a theatrical performance on the stage of daily life. Each individual has a need for social recognition, the desire to be evaluated positively in the interaction and therefore to control the presentation of oneself, the image of oneself in order to safeguard a positive impression in the eyes of his interlocutor.

From this perspective, the author in [12], interprets self-presentation in terms of strategy. For him, the individual manipulates the interaction with others so as to show themselves in their best light. The way prisoners relate to

others also depends on internal factors, such as self-control, self-assertion, ability to deal with uncertain or destabilizing situations. It also depends on the type of environment in which the prisoner finds himself, the reactions he may face and the weight of normative expectations. Several logics coexist in detention and each of them can be the result of an identity strategy aimed at better protecting oneself or further asserting one's personal or social identity. This affirmation of personal and social identity is a source of reinforcement of delinquent behavior which is summed up by recidivism. In short, the recidivism of detained minors is linked to different aspects of detention such as the long-term detention of the child, the depreciating nature of the quality of treatment in relation to the prison location unsuitable for the resocialization of adolescents.

Desistance factors are those that increase the likelihood of successfully engaging in a process of stopping delinquent acts. These are dynamic, objective and subjective factors, which refer to the resources available to the offender. For example, his professional integration or his communication skills. Work on desistance also emphasizes the importance of the offender's awareness and motivation. It should also be considered that the different risk and protection factors have a variable effect according to age. Thus, being forced to live within a strongly stigmatized and sometimes threatening population has the consequence of severely testing the representations, the system of values and belonging, the relationship to the standards of the detained minor. He must get used to other rules of life in prison compared to those he considered in society, which has consequences on his feelings of identity and control over his destiny. He is often led to validate or invalidate his way of considering himself, of considering the social environment in general and, more particularly, those who surround him on a daily basis.

Thus, the objective of this study is to identify and explain the relationships between cognitive and psycho-sociological risk factors and the recidivism of juvenile delinquents imprisoned in the special section of the Daloa Remand and Correctional Facility.

We hypothesize that the functioning of the prison institution as well as the conditions of incarceration coupled with cognitive factors influence the recidivism of minors.

## **2. Methodology**

### **2.1. Study subjects**

Within the framework of this study, we met the population of the district for minors of the Maison d'Arrêt de Daloa. Two groups of people were interviewed. These are the minors themselves as research subjects and the staff of the prison administration. We had some information relating to the personal and legal situation of minors such as the type of crime or misdemeanor, the sentence pronounced, the time of detention carried out, the recidivism or not, condemned or accused. In short, an anamnesis of each subject. Forty-two (42) subjects were thus met, including twenty-nine (29) non-recidivists within the framework of interviews prior to construction, six (06) repeat offenders within the framework of an internal validation phase of our equipment and seven (07) prison administration staff (2 guards, 3 educators, 2 administrators).

**Table 1:** survey population

<b>Respondent category</b>	<b>Number</b>
Administrators	02
Educators	03
Wardens (guards)	02
repeat offenders	06
Non repeat offenders	29
TOTAL	42

**Source:** field survey, Daloa, February 2022

## **2.2. Material**

The interview guide included questions that could tell us about the types of relationships maintained by the prisoner, both inside and outside the prison, the different needs and objectives they sought to achieve, the main constraints encountered within detention (material, relational and organizational). As part of this study, we chose the DSM-IV (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) as a projective test. Our interest in this test is linked to the fact that it makes it possible to identify the dominant personality traits of each individual. Our method of data analysis is both qualitative and quantitative. At the DSM-IV level, personality traits were identified from the statistical processing of questionnaire responses. The content of the interviews, lasting 50 to 60 minutes, was subject to thematic analysis. We were thus able to identify themes likely to help us construct items relating to the way the detainee interacts with those around him, the representation he has of himself, of others and of detention under angle of what it may or may not bring to his psychological and social well-being. Other items likely to assess certain difficulties or needs relating to social and emotional ties have also been included. The final tool therefore aims to identify the psychosocial risk factors for recidivism in prison. It refers to dimensions that can be divided into two main categories: the relationship to Self and the Relationship to Others.

## **3. Results**

The presentation of the results from a phenomenological perspective was made around two (02) points, namely: the manifestation of the dysfunctions of the prison environment and the cognitive and psycho-sociological factors explaining the decision to reoffend by minors.

