AN EVALUATION OF THE REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION OF EX-CONVICTS AT ACHOR VALLEY NIKO HOPE HOUSE, RUIRU, KENYA

BY

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all current and past prisoners of Kenyan jails who in their time of need have faced abandonment from family and friends. To those who never received any form of support or counselling after they were released from prison; those who have never been fully integrated back into society. This work is an indication to them that we care.

I also wish to dedicate this work to society in general with the request that we do not judge in haste. Too often we choose to take the law in our own hands at the expense of human life. I am reminded of the story in the Bible in which the teachers of the law and the Pharisees brought a woman who had been caught committing adultery to Jesus. The law they said, commanded them to stone such women. Jesus' reply was, "If any one of you is without sin, let him be the first to throw a stone at her." Needless to say, no one did. Instead they walked away leaving the woman with Jesus who did not condemn her but rather let her go and asked her to leave her life of sin. (Mark 8: 3-11. Holy Bible). The story clearly shows that each of us has faults. Perhaps the only thing that stops us from being branded criminals is our self control which differs in every individual.

ABSTRACT

Kenya's prison population of over 41,000 inmates is made up of convicts on remand and those sentenced to serve time resulting in severe congestion. While the level of crime is on the rise, no new prisons have been built since independence to cater for the many offenders. Prisoners released through the annual presidential amnesty have been known to re-offend and find their way back into jail; while magistrates have been blamed for contributing to the congestion by handing harsh sentences to petty offenders. Though the government is making steps to improve the penal system, society has come to accept crime as a way of life and choose not to get involved; rather blaming the situation on the rising levels of unemployment and poverty.

This study sought to address the effects of post prison rehabilitation by conducting an evaluation of Achor Valley Niko Hope House in Ruiru, an institution which aims at assisting ex-convicts gain acceptance back into society following imprisonment. The study sought to determine the success levels of Achor in preventing re-offending; investigate ex-convicts attitude towards rehabilitation and examine society's attitude towards rehabilitated offenders. The study was centered in Ruiru division and Mathare Valley where the centre's operations and outreach programmes are based.

The study was guided by behavioral and sociological theories that shed light on the question of rehabilitation of ex-convicts and the impact rehabilitation has on training them to be self reliant citizens within their communities. The study considered in particular the Behavioral and Exchange Theories, which question whether a change in the social behaviour of ex-convicts can be influenced through the use of rewards such as training, loans and a combination of economic and psychological needs

Thirty ex-convicts who had graduated from an average eighteen-month stay at Achor were interviewed. All respondents were adults drawn from all areas of the country. Each respondent had at least one child or dependant in their care. All but one respondent, respectively, had received some form of education and were employed.

Achor's level of success in preventing re-offending, based on the evaluation conducted, was found to be high, as only seven Achor graduates had re-offended. The high success rate was attributed to the compulsory bible course taught to all ex-convicts at Achor for their spiritual growth. In addition to the skills-training in areas such as carpentry, masonry, farming, handicrafts, dressmaking and tailoring, the support received after training, were also some of the contributing factors to the high success level.

The ex-convicts' attitude toward reintegration following rehabilitation was also seen as positive due to the change in their lives coupled with the range of training and support which they had received from Achor. Though areas like individual and material support were found to be wanting, graduates were in no doubt that the training at Achor had positively affected their lives.*

Society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts was rated as positive in that Achor graduates are no longer perceived as dangerous. No hostility from the community was recorded by the ex-convicts or key informants. The acceptance of ex-convicts back into the community, the support shown in the ex-convicts' businesses, the knowledge of the work Achor is involved in and the participation of the community surrounding Achor in its activities were indicators of the acceptance by the community towards rehabilitation of ex-convicts.

The following policy recommendations were made in light of the findings of this study. First, there is need for more awareness-creation around Achor and similar institutions to enable prisons act as referral points in rehabilitating ex-convicts. Second, there is need for trained counsellors in Achor to deal with the ex-convicts' varied psychological needs.

On areas of further research, the effects of Post-Prison rehabilitation should be studied in detail and results forwarded to the public and private sectors for the running and building of such institutions, the aim of which would be to reduce prison congestion and ultimately the high incidence of crime in the country.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Kenya currently has a prison population of 41,000 inmates made up of convicts on remand and those who have been sentenced to serve time (Daily Nation, 2nd June, 2003). It is no secret as evidenced from the regular reports in the media, that the state of Kenyan prisons is deplorable and that the prisons are congested beyond their holding capacity (Daily Nation 4th June, 2003). According to the same report the industrial area remand prison in Nairobi was built to hold only 600 inmates but currently holds 3,000 inmates. It further states that a room meant to hold 40 inmates now holds 120 who share worn out blankets and 17 mattresses. Magistrates have been severally accused of making the problem worse in that they rarely consider the jail's holding capacity when they hand out judgment (Daily Nation, June 4th, 2003). Gitu Mburu in an article appearing in the Daily Nation of 20th June, 2003 suggests that the greatest contribution magistrates can make to the problem of congestion in prisons is to hand out non-custodial sentences such as fines, probation and community service. The poor state of prisons and overcrowding have persisted in spite of the annual presidential ritual of releasing a batch of prisoners during national public holidays (Gitu, 20th June, 2003:7). The reforming of penal institutions should involve both the government and civil society organizations working on human rights and penal reforms to work at reducing the number of people entering Kenyan prisons.

The findings of a city-wide victim survey on crime conducted in Nairobi indicated that when compared to Tanzania and South Africa, crime levels in Nairobi are much higher (Stavrou, 2002:5) which raises two concerns for practitioners. The government should prioritize the reduction of the crime rate in its agenda and lobby for support in crime prevention initiatives owing to the social and economic costs of the high levels of crime. Secondly, the extent of these high levels of crime have come to be accepted as a way of life by the residents of Nairobi which may have a limiting affect in involving society to participate in crime reduction activities.

According to Stavrou, a significant number of people in Nairobi believe there is either nothing they can do or have never seriously thought about doing anything to help reduce crime in the city. They blame the increase in crime on poverty and unemployment (Stavrou, 2002:5). The government is already taking a lead in reducing this problem in its plan to create more jobs and in the move by magistrates to charge suspects within twenty four hours to reduce congestion in prisons (Gitonga, 2002:6).

The penal system is a form of control for human behavior which is aimed at preventing crime and reforming the offender. This process of reform is referred to as rehabilitation. Certain institutions such as borstals, approved schools and prisons are concerned with the custodial treatment of offenders with the aim to rehabilitate. The goals of these institutions are to reform the convicts such that when they return to society they are fit to live an orderly life as law abiding citizens. Though these institutions may cater for different age groups, their overall purpose is to rehabilitate the individuals who have been entrusted in their care. According to the Reader's Digest Oxford Complete Wordfinder (1996), to rehabilitate is to "restore to effectiveness or normal life by training etc., especially after imprisonment..." Post prison rehabilitation in the form of half way houses is a fairly new concept in Kenya and has been inexistence in developed countries for years. This study is concerned with the rehabilitation of adults with particular emphasis on the post prison rehabilitation of ex-convicts at Achor Hope House.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Penal institutions are designed to provide preventive and curative correctional measures to convicts. An annual report on the Administration of Prison in Kenya (1970) stated that the "Kenya Prisons Services is devoted to *transforming* self willed outcasts into useful citizens, to *protecting* society and to *deterring* the strong and the weak from a world of crime, with fairness and firmness aimed at *rehabilitation* and *deterrence*" (Mshanga, 1985:177). Prior to release from prison, it is expected that the prisoner has received

adequate 'treatment' which is determined by the time they have served. After a period of incarceration, ex-convicts are faced with the task of readjusting back into society. Many of them come out confused and bitter and feel betrayed. Others are repentant and committed to starting new lives but society treats them with suspicion. Often they are abandoned by their families and society disowns them. As stated by Worsley (1995: 388) "...though human beings are born free, they loose their freedom because of the structures through which society controls their behavior'. According to Alper (1974:11), "...the reasons why imprisonment as a form of treatment has failed is because it still bears within it most of the elements of punishment which preceded it and which it was intended to supplant". Faced with such controls, ex-convicts are unable to get jobs owing to their criminal records and society's reluctance or refusal to associate with them. Left with no other survival option, the ex-convict is forced to revert to a life of crime and usually find their way back into prison. The situation is more compounded when the ex-prisoner is a woman. Female criminality is a social problem because as socializes to the young, society is affected when a woman commits a crime. The burden of caring for the prisoners' children is left to institutions which are already overcrowded owing to the rise of AIDS orphans and abandoned children being admitted there. Some of the abandoned children are those whose parent(s) are serving prison sentences. With no parental guidance, most of these children turn to a life of crime themselves. An ideal situation after the incarceration period is to ensure that the ex-convicts do not return to prison by giving them hope and setting them on a path to becoming law abiding citizens.

The Kenyan Government has recognized the problems being faced by ex-prisoners on release and has included in the draft constitution two recommendations to bring hope to this group. These recommendations are:

- Restoration of the rights of the victims
- Restoration of the offender to society with the greatest possible chances of not reoffending (Sunday Nation, 22 September, 2002).

Alper (1974:57) observes that the act of incarcerating a person impairs or destroys any potential he may have towards leading a life free of crime and regardless of the form of

treatment he may have received while in prison "the longer he is kept there, the more he is deteriorated, and the greater the chance of his becoming a recidivist." Although Okallo (1986:17) saw recidivism as insignificant owing to the small numbers in comparison to the total of those who commit first crimes, the fact that one reverts back to crime is an indication that there is a need to address the effectiveness of post prison rehabilitation. The first scientific follow up study of the graduates of one of the oldest and most respected reformatories discovered a recidivism rate of 80 percent (Glueck and Glueck, 1973:201-202) as quoted in Alper (1974:21). Clifford (1974) observes that prisons everywhere have failed to improve inmates and the recidivist rate in many countries is rising. He suggests that developing countries should instead send convicts to half way houses where they can take up ordinary jobs. Prisons must be a last resort and a wider variety of community programs are necessary with a diversity of sanctions which do not involve imprisonment. He further argues that the aim "becomes simply to avoid a prison making a person worse if it cannot make him better" (Clifford, 1974:195). "The costs of present prisons in any country far exceed the cost of community alternatives of this kind (Clifford, 1974:194).

The origin of halfway houses can be traced back to 1880 when the Japanese first begun it (Alper 1974:104). Powers notes that the origin of halfway houses in the United States of America is found in the Salvation Army type of refuge which appeared first in Philadelphia and later in New York and Boston in the nineteenth century (1959:35). Half way houses or a transition house is a new concept in Kenya and the three existing houses in Naivasha, Waithaka and Ruiru are run by ex-convicts, in the two former houses and by the church in the two latter homes. A halfway house is a community residence, staffed by counselors and aides to assist offenders in making the transition back into community life and cope with their freedom. The halfway house acts as a reconciliation platform where the released offenders are allowed time to come to terms with their new found freedom and satisfactorily adjust to society. Such homes offer a welcoming bridge to the exconvicts on their journey to rebuilding their lives.

Halfway houses are "an alternative to institutional treatment, reflecting the growing realization that the majority of offenders do not require institutionalization, that prisons create an artificial environment for socializing them" (Alper 1974:103). Alper further observes that common sense and statistical studies on post release recidivism indicate that convicts, especially those who are deemed eligible for short sentences, are best treated in a setting located within the society and not in isolation from it (1974:103). While no rehabilitation program promises 100 percent success, a study of Florida's Halfway Houses conducted by the Florida Division of Youth Services in 1972 showed that two thirds of those who had graduated from halfway houses had not been arrested over a five year period.

1.3. OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study was to determine the effectiveness of halfway houses in the rehabilitation and reintegration into society of ex-convicts.

Specific objectives of the study were:

- To assess the success level of Achor Hope House in preventing re-offending.
- To investigate ex-convicts' attitude toward reintegration following rehabilitation.
- To investigate society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts.

1.4. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was conducted in the Achor Valley Hope House in Ruiru Division of Kiambu District. The decision to conduct the research at Achor was based on the fact that it is the longest running half way house in Kenya, having been in existence for nine years. In that period, fifty six graduates have so far been rehabilitated back into the community. The graduates represent a cross section of the Kenyan community, an essential aspect if one were to consider ethnicity and cultural values in relation to their contribution in addressing rehabilitation and reintegration into society. The area around the home, within

a radius of twenty five kilometers, made up the area of study to include prisons, the community and key informers.

Though strictly a case study, the results of this study will shed more light on the effects of post -prison rehabilitation as concerns one institution and serve as reference material for students and the academic fraternity who may wish to conduct a similar study. It will also provide useful information to the management of Achor Valley Niko Hope House in drawing sound policies for its long term objectives. The Government of Kenya will also find the findings of this report useful in drawing up policy guidelines as detailed in the final chapter

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

Primarily, the objective of any institution or program in the criminal justice system is to reduce and control crime. Durkheim (1964) argued that crime is normal, provided it attains and does not exceed, for each social group, a certain level (Wolfgang et al, 1970: 11-14). Deviant behavior is part and parcel of any society and cannot be totally eradicated but it is the responsibility of the State to reduce crime. In the medieval ages, punishment for crime was in the form of public corporal and capital punishment. Society however developed prisons which were seen to be a more humane way of dealing with offenders. However, the historical development of prisons has also established that it does not actually reduce the rate of crime. As a matter of fact the prison is one of the main contributors to the increase of crime and recidivism. This explains why Criminal Justice Systems have often resulted in using alternatives to imprisonment such as Probation, Parole, Community Service Orders, Supervision and Rehabilitation, the area to which this study is directed.

In order to access the impact of rehabilitation on ex-convicts, the Literature review looked at the role of prisons in reducing crime and recidivism and the relevance and nature of rehabilitation as it affects ex-convicts.

2.1. THE PRISON

The evolution of prisons can be traced back to early society's search for discipline. The prison was a direct result of the need for a disciplined society. The development of the industrialized society with the problems of urbanization and disruption of the original primary relationships and the disappearance of traditional institutions of authority caused rapid changes that resulted in a lot of social disruption. Emile Durkheim argued that shared norms, values and morality maintained cohesion in society. Mechanical solidarity was grounded on shared norms and values. When all these were disrupted by industrialization, laws were developed as the moral and collective conscience of the

society (Durkheim, 1964: 374-388). Fundamental rules or orderly contractual relationships were essential for the maintenance of law and order in the industrial society. This explains why law was an important component of social order and discipline in the modern society. Crime and deviance are reflections of the breakdown of social order. This is why it became necessary to punish those who were deviant or did not comply with laws of the state as agreed with the majority in that state. The only way to ensure that law and order were complied with was to punish those who did not comply.

