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## Challenges Faced by the Zimbabwe Prison Service in Implementing Prison Rehabilitation Programs: A Case of Marondera Prison

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### **Abstract:**

*Prisoners need to acquire skills in different trades while in custody through rehabilitation programs. This case study sought to establish whether rehabilitation programs available in prisons are serving the interests of inmates. The population of the study consisted of 100 male inmates and 40 prison officers out of which twenty inmates and ten prison officers were randomly selected. The study traced how the prison system has tried to transform in line with regional declarations and regional instruments that promote rehabilitation. The study showed that written policies have not been followed by supportive practical activities to promote prison rehabilitation. Performing arts is the most popular program at Marondera prison which grew in popularity through the officer's unilateral initiatives than through the assessed needs of inmates. The researchers recommended that prison inmates need rehabilitation programs that equip them with relevant skills for employment or self help projects. They mostly prefer training in trades that require mastery of skills. Rehabilitation interventions must be informed by needs assessment done in a collaborative manner by officers, inmates and other stake holders. Strategies such as private public partnerships on prison rehabilitation programs must be adopted. Rehabilitation support must go beyond prison walls to facilitate sustainable livelihoods for those who acquire skills while in prison.*

### **1. Background of the Study**

The co- researcher has been actively involved in various prison rehabilitation projects for the past six years. Observations made during this period brought into light certain issues that may be conceptualized as challenges in the context of prison rehabilitation. The Zimbabwe prison service's mission statement reads "The Zimbabwe prison service is responsible for protection of society through the incarceration and rehabilitation of offenders for their successful reintegration into society while exercising safe, secure and humane control".

The quest to carry out this study came in the wake of media and academic reports suggesting that there could be challenges confronting the Zimbabwe prison service in fulfilling its stated mandate of rehabilitating offenders. Of special influence was the July 2008 South Africa broadcasting cooperation's special assignment investigative documentary titled 'Hell hole' in reference to Zimbabwean prisons. It showed graphic video images of malnourished prison inmates who spend most of their time laboring in the fields or locked up in their prison cells with no major activity of rehabilitation taking place.

Winslow (2006) in his assessment of Zimbabwean prisons argues that "Prison conditions remained harsh and life threatening, extreme overcrowding, shortage of clothing and poor sanitary conditions persists". This researcher assumed that the goal of rehabilitating inmates could not be achievable under such conditions.

Sharing the same view, Sarkin (2008) asserts that "rehabilitation is a difficult end point for many African prisons". In light of these revelations, it seemed prudent to undertake this study with the ultimate aim to scientifically establish challenges of prison rehabilitation. The Ouagadougou Declaration on accelerating Prison and Panel reforms in Africa calls for the promotion and reintegration of former offenders. The Declaration also has an action plan, the plan includes specifications on measures that Governments and Civic organizations could take to increase the effectiveness of rehabilitation of Prison inmates.

This study was motivated by the need to reduce recidivism and promote sustainable post incarceration livelihoods for former Prison inmates. The paucity of published researches on criminology in Zimbabwe makes it difficult to analyze trends of recidivism; recidivism may reflect the success or failure of Prison rehabilitation. Mutambikwa (1988) cited by Winslow(2006) , writing on a study of recidivism which was jointly undertaken by the Zimbabwe Prison Service and the Law department of the University of Zimbabwe in 1986 concluded that, "although there are no accurate recidivism statistics, Prison officers believe it is quite high, particularly among property offenders". The challenges that prison rehabilitation programs face are most likely detrimental to the effectiveness of such program.

### *1.1. Statement of the Problem*

The discrepancies between prisoners' rehabilitation needs and rehabilitation programs offered at Marondera prison render rehabilitation ineffective and contribute to recidivism among inmates.

### *1.2. Purpose of Study*

The purpose of this study was to find out major challenges that hinder attainment of Zimbabwe Prison Service's goal of rehabilitating prison inmates. It was hoped that this would contribute towards fulfillment of the organization's mission statement. The study also aimed at encouraging further vital discussions and maybe progressive policy decisions.

### *1.3. Research Questions*

Which personal rehabilitation priorities do Prison inmates need rehabilitation programs to address?

What Prison Rehabilitation programs are done at Marondera Prison?

Do prison inmates and officers see rehabilitation as a failure or success at Marondera prison?

What are the most prominent challenges confronting rehabilitation programs at Marondera prison?

### *1.4. Significance of the Study*

The effectiveness of prison rehabilitation programs most probably hinges on the adopted rehabilitation policies and approaches. This study was meant to inspire the adoption of sustainable participatory rehabilitation approaches,

The study may also be useful in providing information on factors that hinder prison rehabilitation programs. While the study was primarily intended to benefit prison inmates from effective prison rehabilitation programs that ensure sustainable post incarceration livelihoods, it was also hoped that key stakeholders such as the Zimbabwe Prison Service and concerned civic organization would benefit by reconsidering their prison rehabilitation policies. At a broader level, society may indirectly benefit from economically productive and less criminally oriented former prison inmates. The academic community may also consider using this research as a foundation from which other researches of a similar nature may be carried out for broader generalization.

### *1.5. Assumptions of the Study*

The Zimbabwe Prison Service's Rehabilitation policies are not informed by researches carried out in the local context to suit local demands.

Most Prison inmates are unemployed at the time of arrest, hence the need for human capital development programs that facilitate self sustenance after release from prison.

### *1.6. Delimitation of Study*

This study was conducted at Marondera prison which is located in Mashonaland East province, some sixteen kilometers west of Marondera town in ward four of Marondera rural district, along the Marondera Wedza road. The study was carried out between November and January 2011. This was the time when the researchers secured clearance from Prison authorities to carry out the study. Although many related concepts arose from this study, it was limited to the investigation of challenges affecting prison rehabilitation at Marondera Prison. The study was confined to the investigation of challenges as seen from the perspective of current inmates and prison officers. It was not able to incorporate views from former inmates who are now free due to logistical problems such as difficulties in physically locating them.

### *1.7. Limitation of Study*

Because prisons are highly secured areas, bureaucratic procedures of getting authority to undertake the study retarded progress of the study. The farming season during which the study was done, entailed a lot of farming activities for prison inmates and officers at Marondera farm prison, while this challenge may have been circumvented by rescheduling research activities to the convenience of prison authorities, it probably compromised levels of participation from a few inmates.

## **2. Literature Review**

### *2.1. Historical Context of Prison Transformations in Africa: Precolonial Period*

Prior to colonization, African societies had their own way of maintaining Justice and social order among people. Traditional kingdoms respected the collective wisdom of their respective people as reflected in acceptable norms and values of society. Violation of the acceptable norms and values would call for restitution as well as possible rebuke from kinships. Sarkin (2008) argues that "the prison is not an institution indigenous to Africa. Rather, like so many elements of African bureaucracy today, it is a holdover from colonial times." The advent of colonial rule disrupted the indigenous justice delivery systems of Africa. Colonial rulers reconfigured traditional structures of governance to perpetuate their political hegemony. The Zimbabwe prison system today is a legacy of colonial rule.