### **3.1. Manifestations of dysfunctions in the prison environment**

#### **3.1.1. Conditions and lifestyles of detained minors**

More than three-quarters of minors placed in detention are in pre-trial detention. After the shock of entering prison, they are the subject of multiple investigations upon their arrival. Detained minors face the uncertainty of the length of their detention. This refers to questions as diverse as the destructuring effects of prison on the personality of minors or, conversely, the enhancement of the delinquent identity which results therefrom, schooling and training, money or its absence. in prison, the impact of the stay in prison, the expectation or

anxiety of leaving, relations with the outside (family and friends). Proximity, the gaze of others, violence and suffering, the reconfiguration of identities, the relationship to the past, the stigma of prison affect behavior, the way of considering the time of detention, the future, the relation to the law, and possibly to the victims. Inactivity and sedentarization are dominant facts in the lives of a large majority (85%) of detained minors. No measure of individualization of the sentence is applied to detainees. Emptiness of everyday life. Minors in detention do not have access to educational activities (literacy, schooling or vocational training). Minimum physical activities are only steps in the four-square meter yard and sports practices are not allowed. A feature of Daloa's minors' quarter is the lack of out-of-cell activities and consequent idleness. The time of incarceration, which should be a useful time, remains, in fact, dead time. The obligation of activities inserted in the prison law has not changed anything. The daily life of the prison remains marked by a great idleness. The activities too often remain occupational and devoid of interest in terms of preparation for the outing. In addition to the lack of resources, access to activities comes up against many obstacles such as the lack of supply, organizational and security constraints. However, a “*balanced*” program of activities is recommended, allowing prisoners to spend at least eight hours a day outside the cell, and combining vocational training, work, socio-cultural or educational activities and programs aimed at encouraging people to leave the delinquency. In the special unit for minors in Daloa, priority is given to maintaining order and security in detention. A proactive and thoughtful policy to give content to the sentence is still lacking (the authors in [13]).

### ***3.1.2. Low quality of educational care in institutions for detained minors***

To appreciate the reality of the low quality of care for minors in the special district, we asked the educators to give us the reasons which, according to them, could justify such a situation. Thus, they implicitly recognize that the support they offer to minors is not of sufficient quality. The reason they cite is the absence of a coherent program of educational care. As far as the program is concerned, the interview revealed to us that at the Daloa Special Minors District (QSMD) “*everyone manages*”, “*acts according to their own understanding*”. There is no educational program, no theoretical model known to educators. In short, all navigate on sight and go in all directions, sometimes even in the worst. 96% of officers don't know what clinical observation is. Most of these agents do not logically have the minimum for such activity, namely; a logbook and observation grids with specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound items. This is a handicap that strips the QSMD observation report of its scientific character. Worse, these report sessions actually appear as “*irregular*” trials obscuring the fundamental principle of adversarial proceedings. Decisions are made without the minors and their parents and sometimes on arguments that border on a certain subjectivity and lightness of the genre: “*this minor is bad*”, “*he is rebellious*” or “*he does not have good behavior*” without giving the details of this summary qualifier with proofs to the support. With regard to internal coordination, apart from information meetings and quarterly observation reports, there is no framework for reflection and evaluation of the various educational activities. In addition, there is the question of the absenteeism of the referent educators. Despite a staff control system forcing educators to register twice each day (morning and evening), attendance is not a common practice for many. When they arrive in the mornings, in the afternoons they go away, leaving the minors to fend for themselves. Finally, the other flaw in the care mechanism that we have observed is the absence of a permanent educator program. Off-peak hours, namely between 12 and 2 p.m., nights and weekends, the children are left alone with each other.