Michel Foucault (1975) argued that as early as 1830-1840 in France, it was emphasized that prisons do not reduce crime: rather detention causes recidivism – those who come out of prison are most likely to go back to crime. Jeffery (1965:240-300) supports Foucault in agreeing that "punishment does not deter", and thus supports the view held by reformists and criminologists that imprisonment and punishment does not in itself help to reform offenders (Mushanga, 1985:179). Karl Marx also argued that crime is a direct result of economic exploitation. It is for this reason that the majority of criminals were drawn from what he terms as "the lowest sediment of the relative surplus population" of the unemployed, which dwells in the sphere of pauperism. He argued that the rate of crime was relative to the level of social and economic development. Marx concluded that crime and punishment were therefore to be understood as social more than individual – both a reflection of the dominant economic and social forces and a means of perpetuating their domination.

All the early philosophies of imprisonment emphasized that it was the best and most effective form of punishment. Removal of criminals from their communities was seen as necessary to remove the evil influences that had led to criminal behavior. Soon thereafter, it was realized that total incarceration did not at all reduce criminal activity after the offenders were released from prison. According to Reid (1994:644), as early as 1777, John Howard referred to prisons as "seats and seminaries of idleness and every vice" and argued that prison only succeeds in producing the greatest degree of wickedness. He further quotes sociologist, Jeremy Bentham who declared in 1864 that prisons "include any imaginable means of infecting both mind and body" and refers to an

ordinary prison as being a place in which "wickedness is taught" and where "All the inmates raise themselves to the level of the worst". In 1890, the English Prison System was declared as the manufacture of lunatics and criminals while according to Reid, in 1922 it was described as a place where there was "a progressive weakening of the mental powers and a deterioration of the character in a way which renders the prisoner less fit for useful social life, more predisposed to crime and in consequence more liable to reconviction. These early declarations were a sound judgment of the prison institution" (Reid, 1994:648).

A common aspect of prisons, especially in developing countries, is overcrowding. The number of those going to prisons is rapidly increasing and the problem of overcrowding is getting worse. Overcrowding in prisons is a common phenomenon in many countries of the world today and according to observers, overcrowding is more than a problem in some countries as it has reached crisis levels and is interfering with the effective administration of criminal justice. Examples of these countries include India, Thailand, Malaysia, Sri Lanka etc. (Mushanga, 1974). Developed countries may have a different interpretation to prison overcrowding when compared to developing countries. Causes of overcrowding in prisons could be attributed to those prisoners serving in remand, those under trial and those who have been convicted (Mathangani, Daily Nation 7th July, 2003). Prison overcrowding brings with it a host of serious problems. It causes severe strain on essential services resulting in serious health hazards and it disrupts penal reformation and their separation from mild offenders becomes impossible. Prison overcrowding contributes additional pressure and strain on prison staff.

In the unending search for alternative penalties to imprisonment the concept of Community Service Orders was developed. This intervention is aimed at greatly assisting in solving the problem of overcrowding in prisons where petty offenders are dealt with from outside of the prison. The issue of alternative sentences is vigorously being debated in developing countries. Many scholars are of the view that the prison institution has failed in reducing crime for a number of reasons. One of them is that the judicial officers who pass sentences on offenders do not follow up to ensure that the said

sentences are properly carried out. In an article on "The Senegalese Reform Project on Alternatives to Imprisonment" Odette-Luce Bouvier (2000:1) argues that "Comparative studies of writings and first-hand experiences of prison in developing countries make crime reading: Over populated prisons, financial problem, the almost universal impossibility of achieving social rehabilitation despite this often being a stated aim; the statutory texts, the lack of interest shown by courts towards the post sentencing period. The function of monitoring custodial sentences, despite having been made by judges, is all too often passed to the interior ministry, the prison administration or other administrative departments where judges are notable for their absence. But if the judges' duty is to be the guarantor of the individual rights and liberties: can he truly be fulfilling this duty, which is conferred on him by the constitutions if he refuses to monitor the way in which his own sentences are carried out?"

Some groups have started looking at the possibility of judges getting involved in prisons. Those who got involved came to the conclusion that apart from the retributive and deterrent aspects of penalties, (rooted in the traditions of Roman – Germanic law and the Napoleonic Code) one fundamental purpose of criminal sanction is to rehabilitate convicted offenders so that they can be returned to the society. From a study on positive laws in which imprisonment is replacing corporal punishment titled "Keystone Contemporary Penal System" and which covered twenty six countries such as South Africa, Argentina, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chile, China, Columbia, Togo, Kenya etc. the following findings emerged: "Many developing countries are finding it difficult to manage their prisons. Over populated penal establishments can often only provide inadequate conditions for inmates, both physically and psychologically. Prisoners have to be detained for long periods on remand and prisons national statutory texts, which govern them. At the same time, rising crime rates especially in large conurbations make these inadequacies all the more worrying. Minor offenders are brought into close proximity with more hardened criminals without there being any real possibility of their rehabilitation into the society and employment" (Bouvier, 2000:2). This observation confirms those postulated by Sutherland and Cressey (1974:33) that criminal behavior is learned and that heaping of prisoners creates an environment conducive for crime

education so to speak thus creating worse offenders. Judicial officials should follow up on their implementation-of sentences so that prisons remain a place only for the hardened convict or those for whom chances of rehabilitation are minimal.

2.2. SOCIETAL PROTECTION AND CRIME DETERRENCE

Locking up dangerous criminals or persistent nonviolent offenders means that society will be protected from them for the duration of their sentences. Criminals such as murderers and rapists are too dangerous to be left free. Imprisonment for such hardcore criminals is a way of incapacitating them and thus rendering them less dangerous. Additionally, people expect that prisons will cause inmates to regret their criminal acts, and that when most prisoners are released they will be deterred from committing future crimes. Incarceration of criminals may also deter other individuals from engaging in criminal behavior due to the fear of punishment.

However, it is not possible to lock up all offenders who deserve to be incarcerated. Some criminals are never captured. Due to space and budget constraints, even those who are caught cannot all be imprisoned. Criminologists (Klare, 1966:21) disagree about the relationship between the amount of people imprisoned and the amount of crime that occurs. It can be argued that the existence of crime depends in part on the factors which stimulate individuals to commit offences, in part upon the opportunities that society presents for crime, and in part upon the social tolerance or acceptance of certain forms of crime (Klare, 1966:15). In lower class areas such as the slums, all kinds of stolen property circulate and stealing is likely to be more tolerable within the community. Crime is what society says it is through the establishment of laws which enforce morals. The law is the enforcer of morals and it "sets the limits on the minimum standards of behavior that are incumbent on everyone, and that these minimum standards are the objects of constant scrutiny" (Klare, 1966:19).

It must be recognized that morals are relative. Even in instances where crime affects only one person, every member of society is threatened. There are occasions where in spite of an offender committing a serious offence, the community is ready to arbitrate and settle the matter outside the court (Hannan, 1996:60). Even where there is a basic agreement in the community that the conduct is wrongful, not all members would be unanimous in their opinion on what should be done with the offender. Social attitudes come into conflict over proactive issues such as capital punishment, probation, parole, prisons industries, the juvenile court and prevention programmes. Popular sentiments addicted to traditional policies of punishment and retribution obstruct effective programs of control based upon newer conceptions of individualized treatment and rehabilitation (Shoemaker and Hillery, 1938: 674-683).

Legal factors—such as prior record, type of crime committed, and whether the crime involved injuries or death to victims—help to determine the appropriate sentence length or other punishment. However, different state laws and practices create sentencing disparities. For example, some nonviolent and unthreatening offenders are incarcerated, whereas some dangerous offenders are placed on probation. Furthermore, experts disagree about whether imprisoning criminals actually prevents further crime.

One can conclude therefore that behavior in society is defined as criminal where the opinion of many individuals and groups is not in support of the actual (legal) definition. This difference is probably an attribute of the fact that culture is often split into so many diversified groups with so little in common and legal laws in themselves are not sufficient enough to guarantee the high standards of moral behavior desired by those who support a given law. Cressey and Ward (1969:87) postulate that the failure of the law to control criminal behavior is a symptom of our failure as a community to change the real source of the conduct which we condemn.

2.3. RETRIBUTION

There is little evidence to indicate that criminals change their behavior as a result of government-imposed retribution. Many released prisoners and former probationers repeatedly commit crimes. A recent report in the media (Daily Nation) implies that Kenyan prisons simply warehouse violence - meaning that inmates are confined and incapacitated in large numbers (Mathangani, 7th July, 2003:11) with little or no effort made to rehabilitate them.

The value of retribution to society may be ritualistic. That is, when formal measures of retribution are imposed citizens may feel satisfied that crime has been appropriately addressed. Punishment may perpetuate criminal dispositions and behaviors rather than eliminate them. The various goals of criminal punishment may conflict with one another. For instance, the goal of incapacitation may be achieved by confining offenders for long prison terms. However, inmates who are warehoused in large prisons where they associate closely with other criminals and lack control over their life may develop additional antisocial behaviors. Consequently, punishment may perpetuate criminal dispositions and behaviors rather than eliminate them.

The major driving force underlying all punishment is revenge, also referred to as retribution (Hudson, 1996:38). The word retribution derives from a Latin word meaning "to pay back." In retaliation for wrongdoing, societies seek to punish individuals who violate the rules. Criminal punishment is also intended as a deterrent to future criminality. Offenders who are punished may be deterred from future wrongdoing because they fear additional punishment. Others who contemplate crime may also be deterred from criminal behavior. Societies also impose punishments in order to incapacitate dangerous or unlawful individuals by restricting their liberty and to rehabilitate these wrongdoers and correct their behavior.

Retribution is probably the oldest goal of criminal punishment. The Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, dating from the 18th century BC, contained this principle of equal

retaliation. Similarly, the laws of the ancient Hebrews demanded "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The corporal punishments used in England and the American colonies were based on retribution

(Champion, 2002:8).

Over time many came to believe that the brutal punishments imposed on offenders far exceeded the seriousness of the crimes. French novelist Victor Hugo satirized criminal punishment in France during the 19th century in his novel Les Miserables (1862), in which a character is sentenced to 20 years of hard labor after stealing a loaf of bread to feed his family. The character later escapes and officials hound him for years as though he had committed murder. Although extreme, this fictional account captured the vengeful nature of punishment in those times.

In Kenya, the retributionist philosophy remains apparent in the sentencing practices of courts and the rules and regulations of various correctional programs. Common punishments include restitution; fines; and occasionally victim compensation for losses, pain, and suffering resulting from crimes. Furthermore, offenders perform hundreds of hours of public service work as restitution to the state in partial payment for the losses resulting from their crimes.

Punishing those who violate society's rules satisfies a desire for vengeance or retribution. Conventional punishment for criminal conduct includes confining inmates in cells, restricting their freedom, and obligating them to follow rigid behavioral codes. People consider imprisonment an appropriate form of punishment for committing crimes, and believe that convicted offenders should receive their just deserts in accordance with societal rules. In Kenya, the guarantee of due process requires that the government imprisons offenders only in accordance with the rule of law.

2.4. REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION

Modern criminal punishment seeks to correct criminals and transform their behavior, rather than merely penalize wrongdoers. The philosophy of rehabilitation is based on the belief that we can predict when convicts have been rehabilitated and are ready to be released from prison. Prediction is never accurate and hence not acceptable in science. After 1970, it was agreed that the rehabilitation programme did not work. The other basic problem was that it was open to abuse. How was one to determine when a convict should be rehabilitated? There were also no clear guidelines or regulations to deal with the rehabilitation process. Classical criminologists believe the major purpose of punishment is deterrence. Deterrence is the effect on a convict of the punishment that makes him not commit the crime in future. The classical position is that the punishment should fit the crime, not the convict. The belief in free will and rational thought (Hudson, 1996:63) does not arise. Convicts should only be punished to the extent that their conduct is blameworthy. This led to the conclusion that punishment could deter criminal activity. Rational human beings cannot choose behavior that will bring them, pain instead of pleasure.

Rehabilitation in the context of the modern penal system means being sentenced to receive help (Bean 1976: vii). The aim of this enquiry is to establish whether rehabilitation can be successfully used to combat crime and recidivism. The probation and community service orders that are in place in Kenya are an indication of the support the country has shown towards prison rehabilitation. Probation is in itself an indication of support towards rehabilitation which is generally accepted as a legitimate way of dealing with adult offenders.

The current thought on rehabilitation "maintains that unless new skills are acquired against a background of attitudes which are tolerably accepting of self and society, then they can play little part in rehabilitation" (Klare, 1966:145). Criminals who have served for long periods of time may be very highly skilled but lack the ability to apply those skills in society when freed. Prisons attempt to rehabilitate inmates so they will avoid

future criminal behavior. Most prisons have vocational and educational programs, psychological counselors, and an array of services available to assist inmates to improve their skills, education, and self-concept. These programmes are designed to reintegrate the prisoner into the community. In work-release and study-release programs (not a common practice in Kenya), prisoners may participate in work or educational activities outside of prison. In developed nations like the United States and Canada, as prisoners near their parole or release dates, some are permitted unescorted leave to visit their families on weekends. This involvement with the community has been seen as a possible method that may help inmates readjust to society after they have been released (Champion, 2002:9).

The social structure of prisons and prison practices can actually impede rehabilitation and reintegration. For example, inmates acquire attitudes and knowledge from other inmates that may strengthen their desire to engage in criminal behavior and improve their criminal skills. The isolation of inmates from society also hinders attempts to rehabilitate them. Prison environments are unique and distinct from other populations. American sociologist Erving Goffman described prisons as total institutions (Jary and Jary, 1996:91); that is, self-contained, self-sufficient social systems that are unique and distinct. Isolated within a total institution, inmates are cut off from the rights and responsibilities of society. This lack of connection with societal norms can prevent successful reintegration into society when inmates are released (Champion, 2002:11).

Although prisoners must abide by institutional rules, they also establish their own rules for themselves. Thus, a culture within a culture, or prison subculture, exists. This subculture has its own status structure and hierarchy of authority. In many prisons, inmates fear the informal prison subculture and its reprisals for rule violations more than formal administrative rules and punishments. If the prison subculture rejects the goals of the institution (such as rehabilitation), inmates are less likely to accept those goals.

The best solution to overcrowding in prisons and recidivism is the use of alternatives to imprisonment. These options are especially important owing to the fact that the convict

has a one on one relationship with the supervisor which creates the right setting for counseling and rehabilitation of the convict.