Objectives of the African traditional justice delivery system and the colonial justice delivery system were different. While the former emphasized on restitution, the latter emphasized on punishment of the offender. Newly independent States in Africa might have taken long to introduce the concept of prison rehabilitation due to the lingering vestiges of colonialism that persisted into modern day Prison

institution. A case in point was the effect of apartheid on transforming South African Prisons. Goyer, (2006) holds that “As rehabilitation and reintegration was not considered part of the mandate of South African Prisons, the idea of putting chairs, desks and classrooms into prisons was lost on prison designs at the time”. While Zimbabwe might have inherited some of the prison governance system from the colonial era, significant policy changes aimed at transforming the system have been made albeit at a slow pace. The slow pace of Prison transformations might have been detrimental to the effectiveness of prison rehabilitation in Zimbabwe. “It is hardly a surprise that present day African Prisons fail to meet their stated goals of rehabilitation and persist in fulfilling the aims and committing the abuses set in motion centuries ago” Sarkin (2008)

#### 2.1.1. Post Colonial Period

After the attainment of independence from colonial rule, African prisons attempted to embrace policies that support the rights of prison inmates and rehabilitation. Broad prison transformations were inspired by serious lobbying from Civic society as well as regional and international organizations such as African Union, formerly Organization of African Unity and the United Nations respectively. Historic meetings that had influence are the 1996 Kampala declaration on Prison conditions, 1997 Kadoma declaration and the 2002 Ouagadougou declaration on accelerating prisons and penal reforms in Africa. Below is a brief discussion of the outcomes from these historic meetings.

#### 2.1.2. The 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa

The declaration was held from 19 to 21 September 1996 under the ambit of the African commission. The declaration advocated for broad reforms such as the rights of prisoners and adoption of prison rehabilitation programs. Of particular interest to this study are the action plans that came out of the declaration, two of which are;

“Prisons in Africa should be considered in the context of economic development, social and cultural values and social change. Emphasis should be placed on providing education; skills based training and a work programme that is in the interest of the offenders while incorporating elements of self sufficiency and sustainability of both the prison institution and the detainees as a community”.

“Secondly, Governments were also advised to review penal policy in light of the Kampala declaration and call other national and international agencies (Governmental and non governmental to assist them in this task”. It was probably the Kampala declaration that ignited the enthusiasm for rehabilitating prison inmates in Zimbabwe .This was followed by the Kadoma declaration.

#### 2.1.3. The 1997 Kadoma Declaration

The Kadoma declaration mainly focused on exploring alternative forms of punishment for offenders. It laid the foundation of community service which is now widely used in Zimbabwe. It is important to note that the Kadoma declaration respected the use of beneficial indigenous traditional justice delivery approaches. One of its declarations reads “Community service in conformity with African traditions of dealing with offenders and with healing the damage caused by crime within the community”.

#### 2.1.4. The Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action on Accelerating Prisons and Penal Reforms in Africa (2002)

The document was addressed to governments and criminal justice institutions as well as to non governmental organizations and associations working in this field. It was meant to be a source of inspiration for concrete actions. The conference was held under the auspices of the African commission of human and people’s rights. Participants came up with various strategies to meet the following recommendations.

- Reducing the prison population.
- Making African Prisons more self sufficient.
- Promoting the reintegration of offenders into society and applying the rule of law to prison administration.

This conference advocated for the adoption of rehabilitation programs in prison, so as to facilitate reintegration of offenders and contribute to their individual social development. Other recommendations were encouraging best practices, promoting an African Charter on prisoners’ rights and looking towards the United Nations Charter on the basic rights of prisoners.

These initiatives led to changes in the way prisons are administrated in Africa. For instance, Zimbabwe made significant strides in adopting the community service system as an alternative form of punishment. “Community service is one of the options courts may resort to punish petty offenders. As an alternative to punishment, it has proved its efficiency in a scheme introduced in Zimbabwe in the early 1990s (Penal reform international 2002). The transformation of the Zimbabwe Prison Service that saw the introduction of prisoner rehabilitation initiatives might have been inspired by such regional and international trends.

This historical background of prison rehabilitation in Africa and Zimbabwe helps shade light on the phases of institutional transformations that Prisons have undergone. The question of whether certain challenges have hindered progress of rehabilitation in prisons might as well be answered by examining the extent to which such policy changes at institutional level are informed by theory and translated to practical activities of prison inmate rehabilitation.

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

There are a number of distinct Criminological theories most of which are relevant but beyond scope of this study. The Strain theory, Social process theory and Control theory were however discussed in detail, O’Conner (2010) maintains that only these three are considered mainstream in conventional Criminology.

### 3.1. Social Process Theories

Social process theories are rooted in Psychological and Sociological theories. They include Sutherland's (1939) Differential association and Albert Bandura's (1973) Social learning theory. Social process theories focus on the acquisition of criminal behavior. Hugh, and David, (2010) argue that social process theories are more micro sociological as they are concerned with how individuals acquire social attributes through interaction with others.

### 3.2. The Theory of Differential Association

The Chief proponent of this theory was Edwin Sutherland. "In 1939 Edition of Principles of Criminology, Sutherland forwarded what is known as differential association theory Hugh, et al (2010). According to this theory, criminal behavior patterns can be acquired through interaction and communication just like all other behavioral patterns. Individuals may acquire criminal behavior patterns because they are exposed to situations where there is criminal behavior. Sutherland, Donald and Cressey (1974) argued that criminal behavior was not caused by physiological or biological pathologies as advanced by Biological and Psychological Theorists. They maintained that criminal behavior is rather a possible outcome of normal interactive processes in daily lives of people.

Advancing the same argument, Agnew (2002) holds that Interaction with criminal peers is a major cause of crime and criminal behavior. Criminal behavior, he says may be repeated and become chronic if reinforced. This theory may to some extent explain habitual criminal behavior among some prison inmates. It might as well give insight into the feasibility of certain prison administration policies in effectively rehabilitating prison inmates. For instance the consequence of prison residential facilities that do not separate juvenile inmates from older ones, or mixing those who commit petty crimes such as pick pocketing from serious offenders involved in murder, carjacking or drug trafficking. Ray (1959) however criticized the differential association theory on the grounds that it leaves out the influence of personality traits and other psychological variables. He argued that the theory does not explain why people respond differently to the same situation.

### 3.3. Learning Theories

According to behavioral learning theorists, people most likely repeat activities for which they are rewarded than those for which they are not rewarded or are punished. They also tend to imitate others they see being rewarded. In this case the reward is experienced vicariously. This line of thought which was adopted and modified by Other Scholars such as Burges and Akers (1966) and Glacers (1956) is intellectually indebted to Albert Bandura's Social learning theory.

Glacers (1956) argued that all forms of interaction between an individual and his or her social environment may be incorporated in a modified theory of differential identification. He postulated that "A person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspectives his criminal behavior seems acceptable". In the prison context, there are some inmates who may serve as models to fellow inmates. The challenge in the context of this study may be on how to minimize negative modeling and maximize positive modeling among inmates to ensure positive favorable prison rehabilitation outcomes.

Bandura (1973) carried out experiments to study the acquisition of aggressive behavior. He concluded that aggressive behavior can be acquired through imitation. Hugh, et al (2010) maintain "there is evidence that suggests imitated behaviors do survive over time and that people will generalize from the initial modeling situation to other sometimes quite dissimilar situations" It might as well be a plausible fact that prison rehabilitation programs must help offenders unlearn the acquired criminal behavior.

### 3.4. Social Control Theory

Agnew (2002) identifies Hirschi, Reckless, Gotterson and Hagan as the proponents of social control theory. This theory was premised on the argument that "The key factor in crime is thus the presence or absence of control. These controls or containment might be rooted in relationships for instance social bonds or be internal for example social control (Agnew 2002). Reiss (1951) argued that "Delinquency was behavior consequent to failure of personal social controls". Hirschi (1971) who stood out as the most prominent of the social control theorists developed a version of the theory which focused on the special circumstances that inhibit criminal behavior. Hirschi (1971) cited by Hugh, et al (2010) argues that these special circumstances exist when an individual's bond to conventional or moral society is strong. He maintained that the social bonds depend on four elements. These elements are attachment; commitment; belief and involvement.