### **3.1.3. Institutional violence against detained minors**

To appreciate the reality of violence at the QSMD, we asked this question to the educators: what do you think of the use of chicotte, insults and verbal threats or other blackmail in the care of minors deprived of their liberty? Most of the members of the educational team replied that the chicotte is essential in the care of minors in the QSMD. This is what the educator D D says: *“sometimes you have to use the chicotte, blackmail refractory minors by threatening them with placement under Warrant of Depot, just to deter those who are the big troublemakers”*. One of the managers of this structure confided to us this: *“I gave the order to the guards stationed at the QSM to come to work from now on with their belts with iron buckles. The minor who wants to upset them as is currently the case, he can beat him up. When they hurt one or two, the others will realize that they don't have a monopoly on violence and they will stay quiet so that we can take care of them. Otherwise currently, it is the minors who control us. They are dictating their law to us and that is not fair and cannot continue”*. In reality, all the educators who have admitted the importance of the chicotte at the QSMD justify this choice for two fundamental reasons. The first relates to the presence of young adults at the QSMD and the second maintains that the violence of educators towards minors is a response or counter-violence to the violence of minors, a means of self-defense. Thus, with regard to the first reason, all affirm: *“those whom the Judges place in this center are largely adults. This state of affairs complicates the work. They are not only refractory to all that we offer them as an activity, but they influence the youngest. They constantly challenge us. Rather, minors believe that their behavior is motivated by the attitude of educators. For the detained minor PK, who criticizes the behavior of the educators, affirms in these terms: “the educators do not seek to understand our problems. It's for them what to do”. And to add: “that's why, them and me, we see ourselves missed (I'm suspicious of them)”. Approaching from the same perspective, ST, another minor in detention reveals: “the masters are too mean. They hit people a lot and then they don't know how to talk to minors. Still, they'll call you a rebel, bandit. There is an 'in which tells you that you are cursed'. As a result, from physical violence, we also observe violence in the discourse of educators. The minors denounce a discourse stigmatizing and labeling educators of the QSMD. For MK: “QSM educators have no consideration for minors. They treat us like animals. For a small mistake, you are stumped. Often, they even undress you, pour water into the cell and you have to stay there without eating until the evening”*. With tears in his eyes, the miner lets out these words: *“Really, they are too mean and too aggressive. What is certain, there are some who are good, but others, it is not worth it”*. For Z., *“the sanctions are disproportionate and vary from one educator to another or at least according to the head of the client. When you're a repeat offender, first they call you back and forth, that's not good. Then, when you make a small mistake, you are severely punished. And everyone puts their mouth on you. It is unfair”*.

All these remarks and observations bear witness to the institutional violence against detained minors.

### **3.2. Psychological profile of detained minors**

#### **3.2.1. Self-representation and experience of detention**

By examining the answers to the specific questions on the condition of prisoner and the view of others on Self,

we took into account, to draw a conclusion, their relationship with the guards. Among the responses of the twenty items (20) constructed, there are seven (07) responses which have a higher score of more than 50% and thirteen (13) which are below 50%. This indicates that very few minors recognize themselves in the statement with which they proposed to identify. These percentages reveal to us the self-representation that the imprisoned minor makes by taking into account only what this brings as information on the way in which he has a posture vis-à-vis himself and others in this situation of imprisonment.

Below is the table of percentages of positive responses.

**Table 2:** Self-representation and experience of detention

List of items	Percentage of positive responses
Judgment of others	47%
Learning through prison	87%
be like everyone else	57%
judging others	27%
Pay attention to others	50%
They punish my family	84%
Not embarrassed by the gaze of others	47%
What my family thinks matters	87%
no friends here	4%
Changed since detention	43%
No shame to be punished	24%
No shame to be here	86%
Very different from other inmates	40%
Think what people say about him	59%
Not knowing what other people think of him	58%
Wonder what others think	48%
Prefers that others do not know what he thinks of them	38%
Others find it less good than them	31%
Serious that friends know of his detention	35%
Detention hurts no one	90%

**Source:** field survey, Daloa, February 2022

### 3.2.2. Self-relationship and experience of detention

The relation to Self-concerns the dimensions making direct reference to the way in which the prisoner puts his person at the center of his concerns. We constructed twelve (12) items which revealed the following:

- **Self-care**

The data tells us that in prison, 93% of minors use everything possible to occupy themselves. 86% always find a way to keep themselves busy, even if they don't participate in activities offered to them.

- **self-presentation**

59% of detained minors do not try to show other detainees that they are correct people or not. On the other hand,

79% show other prisoners in the prison that delinquency is not part of their actions.

- **self-questioning**

35% of detained minors say they are already cataloged and that in the eyes of others, what they are will not change. On the other hand, 90% in prison think a lot about how they behave in their lives and how they can correct the mistakes they have made.

- **Self-centered speech**

For 38% of juvenile detainees, only discussions with others that concern them directly interest them, otherwise they are not happy. Most of the discussions with the other inmates relate to 31% of the problems they encounter.