2.4.1 PROBATION

Probation service was introduced in Kenya through the enactment of the Probation offenders Ordinance in 1943. The aim of probation services is to; encourage the offender to find some legitimate means of earning a living, at the same time continuing to refrain from committing further crime; to give the offender a chance to re-examine himself, to instill in himself self esteem and positive self image; to help or encourage the offender to use his own sense of responsibility for his future; and to provide for the re-integration of the offender into the community, to interact fully with community members for he cannot be reformed in isolation (Wairagu, 1984:3).

Probation is a non custodial rehabilitation method in which the offender is sentenced by a court of law. It is viewed as a better alternative to prison in which the convict serves the sentence period while living with the community and is guided by the probation officer to adjust to a non-criminal way of life through living in an honest and organized manner. Though free, the convict must follow strict conditions and restrictions including observing the law, maintaining good company, avoiding the use of drugs and alcohol, reporting to the probation officer as required, paying all fines and avoiding unnecessary debts. All his movements and intentions must be made known to the probation office which controls him in a setting that is independent of the confines of prison such as a state funded home or in most cases, his own family home. A convict can be on probation for a period from between six months to three years depending on the opinion of the probation officer and the court dealing with him. Clinard has defined probation as "a suspension of sentence after conviction in which the offender is allowed, with some restrictions, to remain in free society rather than being imprisoned" (Clinard as stated in Mushanga, 1985;188).

According to Wairagu, however, the fact that one was on probation did not prevent him/her from doing what he/she wanted. The probationers did not take probation seriously and so it did not serve as a hindrance to their movements or to the way they behaved. The reasons for failure of the probation system include a lack of adequate number of trained personnel, which leads to officers being over worked. Statistics on probation officers workload issued in 1974 indicated that on average, one probation officer supervised seventy offenders as opposed to the required thirty to forty (Odegi-Awuondo, 1978:88). At the same time probation requires the individual to be rehabilitated in the same environment in which the crime was committed. If the circumstances which surround the committing of the crime are not rectified then the probationer will not benefit in any way because he will be with the same people he was with before he committed the offence. The other reason for failure of probation according to Wairagu (1984: 43) is ignorance of the community. This view is also supported by Odegi-Awuondo who states that in order to reform the criminal, there is need to reform the group as a whole. 'His (criminal's) relationship with the law abiding elements must be promoted and that with pro-criminal elements discouraged' (1978:15). Members of the community are expected to help in the rehabilitation process by reporting any unacceptable behaviors, but community members are often unaware of their role or are afraid to get involved.

2.4.2. COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS

Community service is an alternative to prison and is beneficial to first offenders. It gives the convict an opportunity to reflect and appreciate his wrongdoings and keeps him out of prison while at the same time paying back the society he has wronged. The introduction of community service orders was as a result of the realization that the problem of crime cannot be solved by incarceration alone. Community service saves the convict from the rigors of imprisonment and the stigmatization he would receive after serving the prison sentence. Community service avoids the widely held consensus that imprisonment does

not improve the rate of crime in society and that people who serve sentences for long are prone to recidivism.

The involvement of the community during the period of community service and in particular with persons known to the convict has a deterrent effect. For this reason the community should be educated on the advantages of the program such as the fact that sending petty offenders to prison is a waste of tax-payers money. Such education can be done by promoting alternatives to imprisonment through the media, seminars, church groups, lectures and through legislation

The number of prisoners held in Kenyan prisons far outweighs the originally intended capacity and no provision for further construction of prisons has been budgeted for to cater for this growing number. The government is in the process of reducing the time that suspects spend in remand to decrease the population of convicts currently being held. In a research done in early 2003, of the 40,000 suspects in Kenyan prisons, 15,000 were on remand (Daily Nation, 27th May, 2003). Community service represents a shift from the more traditional methods of dealing with crime and the convict to a more restorative form of justice that takes into account the interests of both the society and the victim.

The introduction of this non-custodial option was as a result that crime cannot be solved by incarceration alone. The community service order option is under the control and supervision of the judiciary. The Chief Justice of Kenya appoints a judge as the National Chairman with a magistrate as the National coordinator. Other members of the committee include the Deputy Public Prosecutor, Commissioner of Police, Director of Children's Services, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs and a number of Non Governmental Organization representatives. It is the responsibility of the magistrates to set up district committees whose secretaries are the community service officers. The judicial officers determine the suitable programs for the convicts based on certain personal factors then proceed to place them in the appropriate program. They have the power to follow them up and ensure the convict is carrying out his assigned sentence.

2.4.3. INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS

Walton (1980:225) says that the residential or institutional approach to rehabilitation is regarded quite highly but is one of the most costly of social service provisions. Other critiques of residential care are based on failure when a resident is returned to the community; the statistics of recidivism and breakdown are used to attribute failure to the residential system. Punitive structures, inhumane treatment and neglect if shown to exist in institutions are assumed to be a property of residential life and not of the wider community. These arguments may be invalid unless full account is taken of the damaging influences experienced by the resident before and after a period of residential care (Walton, 1980).

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It is necessary to consider the long term effectiveness of residential and institutional care in terms of transfer of new behavior to the community or settings other than the one in which it was acquired. Institutional care of ex-convicts generally works on the premise that the ex-convict will not return to the situation in which the offending behavior was acquired. They may go back to living normal lives within their former or new communities. A general rule of thumb is that the more dissimilar the influence situation and the situation in which the person is expected to perform newly acquired behavior, the more difficult it is to transfer the new behavior. I.e. to get it to persist. For example, the location of the institution could be upcountry while the ex-convict is returning to an urban slum. On the other hand, the more the influence situation is like the rest of the person's life, the harder it will be to elicit a new behavior in the first place (Zaltman et al, 1972:427).

One observation suggested here is that the closer the 'offender' can remain to his community setting and yet be influenced by identification (ex-convict), the more likely it will be for the behavior to persist after treatment. Second, the more dissimilar the influence setting (to induce changes via identification), the more important it will be to provide subsequent influence situation that makes gradual his return to the home setting

(Zaltman et al, 1972:427). The return to one's home after rehabilitation is often a challenge. Reintegration takes time as often the family and the community cannot accept the ex-convict who is stigmatized.

2.4.4. HALFWAY HOUSES

Technically, a halfway house is a community based correctional facility which can be used as an alternative to traditional imprisonment. The origin of this system is Japan or England but there is consensus that the idea originated in the nineteenth century (Powers, 1959:35). As disenchantment with the conditions of the state of prisons grew, countries began seeking alternatives to imprisonment and thus the idea of halfway houses was mooted. In countries like the United States of America where the system has been in operation for years, parole boards - similar to probation service boards in Kenya - place some, paroled inmates in halfway houses. These community residences, staffed by counselors and aides, assist offenders in making the transition back into community life. Halfway houses provide released prisoners with a place to sleep and eat. In addition, halfway-house personnel help parolees find jobs and get access to needed services (Champion, 2002).

'Halfway houses' is a fairly new concept in Kenya with the oldest halfway house being less than a decade old. So far three houses exist in Nairobi, Ruiru and Naivasha; all are run by individuals who shoulder the burden of the welfare of ex-convicts in Kenya.

A common feature of halfway houses is that they are all community based. According to Mushanga (1985:185) they are "located within neighborhoods which provide the residents with the opportunity to continue in social participation and social interaction with all kinds of people." The interaction with the community helps the individual slowly be integrated into the community. The period within which one stays in the house is dependant on the mental preparedness of the ex-convict and may range from three months to two years.

Owing to the mental state of the ex-convicts, halfway houses must be under the charge of competent and dedicated people, able to exercise power and influence while at the same time provide comfort and solace to the ex-convict. The halfway house serves adults and young offenders, alcoholics and drug addicts. In rare cases, they may also be used to care for the mentally disturbed. Every member of the half way house must be involved in the integrative programme of the convicts. This is made possible owing to the small number of people involved (Mushanga, 1985:185). For example, Achor House in Ruiru can only aumit a maximum of twelve ex-convicts at any one time.

The halfway house is in no way a temporary prison and residents are allowed to mix freely with the community. The community in turn must be educated to accept the correctional and integration methods being provided and learn to accept the ex-convict back into society as a rehabilitated person.

2.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory in the social sciences is any set of hypothesis or propositions, linked by logical or mathematical arguments, which is advanced to explain an area of empirical reality or type of phenomenon (Jary and Jary, 1995:686). According to Singleton et al. (1988:24-25), all empirical studies should be grounded in theory. Theory is an assumption or system of assumptions, accepted principles, and rules of procedure based on limited information or knowledge, devised to analyze, predict, or otherwise explain the nature or behavior of a specified set of phenomena; abstract reasoning (Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia 2002). Kerlinger (1964:11) defines theory as a set of inter-related concepts, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations between variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena.

This study was guided by the behavioral and sociological theories that shed light on the question of rehabilitation of ex-convicts and the impact of rehabilitation on training them to be self-reliant citizens within their communities. The study addressed in particular the Behavioral and Exchange Theory, the Conflict Theory of Karl Marx, the Structural Functionalism Theory and Herbert Kelman's Theory of Behavior Change.

2.5.1 BEHAVIORAL AND EXCHANGE THEORY

Exchange theory and behavioral sociology, according to Ritzer (1992:415), are typical sociological theories, composed of three major paradigms:

- The social-facts
- Social definitions
- Social behavior paradigms.

The social facts paradigm deal with large scale institutions and structures such as the political and economic systems and their coercive effects on actors and their thoughts and actions. The social-definitions paradigm accepts as the primary concern of sociology

actors, the way in which they construct social reality, and the action that results from such construction. And the social behavior paradigm's subject matter of sociology is individual behavior and the reinforcers and punishers that affect it. The Exchange and Behavioral Sociology theories are encompassed in the social behavior paradigm.

The Exchange theory constitutes an effort to take the principles of behaviorism, fuse them with other ideas and apply them to the concerns of sociologists. This theory dates back many years but underwent a boom in the 1950s and 1960s in the works of George Homans (Homans, 1961). Social Exchange theory is based on a central premise: that the exchange of social and material resources is a fundamental form of human interaction or the exchange of rewards and costs to quantify the values of outcomes from different situations for an individual. People strive to maximize rewards and minimize costs, as with economics, and then base the likeness of developing a relationship with someone on the perceived possible outcomes (Turner, 1991:311). According to Homans' position on this theory, therefore, ex-convicts can be influenced to change behavior through the use of rewards such as training, loans and a combination of economic and psychological needs (Homans, 1961:79). Levis-Strauss (1969:203) on the other hand rejected the idea that human exchange can be explained in terms of individual self interest. Strauss argued that social exchange is sustained by supra individual forces, collective forces and cultural forces. From this perspective, behavioral change among ex-convicts would only occur as a result of the influence of institutions such as Achor Hope House or from a change in the economy.

As a large aspect of rehabilitation is concerned with behavioral change, it is also useful to look at behaviorism in sociology, which can be traced back to the work of B.F. Skinner. According to Skinner (1953:6) "what a man does is the result of specifiable conditions and once these conditions have been discovered, we can anticipate and to some extent determine his actions." Behavioral sociology represents an effort to apply the principles of psychological behaviorism to sociological questions which comes from a concern to understand the relationship between the effects of an actor's behavior on the environment and their impact on their later behavior. This is basic to the operant conditioning or the

learning process by which behavior is modified by its consequences (Ritzer, 1992: 419). This approach is particularly relevant when considering the impact of rehabilitation on training, whereby behavior change is seen to produce a conducive environment for learning to take place.

In most rehabilitation programs, certain reinforcements are given in order to influence or induce a certain kind of behavior. Reinforcers are not just rewards, but must affect the actor's behavior. A skill when passed on to a person with no formal knowledge serves as a reinforcer. Reinforcers are defined by their ability to strengthen behavior. Similarly, punishment reduces the frequency of a response and can be either positive or negative. Although many reinforcers are specific to given situations some are generalized. Bushell and Burgess in Ritzer (1992:421) define these as reinforcers that have great power and importance in social analyses because they retain their effectiveness in the absence of any specific deprivation. Money and status are two good examples of generalized reinforcers in that large amounts of money are not likely to dull the desire for more. As seen earlier, skills provide social mobility which in most cases lead to more money and a higher social status. It can be argued that access to specialized skills and the way to effectively use them has become a powerful reinforcer for behaviour modification for those in need of rehabilitation.

This process of behaviour modification has been adopted in therapeutic situations and could probably be adopted in institutional programmes by following six stages. Therapists must first identify the specific final behaviour they want to elicit. This should then be followed by determining the range of behaviors that are currently being elicited and an assessment of how close this behaviour is to the desired behavior. They should next construct a favorable training site by eliminating destructing stimuli, such as the possibility of conflicting or incompatible behaviour through the provision of stimuli that are discriminative towards eliciting the desired response. Therapists should then establish motivation in the individuals by acquiring suitable enforcers such as money, skill training, social attention and social status as a form of reward for the individual. Begin the shaping process through differential reinforcement of responses that are successively

closer to the terminal state begins the final stage which leads to applying the reinforcers more intermittently when modification has taken place (Ritzer, 1992: 423).

2.5.2. CONFLICT THEORY OF SOCIAL CLASS

The conflict theory originates from Karl Marx's Dialectic approach as adopted from Hegel. The Dialectic is best known for its concern with conflict and contradiction. The ultimate contradiction for Marx was the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which in today's terms would be the "haves" and the "have-nots". Dialectics is also interested in the structures of society as well as in the dialectical relationship between actors and social structures. Marx was concerned with the distortions of human nature caused by the structures of capitalistic society. When a minority of people own the means of production upon which others depend on for their livelihood, the result is conflict, exploitation and alienation. Alienation refers to the dehumanizing character of social relations under capitalism (Hale Sylvia, 1990).

Coser (1965) identifies two types of conflict: the realistic and the non-realistic conflict. Realistic Conflict arises from a clash of interests and contains elements of limitation in that so far as the conflict is a means to an end, other means can be employed to achieve the desired results. Non-realistic conflict on the other hand arises out of aggressive energies and not the attainment of a result. Such non realistic conflicts arise from deprivations and frustrations stemming out of the socialization process and from later adult role obligations. Individuals who live in inhuman conditions and lack the basic necessities such as food and clothing and shelter are bound to develop frustrations which lead to a conflict with the rest of society. This theory also explains the anti-social and often violent behavioural pattern of criminals and clarifies the need for rehabilitation programs that work towards reducing conflicts as they offer alternative ways of reaching the desired goals. Certain strong images are associated with Conflict Theory. These include chaos, anarchy, disorder, antagonism, disequilibrium and disintegration which are clearly evident in the life of persons who tend towards crime and in some instances a

section of the urban poor population. Conflict Theory emphasizes the dominance of some social groups by others and social orders as based on manipulations and controlled buy the dominant group (Ritzer, 1992:231).