According to Jensen (2003) "these were four basic 'social bonds' that could constitute significant barriers to youth involvement in delinquency". Attachment refers to the individual's affective involvement with people close to him or her such as relatives, parents, teachers and friends. Individuals are said to deviate when attachment to significant people in his or her life is weak. Jensen (2003) holds that commitment was measured in terms of aspirations and goals of people, including rational as well as emotional investments. This was further elaborated by Hugh, et al (2010) who said "commitment refers to weighing of costs and risks of deviance in light of that person's investment or stake in conformity". For example, an ex prison inmate who is despised by relatives due to his or her criminal behavior may not hesitate to become a habitual criminal because he or she will literally have nothing to lose in terms of social ties with relatives. The implication in the context of prison rehabilitation most probably being the extent to which prison rehabilitation programs elicit the support of relatives, to facilitate reintegration of inmates back into society. Hirschi (1971) defines belief as "a common value system within society or group whose norms are being violated" it probably entails personal acceptance of societal moral conceptions that inhibit delinquency.

Involvement according to Hirschi's theory, of social control referred to the level of an individual's involvement in conventional things. The more involved a person is the lesser the opportunities to commit crime. In the justice delivery system control measures

may be at primary prevention levels, such as capacitating families and communities to strengthen social bonds that make community members responsible for their behavior, the Zimbabwe Republic Police's neighborhood watch committees may be a manifestation of the use of social control measures. This study is also interested in knowing from the prisoner's perspective how the strengthening of such social bonds, especially during rehabilitation may facilitate the success of rehabilitation. This study would also like to assess to what extent weakened social bonds may pose a challenge to prison rehabilitation outcomes.

### 3.5. *The Strain Theory*

Various scholars have advanced strain theories, most notable are Robert King Merton(1938), Albert and Cohen(1955) Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin(1960), Robert Agnew(1992) and Steven Messner and Richard Rosenfield(1994) Hugh,D et al (2010). Robert Merton's Strain/Anomie theory was founded on the works of Emile Durkheim, a pioneering functionalist Sociologist who had interest in studying the functional role of crime in society. According to Merton's Strain/Anomie theory, the pressure or strain is imposed on an individual by the discrepancy between culturally defined goals and the socially or legally acceptable means available to attain such goals. Haralambos and Holborn (1991) are of the opinion that failure to achieve certain goals is said to cause frustration which may in turn result in criminal behavior. "Social strain theory focuses on the strain that is placed on the individual to commit crime" (Agnew 2002).

The early Strain theories were criticized for methodological flaws and lack of empirical verification. Agnew (1997) asserts that "The lack of supporting data can be attributed to several flaws in the original research methods employed by the researchers" A revised version of the social strain theory was later developed by Robert Agnew (1999).He called it the revised general strain theory. "Agnew's general strain theory starts with the assumption that negative relationships with others cause strain or stress in people's lives."Hugh, D et al (2010) The Revised General strain theory expanded scope of the original Strain theory. Whereas the Strain/Anomie theory mainly referred to money and material possessions as the major sources of strain, The Revised General Strain Theory considered other variables such as individual's social position and class, expectations for the future and association with other criminals.

Agnew (1999) identified failure to achieve positively valued goals such as money, status and autonomy, the loss of positive stimuli and the presentation of negative stimuli as the three major types of strain. Policy recommendations from the General strain theory, especially in the context of prison rehabilitation, may be the promotion of social support programs that improve post incarceration livelihoods. These could be in the form of skills training or such other human capital development interventions.

### 3.6. *Interventions and Inmate Rehabilitation Needs*

Various researches have established what different prison inmates expect from rehabilitation programs. This has probably helped prison authorities in implementing rehabilitation programs from an informed perspective. There are now many rehabilitation approaches available in literature, the effectiveness of which may among other factors rely on the inmates' levels of participation and granted autonomy to choose priority programs. Antonwicz and Ross(1994) prominent scholars famed for contributing to the development of effective principles for intervention, found that successful rehabilitation programs were more likely to have the following factors.

- A sound conceptual model.
- Multifaceted programming.
- Targeting of criminogenic needs.
- Responsivity principle.
- Role playing and modeling
- Social cognitive skills.

If successfully implemented with the aid of clearly defined policies and guidelines, rehabilitation of prison inmates may become a success in Zimbabwe.

The UN standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners provides that vocational training should be provided to prisoners and that this should prepare prisoners for life after release. Ukoh and Charles (2006) carried out a study; 'Socio-cultural determinants of criminal behavior of Agaba groups in Calabar Metropolis Nigeria' Agaba groups referring to boys from the street. (Writer's emphasis).

The researchers found that "socio economic activities found in the areas of residency were major determinants of type of criminal and anti social activities they specialized in". Their study recommended the creation of Public Private Partnership initiatives that would create employment for the criminally oriented street youths. In a related study, Papps (1999) cited by Adams and Mike (2000) concluded that "unemployment was found to have a significant relationship to a number of dishonest crimes committed". They also concluded that most inmates prefer rehabilitation programs that equip them with skills for self employment after serving their prison terms. The Zimbabwe prison service has a 2005 prison rehabilitation policy document that explains various interventions for the rehabilitation of prison inmates. These included educational programs such as formal education and literacy teaching, Skills training in various trades and counseling.

## 4. Prison Rehabilitation Programs

### 4.1. Education and Skills Training

Research has shown that education and skills training are a major priority for many inmates. A special reporter on the right to education, Munoz (2009) cited by Hugh et al (2010) interviewed prison inmates to have their views on prison education. One inmate said “We cannot imprison a person for many years without providing an avenue for change...indeed change will have occurred but certainly not how it was envisioned. For we will have created an envious, frustrated, delusional, pent-up angry and dehumanized individual who will certainly seek revenge”. This sentiment shows how some inmates prefer rehabilitation programs that help them positively adapt to life after prison. “Prisoners who receive education are 20% less likely to return to prison than the general prison population Siegel (1997). Policies of rehabilitation may be there on paper, but effective rehabilitation may depend on how these policies are translated to practical rehabilitation activities. The Zimbabwe prison service’s (2005) policy document mentions bricklaying, carpentry, sewing, tailoring, welding, and poultry as some of the skills offered in skills training programs for prisoners’ rehabilitation.

### 4.2. Success or Failure of Prison Rehabilitation

#### 4.2.1. The Recidivism Phenomenon

During early years of the introduction of prison rehabilitation, some skeptic scholars sought to evaluate the effectiveness of rehabilitation interventions in prison. One such scholar was Robert Martinson (1974) who undertook an evaluation of the effectiveness of prison rehabilitation in a review of evaluations of treatment studies. Martinson (1974) concluded that “Rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far had no appreciable effect on recidivism”. That conclusion was widely adopted but it ignited serious academic debate and researches. With the development of better and sophisticated research and data analysis methods, opportunities to put Martinson’s argument to the test arose. Since then studies have revealed that rehabilitation works, its effectiveness however depends on a variety of factors, some of which were the subject of this study.

Cullen, Francis, and Applegate (1997) argue that “more recently scholars have undertaken sophisticated quantitative syntheses of an increasing body of educational studies through a technique called meta-analysis. These analyses reveal that across evaluation studies, the recidivism rate is 10% points lower for treatment groups than for the control group”. Contrary to Martinson’s earlier findings, Cullen et al (1997)’s study shows that rehabilitation indeed works, albeit under certain circumstances. Thinane and Tsekelo (2010) undertook a study at South Africa’s Groenpunt Maximum security Prison. They wanted to see why rehabilitation is ineffective and to identify ways to reduce recidivism. They argue that “one of the biggest challenges facing South African Prison system today is the phenomenon of recidivism (repeat offences). In 94% of all cases offenders, offenders reengage in criminal activities after they have been released from prison.” The researchers conclude that majority of prisons in South Africa are ineffective in terms of rehabilitating offenders.