- **Assertiveness**

With most of the other detainees, **58%** of minors do not hesitate to tell them face to face the bottom of their thoughts. In prison, faced with a supervisor who disturbs them, it is difficult for **48%** of minors to say face to face what they think of him.

- **Differentiated communication**

In prison, according to what minors have to say, 86% look twice at who they are dealing with before speaking to another. For the important things to say, 59% of minors reserve them for relatives who are outside the prison.

### ***3.2.3. Relationship with others and experience of detention***

The relationship to Others concerns dimensions that strongly imply the action, influence or position of another. In this case, Autrui represents fellow prisoners, prison or judicial staff or people from outside the prison, such as friends and family members. Twelve (12) items were constructed to arrive at the following findings:

- **Look of the other**

For 87% of detained minors, what other detainees think of them is not important. And for 60% of minors, what their family thinks of them is not important.

- **Regulatory speech**

In prison, 40% of minors have the impression that communicating with others is useless. 87% of them would like to talk more often with educators or psychologists, because at least they would know how to listen and understand them.



- **Need for external support**

For 47% of inmates, there is no one in prison they can confide in about the mistakes they have made in their lives. For 24% of them, only the people in their neighborhood are the most capable of understanding them.

- **Communication with relatives**

84% of detained minors prefer to say what is important to people who are dear to them. 50% save important things to say for those who are not in prison.

- **Distancing from peers**

57% of detained minors say they have to leave their neighborhood to get out of it. In prison, only 27% of detained minors prefer to associate with detainees they know or who know their neighborhood.

- **Contribution of others detained**

47% of detained minors find it more important to discuss with detainees convicted of more serious offenses than those convicted of minor offences. Sometimes, during discussions with other inmates, 43% of them admit to having the impression of having learned more in prison than outside.

### ***3.2.4. Dominant personality trait of detained recidivist minors***

Prison is above all a space conducive to psychological, relational, judicial and philosophical changes. The prisoner finds himself, most often in spite of himself, assigned to a prison population in which prevails various social and cultural origins, different legal cases and multifaceted psychic and psychosocial problems. Such an insertion against the will of the detained minor among other prisoners is not without consequences in terms of identity. With this in mind, we administered the DSM-IV as a projective test to six (06) recidivist individuals.

#### **Case 1:**

Age: 16 years old

Criminal record: repeat offender (3<sup>rd</sup> placement)

Placement title: Provisional Custody Order (OGP)

In the Special Quarter for Minors of Daloa (QSMD), the minor takes part in all the activities. He gives the appearance of a respectful boy. However, he does not manage to give up drugs and cigarettes. Among the minors, he stands out for his ability to reason. These comrades rightly call him the “*Pastor*”. He does not benefit from support corresponding to his state of dependency. The situation of recidivism of this minor could be explained by the dependence on drug addiction which worsened by the dysfunctions encountered in the prison environment. The minor has a personality, whose dominant trait is that of borderline personality. This

personality is essentially characterized by the instability of self-image, moods, relationships. Borderline or borderline personalities are associated with schizotypal, histrionic, narcissistic and antisocial personality traits. This personality is handicapped by affective instability, impulsiveness, dangerous behavior, lack of emotional control and especially aggressiveness.

**Case 2:**

Age: 15 years old

Criminal record: repeat offender

Placement title: Provisional Custody Order (OGP)

At QSMD, the minor lives withdrawn into himself. He does not like to participate in collective games. He is very aggressive and fights almost every day whenever he feels upset by another minor. When he can't strike someone, he attacks their personal belongings. He destroyed three times the padlocks of the administrative block and the dormitory. Educators note his refusal to cooperate even with his referent. According to the minor, *"the masters here want you to do as they please. But they will never care about your case"*. Educators seem to misunderstand this case and solve it not as a specific situation, but like all other cases. This approach reinforces the child's feeling of injustice and contributes to maintaining resistance to change, the primacy of which is the recurrence of acts of insubordination, the destruction of other people's property and intentional blows and injuries. With such a minor, the care process should be able to be part of cooperation.

The minor has a personality, whose dominant trait is that of the borderline personality with the same personality traits as the one aroused.