2.5.3. STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM THEORY

This theory was influenced by three classical sociologists; Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim. Comte viewed social systems as organic systems that functioned in much the same way as biological organisms. Spencer introduced the idea of social "needs" which was later interpreted to mean that society needs certain things in order to survive. Durkheim's interest in social facts reflected an interest in parts of the social organism and their interrelationships as well as their impact on the society as a whole. "When, then, the explanation of a social phenomenon is undertaken, we must seek separately the efficient cause which produces it and the function it fulfils" (Durkheim, 1938:96). Durkheim emphasized the concept of strains in modern society, especially anomie, and how they were dealt with. This emphasis had an input on structural functionalism, especially on the work of Robert Merton (1968:51).

Structural Functionalism is concerned with the relationships between one part of the social system to another. The parts of the system as well as the system as a whole are seen as existing in a state of equilibrium, so that changes in one part lead to changes in other parts. In this state of equilibrium, those changes that do occur are seen as doing so in an orderly, not in a revolutionary way. Included in this theory are their works of Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore on social stratification, which they regarded as both universal and necessary (Ritzer, 1992: 235).

Another major concern of the structural functionalism theory is the analysis of the things a social system needs in order to survive. Talcott Parsons defined the four functional prerequisites of any action system as: adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern

maintenance (Parsons et al, 1961: 30-38). These prerequisites include certain characteristics that a society must have in order to survive, such as having adequate methods of sexual recruitment, sufficient differentiation of roles, adequate communication systems, shared symbolic systems, shared systems of values, a shared articulated set of goals, socialization of new members and effective control over disruptive forms of behaviour (Ritzer, 1992: 239).

Robert Merton developed a structural-functional analysis that focuses on groups, organizations, societies and cultures rather than on individuals (Merton, 1957:84). He systemized Durkheim's concept of anomie into a general model; the anomie theory of crime, a typology of possible responses to goals and means. His theory suggests that lower class people are more likely to engage in deviant or illegal behavior, not because they have innately criminal characters, but because they face more obstacles in achieving the success goals of the dominant culture (Hale Sylvia, 1990: 194).

Functionalist theories focus on socialization and consensus with reference to the values and behavioral norms of society. Learned consensus is seen as the central mechanism assuring the maintenance of stability and order within the traditional functionalist model of the social system. It is responsible for developing moral and normative consensus, which is at the centre of social integrations and pattern maintenance. It is also critical for transmitting essential skills for economic development (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:90).

John Dewey, a 19th Century philosopher and reformer advocated a free and universal school system as vitally important for democracy and for developing an industrial society. Dewey demonstrated that the mind emerges and is sustained through interactions in the social world (Turner, 1991:372). This vision of education is democratic, just and efficient. It stands at the heart of the functionalists' view of stratification in industrial society. Functionalism focuses primarily at the objectives of socializing young people in the skills and moral commitment necessary for them to take over adult roles in the social system. According to Hale Sylvia (1990) Functionalists define equality of opportunity in

terms of meritocracy; so that the desired outcome of schooling is that the more able and motivated students are allocated the difficult and important social roles.

2.5.4. HERBERT KELMAN'S THEORY OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

Herbert Kelman (in Zaltman et al, 1972: 422) has developed a general conceptual framework that can provide a basis for discussing the different methods of producing behavioural change or rehabilitation methods. Kelman (in Zaltman et al, 1972: 423) proposes that a person's behaviour may be changed by means of three different processes, depending on his motivational orientation.

Behavioural change can occur through: Compliance when the person's primary concern is in obtaining a reward or avoiding a specific punishment. Such behaviour change will persist only under conditions of surveillance; that is as long as the person's behaviour is observable by the person who controls rewards and punishments. Ex-convicts in institutions who have to obey certain rules and regulations may exhibit this kind of behaviour change.

A second kind of behaviour change is identification. A person is primarily concerned with establishing a satisfying relationship with the influencing agent (e.g. the center administrator). The influencing agent has qualities that make a continued relationship with him particularly desirable, and he defines the role expectations the person must meet in order to maintain the relationship with him. Identification is common occurrence among peer groups, such as the street boys' football teams where members are required to behave in a certain manner in order to qualify to be on the team. New behaviour acquired in the process of defining oneself as acceptable in a continuing relationship with the influencing agent does not depend on surveillance. Rather it persists as long as the relationship is important to the person who has changed, but the behaviour occurs only when the person is engaged in a role that is relevant to his relationship with the influencing agent. Thus while this new behaviour occurs in may new situations outside

the situation in which the behaviour was first acquired, it is still dependant on an external social support.

A third kind of behaviour change, internalization, occurs when the person's primary concern in the influence situation is with the consistency between his behaviour and his own concepts of what is worth doing. The influence agent shows himself to be expert and trustworthy and demonstrates new means of promoting the person's independent goals e.g. self respect. Behaviour acquired in this way depends neither on surveillance nor on the relevance of the behaviour to the relationship with the influencing agent; is rather the behaviour shown whenever it is relevant to promoting personal goals. The behaviour thus becomes independent from its original source and becomes integrated with the person's basic values.

It can be recognized that compliance characterizes the traditional approach of correctional institutions such as half way houses, while identification and internalization generally characterizes the approach of social work. The important point suggested by Kelman's (1972: 423) conceptual framework is that each of these approaches to behaviour modification may be defective in bringing about change under particular conditions and subject to particular limitations. There is also considerable evidence in the behavioural sciences that behaviour acquired under compliance conditions can be maintained through the process of identification. Thus, under special conditions, compliance methods and identification methods may complement one another and have cumulative effects of behavioural change. These special conditions involve the use of rewards and minimum of punishments by the influence agents. Research findings indicate that reward for conformity to influence agent's standards, produce as much conformity as does punishment. Moreover, reward arouses less resistance. This is important because as pointed out by Morrision and Levinger (in Zaltman et al, 1972:424), after punishments terminate, the resistance aroused by previous punishment persists and is accompanied by a drop in conformity compared with that of persons who have been rewarded for conformity. Thus the relatively greater attractiveness of a rewarding influence agent compared with a punishing one and the fact that he does not arouse resistance leads to a situation where he can influence behaviour via the process of identification. Heavy reliance on punishment on the other hand, decreases the attractiveness of the influence agent and decreases his effectiveness in altering behavior of others beyond the immediate social setting.

2.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Different opinions on various approaches to rehabilitation exist, all with the overall aim of eliciting a change in the behaviour of the ex-convict to enable him to be reintegrated into society. This study was guided by the following research questions:

- 1. What is the level of success in the prevention of re-offending at Achor Hope House?
- 2. What is the attitude of ex-convicts towards reintegration following rehabilitation?
- 3. What is society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts?

CHAPTER 3 - METHODS

The researcher conducted an exploratory study to establish the institutional capacity of Achor Valley Niko Hope House in providing rehabilitation and reintegration for exconvicts admitted to the centre. The study sought to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. The reason for this was the fact that people's perception, especially towards ex-convicts, tends to influence the outcome of any activity in which they take part.

Qualitative research places emphasize on hermeneutic understanding and dialectical interpretation or reasoning. This approach or method gave the respondents an opportunity to state their problems in the way that they perceive them. It also allowed them to participate in seeking solutions to the problem as well as effecting possible solutions towards acceptance. Qualitative survey was also applied to document the resources and facilities available at Achor Valley Niko Hope House, which will in future may be used and applied in other half—way Houses in Kenya.

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3.1. SITE DESCRIPTION

The study was conducted at Achor Valley Niko Hope House in Ruiru, its environs and in Mathare Valley. Information on ex-convicts and their reintegration was sought from Achor Valley Niko Hope House and from ex-convicts from Area 4 in Mathare Valley. The reason for the latter stemmed from the fact that prior to moving to Ruiru, Achor Valley was based in Mathare Valley and the house was started with ex-convicts from this area. Most of the ex-graduates continue to reside in Mathare Valley.

3.2. SAMPLING DESIGN

Purposive sampling, a technique which allows the researcher to only use the cases which have the required information in respect of the objectives of the study was used. The researcher interviewed thirty respondents, both current and past inmates of Achor Valley Niko Hope House. Previous graduates were selected from records held at Achor and through snowball sampling as was the case of ex-convicts residing in Mathare Valley. This sampling method was conducted between 8th June and 17th August; 2004. The reason for this duration was that it was often difficult to meet the respondents during the day. Most of the sampling took place in the evenings at an agreed location and not all respondents kept to the appointed times. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999:51), snowball sampling "is useful when the population that possess the characteristics under study is not well known and there's need to find the subjects". The case selection was not random and non-probability sampling was used. According to Singleton et al, (1988:152-153), "If the population is unknown or not readily identifiable, as in many sociological studies of deviance, then the sampling generally will consist of studying any and all identifiable and cooperative units."

An in-depth interview with ten key informants was also used. The researcher relied on her expert judgment to select units that were representative and typical of the population. These included the government administration representatives such as the Ruiru area Assistant Chief, administrative and local police serving in Ruiru, Church representatives, Prisons officers and members of the surrounding community. In cases where sampling was applied, its purposive form was utilized.

3.3. SOURCES OF DATA

The study used primary and secondary data. The researcher collected data that captured the experiences of the respondents in regard to the reintegration of ex-convicts. These sources were important in that they yielded information that helped to understand how ex-convicts chose to undergo rehabilitation as opposed to their being released straight into the community having served their term in prison.

Primary data were collected through questionnaire interviews that bore questions that were relevant to the study objective. An interview schedule with key informants made up of personnel drawn from the various related sectors was also used. Library research was conducted to review the topic under study and helped to build up on the final report.

3.4. TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

The research was solely conducted by the researcher herself. The study used various techniques of data collection. These were:-

i) Informal interviews.

Unstructured interviews involving spontaneous questions that arose in the course of events were used. These helped the researcher understand the formal and informal structure of Achor Valley Niko Hope House. They also showed the role that Achor Valley Niko Hope House was mandated to play in the rehabilitation of the ex-convict. Being an exploratory study, a lot of new information was gathered that helped in compiling the final analysis of this report. Those interviewed include the officer in charge and the staff of Achor Valley Niko Hope House.

ii) Formal Interviews.

The study used interview schedules with similar questions which were administered to different respondents. Their responses to the different questions were compared and conclusions were drawn from their responses.

iii) Key Informant Interviews.

These were questions raised in the form of interview schedules with different groups of individuals who were knowledgeable about the topic under study. Their opinions on the topic generally helped in shaping the kind of conclusions and recommendations that have been made. A total of ten Key Informants were interviewed who included the Commissioner of Prisons representative, namely the Director of Welfare, the area Assistant Chief, the Officer Commanding Police in the Machithi area of Ruiru (where Achor Valley Niko Hope House is located), Church leaders associated with Achor Valley and persons who had knowledge and relevant information on Achor Valley Niko Hope House.

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Various methods and techniques were applied to analyze the data collected. Descriptive statistical procedures were used to describe the distribution and to derive patterns from the data. Qualitative data were analyzed as they were collected. The data analysis exercise was continuous. Some data reduction was undertaken, and this involved selecting and simplifying the collected data then transforming them into relevant sections. The data were initially in the form of written-up field notes, transcriptions and questionnaires. The aim of the data reduction was to sharpen, sort, focus, discard and organize the data from the field so as to get the preliminary conclusions. In the next chapter, the processed data are displayed in the form of graphs, charts and tables.

CHAPTER 4 - QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF FIELD DATA

This chapter specifically presents and descriptively analyses the data gathered in relation to Achor Valley Niko Hope House in which a total of thirty ex-convict graduates and ten Key Informers were interviewed. Of the thirty ex-convicts interviewed, only four had not graduated as at the time of the interview though they had completed their training at Achor Valley. In addition, three of the thirty graduates had never been convicted or charged and had been admitted on the basis that they were involved in criminal activities. The word Achor means trouble in Hebrew and is based on Hosea 2:15 which says "I will give her vineyards from there, and the Valley of Achor as a door of Hope..." (885:82, The Holy Bible, New King James Version). According to the founder of Achor, even though we are all in trouble while on earth. God has place a door of Hope within the valley of trouble and thus the name "Achor Valley Niko Hope House"

The data presented are in the form of frequency tables, charts, and percentages where applicable based on the questionnaires administered to the graduates of Achor Valley Niko Hope House and the Key informants interviewed. The data are split into various sub-headings, culminating with a summary of the quantitative findings of the research questions.

4.1 FINDINGS

4.1.1. Age and gender composition of Ex-Convicts

There was almost equal representation of gender among those admitted at Achor Valley Niko Hope House, with male comprising sixteen and female fourteen. The distribution of age, marital status and gender is indicated in Table 1.

Table: 1 - Age, Marital Status and Gender of Ex-convicts

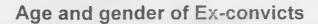
Age	Single	Married	Sub-	Single	Married	Sub-	TOTAL	Frequency
(In			total			total		(%)
years)			Males:			Female:		
15 - 19	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	3.3
20 - 24	3	0	3	2	0	2	5	16.6
25 - 29	1	3	4	2	1	3	7	23.3
30 – 34	0	5	5	2	0	2	7	23.3
35 – 39	1	3	4	3	0	3	7	23.3
≥ 4()	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3.3
TOTAL	5	11	16	13	1	14	30	100

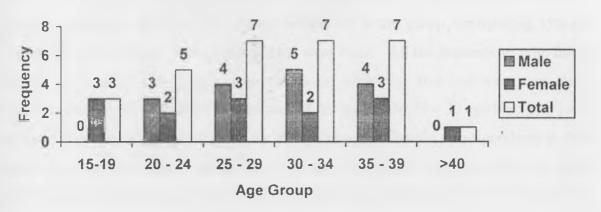
Source: Field data

The range of ages of the ex-convicts indicated the youngest respondent as eighteen years and the oldest at fifty four years. Of the thirty respondents interviewed, the majority fell between the 25 - 39 year age ranges. All the respondents in the 15 - 24 age ranges were single. With the exception of one female in the 25 - 29 age bracket, all other females were single. Of these, one each in the 35 - 39 and ≥ 40 age brackets had been married but were separated. Of the males, one each in the 25 - 29 and 35 - 39 age brackets were cohabiting.