In a paper titled “Rehabilitation and reintegration in African Prisons” Amanda Diesel(2010) posits that “ available information tends to suggest that African counties are on the whole not succeeding in contributing to the reduction of repeat offending through the use of imprisonment”. This echoes Thinane and Tsekelo (2010)’s conclusion that rehabilitation is ineffective in South African Prisons. On the same note, Zimbabwe’s progress in as far as prison rehabilitation is concerned is not yet documented. Writing on the lack of researches on prison rehabilitation in Africa, Mutingh(2001) cited by Diesel(2010) asserts that “ while there is no empirical evidence of the extent of recidivism in South Africa, estimates put the recidivism rate at between 66% and 94%”

#### 4.2.2. Challenges of Prison Rehabilitation

High rates of recidivism may be an indication of the failure of prison rehabilitation programs. Studies have attempted to establish the challenges that prison rehabilitation programs encounter. At their Groenpunt Maximum security Prison Study referred to earlier in this section, Thinane and Tsekelo from Bokola North West University in South Africa revealed the following main challenges:

- At Groenpunt maximum security prison, the prescribed government prescriptions for rehabilitation are not being adhered to.
- Participation in rehabilitation programs is not compulsory for offenders at Groenpunt maximum security prison.

The researchers concluded that these trends render rehabilitation ineffective and stimulate recidivism upon release. The study recommended the development of an individual needs based approach to rehabilitation and making participation in rehabilitation compulsory for all offenders.

Zimbabwean prisons may also be riddled with similar challenges as revealed by the Groenpunt Maximum Security prison study, research is yet to reveal if it is as such. Lipsey and Wilson (1993) reviewed 302 meta-analyses of prison rehabilitation programs. They revealed institutional and personnel related challenges as follows

- Lack of training for human service workers.
- The use of less effective treatment modalities
- The failure to develop and utilize well designed and comprehensive treatment manuals
- The failure to monitor therapeutic integrity.

They concluded that “these and other problems are not inherent in correctional rehabilitation programs but are due to policy decisions that can be rectified”.

In light of the reviewed researches .It is prudent that this study borrows from some of the findings to enrich the investigation. For example Thinane and Tsekelo (2010)'s findings at Groenpunt maximum security Prison resonate with the objectives of this study, which seeks to establish challenges of rehabilitation at Marondera Prison. Rehabilitation programs may be successful if informed by data "although correctional policies are necessarily influenced by value, resource organizational and political factors, programs that seek to reduce criminal involvement should be informed by scientific data" (Rezmovic 1979)

The historical context of the development of African Prisons attempted to show the phases through which prison transformations have gone. Attempts by regional instruments such as the African Union to improve prison conditions have been followed by the adoption of rehabilitation of prisoners as a way of observing human rights and facilitating reintegration of ex inmates. Rehabilitation has been inspired by various theories as discussed in this section. Quite a good number of scholars have also attempted to undertake studies on the effectiveness of rehabilitation among other related issues. The reviewed related studies have shown that rehabilitation is still riddled with a number of challenges, hence the need for this study to investigate the challenges of rehabilitating inmates at Marondera Prison in Zimbabwe.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1. Research Design

The study used the case study method because it was an idiographic case study focusing on prison inmates and prison officers from one prison institution. This group could be collectively seen as an entity with specific properties such as alienation from mainstream society. "Case study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed" (Feagin,Orum and Sjoberk 1991). The researchers had to investigate multiple variables affecting prison rehabilitation on a group living under similar prison conditions. As such the case study method was ideal in that it enabled the application of different methods of research. Yin (1993) argues that "case studies are designed to bring out the details from view points of the participants by using multiple sources of data.

The study made use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods to ensure test reliability and validity. For qualitative data, the observation method was employed. "Observational study can allow qualitative researchers to identify recurring patterns of behavior that participants may be unable to recognize" Yin (1993). The use of neutral observation augmented the quantitative research instruments by picking up issues that may have been left by participating inmates and officers, or that may have escaped the attention of questionnaires. For quantitative data, closed ended questionnaires that measure variables on the possible challenges of prison rehabilitation were also administered to the respondents.

### 5.2. Population Delimitation

The study targeted male inmates and both female and male officers. It was relatively easy to establish the population under study. This was done by way of carrying out a census and referring to official registers made available to the researchers. Female inmates were excluded from the study owing to their small number which could not contribute adequate data for analysis .Out of the 4 registered female inmates; only 1 was present while the other three were on temporary transfer to Harare remand prison. A census carried out showed that the entire population at Marondera prison comprises 40 prison officers and 100 male prison inmates.

### 5.3. Population and Sampling Procedure

By the time the researchers approached the institution for population sampling, prior arrangements had been made by the prison authorities to have all inmates and officers present. Out of the initial number of 40 officers, there were 2 more new recruits from training. They however could not participate because they were still on induction training. All the 100 male inmates were present.

The researcher used Probability sampling. He initially designed a sampling frame by looking at the official register to list all inmates and officers present. Using the lists, simple random sampling was done. "With random sampling, every member of the population has an opportunity to be included in the sample, and pure chance is the only factor that determines who actually goes into the sample" Broadburn and Sudman (1988).

Lists of inmate and officers' names were obtained from the official register. Names were taken from the register and put on index cards. The cards were mixed up thoroughly in a large box. These cards were then selected on the basis of pure chance by drawing blindly from the large box. The researchers came up with 20 participants from inmates and 10 participants from officers, making a total sample of 30. From a total population of 140 , the margin error for 30 is plus or minus 5% with a confidence level of 90%(From Isaac and Michael 1981;Table of recommended sample sizes for two different precision levels) The sample size was therefore large enough to represent the population under study.

Twenty male inmates who participated in this study represented 25% of the entire inmate prison population. 10 officers who also represented 25% of personnel at the station also participated in the study. While the inmates were treated as a homogenous group, during their stay in prison they are classified differently. The classification depends on the length of sentence and type of crime committed. There are 'A, B, C and D class inmates. Class A, inmates are those whose sentences are close to completion and are also classified according to good behavior. B class inmates are mostly those left with less than two years to serve while C class inmates have more than two years in custody. D class inmates are those with long sentences, mostly due to serious crimes like murder, armed robbery, rape and car jacking. They are mostly confined to prison cells

The population could not be stratified on such criteria because inmates are not fixed in their classes for the entire duration of their stay. Chances were that some would change classes during the course of study.

#### 5.4. *Research Instruments*

The researcher made use of observation as an instrument to gather qualitative data from participating prison inmates. The researcher also made use of closed ended questionnaires to gather quantitative data which could be statistically interpreted

#### 5.5. *Observation Guide*

“Direct observation, if carried out in a structured and disciplined way is one of the purest forms on research, as it taps directly into behavior rather than perceptions, secondary or self reports of behavior. It avoids many sources of error” Yin (1993). This was a case study; as such the observation method was ideal because there were many activities that the researchers had to observe in the day to day operation of prison with regards to rehabilitation. It was hoped that this would help in coming up with a valid analysis of pertinent issues

#### 5.6. *Questionnaires*

Closed ended questionnaires were used. Some questions had dichotomous response scales which enabled the choice of only one from two provided responses

### 6. **Data Collection Procedure**

#### 6.1. *Questionnaires*

The researchers sought authority to carry out observations and administer some questionnaires to officers and prison inmates from the officer in charge at Marondera prison. Permission was instantly granted. Simple random sampling procedures were then carried out and appointments made with respondents. The questionnaires were administered by the researchers to all participants by hand and collected from them after completion. This was done on a single day.

#### 6.2. *Observation*

The researchers used the covert observational research approach. This was done by way of engaging in routine official business at Marondera prison while making observations after which notes were written at the end of each day. Observations were done for three weeks at intermittent intervals of at least two hours for two times a day. The intermittent intervals were done to rule out errors that could arise from falling into the fixed activity routine of Marondera prison inmates and officers. It also helped in maintaining the discreet nature of covert observation which was essential to avoid pretence and bias from observed subjects.