**Case 3:**

Age: 17 years old

Criminal record: Repeat offender

Placement title: Provisional Custody Order (OGP)

At 17, he is on his fourth visit to the Daloa Remand and Correctional Center. This minor is rebellious, steals, systematically refuses the injunctions of the educators, violent and brawling. Because of his criminal record, this minor was wrongfully placed in a disciplinary cell or deprived of food by QSMD security agents, who called him *"incurable"*. This minor has an antisocial personality. What characterizes this personality is its irresponsible and antisocial behavior. This is a person unable to have a regular professional activity. It is impossible for him to conform to social norms. He is deliberately aggressive and impulsive.

**Case 4:**

Age: 16 years old

Criminal record: repeat offender

Placement title: Provisional Custody Order (OGP)

At QSMD, the minor is very talkative, disrespectful, disruptive and very violent. He takes up all the activities offered to him. When he decides to perform the tasks entrusted to him, he always performs them partially. This minor has an antisocial personality. What characterizes this personality is its irresponsible and antisocial behavior. This is a person unable to have a regular professional activity. It is impossible for him to conform to social norms. He is deliberately aggressive and impulsive.

**Case 5:**

Age: 16 years old

Criminal record: repeat offender

Investment Security: Mandate of Deposit (MD)

At QSMD, the minor does not want to do anything. He is reputed to be too teasing and gives himself the air of a seducer. This behavior causes him to be presented as a person with mental deficiencies. He likes to show off his shirtless. He fights regularly with his peers who can't stand his teasing. With regard to his relations with educators, he describes the crudely stigmatizing discourse of educators who do not hesitate to treat him as *"street child"*, *"bastard"*, *"badly brought up"*, *"child with three dads"*. Either every morning, they will repeat to you: *"as you like it here, you have to stay here"* or even *"you, you are not going to change, we will end up killing you one day"*. Finally, the minor who is a regular at the center thinks that *"the QSM has changed"*, *"things have gotten weird. When you greet the masters, they chase you away like a wounded dog"*. He argues in these terms: *"there are words that are not said to a human being, that can revolt him"*! Continuing his remarks, the minor affirms: *"if we are here (at the QSM), it is by accident. Therefore, educators have no right to insult us. If we are rude often it is in reaction to their insults"*.

This minor has a histrionic (or hysterical) personality characterized by an excessive emotional response and a systematic search for attention and praise. The main qualities are liveliness, the ability to be in representation, to play a role, intuition, imagination, the search for novelty, strength of conviction, taste and ease of contact. In addition, histrionic people are distinguished by creativity, charm, seduction, enthusiasm, taste for aesthetics and artistic gifts. On the other hand, the handicaps are intolerance to frustration (lack of resistance to stress), to routine, the permanent need for dramatization, the insufficiency of reassurance, approval, gratifications, little interest in intellectual performance, weak judgment (impressionable, suggestible, etc.). These are immature, inhibited, passive, dependent subjects, who can only live supported by a maternal and protective environment.

## **Case 6:**

Age: 16 years old

Criminal record: repeat offender

Placement title: Provisional Custody Order (OGP)

He is a brawler. He refuses to work. He smokes cigarettes and is constantly under the influence of narcotics (rivotril tablet, cannabis, sachet of liquor) and does not respect the center's educators. He wears a chain around his neck, made of blackish pearls. He is usually alone in his corner. The dominant trait is that of the schizoid personality, characterized by indifference to social relations and restriction of affective register. The main qualities recognized in this personality are discretion, reserve, emotional stability (indifference to both praise and criticism), withdrawal from events and situations. Such a subject performs well in isolated conditions, in all activities that require solitary work. But he is handicapped by limitations in relationships with others (insufficient involvement), indecision in action, urgency, vagueness of objectives, distraction.

## **4. Discussion**

### ***4.1. Social interactions and inefficiency of detention policies***

Detention policies, if they make it possible to keep an individual away from the illegal market during the time of his imprisonment, may have the effect of increasing his propensity to commit acts of delinquency. The authors in [14], justify this idea using two arguments. The first argument is based on the depreciation of the legal human capital during detention when no rehabilitation program is in place. The second argument, to which we focus our attention, incriminates social interactions. According to this argument, the social interactions established between inmates are likely to increase the illegal human capital of inmates through the sharing of their delinquent experience. The empirical study by the author in [15], highlight the ineffectiveness of detention policies in deterring adolescents from delinquent activity. The ineffectiveness of detention policies is partly explained by the influence exercised by social interactions between prisoners on the cost of the illegal act.