Figure 1 on the following page graphically depicts the age and sex distribution of the respondents.

Fig 1: Age and gender of Ex-convicts





Source: Data in Table 1

As indicated in the graph above, the majority of ex-convicts, making up 70% of those interviewed, fell within the 25 - 39 age range. Of these, 62% were males. The one respondent who fell in the over 40 age group was a female aged fifty four years and had served a thirteen-year prison sentence prior to her sojourn at Achor. Of the 26.6% who fell in the 15 - 24 age ranges, 62.5% were female.

4.1.2. Distribution of Ex-convicts with children and dependants

Table 2a: Distribution of Ex-convicts with Children

Age:	With	Children:	Without	Children:
(In years:)	Male	Female	Male:	Female
15 – 19	0	2	0	1
20 – 24	0	2	3	0
25 – 29	0	2	4	1
30 – 34	5	2	0 .	0
35 – 39	3	3	1	0
≥ 40	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	8	12	8	2
Frequency (%)	26.6	40	26.6	6.6

Source: Field Data

Of the 66.6% of ex-convicts who had children, five respondents had one child each and all were female and were single mothers. Of those with two children, 40% fell within the 30-39 age brackets. The five males in the 30-34 age bracket; one female in the same age group and one male in the 35-39 age bracket fell in this group, contributing 35% of ex-convicts with children. Of this group, 86% were male. All the respondents with three children were female. One respondent was single while the other two were separated. Four respondents had four children each and all fell within the 25-39 age brackets. Two were male and two were female. With the exception of one female, all respondents in this group were married. With the exception of one male respondent who was single and aged over 35 years, the remaining 33.3% without children were all single and below 30 years of age.

Table 2b: Distribution of Ex-convicts with Dependants

Age:	With	Dependants:	Without	Dependants:
(In years:)	Male	Female	Male:	Female
15 – 19	0	2	0	1
20 – 24	0	2	3	0
25 – 29	3	2	1	1
30 – 34	5	2	0	0
35 – 39	3	3	1	0
≥ 40	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	11	11	5	3
Frequency (%)	36.6	36.6	16.6	10

Source: Field Data

Respondents with dependents made up 73% while those without dependents were 27%. Of the twenty two respondents with dependents, 32% or 7 respondents had one dependent. Of these, 72% were single women. Respondents with two dependants were 3 females and one male who all fell within the 25-39 age groups and made up 18% of respondents. With the exception of one single female, all respondents with three dependents were married

males within the 30 - 34 age brackets making a total of five respondents or 23%. Respondents with four dependents also fell within the 25 - 34 age ranges and with the exception of one single female, all the rest were married. Of these, two were male and two were female. Two married men in the 35 - 39 age bracket each had five dependents and made up 9% of respondents with dependents.

Of the eight respondents without dependents, six were single, one was cohabiting and one was separated. Of the eight, three were females and four were males. All single males represented in the 20 - 24 age group fell in this category.

4.1.3 Distribution of Ex-convicts by Gender and Education Level

Table 3: Level of education

Education	Male	Female	Frequency	%	
Primary (Std 3-8)	6	10	16	53.3	
Secondary (Form 1-4)	10	3	13	43.3	
None	0	1	1	3.3	
Total	16	14	30	100.0	

Source: Field Data

More than half of the ex-convicts, that is 53%, had attended primary school at levels ranging between standard three to eight. This comprised 37.5% males and 62.5% females. Of these, one male had dropped out at standard three and one female standard four. The remaining 20% of primary education drop outs had gone as far as standard six while 27% had dropped out at standard seven. Only 40% of those who had attended primary education had completed standard eight.

In the secondary education category, 77% males had attended secondary school as opposed to only 33% females. Of those who had a secondary school education, 47% had reached form one and three respectively while 36% had reached Form two. Of those who had attended secondary school 50% had completed their fourth form: 77% of them being males.

As was noted earlier, the prevalent age of ex-convicts was in the 25 – 39 age range. Of the thirteen male ex-convicts in this group, 62% had gone through secondary level of education. The level of education amongst females was scattered and only four of the fourteen females interviewed had attended high school. Two females had completed their secondary school education while two had dropped out at Form Two. In total, males had a higher education level of education compared to the females.

4.1.4. Skills held by Ex-convicts

While at Achor, graduates were given the option of acquiring a new trade and in some cases, of improving the trade they had learnt while in prison. Table 4 below shows the qualifications held by the graduate respondents. The trades marked with an asterisk were not offered in-house and the graduates were sponsored to attend the courses outside of the centre.

Table 4: Gender and Qualifications held by graduates of Achor

Qualification	Female	Male	Frequency	%
Dressmaking and tailoring	7	0	7	23.3
* Information and communication technology	0	2	2	6.7
* Theology	0	1	1	3.3
Handicraft	6	0	6	20
Carpentry & joinery	0	12	12	40
Masonry	0	1	1	3.3
* Secretarial	1	0	1	3.3
Total	14	16	30	100

Source: Field data

The core courses taught at Achor are tailoring, handicraft, carpentry and joinery. A daily compulsory Bible study is held for all persons admitted to Achor. As can be seen, participation in each course is centred on gender, such that the male profession of carpentry is offered to the men and the female professions of tailoring and handicraft are

offered to the women. Ex-convicts who indicated a particular interest in other courses were sponsored by Achor to take the course of their choice. Unfortunately, this represented only 13.3% of those interviewed.

4.1.5. Current Occupations of Ex-convicts

Qualifications gained and held did not necessarily match the occupations being practiced by graduates of Achor Valley. Table five below shows the occupations currently being practiced by the graduate ex-convicts: -

Table 5: Occupations of ex-convicts

Occupation	Male	Female	Frequency	%
Church Counsellor	3	-	3	10
Tailoring Instructor	1	1	2	6.7
Priest (Student)	1	-	1	3.3
Businessperson	6	3	9	30
Caretaker	-	6	6	20
Supervisor	1	-	1	3.3
Banker	1	-	1	3.3
Secretary	-	1	1	3.3
Farm hand/ Gardener	2	2	4	13.3
Cashier	-	1	1	3.3
None	1	-	1	3.3
Total	16	14	30	100

Source: field data

The ex-convicts' occupations were mainly as a result of their training at Achor. Occupations in the 'business person' section include three carpenters, a vegetable vendor, a loader at the market and a butcher. The remaining three did not specify the businesses they are involved in. Under the caretaker occupation, two are housekeepers, one is a hotel attendant, one is a maid, one is a cook and one is a housewife. Six of the graduates are currently employed at Achor following their rehabilitation. Two of the gardeners are

employed within the prisons while Achor assisted three of the businesspeople to start their businesses. Only one of the ex-convicts is not in employment.

4.1.6 Home District of the Ex-Convicts

With the exception of two respondents, all ex-convicts resided either in Ruiru division or Mathare Valley. Their home districts are indicated in Table 6 below:-

Table 6: Home districts of ex-convicts

Province	District	Frequency	%
Nyanza	Siaya,	3	
	Kisumu	2	
	Bondo	1	
	Kisii	1	
Total Nyanza:		7	23.3
Western	Kakamega	3	
	Bunyore	1	
	Vihiga	1	
	Butere	2	
	Busia	2	
Total Western:		9	30
Central	Meru	1	
	Nyahururu	1	
	Muranga	5	
	Thika	1	
	Kiambu	2	
Total Central		10	33.3
Eastern	Kitui	1	
Total Eastern		1	3.3
Nairobi	Nairobi	3	
Total Nairobi		3	10
Total	All provinces	30	100

Source: Field data

As can be seen, most of the graduates were from Central and Western Provinces, making a total contribution of 63.3% of the total respondents. This was closely followed by Nyanza with 23.3% while Nairobi and Eastern provinces made up 13.3%. Though the respondents came from different locations within the country, it is interesting to note that only two of those interviewed actually live out of the area within which the research was conducted. This they attribute to various factors such as not being accepted back in their homes after release from prison and business and job prospects being better in the rural areas.

4.1.7. Number of Offences committed by Ex-convicts

Of the thirty respondents, three had never been charged with committing any crime and their admission to Achor was on the basis that they were people who had been found by concerned individuals (with the knowledge of the work being done by Achor) to be persistent vagrants and truants with one of them having been a street boy.

Table 7: Number of Offences by Age Group and Gender of Ex-convicts

Age	15	- 19	20 -	- 24	25	- 29	30 -	- 34	35 -	- 39	>40)	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	TOTAL
No of Offences													
0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1	0	2		2	1	1	1	2	3	2		1	15
2	0	1	1			1	2			1			6
3	0	0			1				1				2
4	0	0			1		1						2
≥5	0	0			1	-	1						2
TOTAL	0	3	3	2	4	3	5	2	4	3	0	1	30

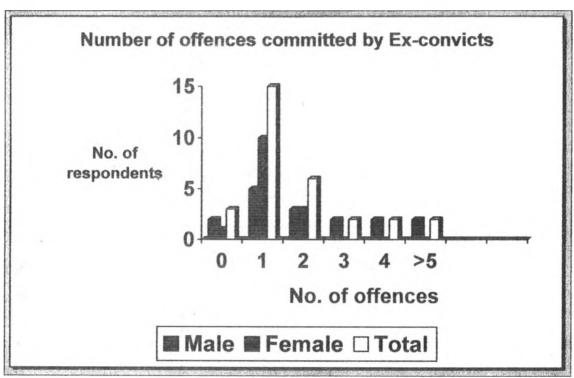
Source: Field data

Those who did not commit an offence were two males in the 20 - 24 age group and one female in the 25 - 29 age group. As can be seen from Table 7, the tendency to commit a

crime also fell between the most prevalent age group of 25 to 39 years. Of the exconvicts who had been imprisoned, 74% fell within the 25 to 39 age bracket. Of these, 65% were male.

Figure 2 below indicates the number of crimes committed by gender.

Fig: 2 Number of Offences committed by Ex-convicts



Source: Field data

Three graduates had not served prison terms or been charged but were admitted to Achor on the basis that they were truants or vagabonds. Of these, two were male and one was female. Ex-convicts who had served time for committing one crime made up 50%. The severest sentence was a thirteen year sentence for robbery with violence and was served by the female ex-convict aged 54 years. In the group of females, 71% had been convicted for one charge and 14% for two charges. Of the males, 31% had been charged for one offence, 19% had been charged for two offences while charges for three, four and over five offences made up 13% respectively. The total number of crimes committed was fifty nine. One male ex-convict had committed six crimes while another had committed twelve

crimes but only been charged for one. The highest number of crimes recorded was by males in the 25-34 age groups, where a total of thirty five offences had been committed. No significant difference was noted in the number of crimes committed and age differential for women as neither had committed more than two crimes.

4.1.8. Reasons for Imprisonment

The total number of crimes committed did not tally with the number of respondents as indicated in Table 8 below. As indicated in Table 7 previously, some ex-convicts had been charged with more than one offence. In all, a total of fifty nine crimes were committed by the ex-convicts.

Table 8: Reasons for Imprisonment

Reasons	Male	Female	Frequency	%
Assault	5	5	10	17
Defrauding	2	1	3	5
Theft	8	2	10	17
Rape	2	0	2	3
Destruction of property	2	0	2	3
Pick-Pocketing	3	0	3	5
Shop lifting	1	0	1	2
Vehicle theft	1	0	1	2
Sale of illicit brews	8	2	10	17
Smoking bhang	5	0	5	10
Prostitution	1	4	5	8
Sale of drugs	3	1	4	7
Arson	1	0	1	2
Manslaughter	1	1	2	3
Total	43	16	59	100

Source: Field Data

Assault, theft and selling of illicit brew together represented 51% of the reasons given for imprisonment with each contributing 17%. Imprisonment due to smoking of bhang followed at 10%, followed by prostitution and sale of illicit drugs at 8% and 7% respectively. Defraud and pick pocketing contributed 5% each while the least recorded reasons were malicious destruction of property, rape, shop lifting, vehicle theft, arson and manslaughter which contributed between 2-3% each.

There was an equal number of both male and female who were imprisoned for assault, contributing 17% of reasons for imprisonment. With the exception of prostitution, the most common offences were committed by males. Smoking of bhang was an exclusively male crime, while out of the five cases of prostitution one was a man while the rest were women. When asked to substantiate, the respondent charged with male prostitution said he had sold his body to willing women for a fee to raise money, though he had never been charged for the offence. Theft and sale of illicit brew were the most highly recorded reasons for imprisonment for males, each contributing 19% of the offences committed by males. In total, assault was the most common reason for imprisonment for women, making up 31.25%, followed by prostitution at 25%. Other reasons for imprisonment were defrauding and pick pocketing at 5% each and rape, murder/manslaughter and destruction of property at 3% each of the total number of offences committed. Arson, theft from a motor vehicle and shoplifting each contributed 2% of the total crimes committed. Other isolated and specific reasons given for imprisonment included robbery without remission, loitering, robbery with violence, operating under the influence of alcohol and being a street boy.

4.1.9. Duration of sentence and period served

The duration of the ex-convicts' sentences was served either in prison or on probation. In two instances, sentences were reduced and the ex-convicts served the rest of their term on probation; while two minors (at the time of the sentence) served their full term at juvenile schools.

Table 9 indicates the duration of time spent serving sentences.

Table 9: Duration of Sentence and period served.

Sentence	Male	Female	Served Full	Period	Sentence
period			duration	Served (%)	Duration (%)
<1 month	5	1	2	6.6	20
1-6mts.	6	2	8	26.6	26.6
7-12mts.	1	6	5	16.6	23.3
13-18	2	1	2	6.6	10
19-24	0	0	0	0	0
≥ 25	2	4	4	13.3	20
Total	16	14	21	69.7	99.8

Source: Field data

As can be noted from Table 9 above, the majority of ex-convicts, 80%, served for a period of within 18months, made up 71% of the females and 87.5% of the males interviewed. The period of less than one month included two male respondents who served two days and one week, respectively, before buying their way out of prison. Both had also indicated that they were in a habit of being regularly arrested and buying their way out of police custody and prison. Other respondents in this category had not served a prison sentence but had been in police custody. Of the six respondents in this category, only one had committed more than one offence.

In the one to six month category, three respondents were charged for one offence, two had been charged for two offences while one respondent each had been charged with 3, 4 and 7 offences, making a total of eight respondents. Seven different offences were noted with the most dominant, being theft and selling illicit brew, each affecting five of the eight respondents. All respondents in this category served their full term of sentence.