#### 6.3. *Data Presentation Procedure*

Results from observations were presented in narrative form with specific highlights on distinct themes and related to the research problem. Data from questionnaires administered to both inmates and officers were statistically presented in the form of tables of values with percentage scores for different responses. Some scores were translated into bar graphs and some presented on pie charts. This case study intended to make use of both qualitative and quantitative research instruments to increase validity and reliability. The sample, which on average constitutes about twenty five percent of the entire population, may be representative enough for generalization to the entire population at Marondera prison. Since in the context of this study the population was considered a homogenous population, simple random sampling was used as a sampling procedure. Qualitative data from observations were presented in narrative form, while quantitative data from structured questionnaires were statistically presented.

### 7. **Data Presentation and Interpretation**

This section presents and analyses data collected during the research exercise. Questionnaires were used for the respondents who were male inmates and both female and male officers. This was also augmented by observations made in the field by the researchers. Tables, graphs and charts were used to illustrate responses from questionnaires, while data from observations were presented in narrative form. Sub questions were combined around the research's sub themes that were organized in line with the research objectives. This made it easier to compare, analyze and summarize data obtained from the study.

#### 7.1. *Data Presentation*

All the 30 participants comprising 20 male inmates and 10 officers completed and returned the questionnaires within a day. The response rate was therefore 100%.



**8. Charecteristics of Repondents**

*8.1. Rehabilitation Programs Prioritized By Inmates*

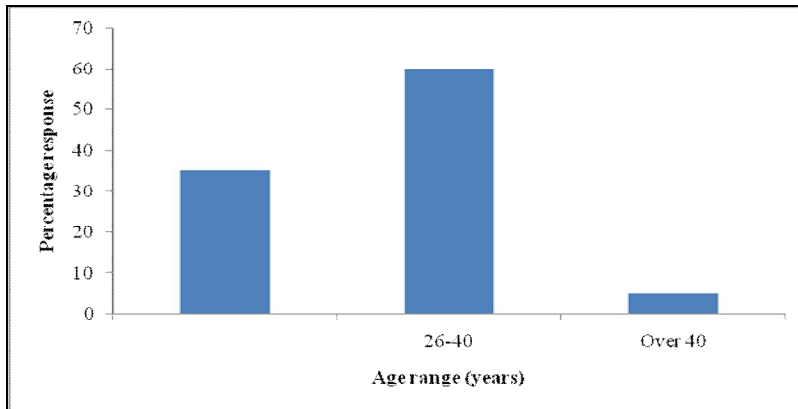


Figure 1

The middle age group ranging from 26 to 40 years were 60%, they constituted majority of the inmates. This age group is the one which contains the people who are the breadwinners for their families and possibly, this group is pressurized into committing crime as a result of wanting to provide for their families. The young who are between 18 and 25 years were 35% while those above 40 were only 5%.

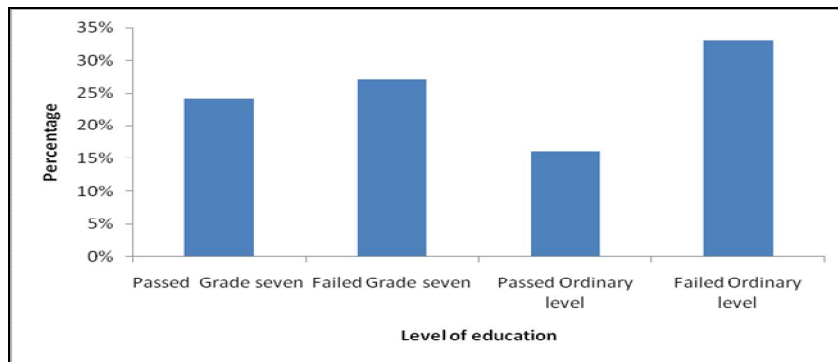


Figure 2

Among the 30 inmates who were respondents in this study, most of them either failed Ordinary level or did not attend school up to secondary level. Only 16% of those who claim to have attended Ordinary level say they passed. The above statistics seem to highlight that most of the inmates who are at Marondera Prison failed their studies and this could indirectly imply that those who do not have any hope of getting employed are more prone to committing criminal activities.

*8.2. Rehabilitation Programs Needed By Inmates*

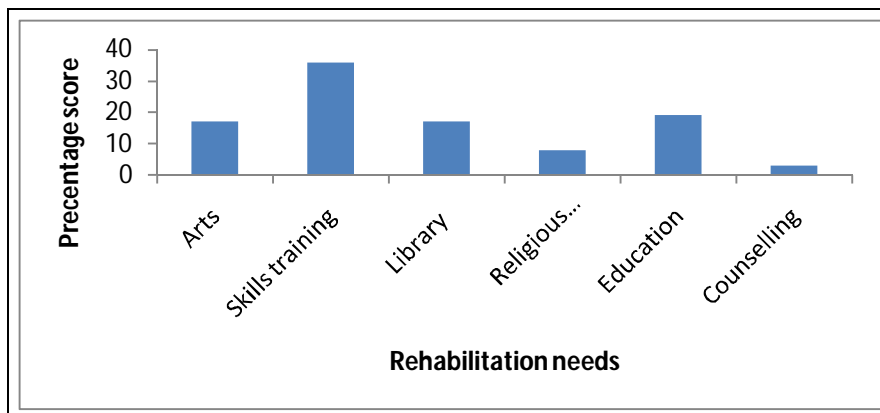


Figure 3

Rehabilitation program prioritization by inmates showed that skills training are the most preferred with a response score of 36% as shown on table IV and graph I. Education was the second most needed with a response score of 19%. There are 17% who need performing arts as their preferred rehabilitation program. Religious activities and counselling were the least demanded with Respective percentages of 8 % and 3%

8.3. Rehabilitation Programs

8.3.1. Rehabilitation Programs Offered

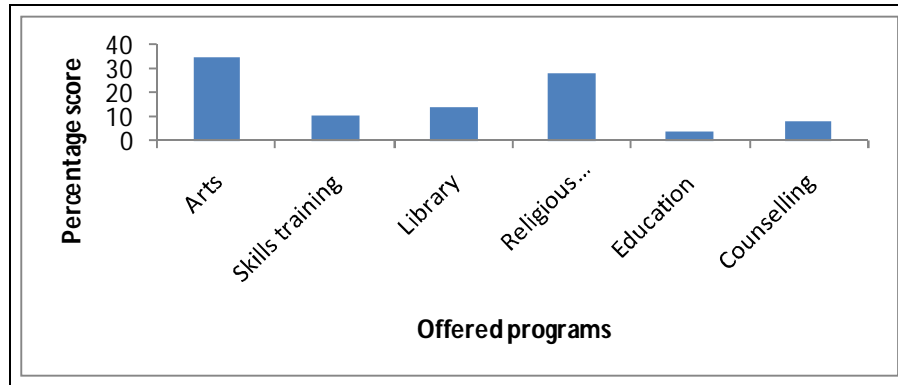


Figure 4

The graph above is indicating that the most popular rehabilitation programme offered at Marondera Prison is performing arts followed by religious activities and library. Skills training and education seem to be done at a very low rate but yet these two programmes are the backbone of any rehabilitation programme. One of the reasons why these important programmes are not being offered on a large scale could be the problem of funding. Skills training require huge injection of funds so that it is successful. Education also needs a heavy injection of funds to buy books and other educational requirements.