Indeed, social interactions between prisoners reduce the cost of the illegal act perceived by an adolescent by increasing his illegal human capital and reducing the psychological cost linked to the passage to the act. The effectiveness of deterrence and detention policies is undermined by social interactions. It is therefore necessary to turn to other forms of policy to divert adolescents from the delinquent path.

### ***4.2. Psychological profile of repeat offenders and ineffectiveness of detention policies***

The interview helps to understand the reactions of repeat offenders. To do this, two personal characteristics were highlighted, namely psychosocial immaturity and negative self-representation.

#### **4.2.1. Psychosocial immaturity**

To better understand and explain the behavior of recidivist juvenile delinquents, it is necessary to know their personality. This is defined as the ability to behave in such and such a way, to choose such and such behavior in the most diverse situations in which an individual finds himself placed. Thus, the personality of recidivist delinquents just like that of first-time juvenile delinquents is more marked by a psychosocial immaturity which is characterized by a strong propensity to oppose social norms, an impressionable character, the tendency to imitation, presentism, self-justification and egocentrism. Thus, it is not uncommon to see these children who develop such a personality insert themselves into marginal bands which constitute a new family for these adolescents.

Also, they cling to a subculture that conveys norms opposed to legal social norms.

Their psychosocial immaturity is characterized by the inability to remember the past and consider the future. They live in the present with no plans for the future because they are unable to resist their impulses while despising their own weaknesses. Thus, according to the author in [16], the delinquent has every chance of becoming weighed down because of the fixation on the present which makes him unfaithful to his commitments, and his inability to control his movements of rage. When you talk to them, they always express their astonishment with regard to what they are reproached for. According to them, they have never done anything wrong that could lead them to this place. This psychosocial immaturity is also characterized in these children by egocentrism. They tend to bring everything to themselves. Thus, we notice in these children a tendency not to depart from themselves. They are incapable of judging a moral issue by considering others. Thus, in the answers to the test, we notice that juvenile delinquents as a whole develop an overly defensive attitude which shows that they distrust others. Hence the permanent use of the personal pronoun "I" during all group discussions.

Also, there is in them this propensity to react with anger to any frustration. Repeat offenders, unlike those who have been able to be reinserted, have always legitimized their crime. These character traits lead to certain reactionary tendencies which are improvidence, impulsiveness and irresponsibility. As a result, there is less resistance to criminogenic factors. These juvenile delinquents only obey the attraction of immediate pleasure. Thus, they tend to root themselves in the practice of criminal activities which seem to them more attractive than a normal life without work, without financial means. For these teenagers, no matter the threat of prison time, it does not alter their desire to achieve their immediate goals. This is what we are talking about the non-resilience of certain minors. It is in this dynamic of explanation that our last author ([16]), affirms that men who stay indefinitely in the rut of delinquency are ill-equipped for life in society. They come from terribly disorganized families who have bequeathed to them an educational background of extreme poverty and probably some hereditary defects. They don't have the preparation or the skills to succeed in the job market. They often have less than normal intellectual resources and a precarious psychological balance

#### **4.2.2. Negative self-image**

According to the psychologist Martinot in [17], "*self-esteem is an integral part of a more complex structure that*

*is the Self. It is the interactive nodal point of the individual's perception of himself and that of others.* Thus self-esteem is the value that a person attributes to himself; it is self-image. It can be negative or positive. Several studies have shown that the self-image of juvenile delinquents, particularly among repeat offenders, is negative. In their speeches, it very often emerges that these children are devalued, despised, rejected. They are the object of negative social labeling because of their criminal record. This attitude of the child's entourage has the consequence of creating a total loss of confidence in him and in his entourage whom he considers responsible for his situation. Indeed, these minors are unable to comply with the constraints of learning a trade as the perception they have of themselves is negatively correlated with anxiety leading to resignation. The internalization of a negative self-image in the minor contributes to the inking of the delinquent behavior. By developing in him this low self-esteem, the minor has the feeling of being rejected by society and his family. This has the effect of encouraging contact with groups of offenders both inside and outside prison. In this process of integration of the negative self-image in the minor, the educator seems to play an important role even if the child before his entry to the Special Quarter for Minors of Daloa (QSMD) was already a proven delinquent. Thus, by his behavior, the educator, through negative verbal stigmatizations such as *"incapable"*, *"good for nothing"*, *"little bandit"*, *"without future"*, *"thug"* contributes in a certain way to the reinforcement delinquent personality. The adolescent who is very sensitive to criticisms of him internalizes them and sees himself as such. Note that this image these adolescent delinquents refer to themselves and their future is unfavorable and negative. Ultimately, we can say that juvenile delinquents, in particular recidivists, experience real difficulties in reintegrating into the social fabric due to serious cognitive deficiencies and numerous social handicaps which originate from educational shortcomings.