The seven to twelve month category had one exceptional case in which the ex-convict had been charged with 12 offences and only served a period of eight months which was

the full sentence. In this category, only two of the seven respondents did not serve their full term. Four respondents were charged for one offence and two respondents charged for two offences. Five of the seven respondents in this category were charged for assault. A similar trend was also noted in the 13-18month category in which two of the three respondents were sentenced for assault. Only one of the respondents did not serve the full term.

Of the six remaining respondents who served a period of over 3 years, two did not complete their full sentence. Unlike the earlier reason of buying their way out of prison, these ex-convicts were released on parole. Three of the respondents were charged for one offence, two for two offences and one for three offences. Four of the six respondents were charged with theft related offences.

4.1.10. Additional sentences served after Achor

One of the research questions addressed was too establish the level of success in the prevention of re-offending at Achor Valley. Table 10 below shows the level of re-offence from the responses given by the graduates of Achor.

Table 10: Re-offences after Achor Valley

Prior term	Additi	onal term	No fur	Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
< 12months	3	3	9	6	21
12-24months	1	0	1	1	3
≥24months	0	0	2	4	6
Total	4	3	12	11	30

Source: Field data

Seven graduates had been further convicted and charged for a crime after their rehabilitation at Achor Valley. Of the re-offenders, four were males and three were females, comprising 26% of respondents interviewed. Of the re-offenders six of them or

86% had initially served for a period of less than a year in prison. Only one graduate had initially served a term exceeding one year in prison. Reasons given for re-offending included, peer pressure, operating under the influence of alcohol, lack of support from family members and poverty owing to their inability to generate adequate income. Though the remaining 74% of Achor graduates had not re-offended, a few respondents had indicated that the spiritual training they had received while at Achor had helped them learn self control and perseverance in times of hardship.

4.1.11. Knowledge of Achor Valley

Graduates learned of the existence of Achor Valley through the following sources of information: -

Table 11: Channel of Introduction to Achor

Source	male	female	Frequency	%
Church	8	3	11	36.6
Friends	8	0	8	26.6
Prison	0	10	10	33.3
Other	0	1	1	3.3
Total	16	14	30	100

Source: Field data

The main channels of introduction to Achor were the church and prison. Of the 37% of respondents who received information from church, 73% were males, while 27% were females. Achor, being a Christian ministry, conducted outreach programmes in Mathare Valley and it was through such activities that ex-convict graduates had been influenced to seek rehabilitation. It is interesting to note that in the category of friends and prison, only one gender featured in each case. A third of the graduates heard of Achor through prison, namely Langata Women's prison where females are incarcerated. Of this group, 40% were introduced to Achor through the prison chaplain, 30% by the Social Welfare Officer and 30% heard of Achor through ex-convicts who had been invited to the prison following their release and rehabilitation. Of the 26.6% males who heard of Achor from their friends, 76% stated that their friends were rehabilitated gang members. Only one

respondent had heard of Achor through the Undugu Society where he had gone to seek employment.

4.1.12 Reasons for Seeking Admission to Achor Valley

Below are the reasons that ex-convicts chose to gain admission at Achor:-

Table 12: Reasons for seeking admission at Achor

Reason given	Frequency	%
Desire to change and improve life	12	40
Seek employment	3	10
To learn a skill	4	13.3
Needed help	8	26.6
Invited	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field data

A recurring reason provided by the 40% of graduates for seeking rehabilitation at Achor was their desire to change their lives. 3 of the 14 respondents in this group said they saw a change in their former prison colleagues and desired the same for themselves. Five respondents said they desired to have a second chance in life and saw Achor as providing this opportunity. The remaining four said they wanted to change and improve their life for the better.

Of the 26.6% who said they needed help, two respondents, both female, had been abandoned by their families and they saw Achor as providing a safe haven and shelter to aid in their situations. The remaining four were destitute and gave that as their reason for stealing and ending up in prison. They believed Achor could aid them by giving them money to improve their lives. Another two respondents categorically stated that their mission to Achor was purely to seek accommodation as they had nowhere to go after their release from prison.

Four graduates joined Achor to learn new skills and improve their lives based on their new found knowledge while three respondents had been invited by the church for rehabilitation. Three respondents had been given the impression that Achor would provide jobs for them and had thus agreed to be admitted on the basis they would get jobs for themselves.

4.1.13. Skills Acquired at Achor Valley

Table 13 indicates skill levels that were acquired by the ex-convicts who graduated from Achor Valley: -

Table 13: Skills acquired at Achor

Skills Learnt	Male	%	Females	%
New skills	12	40	6	20
Updated current skills	4	13.3	8	26.6
Total	16	53.3	14	46.6

Source: Field data

Of the respondents interviewed, 60% had learnt new skills at Achor while 40% continued learning skills they were already familiar with and updated them. The skills learned included carpentry and masonry, dressmaking and tailoring, farming, handicrafts and bible study which were compulsory for all graduates. Three males making up 17% of those who learnt new skills were sponsored to learn skills of their choice, namely Information Technology (IT), and Pastoral studies. One of the graduates went on to complete a degree course at the Egerton University after Achor, and is currently a banker with the Standard Bank. Another later graduated from the Kenya Polytechnic and is an Engineer with a local IT firm. Of the females, only one opted to study for a Secretarial course and is currently employed as a secretary at a firm in Ruiru.

4.1.14 Involvement of Staff in Assisting Ex-convicts

To establish the attitude of ex-convicts towards rehabilitation, the research sought to rate the levels at which staff were involved in assisting the ex-convicts to cope with a change from their deviant behaviour. Table 14 below captures the responses that were given by Achor graduates.

Table 14: Staff Involvement in Assisting the Ex-convicts

Assistance	Frequency	%
Excellent	9	30
Good	9	30
Neutral	7	23.3
Fair	4	13.3
Poor	1	3.3
Total	30	100

Source: Field Data

The level of involvement from the staff of Achor in assisting the ex-convicts varied considerably, with 23.3% of the respondents opting to remain neutral as they said they did not feel the staff had made any significant impact on their rehabilitation, other than have to do their job; namely to train them in their specific areas. The majority of respondents though, (60%) appreciated the support and involvement offered by the staff at Achor with 30% each rating the staff involvement in assisting them as excellent and good. About thirteen percent of the respondents rated the support after Achor as fair while only 3.3% felt the staff support was poor. This particular respondent felt that the reception she had received was hostile.

4.1.15 Quality of Training at Achor

To establish the ex-convicts attitudes and the effects of how their training impacted their rehabilitation back into society, the quality of training offered at Achor was also examined.

Table 15 Quality of Training at Achor

Quality	Frequency	%
Excellent	2	7
Good	15	50
Neutral	7	23
Fair	4	13
Poor	2	7
Total	30	100

Source: Field Data

Only 7% of the respondents rated the quality of training at Achor as excellent based on the new skills they had learned. A similar percentage felt that it was poor, their reason being that they did not learn anything new compared to what they had learned in prison. The majority of graduate ex-convicts agreed that the quality of training at Achor was good as it had helped them re-start their lives on a hopeful note. The 50% who rated the training at Achor as good said they had learnt not only the skills but also how to apply it in their lives; while 13% felt it was fair. However, some 23% of he respondents opted to remain neutral and could therefore not rate the quality of training.

4.1.16 Quality of Support after Graduation

To further rate the ex-convicts attitude towards rehabilitation and reintegration, the research sought to establish how graduates rated the quality and support offered to them following their release from Achor.

Table 16: Quality of Support after Graduation

Quality	Frequency	%	
Excellent	2	6.6	
Good	8	26.6	
Neutral	2	6.6	
Fair	6	20	
Poor	12	40	
Total	30	100	

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Source: Field Data

Some 40% of the respondents, representing 12 of the graduates interviewed, rated the quality of support given to them after graduation as poor; their reason being they were not given any tools or monies to assist them start up a business. The 33.2% who rated the support given after graduation as good and excellent said they were assisted to start up businesses or given support in the form of money or tools upon completion of their stay at Achor. A further 20% rated the quality as fair while only 6.6% remained neutral. The eight respondents who rated the support after graduation as fair and neutral attributed their choice to the fact that they were given little support after graduation. They also felt the support given was not uniform to all ex-convicts but were appreciative of the little that they received. It was noted that the choice of rating was mainly dependant on the material support the graduates had received upon leaving Achor.

4.1.17 Ex-Convicts' Ratings towards Rehabilitation

To establish the attitude of ex-convicts towards rehabilitation and reintegration, the foregoing variables were scaled and a representative percentage calculated as indicated in Table 17below:

Table 17: Ex-convicts' ratings towards rehabilitation

Ratings:	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor	Total
Staff Involvement	9	9	7	4	1	30
Training	2	15	7	4	2	30
Support	2	8	2	6	12	30
TOTAL	13	32	16	14	15	90
Cell Representation	14.4%	35.5%	17.7%	15.5%	16.6%	100%

Source: Field Data

To arrive at the representative percentage, the following formula was used:

Based on the above finding, the attitude of ex-convicts towards rehabilitation and reintegration can be rated as positive at the level of 50%. While the 17.7% opted to remain neutral on the ratings of their attitude towards rehabilitation, 15.5% of the respondents rated as fair their attitude towards rehabilitation. Only 16.6% rated it as poor. The above findings confirm earlier findings on staff involvement, training and support of follow-up received following the ex-convicts admission and graduation from Achor.

4.1.18 Reasons for crediting and discrediting the support and training at Achor

Various reasons were given to discredit and credit the training at Achor. Some reasons put across by the ex-convicts to discredit the quality of training at Achor are indicated in Table 18 below: -

Table 18: Reasons for Crediting and Discrediting Support and Training at Achor

Reason for Crediting Training & Support	Male	Female	Frequency	%
Assisted to start up a business	0	2	· 2	3.4
Make occasional visits	1	1	2	10.3
Assisted in job placement	1	2	3	7.0
Received spiritual and marital help	2	1	3	7.0
Given money to begin my trade	3	2	5	13.8
Sponsored my education and monetary assistance	2	1	3	7.0
Sub Total:	9	9	18	60
Reason for Discrediting Training & Support	Male	Female	Frequency	%
False promise of further training/business start up support	1	1	2	10.3
Lack of follow-up visits to the ex-graduates	2	3	5	20.7
Profits not shared on sale of goods	1	0	1	3.4
No counselling is offered	1	1	2	3.4
Little start up capital	1	0	1	3.4
No trade tools or assistance given on graduation	1	0	1	10.3
Sub Total:	7	5	12	40
TOTAL	16	14	30	100

Source: Field data

In response to the attitude of ex-convicts towards rehabilitation and reintegration, exconvicts were asked to evaluate the training and support they had received at Achor. Though the answers varied, they basically fell into two categories. Of the 60% majority who positively evaluated the training and support, a third of them owed their reason to the fact that they were provided with money to begin their trade of choice. Three respondents supported their evaluation with having been assisted with money and sponsorship to further their education. Two respondents each supported their evaluation with the occasional visits after graduation by Achor staff while a further two based their support with spiritual and material assistance, job placement and in the assistance they had been given to start their current businesses, respectively.

Of the group who negatively evaluated the support following training at Achor, 41.6% gave lack of follow--up visits as their main reason. Their concern was that it is not adequate to just give graduates money on graduation. There was a need to find out how the graduates were fairing in their community settings. This sentiment was supported by two respondents whose main reason to discredit the training and support at Achor was on the lack of individual counselling offered after graduation. A further two respondents were disappointed in that they had been given false hopes of further training and business start up which were never honored. One respondent was not given tools to start up his trade, one complained of very little start up capital being offered and one complained of Achor not sharing out the profits made from the sale of the goods that the ex-convicts had made during their training.

4.1.19. Community Involvement in Activities of Achor

In order to establish the society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts, graduates and Key Informants were asked to rate the community involvement in the activities of Achor Valley. Table 19 shows the ratings of the 40 respondents; thirty ex-convicts and ten key informants.

Table 19: Level of Community Involvement in Achor Activities

Quality	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor	Total
Material Assistance	6	8	8	5	13	40
Awareness creation	9	9	10	8	4	40
Accepting of ex-convicts	10	5	11	14	0	40
Frequency	25	22	29	27	17	120
Cell representation - %	20.8	18.3	24.2	22.5	14.2	100

Source: Field Data

The cell representation ratio was again used to rate the level of involvement of the community. Responses to excellent and good were evaluated as positive while fair and poor were evaluated as negative responses. Over 24% of the respondents opted to remain neutral on their assessment of the community's involvement in the activities of Achor. In their opinion, they were unable to judge what the community involvement or attitude towards Achor and the ex-convicts was. With a response rate of 76%, 52% of the graduates gave positive responses in regard to the level of community support. Of the positive responses, 21% said the community involvement was excellent while 18% felt it was good. According to 23% of the respondents, the community was indifferent to the presence and activities of Achor and evaluated their performance as fair while 14% evaluated the community support as poor. In their opinion, the community did not involve themselves in the centre's activities nor seem aware of the presence of Achor and could not therefore be involved in its activities in any way. However, all respondents agreed that no hostility had been experienced by any of the ex-convicts and as such they rated the community as being accepting of them.

4.2. SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The findings in this chapter indicate that all respondents interviewed were of adult age with the majority of them falling in the 20- 39 age brackets and contributing 87% of those interviewed. An almost equal distribution of gender was observed, comprising sixteen male and fourteen female graduates of Achor Valley. With the exception of one married woman, all female respondents were single; two of them having been separated. Of the males, 62.5% were married and with the exception of three single males in the 20-24 age group, all the rest were above twenty five years of age. The average number of children was one and the while the average number of dependants was two with the most number of children and dependants each being five and the least being none. With the exception of one respondent who had never been to school, all respondents had some form of education, the least being a standard one drop out and the highest being a

university graduate. Males recorded the highest level of education with 77% of them having completed form four.

In addition to the skills taught at Achor, ex-convicts were also given spiritual guidance to assist them reintegrate back into society. The core courses included carpentry and joinery, masonry, dressmaking and tailoring and handicrafts. Ex-convicts who indicated an interest to learn skills not offered at Achor received sponsorship after graduation where possible. Of the skills training offered at Achor, 60% of the respondents reported having learnt new skills. The occupations currently held by the graduates do not necessarily reflect the skills they learnt while at Achor.

A total of fifty-nine offences were committed by ex-graduates through which they gained admission to Achor. With the exception of three offenders, all others had been convicted and charged for the offences they had committed. The crimes committed included assault, theft, selling of illicit brew, smoking of bhang, prostitution, defraud, pick-pocketing and selling of drugs which together contributed to 86% of the charges preferred against the graduates. Other charges included rape, destruction of property, shop lifting, theft from a motor vehicle, arson, murder and manslaughter. Only 70% of the ex-convicts had served their full term of sentence. The remaining 30% had either bought their way out of prison or been released by the parole board.