8.3.2. Accessibility of Rehabilitation Programs to Inmates

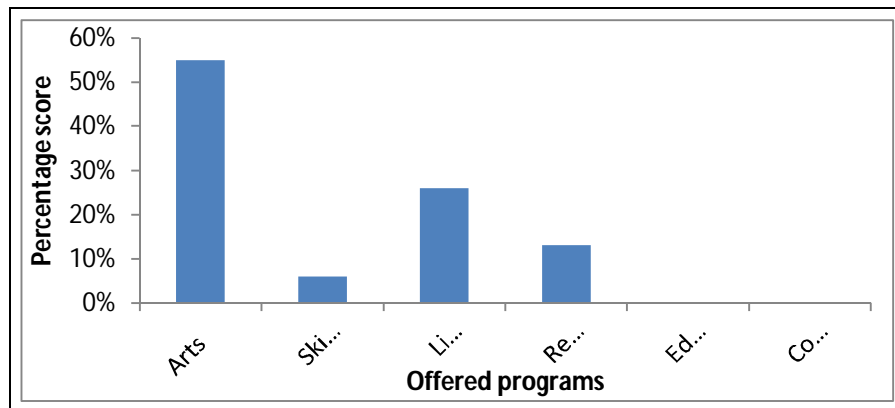


Figure 5

8.3.3. Rehabilitation Program

Rehabilitation programs accessed by inmates

Most inmates said performing arts is the most accessible rehabilitation program at Marondera prison with a popularity response score of 55 % ( Table VI and graph III). Officers also identified it as the most offered program at the station with a popularity rating of 35%(Table V graph II).The second most accessible program was identified by inmates as library services with a 26% score, This was not very different from the officers’ responses who placed it as the third mostly provided program with 14% rating (graph III).

Religious services are the third most accessible activities with 13% and skills training are fourth with an unimpressive 6% .Education and counselling are not accessible at all according to inmate responses. This concurs with responses from officers in the study who cite Counselling and education as the two least provided scoring 8% and 4% respectively.(graph II) .In summary, the two most accessible rehabilitation programs for inmates at Marondera prison are performing arts activities such as choral music and traditional dance ,followed by library services. The researchers also observed that almost every day for about an hour after lunch, selected inmates gathered for singing practices under the leadership of officers.

Method of assigning rehabilitation programs to inmates (as seen by inmates)

8.3.4. Methods Used To Allocate Rehabilitation Programs.

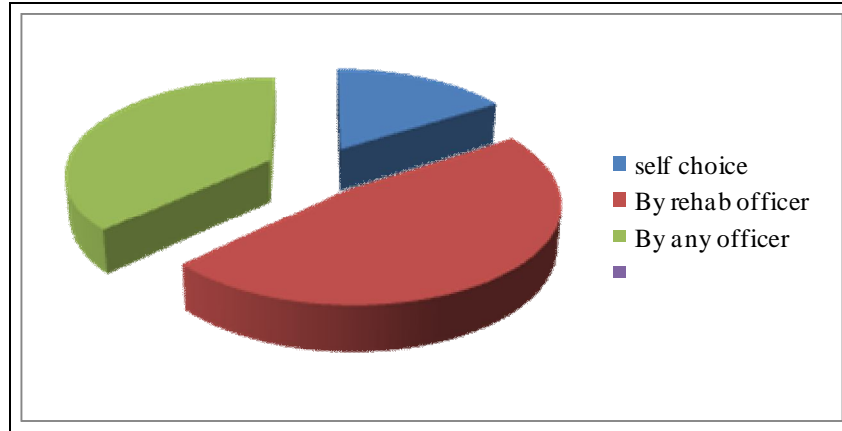


Figure 6

The result showed that inmates are not free to choose rehabilitation programs of their preference. 16% of the responses indicate that they choose a rehabilitation program of their choice, while 47% say the rehabilitation officer assigns them to a program that he recommends.

8.3.5. Methods Used By Officers to Identify Prison Rehabilitation Needs of Inmates

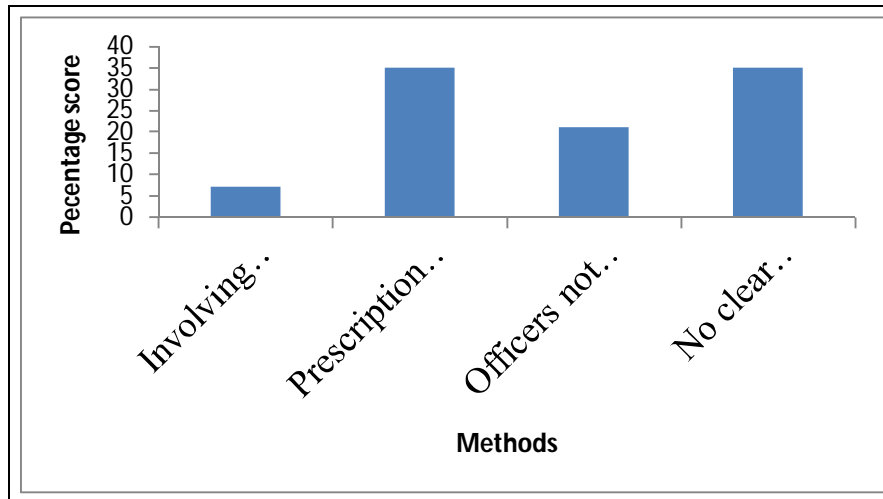


Figure 7

The results from officers concur with those from inmates. They both show that inmates are not free to choose rehabilitation programs of their own preference. Only 7% of the responses indicate that officers involve inmates in determining rehabilitation programs for them. They either prescribe rehabilitation interventions or there is no clear system available.

8.3.6. Evaluation of Prison Rehabilitation by Inmates.

Evaluation of rehabilitation by inmates

Evaluation	Response score
(a)Rehabilitation is a success	0%
(b)Rehabilitation is a failure	100%

Table 1

All the inmates who responded to the questionnaire say that rehabilitation is not successful at Marondera prison. The above response could have arisen as a result of inmates wanting skill training which is not being carried out at a significant level. Although performing arts and religious activities are being carried out at a significant level, it appears that most of the prisoners take it as a form of entertainment and on the basis of this notion; the rehabilitation activities at Marondera Prison are regarded as a failure.

Evaluation of prison rehabilitation by Prison officers

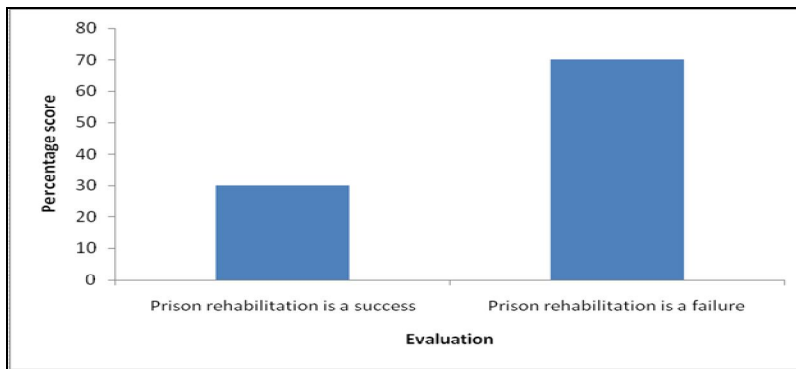


Figure 8

Like the inmates, officers also acknowledge that prison rehabilitation is not successful at Marondera prison. Only 30% of the respondents say it is a success.