#### **4.2.3. Self-representation**

The representation of minors as detainees is in fact marked by clearly identifiable movements that could be summarized by speaking of Identification/Separation.

- Detained minors *"assume"* that they do not feel different from others in the prison, nor embarrassed by the reasons for their detention.

- Detained minors do not express relational disturbances . They don't think it's a problem that their buddies and friends know they're detained, or that it upsets anyone, or that they're different from other detainees. Moreover, they do not believe that they will be perceived differently from other people when they leave prison.

- detained minors intend to remain neutral. They don't want to be judged by other inmates, nor do they want to judge others. This can be likened to a precautionary principle. They prefer that others do not know what they think of them.

Regarding the answer to the question of change *"by detention"*, it is treated in an ambivalent way. Detained minors generally think, and in a very affirmative way, that they will have *"learned"* something during their detention. The first element supporting this affirmation is a certain withdrawal into oneself: *"not thinking of oneself as different from others, while avoiding thinking about the other's gaze, or expressing one's gaze on the*

other, being certain that one retains one's friends" . The second element is the perception of a family bond that "holds". detained minors believe that their family is punished as much as they are, even though they do not say that their detention could hurt anyone. Which is to say that they do not feel responsible for the "pain" inflicted on their family by their detention. And this, while they have the clear feeling of what the family is suffering, and that in part, they say they want to take it into account. We find in this image of a "detained" Self the usual disengagement from responsibility in terms of causality and the absence of effect of the representation of the other in oneself: "not to think of the other, to refuse to 'to be thought of by the other, to feel neither the same nor different'. like a kind of "psychic freezing" , which by avoiding suffering from the idea that one has of oneself does not allow access to a change other than temporary.

Not accepting the judgment of others, therefore criticism, is one of the underlying traits of the "hostility" trait. If we summarized the results given by the study of the experience of incarceration in a somewhat abrupt way, we could say that detained minors have a self-representation that translates an "autistic" adaptation to the prison situation. Detained minors recognize the impact of the prison environment because they learn something from it, while denying that the effect can change anything in their image to others, as they themselves represent it and thus, they keep this image intact. So they submit, but do not succeed in a global way to modify their perception of themselves and externalize the suffering experienced on those around them. The fact that detained minors do not draw any conclusions from their situation to think about a change in their relationship with others, or refuse to discriminate against others, shows that taking into account the influence exercised by the correlation of these traits With hostility, a disturbing observation emerges: detention only confirms an experience of animosity and impulsiveness, which the detained minor cannot control, especially since it is masked by the lack of expression of emotions and judgments as well as a form of denial of the influence of the situation on relationships with others.

## 5. Conclusion

During this study, it was noted that the penitentiary policy through the Special Quarter for Minors of Daloa (QSMD), the skills of the supervisory staff and that of the medico-socio-educational sector, the material living conditions in detention, the prison culture and the specificities of the prison population are all factors that favor the recidivism of detained minors. Suddenly, if the prison can play the role of a " protective" third party by putting the offender out of harm's way or more surely out of certain dangers, it can also play that of a "destructive " third party that many consider as inevitable given what is happening there and what is being played out there. In this respect therefore, the analysis of the data in this study confirms the results of the studies by the authors in [18], where the ineffective nature of policies for the detention of minors is highlighted.

The prevention of recidivism being the essential objective of the judicial and penitentiary services, it is imperative for the Special District for Minors of Daloa (QSMD) to set up an effective intervention with the minors monitored.

The question of the articulation between general approach and singular approach or that between the general interest of a social and legal system and the interest of the person who finds himself liable for a prison sentence

is posed. This is precisely one of the main interests of this research, which aims to understand what happens in detention by associating and sometimes advocating a clinical and differential approach on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a psychosociological approach. .

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