Of the graduates who had passed through Achor, seven had re- offended and served an additional term in prison. Of these, six had initially served for a period of less than one month in jail while one had served for less than two years. Re-offending charges did not exceed one month in any of the cases reported.

The main channels of reference of ex-convicts to Achor were through the church, prison and friends. Ex-convicts gave their reasons for admission to Achor as stemming from the desire to change and improve their lives, learn new skills and to seek employment. A further 17% said they had been invited or were destitute and in need of help.

The involvement of staff in skills training and individual support of the ex-convicts was also evaluated and 60% of the graduates appreciated the assistance they had received. The quality of the training was rated positively at 57% mainly based on the additional support offered by the staff following graduation in form of money, tools and follow-up visits which had helped them set up their businesses. The researcher learnt that the source of financing the centre is not guaranteed as it relies on goodwill from supporters in the United States. This resulted in the negative evaluation on support offered at Achor being rated at a very high 40% from graduates who had not benefited from material support. They blamed Achor for their failure in benefiting from rehabilitation due to the unfair distribution of resources offered to graduates.

On community involvement in the affairs of Achor, only 40% of the graduates thought the surrounding community was supportive of them as ex-convicts and of the work that Achor was doing. Over 23% of the respondents could not recall any community involvement and chose not to answer the question while 37% thought the community was indifferent and neutral to their existence. None of the respondents thought the community was hostile towards them.

In addressing the research questions, the findings in this chapter indicate that though the level of re-offending of Achor graduates is substantially high at 23% the centre has succeeded in the prevention of re-offending through the 77% who have not re offended and have settled back to live in their communities. Only two ex-convicts are residing in new communities which they attribute to better business prospects being available at their new locations. Those who have settled back into their communities are earning decent livings either through employment or personal businesses within their communities.

On the attitude of ex-convicts towards rehabilitation and reintegration, a positive rating of 50% was given and this was attributed to the staff involvement during and after their stay at Achor and the training and skills they had acquired. The highest single score on the attitude of ex-convicts was good at 35.5%. Other reasons for the positive attitude towards rehabilitation and reintegration included their ability to return to their homes

without anger or bitterness. They attributed this to the spiritual guidance they had received while at Achor. All respondents appreciated the period spent at Achor as a time to contact their families and live in freedom as opposed to the confinement they had experienced in prison. This had led to the support they had received from their families following graduation and the ability to run their businesses without fear. The freedom of living in the community without any discrimination had also given them the confidence to reintegrate into society. This positive attitude is also displayed in the ex-convicts who went on to improve their lives through furthering their education and persisting in their occupations.

On society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts, only 39% of respondents were of the opinion hat their attitude was positive. The society was mainly viewed neutral and indifferent to the activities or presence of ex-convicts in their community as indicated in the highest single score of 24.2% whose rating was neutral. None of the respondents, however, rated the society as hostile. The participation of the community in the activities of Achor, though not substantial is an indication that the societal attitude is acceptable towards rehabilitated ex-convicts. Though only 15% saw society's involvement through the purchase of commodities or seeking casual employment at the centre as signs of a positive attitude, 25% rated society's acceptance of ex-convicts as excellent and thus very positive. The awareness creation indictor addressed referrals and forty five percent of the respondents agreed that this was a positive indicator towards a positive attitude of society. There exists a margin of 2.4% between positive and negative ratings. A lot needs to be done to improve societal attitude as discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE - QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

5.1. Analysis from Key Informant Interviews.

Respondents interviewed comprised both ex-convicts/graduates and key informants. The selection criterion for key informants was primarily their knowledge of Achor Valley Niko Hope House and Mathare and Ruiru divisions, the areas in which Achor operates. Of the ten key informants, six were resident within Ruiru Division. The shortest time of residence recorded was a year, while the longest period was twenty years. The one respondent who had resided in Ruiru the longest had spent more than half his life in the area, and is now serving as the Assistant Chief. Of the remaining four key informants, one was from Mathare Valley and three were from the prisons department. Four of the respondents had an association with Achor from the onset of the project.

Table 20: Demographics of Key Informants

Occupation	Sex	Age	Education	Hse/hold
Administration Police	M	43	Form 4	4
Farmer	М	67	Polytechnic	11
Policeman	M	46	Form 4	6
Welfare Officer	F	53	Diploma	2
Chaplin	F	43	University	4
Pastor	М	44	Diploma	8
Administrator	М	37	Certificate	2
Pastor	М	52	University	5
Welfare Officer	F	50	Certificate	4
student	M	21	Form 4	1

Source: Field data

All respondents interviewed, both ex-convicts and key informants, had families and dependants to take care of in terms of provision of food, shelter, education and health among others. This attribute is an indication that all respondents are conceived to be

responsible adults with cares and concerns exceeding above self and therefore the need to consider the impact that their actions would have on others.

Some of the problems experienced by the residents of the area included their inability to cater for their families and themselves owing to extreme poverty, unemployment, large families, limited avenues for income generation, illiteracy, dry weather conditions making growing of food difficult or too expensive due to lack of proper infrastructure such as roads, electricity, hospitals, schools and other social amenities. The main factors that were associated with the level of crime, not only in the area but the country in general, were a desire to meet the expected standard of living with ease. A high level of unemployment, extreme poverty, a high rate of illiteracy, poor up-bringing of children, a change in lifestyles, jealousy, a high level of consumption of drugs and alcohol, low financial status, bitterness and anger among the less fortunate members of society were also seen as having contributed to crime in the area. In the absence of a legal avenue, resorting to steal in order to meet the family needs is gaining while in slum areas and among the youth, gang influence and peer pressure contribute to rising levels in crime. Two key informants attributed the rise in crime to vices such as theft and brewing of illicit liquor which the youth had learnt from their parents.

The seriousness of crime in the area was seen as fairly petty and this was mainly attributed to the sale and consumption of illicit brews and lack of food resulting in petty theft offences. Occasional shoot-outs between armed thugs and the police were some of the major indicators of crimes in the area. A few reported crimes of theft of motor vehicles with occasional cases of robbery with violence were mentioned. Land in Ruiru is cheap; and, owing to its proximity to Nairobi, the population is quickly growing as people move to the area. There was therefore a general feeling that most of the criminal offences are carried out mainly by new residents coming to live in the area as most old residents knew each other and live within a community set-up. It was also believed that the existing problems associated with crime in the area were as a result of new comers in the area and not caused by the ex-convicts

5.2 Success of Achor Valley Niko Hope House in Preventing Re-Offending

Achor Valley Ministries begun operating in Kenya in 1994 initially as an outreach project aimed at rehabilitating people involved in criminal activities, drug abusers and prisoners through the African Inland Church in Area 4B of Mathare Valley. A residential home for twelve young men was started in 1995 in Area One of Mathare and 1996, and in 1998 a similar home for women began in Kariobangi North. The current site in Ruiru is set on a three-acre piece of land to which Achor moved in 2000. Achor's operational expenses have been sourced from the founder's pension and her mother church and support groups in the United States of America.

Since Achor's inception, it has produced 56 graduates, several of whom are church leaders, while others are in small business. Four graduates have obtained higher education, one from the University and one is currently attending the Kenya Polytechnic. A school for single mothers and their children was established to help women in crisis and of these, seven young boys and girls attend high school and eighteen younger children are in the nursery and pre-unit section which has been started within the project. Carpentry, tailoring, handicraft and Bible studies are a daily activity of the residents as they are trained and prepared for the future. Achor has opened its doors not only to exconvicts but to people, especially women, in crisis. According to her, some people have never been to prison but they still suffer. She prefers to work with ex-convicts though as she feels they are more open and willing to change their circumstances. She also feels that a spiritual background is necessary to anchor oneself and that those ex-convicts with a spiritual background or support did not return to crime. According to her, capital and material assistance do not provide hope but rather, a spiritual foundation keeps graduates focused.

All key informants agreed that Achor provided a substantial benefit to ex-convicts and is an effective institution catering for their rehabilitation. The success of Achor can also be attributed to the range of occupations that most of the ex-convicts are engaged in. These occupations include tailoring, a range of micro enterprise initiatives, counselling, farming, catering, banking and house keeping among others a result of the training and skills developed and acquired during their stay d at Achor. Of the thirty ex-convict graduates, only one is not in employment. All key informants agreed that the majority of ex-convicts who had graduated from Achor had come out better than they had been before as evidenced by those known to be residing in Ruiru and Mathare who now operate businesses in their areas of residence.

Achor is seen as playing a major role in crime reduction as indicated by the respondents who also agreed that the ex-convicts had shown a great deal of improvement in their behavior as seen in their communities. This has been made possible due to the fact that the centre ensures that graduates do not fall back into their previous behaviors by supporting them both spiritually and when possible materially through the provision of money, tools, or casual jobs when these are available. It also assists women and children in crisis, providing an opportunity for them to work and improve their lives while at the same time providing an opportunity to educate their children. Though resources are minimal, Achor is viewed as not only offering training to the graduates but also being responsive to family problems. However, only one respondent, a resident of Ruiru, believed that Achor had played a small role in crime reduction, due to lack of awareness of its existence.

Key informants also rated the success of Achor in preventing re-offending through the variety of services and support it offers the community. These services also formed part of the reasons that make ex-convicts and people in crisis seek assistance at Achor. Many of the ex-convicts (47%) went to Achor with the desire to change their bad habits; by seeking ways to improve their lives. Others went to Achor in the hope of gaining employment opportunities, education, acquiring new skills, securing assistance for their children. Others agreed to be admitted to the centre simply for fear of being caught and returning to prison for another offence. Ultimately, whether by choice or invitation, all were seeking a change in their lives and circumstances for the better.

5.3 Ex-convicts' attitude toward reintegration following rehabilitation

The ex-convicts generally expressed a positive attitude and perception towards post-prison rehabilitation. This attitude arose from the fact that they considered their stay at Achor as the major reason for the change in their lives and in their ability to be seen as responsible members of society. Seventeen of the ex-convict graduates (or 57%) credited as positive, the quality of training provided at Achor. Of these, nine were male and seven were female ranging in age from eighteen to thirty seven years. While no significant factor was observed in the age of these respondents, it should be noted that the youngest age group comprising females admitted to Achor (3 in the 15- 19 age group) credited their stay. Of the 17 who credited their training at Achor, 9 had a primary school level of education, six of them being female; while of the eight who had a secondary level of education, six were male.

Besides the quality of training provided and the attention paid by the staff to ex-convicts to ensure they did not feel discriminated against during their stay, attention to their spiritual well- being through daily bible study was also seen as positively contributing to their gaining self confidence especially following their discharge from Achor. Additional support included access to employment opportunities, capital to start up businesses, business counselling, education for their children, material assistance and, to some extent, the ready accommodation they had received following their release from prison. Though they put it differently, 72% of those who credited Achor for their positive integration back into society concentrated their reason on the monetary gain they had received following graduation. Twenty eight percent gave reasons based on the physical presence of Achor staff during outreach visits. Graduates who wished to pursue a different career were assisted to do so while those who indicated an interest were assisted to start up their businesses.

Nine out of the ten key informants interviewed believed that the graduates had changed considerably in that they had been equipped with knowledge on business and personal principles. Two of the key informants noted that a few ex-convicts expected too much

from Achor, especially with the knowledge that it is run by a 'mzungu' (foreigner), and as such they were wont to blame any failure or disappointment in their lives on Achor. They saw the re-offending rate as low especially due to the nature of the petty offences the re-offenders had been charged with. This was also blamed on the few staff at Achor being unable to provide the necessary guidance and counselling services to ex-convicts

5.4 Society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts

Two crucial aspect of society were addressed when considering this research question, namely the nucleus family and the society in general with particular reference to the community in which the ex-convicts live. As influential members of the community, key informants played a crucial part in educating the researcher on the community's attitude towards the rehabilitated ex-convicts. This was based on the interaction they have within the community and in their areas of association in regard to the church and prison officials.

At the family level, Achor was seen as having enabled families to come to terms with difficult situations and provided a sense of pride for the ex-convicts. The result of rehabilitation on ex-convicts was also viewed as a source of genuine hope for their families as their training and skills would result in raising the standard of living through improved family life. With new and improved skills, aggressive graduates can be able to offer training and employment opportunities to family members and society at large. Families were also seen as being instrumental in referring people with deviant tendencies to Achor by using their children as reference points regarding the changes that rehabilitation and reintegration can achieve.

Of the ten key informants who were interviewed, only one doubted that the community was positive towards ex-convicts in view of the fact that not many members of society are aware of the activities conducted at Achor, and because any knowledge of the presence of ex-convicts in their midst would instill fear in the community. He did feel,

though, that given the right approach and awareness-training, they would change their attitude and subsequent fears they may harbor. The remaining 90% felt that those who are aware of the activities at Achor see it as a project which helps produce positive change in ex-convicts. They praised the efforts being made by Achor on graduates as it not only creates a behavioral change among the ex-convicts but their stay had also influenced them positively in seeking ways to improve their overall welfare. Most of the ex-convicts had recognized the fact that being at Achor had helped them to keep focused, grow in confidence and ensured security for a lifetime through support offered in the form of essential equipment, ideas, funds and skills to improve their lives. This assistance renewed a sense of hope and self recognition among the ex-convicts within the community and all key informants supported this change. However, even though some Achor graduates had been employed at one time or other by Achor, a few were still dependant on the assistance given. Most of the ex-convicts had also come out more resourceful and ready not only to mend their lives but also equipped with the ability and desire to help other victims in similar circumstances as they had been in previously.

As in the family situation, members of the community who are aware of the activities at Achor use it as a referral point when dealing with those in need of such assistance. According to the key informants resident in Ruiru, most members of the community no longer felt insecure. Achor graduates are no longer considered the dangerous members of society that they were previously believed to be, but are instead seen to have a high level of discipline. They were aware, though, that there exist a few members of society who are still uncertain if the graduates have indeed undergone a character transformation. Through awareness of the activities of Achor, the surrounding community occasionally counsels those within their society who have social problems related to those addressed at Achor.