Recidivism

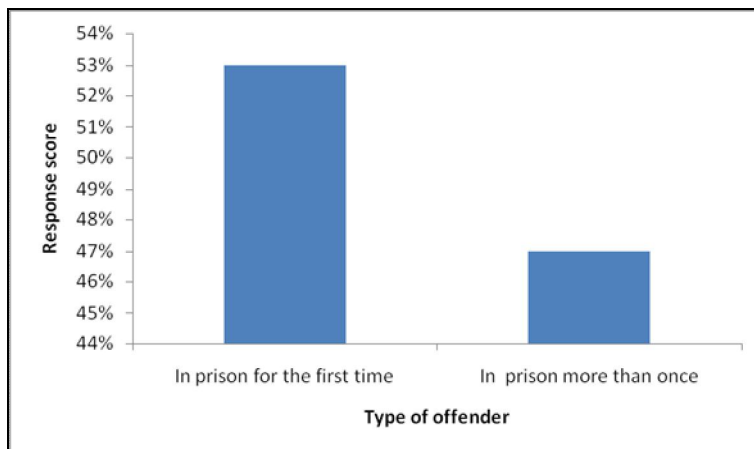


Figure 9

There are slightly more respondents who acknowledged that they had been in prison before, than those who did not. Among the respondents, 47% said they had been in prison more than once, while the rest said it was their first time coming to prison. Studies have found that most prisoners once convicted are likely to be reconvicted again as Assessment of repeat offending by officers

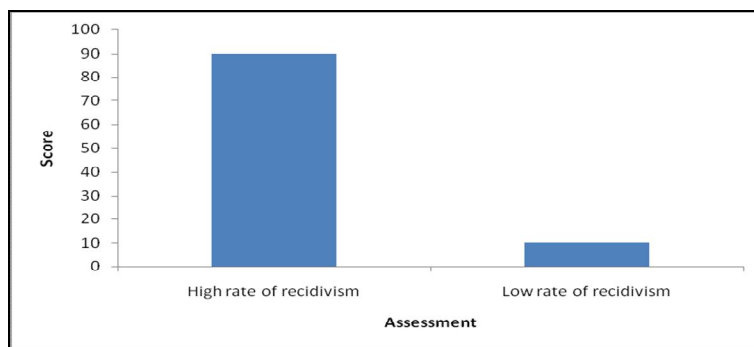


Figure 10

Contrary to the relatively low recidivism figures obtained from inmates, officers perceived repeat offending as highly prevalent among inmates. Almost all of them (90%) said there was a high rate of recidivism at Marondera prison. Most of the respondents 70% of the prison officers said that rehabilitation is not a success at Marondera prison, while all inmates say it is a failure. Forty seven percent of the inmates confirmed that they had been in prison before (Table X) and 90% of officers say that recidivism is high at the prison. The overall impression from the evaluation is that rehabilitation is not successful at Marondera prison. There are likely to be inherent challenges in the prison system.

9. Challenges of Rehabilitation

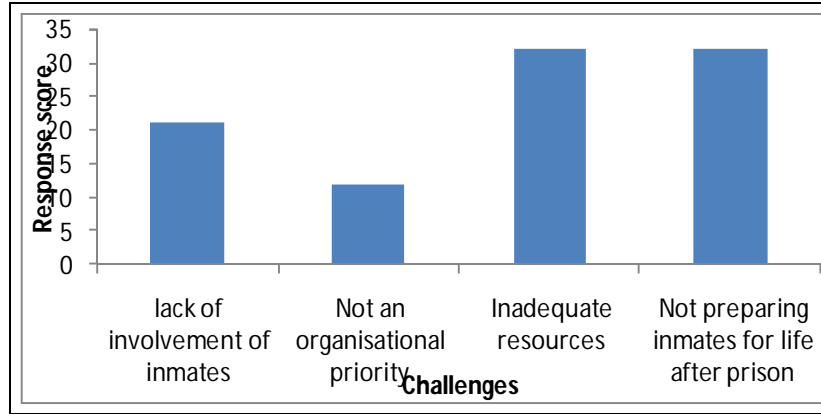


Figure 11

Challenges of rehabilitation as seen by officers.

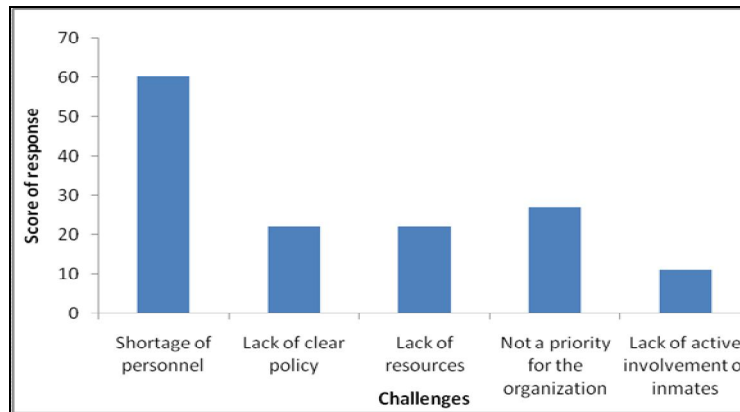


Figure 12

9.1. Challenges of Prison Rehabilitation

Sixty percent of inmates point out shortage of personnel as the biggest challenge affecting prison rehabilitation. Most of the inmates (32%) identify lack of resources as the biggest challenge confronting rehabilitation. It is followed by lack of their involvement in choosing rehabilitation programs of their choice. According to officers the negative impact of policy challenges is equivalent to that of resource inadequacy, both factors scored 22%. Respondents also concur that rehabilitation is not a priority for the organization, with 12% of inmates saying so while 27% of officers also concurring that it indeed is not a priority at Marondera prison.

Observations carried out by the researcher during the course of his study also revealed that prioritizing prison rehabilitation is a challenge for many officers. There are many demands that compete for the available time. In most cases rehabilitation is sacrificed for other duties such as farming

The researcher also observed that there are no resources for education and skills training at Marondera prison. The few projects carried out that involved skills training were initiated by non governmental organizations that also use prescriptive top down methods of project implementation. The projects were not participatory enough for inmates to contribute towards the implementation so that their concerns could be factored in.

9.2. Results Analysis

Information obtained from this study revealed a number of facts that pose a direct challenge to implementation of prison rehabilitation at Marondera prison rendering it a failure. In this section the researcher attempted to analyze data by drawing parallels and linkages as well as possible associations between different facts. These were also discussed in relation to the research sub problems on which this study was anchored.

9.3. Rehabilitation Needs and Programs.

The socio-demographic attributes of respondents such as age group and educational background for inmates and training background for officers, have a bearing on the rehabilitation needs of inmates and approaches used by officers in rehabilitation. This in turn determines whether there is a mismatch between the expectations of inmates and provisions by the prison system. This study established the presence of such discrepancies and respondents from both sides cited it as a challenge to rehabilitation among other

factors. In this study, only 10% of the officers confirmed to have received training in prison rehabilitation. Lipsey et al (1993) reviewed 302 meta analysis of prison rehabilitation programs and identified lack of training for human service personnel as one of the institutional and personal challenges of rehabilitation of prisoners. This tallies with this study which revealed that most officers attribute failure of rehabilitation to shortage of personnel, since most of them are not qualified to design and implement sustainable rehabilitation programs with and for inmates.

The most needed rehabilitation interventions were identified by inmates as skills training (36%) and education (19%) among some other preferences as shown on graph I. This may be linked to the fact that most inmates are young, and did not do well in school as shown on the characteristics of respondents. They probably prefer skills training and education as a way to improve chances of employment and self employment after prison. This was explained in the strain theory of crime by Merton (1938) cited by Hugh, et al (2010) which argues that, "While all societies establish institutionalized means or rules for the attainment of culturally supported goals, these means and goals are not always in a state of harmony and integration. The way society is organized interferes with the attainment of valued goals by acceptable rules for some of its members. A condition of anomie or strain therefore exists"

Honest work or employment may be the legitimate means to attain certain goals in society; this can be made possible by acquiring education or skills needed to do certain jobs. This is probably why most inmates mostly prefer the two programs.

In a related study, Cronin (2012) a policy analyst with the Truman school of public affairs at the University of Missouri studied the impact of education on prisoners. He studied the Missouri department of corrections data and found that inmates who earned their education in Missouri prisons were significantly more likely to find a job after prison and less likely to recidivate than inmates who did not. He found the biggest jump in reduced recidivism rates more than 33% when he looked at inmates who earned educational qualifications and acquired a full time job after their release.

While most inmates prefer education and skills training, at Marondera prison their need is not met as the most accessible rehabilitation programs at the station are performing arts (55%), were inmates engage in choral music sessions, drama and dance and library reading (26%). Their most preferred program of skills training is the fourth most accessible with only (11%) as shown graph III. This stark difference between needs and provisions manifests into challenges that may militate against rehabilitation of inmates.

This researcher also observed that while inmates were working on prison farm projects such as poultry and piggery, they asked many questions about the projects to officers. Most of their enquiries were on the management of such projects and also on technical issues such as animal diseases and their treatments. Unfortunately they were working only as laborers and not learners. The officers were also not very knowledgeable about agriculture. This study revealed that rehabilitation needs of inmates are not met at Marondera prison.

#### *9.4. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Rehabilitation*

Rehabilitation is not effective at Marondera prison. All inmates who participated in this study said that it is a failure while 70% of the officers who participated also said it is a failure (Tables IX and X respectively). Recidivism or repeat offending is also prevalent among inmates. Forty seven percent of inmates said they had been in prison before and (Table XI) and 90% of officers confirmed that there are some recidivists at Marondera prison.(TableXII). Apart from confirmations of failure of rehabilitation by most respondents, repeat offending may indicate a failed prison rehabilitation system and it is a challenge. In a study on recidivism carried out at Groenpunt maximum security prison in South Africa, Thinane et al(2010) found that one of the biggest challenges facing South African prisons today is the phenomenon of recidivism.

This study could have been enriched by also looking at the factors that reinforce repeat offending. Dealing with such pull factors would inevitably address some of the challenges of prison rehabilitation.

The learning theory of crime argues that people most likely repeat activities for which they are rewarded than those for which they are not rewarded or are punished (Hugh,D et al2010).

#### *9.5. Challenges of Prison Rehabilitation*

##### 9.5.1. Personnel

Because inmate needs of rehabilitation are not met in prison and the beneficiaries as well as providers of the rehabilitation programs see it as a failure, there may be inherent challenges in the prison system that need to be tackled to make it more effective. Officers identified personnel challenges as the outstanding factor of rehabilitation failure, with 60% of their responses confirming that personnel shortage is a challenge. This may as well be an institutional phenomenon peculiar to developing countries as there are similarities with the then Kenyan situation. Addressing delegates of penal reform in Kenya, Hon Professor George Saitoti who was the minister of home affairs said "as a result of population increase and escalation of crime, there has been a big increase in the number of offenders ,resulting in a major burden on the prison administration system in Kenya"

##### 9.5.2. Lack of Inmate Participation

Inmates and officers both acknowledged that lack of participation by inmates in identifying rehabilitation activities of their choice is a challenge that contributes to failure of rehabilitation in prison .Officers list involvement of inmates in identifying suitable rehabilitation programs as the least preferred approach by many officers. Only 7% of their responses indicated that they involve inmates in identifying rehabilitation interventions of their choice (Graph IV). Most of them (35%) either prescribe programs to inmates or they are not very much aware of systems and policies regarding selection of inmates into rehabilitation programs. This

concur with how inmates responded to questions on how rehabilitation programs are assigned to them. Self choice was identified as the least popular method, scoring only 16%, With most of them (47%) saying assignment to rehabilitation programs was done by the rehabilitation officer, while 37% said they were assigned into rehabilitation programs by any officer who so wished (pie chart I) This shows lack of clarity on policies that are supposed to guide both officers and inmates. Twenty seven percent of officers even cited lack of policy clarity as a challenge facing rehabilitation at Marondera prison. Antonweiz et al (1994) contributed to the development of effective principles for intervention. They found that successful rehabilitation programs were more likely to target criminogenic needs, and also have responsivity principle while following multifaceted programming. In this regard it may be crucial to respond to the rehabilitation needs of inmates before prescribing rehabilitation programs as was the case at Marondera prison at the time of study.

#### 9.5.3. Resources

Thirty two percent of respondents to questionnaire one (inmates) cite shortage of resources as a challenge to prison rehabilitation. Quite a significant number of officers (27%) say rehabilitation is not a priority for the organization. The researcher also observed that the institution is still experiencing problems such as food, bedding toiletries and uniforms for inmates. Some civic organizations were seen donating soap, tissues, food and other items to inmates. This challenge may make it difficult for the institution to meet the rehabilitation needs of inmates before meeting their nutritional, sanitary and such other basic needs.

During observations the researcher also discovered that there were two male officers trained as artisans in brick laying, and welding. They however do not have the necessary tools and equipment to impart skills to inmates.

#### 9.5.4. Lack of Prioritization

Twenty percent of officers say that rehabilitation is not an organizational priority (Graph V) and 12% of inmates also say it is not prioritized by the organization. While most officers are not professionally trained to implement rehabilitation programs, the observation showed that some are conscious of the need to rehabilitate inmates. Some of them made an effort to engage the community in projects of mutual interest. This probably explains the marginal success rate of rehabilitation as indicated by 30% of the responses from officers on table X "Literature indicates that correctional officers do not simply embrace punitive and custodial views but also are supportive of rehabilitative and human services". (Francis, Cullen, Faith, Lutze, Bruce, Link and Nancy Travis Wolf 1989)

This study found out that prison rehabilitation at Marondera prison is ineffective due to the institution's failure to address the rehabilitation needs of inmates. This failure was seen as a manifestation of other institutional challenges such as inadequate human and material resources as well as unclear rehabilitation policies.

The study established that discrepancies between prisoners rehabilitation needs and the rehabilitation programs offered at Marondera prison, contributed to the failure of rehabilitation and increase in the prevalence of recidivism among inmates. The case study method was used to undertake the research because it was considered appropriate especially with regards to the homogeneous nature of subjects under study. The study involved use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The observation method helped the researcher to understand operational dynamics of the prison institution in relation to challenges of rehabilitation ,while data from questionnaires was quantified to enable comprehensive analysis and drawing of conclusions. The study's major limitation was that the sample size was not large enough to be generalized to all prisons in Mashonaland East region. Revelations of a failing rehabilitation system imply that a more comprehensive study with a larger sample needs to be done for generalization so as to inform policy changes.

#### 9.5.5. Conclusions

- Prison inmates need rehabilitation programs that equip them with relevant skills for employment or self help projects. They mostly prefer training in trades that require mastery of skills.
- Performing arts is the most popular program at Marondera prison. This program grew in popularity more through the officer's unilateral initiatives than through the assessed needs of inmates. As such, the most accessible program of rehabilitation at Marondera prison is failing to meet the demands of inmates.
- Inmates and officers do not see rehabilitation as a success at Marondera prison. The failure of rehabilitation is blamed on various factors.
- The most prominent challenge confronting rehabilitation at Marondera prison is the prison system's inability to address the needs of inmates. This is a manifestation of other challenges such as lack of human and material resources and unclear rehabilitation policies.

### **10. Recommendations**

#### *10.1. Personnel Training:*

The Zimbabwe prison service needs to include rehabilitation as a key component of training curricula so as to ensure fulfillment of its mission statement which emphasizes on rehabilitation of inmates .Most of the officers participated in this study said that they did not receive any form of training on prison rehabilitation.

#### 10.2. *Inmate Involvement:*

Rehabilitation interventions must be informed by needs assessment done in a collaborative manner by officers, inmates and other stake holders. The officers mostly use prescriptive methods that do not take account of inmate concerns.

#### 10.3. *Resource Mobilization:*

Strategies such as private public partnerships on prison rehabilitation programs must be adopted. These will facilitate in building synergies and equipping prisons with enough resources for rehabilitation ventures

#### 10.4. *Post Incarceration Care:*

Rehabilitation support must go beyond prison walls to facilitate sustainable livelihoods for those who acquire skills while in prison

#### 10.5. *Half Way Homes*

The establishment of halfway homes bridges the gap between inmates and community; half way homes also facilitate gradual reintegration of inmates back into society.

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