According to the Assistant Chief of Ruiru, the community perceives Achor positively as they consider it a helpful institution, not only as a referral point for deviants but also for residents in need of such assistance as casual jobs, especially during harvest periods. Other reasons for the positive perception within the community were that the few Achor

graduates residing in the area had become better members of society as they had acquired sound spiritual and emotional guidance, had received a means to improve livelihoods, financial support to start up businesses and hands-on skills and training opportunities. During the many visits to the area, the researcher established that the Ruiru community is aware of the existence of Achor though it is not certain about the kind of institution it is. A few view it as a place where prostitutes are rehabilitated, others as a school, others as a drug rehabilitation centre and still others as a place of help, though they were not specific as to the particular type of help. Resident key informers noted that the level of crime in the area had decreased considerably since the time Achor was established in the area, and this was attributed to the work they carry out in the community through their outreach programmes.

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5.5 Conclusion

Achor's level of success in preventing re-offending by ex-convicts is high. Achor's efforts in assisting and correcting what are perceived as bad elements in society by providing support to them in the form of training, funds and materials is commendable. The assistance provided by the centre is to enable the graduates to be self reliant, thus minimizing cases of crime in the area, and has a success rate of 90% based on the respondents interviewed. It is noteworthy that the majority of respondents hailed Achor for its coverage of subjects, which was seen as being better than the approach offered in prison and therefore crucial to the rehabilitation of petty offenders.

The ex-convicts' attitude toward reintegration following rehabilitation was also seen as positive due to the varied services and support graduates had received. Through the training they underwent at Achor, ex-convicts have been enabled to become responsible citizens armed with hope and skills essential to securing their livelihoods leaving little time, if any, to indulge in criminal activities. The society's attitude towards rehabilitated of ex-convicts was also encouraging in that members of the community no longer felt

insecure in the presence of ex-convicts. Achor graduates were not longer considered dangerous due to the fact that they had acquired a high level of discipline while at Achor.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section provides a summary of the key findings obtained during an evaluation of the rehabilitation and reintegration programme conducted at Achor Valley Niko Hope House, situated in Ruiru, Kenya. The conclusions that have been drawn from the findings explain the current position in the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-convicts from Achor Valley. In this chapter, relevant recommendations are also made based on the conclusions, to provide strategies for improving the work being done at Achor Valley. This chapter is further split into two sub headings, namely policy recommendations and areas for further research.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The evaluation study findings showed that the ex-convicts were not discriminated by age or sex and these were therefore not considered as factors which influenced criminal tendencies. The majority of ex-convict fell in the 25-39 age brackets and of these, 62% were male. With the exception of 6 ex-convicts who had no children or dependents, all respondents were responsible to another human being, either as a child, dependant or both.

With the exception of one respondent, all had gone to school. Sixteen percent of the respondents had gone through primary school, 67% of them having reached at least standard seven. Sixty-three percent of those who had attended primary school were female, while 77% of those who had attended secondary school were male. Fifty percent of them had reached Form 4. Generally, a high level of education had been achieved by this group of respondents.

Males were seen as having committed more crimes than females. The tendency to commit a crime fell within the 25-39 age brackets in males but no significant trend was observed in females. The most common reasons for imprisonment in order of magnitude were assault, theft, selling of illicit brew, smoking bhang and the sale of drugs. Male-

dominated crimes were theft and sale of illicit brew, while female-dominated crimes were assault and prostitution.

Cases of re-offending were almost equally distributed between the sexes, with 4 males and 3 females. Of the re-offenders, only one had served an initial sentence of over 12 months. The main channel through which ex-convicts were introduced to Achor was the church, which accounted for 37% of the ex-convicts admitted. This was then followed by the prisons, from where those referred were only women; followed by friends, from whom those referred were men only. Each of these referral sources contributed 33% and 27% respectively. Only one respondent (3%) was referred to by a different source.

Fourteen ex-convicts gave their reasons for coming to Achor as arising from a desire to change their lives. Eight said they needed help either in form of accommodation or arising from abandonment. Four ex-convicts wanted to learn new skills while three each sought employment and were invited respectively. Of the thirty respondents, 40% male and 20% female learnt new skills while 13.3% male and 26.6% female continued with the skills they had learnt in prison. Some of this group said they upgraded their skills while others, (60%) indicated they had been offered no other option to choose from.

Fifty percent of the respondents appreciated the involvement of the staff in training them and the support they received following graduation. Seventeen percent on the other hand were dissatisfied with the training and support and rated it as poor attributing it to the lack of individual attention and detail, while twenty three percent chose to remain neutral. They were not sure whether the staff involvement in training and support was good or bad. In all, forty percent of the graduates had reasons to discredit the training given following rehabilitation. Fifty-eight percent of the reasons were based on the lack of physical and spiritual guidance such as no counselling being offered to ex-convicts and no follow up visits following graduation. Other reasons included false promises of further training and no support in their businesses; inadequate follow-up visits by staff to the exgraduates, unreceptive members of staff, extortion by the rehabilitation centre, through

not sharing profits from products made by the ex-convicts, very low wages for those employed after training and lack of tools to support trades acquired particularly at graduation. Lack of proper counselling and constant follow-up was also given as a reason why some graduates would be lured back into previous crime.

A completely different trend was observed when respondents were asked to rate the quality of support after graduation. Sixty percent rated it as poor or fair and this was mainly attributed to little or no follow up and lack of adequate incentives in the form of money or tools to help them start out their new lives. Only thirty-three percent of exconvicts rated the support following graduation as good while 6.6% opted to remain neutral. An interesting observation in the 20 - 24 age groups, though only comprising 5 respondents, the two females discredited the training while the three males credited the training and support offered at Achor.

On the level of community involvement in the activities of Achor, only seventy seven percent of the ex-convict graduates responded. Forty percent of the respondents chose to remain neutral citing uncertainty on whether the community was involved. Twenty-three percent thought the community was indifferent and the remaining thirty-seven percent felt that the community was supportive. They attributed their reasons to the support shown through the purchase of some of their handicrafts and wares and the lack of hostility shown towards the ex-convicts.

6.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, this section highlights the extent to which the research questions were answered, based on the findings of the research; and the changes that can be adopted to improve the status quo at Achor.

The level of success at Achor in preventing re-offending, based on the evaluation conducted, is currently high, at 77%. This is evident from the fact that of the thirty graduates who were interviewed, only seven had re-offended and been charged with petty

offences. A gap still exists in the effectiveness of Achor to prevent re-offending as most Achor graduates had initially been charged with petty offences, and 23% remains a high figure when the aim of the project is that of correction. The aim of a Halfway House is to fully integrate ex-convicts back into society with a minimal recurrence to re-offend.

While commending Achor for the effort it continues to make in assisting and correcting what is perceived to be bad elements in society and in providing support in form of training, funds and materials, one must address the issue of its sustenance in the future. Currently, the assistance provided by the centre is to enable the graduates be self reliant, thus minimizing the cases of crime in the area. It is noteworthy that both ex-convict and key informant respondents hailed Achor for its coverage of subjects. These were seen as being better than in prison where ex-convicts were not taught ways to apply the skills taught; a requirement crucial to their effective rehabilitation. It can be therefore concluded that Achor has been significantly successful in preventing re-offending, which currently stands at 27%.

The ex-convicts' attitude toward reintegration following rehabilitation was also seen as positive due to the range of training and support which they had received from Achor. Through the training they underwent, 97% of the graduates have occupations they are practicing and making efforts to become self reliant in. Through Achor, they have been enabled to become responsible citizens armed with hope and skills essential to securing their livelihoods without indulging in criminal activities. It can therefore be concluded that the attitude of the ex-convicts following rehabilitation is positive. This is further indicated by the fact that twenty-nine out of thirty respondents are gainfully employed and striving to make a decent living for themselves and their families within their communities.

The society's attitude towards rehabilitated ex-convicts is positive in that Achor graduates are no longer perceived as dangerous. They are seen to have acquired a high level of discipline and self- confidence while at Achor. Members of the community who are aware of the activities at Achor use their knowledge to refer persons in need to the

centre. This is seen in the 66.5% referral level linked to the church, friends and Undugu Society; the high level of community involvement reported by the key informants and the thirty-seven percent of ex-convicts who said the community had been supportive of them during their stay at Achor.

While the overall picture may seem acceptable, there is need to improve the quality of training at Achor, especially in the area of guidance and counselling. Achor also needs to establish ways of achieving self- reliance from the land it owns as a way of generating income. This would enable it to admit more cases than the maximum of twelve currently being admitted. It would also enable the future ex-convicts avoid the sense of favoritism as was expressed by the graduates who were unable to receive monetary or material assistance due to lack of funds. It was interesting to note that a few of the re-offenders had expressed disappointment at having gone through Achor and blamed their failure on the institution. With adequate support staff, Achor would also be in a position to create better awareness of its activities through an expanded outreach programme. Currently, the outreach activities are centred around and within the African Inland Church in Mathare area 4A.

6.3 Policy Recommendations

From the findings and the conclusions drawn from this study, the following recommendations can be made in relation to the rehabilitation and reintegration of exconvicts:-

From the findings of the study, only a few ex-convicts had sought rehabilitation following their incarceration and this mainly out of the prison environment. The low rate of recidivism following rehabilitation is an indication that rehabilitation has a high success rate given the right parameters. Adequate training for prison staff, especially in male prisons, should be given to make them aware of the existence of Achor and similar institutions, thus making prisons referral points.

Personalized counselling should be provided to each ex-convict to address individual needs and expectations and prepare them for what to expect both in and outside of Achor. Lack of proper counselling has led to low levels of self-esteem and the possibility of recidivism. Achor staff should be trained in counselling, with particular reference to psychological counselling, to adequately address the ex-convicts' individual needs.

Dissatisfaction in graduates on release from Achor has arisen through the centre's lack of adequate financial backing. Income generating projects, such as use of the vacant land for farming and making items for sale, could be adopted to raise income levels for the centre and make it self reliant. This would also make funds available to the ex-convicts and the surrounding community in crisis situations.

The Government of Kenya should assist Achor in its activities through the provision of staff and funding. Similar projects should also be constructed in other parts of the country, especially in growing urban areas to help reduce the incidence and repeat of criminal activities.

With the building of Half Way Houses, a policy should be drawn such that offenders charged with sentences of between 6 and 12 months are admitted to Half Way Houses for correction. Those serving lesser sentences should serve under the current Community Service Order.

Outreach projects should be arranged in collaboration with the administration of Ruiru division to create community awareness. This would erase any doubts they have about the activities conducted at Achor. Community outreach programmes currently being held by the Government and various NGO's should include crime in their curriculum and act as reference points to Half Way Houses. Funding should also be made available for the running of such institutions to help in the reduction of criminal activities.

Compulsory training in skills development should be made available to all Form 4 dropouts in institutions such as the National Youth Service. The Private Sector can make contributions to a revolving fund to purchase relevant tools to assist graduates start their own businesses.

6.4 Areas for further research

A comprehensive study on the effect of Post-Prison Rehabilitation should be made and forwarded to the Government of Kenya and the private sector to solicit support in the running and building of such centers. This would not only assist in the in reduction of overcrowding in the country's prisons, but also contribute to the reduction of incidences of crime.

The effectiveness of privately run prisons and half-way houses as business enterprises should be researched to establish their viability in reducing congestion in already existing Kenyan prisons. Even though the institutions would be operated as profit making organizations, their main objective would be that of rehabilitating offenders.

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APPENDIX I

OUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

SE	CTI	ON A:
	1.	NAME (OPTIONAL)
	2.	SEX: MALEFEMALE
	3.	AGE:
	4.	MARITAL STATUS
		EDUCATION BACKGROUND
		OCCUPATION
	7.	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD
SE	CTI	ON B:
	8.	How long have you been a resident in Ruiru Township?
	9.	Generally what are the problems facing people in this area
	10.	Why do you think people resort to crime?
	11.	Comment on the seriousness/magnitude of crime in this area
	12.	What in your opinion are some of the factors forcing people into
	13.	Do you think the presence of Achor Valley Hope House has helped to reduce?
	14.	What is the community's perception of the presence of Achor Hope House?
	15.	Do you think graduates have benefited from having been admitted at Achor Hope House?
	16	. If yes, how?
		. If no, why?
	18	. Comment on the consequences of post prison rehabilitation on:

i)	Graduates			of	Ach	or			Hope
	House				 			_	
ii)	Their								
	families								
iii)	The								
	Community				 				
		_			 				
	Please								
	ed								
	What other								
Reha	bilitation	*	and/or			Acho	r		Норе
Hous	e?				 				

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX II

OUESTIONNAIRE

(For ex-convicts, current and previous of Achor Niko Hope House)

on the effectiveness of Achor Hope House in rehabilitating ex prisoners into the community and be grateful for your assistance. The information you give me will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and your co-operation be highly appreciated. Please answer the following questions by giving the necessary details in the sprovided. SECTION A Personal Information Name	study
The information you give me will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and your co-operation be highly appreciated. Please answer the following questions by giving the necessary details in the sprovided. SECTION A Personal Information Name	would
be highly appreciated. Please answer the following questions by giving the necessary details in the sprovided. SECTION A Personal Information Name	
Please answer the following questions by giving the necessary details in the sprovided. SECTION A Personal Information Name	on will
provided. SECTION A Personal Information 1) Name	
SECTION A Personal Information 1) Name	paces
Personal Information 1) Name	
1) Name	
2) Age	
3) Marital Status	
4) Number of children (if any)	
5) Number of dependants	
6) Level of Education	
7) Other qualifications	
8) Occupation	
9) Home district	
10) What were you imprisoned for: Assault [] Defrauding [] Theft [] Rap	e []
Destruction of property [] Pick pocketing [] Shoplifting [] Theft from	Motor
Vehicle [] selling Illicit brew [] Smoking bhang [] Prostitution [] Selling	
illegally [] Arson [] Murder [] Other []	
what	
11) How long was your sentence?	
12) What period did you serve for?	

13) Have you served a further sentence since graduation? Yes [] No [] If yes, for
what and how long was your sentence?
SECTION B
Effectiveness of Achor Hope House
14) How did you hear about Achor Hope House?
15) What made you decide to come here?
16) How long have you been at Achor Hope House?
17) What new skills have you acquired?
Please tick the appropriate box:
18) How involved is the staff in assisting you: 1. Excellent [] 2. Good [] 3. Neutral
[] 4. Fair [] 5. Poor []
19) The training at Achor Hope House is:
1. Excellent [] 2. Good [] 3. Neutral 4. Fair [] 5. Poor []
20) The support shown for after graduation is:
1. Excellent [] 2. Good [] 3. Neutral [] 4. Fair [] 5. Poor []
Please
explain
21) Is the community involved in the activities of Achor Hope House? Yes [] No []
22) How would you rate the involvement? Excellent [] Good [] Neutral []
Fair [] Poor []

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME!