

**THE IMPACT OF THE REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES OF
THE NSAWAM PRISONS ON ITS INMATES**

BY

MICHAEL HAGAN

(10201412)



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF
PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY**

JULY, 2013

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research work, carried out in the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, under the supervision of Prof. Chris Abotchie and Dr. Dan-Bright Dzorgbo. All references cited in this work have been duly acknowledged.

CANDIDATE



SUPERVISORS

.....
Prof. Chris Abotchie

.....
Dr. Dan-Bright Dzorgbo

Date.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

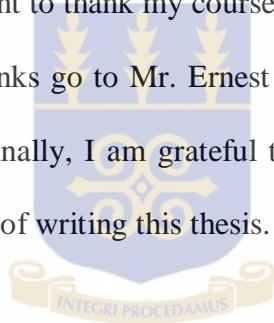
I dedicate this work to God Almighty and my dear parents, Mr. James Hagan and Grace Dadzie as well as my dear siblings, Comfort and Emmanuel. Finally, this work is dedicated to my late sister, Mercy Hagan.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My profound gratitude goes to God Almighty for the breath of life, strength and encouragement granted me during the whole period of my post graduate education. My supervisors, Prof. Chris Abotchie and Dr. Dan-Bright Dzorgbo, have been of immense and immeasurable help to me. My sincere thanks go to them for their guidance, advice and supervision of this work.

The family of the Hagens cannot be left out. I am indeed grateful to my entire family, especially my parents, for supporting me in diverse ways and in seeing to it that this thesis materializes. I also want to thank my course mates for being there for me when I needed their help. Many thanks go to Mr. Ernest Afrifa-Anane and Mr. Eric Boateng for their advice and help. Finally, I am grateful to all who, in one way or the other, helped me along my journey of writing this thesis.



ABSTRACT

There have been debates about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes worldwide. While some studies have asserted that prison rehabilitation programmes are effective in reducing recidivism, others have argued that treatment programmes are not able to decrease the rate of re-offending. This study situated the debate in Ghana by exploring the various vocational and educational programmes of the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons and the impact of these programmes on the inmates who enrolled in them. Ten (10) key officials knowledgeable in the various rehabilitation programmes were interviewed while 134 inmates who were recidivists were covered in the study. The study revealed that vocational and educational programmes were the main rehabilitation programmes in the Nsawam Prisons. The study further revealed that an ex-convict's standard of living is not dependent on the participation of a vocational training programme while in prison. Additionally, it was revealed that ex-convicts' acquisition of jobs in the wider society upon discharge is not influenced by the type of rehabilitation programmes that they enrolled in. Further, it was evident that there is an association between participating in a rehabilitation programme and the chances of committing economic crimes upon discharge. Based on the findings, it is recommended that more competitive vocational programmes must be introduced in order to make inmates more marketable so that they will earn more income from their vocations. The law forbidding ex-convicts from being employed in public institutions should be reviewed. The public education on the need to accept ex-convicts should be continued. This will ensure that ex-convicts are not stigmatized.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Title	Page
DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENT	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
THE PROBLEM AND PERSPECTIVES	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Definition of the problem.....	6
1.3 Significance of the study.....	8
1.4 Research Aim and Objectives	9
1.5 Research questions.....	9
1.6 Theoretical Framework	10
1.6.1 Social Control Theory	10
1.6.2 Labeling Theory	13
1.7 Research Design	14
1.8 Research Methods.....	15
1.8.1 Introduction.....	15
1.8.2 Study Area	15
1.8.3 Population and Sampling Procedure	16

1.8.4 Data Collection.....	17
1.9 Validity.....	18
1.10 Analytic approach.....	18
1.11 Ethical and Legal Issues.....	19
1.12 Definition of Key Concepts.....	19
1.13 Limitation of the study.....	20
1.14 Organization of the study.....	21
CHAPTER TWO.....	22
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	22
2.1 Introduction.....	22
2.2 The debate.....	23
2.3 Education and recidivism.....	29
2.4 Employment, Vocational Training and Recidivism.....	34
2.5 Effective treatment programmes versus Ineffective treatment programmes.....	38
2.6 Inmates' Participation in rehabilitation programmes.....	40
2.7 Conclusion.....	41
CHAPTER THREE.....	43
ANALYSIS OF DATA ON REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES OF THE NSAWAM PRISONS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....	43
3.1 Introduction.....	43
3.2 Vocational Training Programmes.....	43
3.2.1 History of the Vocational training in the Nsawam Prisons.....	43
3.2.2 Purpose for establishing vocational training.....	46
3.2.3 Duration of vocational programmes.....	47
3.2.3.1 Training Days.....	47
3.2.3.2 Entire vocational programme.....	47

3.2.4 Enrollment in vocational training programmes.....	48
3.2.5 Motivation for Trades Participants.....	52
3.2.6 Instructors	53
3.2.7 Funding	55
3.2.8 Products and Services of the various trades or vocation	55
3.2.9 Success stories.....	57
3.2.10 Economic Support for participants upon discharge.....	58
3.2.11 Certificates	60
3.2.12 Challenges of the vocational training programme	60
3.3 Prison Educational Programmes	62
3.3.1 History of the Educational programmes	62
3.3.2 Purpose for establishing educational programmes	65
3.3.3 Duration of educational programmes	66
3.3.3.1 Schooling Days	66
3.3.3.2 Entire educational programme.....	67
3.3.4 Enrollment.....	67
3.3.5 Curriculum	69
3.3.6 Examinations.....	69
3.3.7 Motivation for inmate-students	69
3.3.8 Instructors or Teachers	71
3.3.9 Funding	72
3.3.10 Challenges of the educational programme.....	72
3.4 Conclusion.....	76
CHAPTER FOUR	77
ANALYSIS OF DATA ON THE IMPACT OF REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES ON RECDIVISTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....	77

4.1 Introduction	77
4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents.....	77
4.2.1. Age of respondents	77
4.2.2 Sex of Respondents	78
4.2.3. Religion of respondents	79
4.2.4. Educational background of recidivists.....	80
4.2.5. Nationality of recidivists.....	81
4.2.6. Marital status of recidivists	81
4.2.7. Employment status of recidivists before arrest	82
4.2.8. Conviction and occupation of recidivists.....	83
4.2.9. Length of current sentence	85
4.2.10. Part of sentence served	86
4.3. Completion of vocational training and standard of living.....	86
4.3.1 Enrollment in vocational programme	86
4.3.2. Type of vocational training	87
4.3.3. Completion of vocational training.....	88
4.3.4 Reasons for incompleteness of training	89
4.3.5. Duration for completion.....	90
4.3.6. Number of recidivists who faced challenges during enrollment.....	90
4.3.7. Challenges faced by recidivists during enrollment	91
4.3.8. Helpful factors during enrollment in vocational training	92
4.3.9 Importance of vocational training programmes to inmates	93
4.3.10. Employment after discharge	93
4.3.11 Jobs obtained by recidivists after discharge.....	94
4.3.12 Income received by recidivists.....	95

4.3.13 Savings in a month	96
4.3.14. Amount spent on utilities	97
4.3.15. Recidivists' self-description of standard of living	98
4.3.16 Recidivists' satisfaction with standard of living	99
4.3.17 Comparative impacts of participation and non-participation in rehabilitation programmes on the recidivists' standard of living.....	100
4.4. Enrollment in Prison Educational Programme and Ability to Get Jobs	102
4.4.1 Enrollment in prison educational programme.....	102
4.4.2 Reasons for non-enrollment in educational programme.....	102
4.4.3 Type of Educational programme	102
4.4.4 Ability to complete educational programme.....	103
4.4.5 Reasons for non-completion of educational programme.....	104
4.4.6 Preference of Educational Programme to vocational programme	105
4.4.7 Reasons for preferring education to vocation	105
4.4.8 Reasons for preferring vocational training programmes to education	106
4.4.9 Application for job after enrollment in educational programme	106
4.4.10 Refusal of job application	106
4.4.11 Reasons for refusal of job application	107
4.4.12 Ability to get a job after discharge	107
4.4.13 Kind of jobs acquired after enrolling in educational programmes.....	108
4.4.14 Stability of job	109
4.4.15 Type of rehabilitation programmed enrolled and acquisition of jobs after discharge.....	109
4.5 Completion of rehabilitation programmes and rate of offending	111
4.5.1 Overall enrollment in rehabilitation programmes	111

4.5.2 Comparative impacts of participation and non-participation in rehabilitation programme during previous incarceration on crimes committed	112
4.5.3 Ability to complete rehabilitation programme	114
4.5.4 Non-completion of rehabilitation programme	115
4.6. Social rejection and recidivism.....	115
4.6.1 Feeling of recidivists after discharge.....	115
4.6.2 Frequency of visit in a month during previous incarceration	116
4.6.3 Most frequent visitors	117
4.6.4 Challenges after discharged	117
4.6.5 Kind of challenges faced after discharge	117
4.6.6. Educational background and challenges.....	118
4.6.7 Attitude of family towards recidivists	120
4.6.8 Reaction of recidivists towards family's attitude	121
4.6.9 Attitude of friends towards recidivists.....	121
4.6.10 Reaction of recidivist towards friends' attitude	122
4.6.11 Recidivists' view on fair treatment.....	123
4.6.12 Reasons for asserting unfair treatment	124
4.6.13 Denial of privileges	124
4.6.14 Privileges denied	125
4.6.15 General experience after discharge	125
4.7 Conclusion.....	127
CHAPTER FIVE.....	128
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	128
5.1 Introduction	128
5.2 Summary of the study and main findings.....	128

5.3 Conclusions	133
5.4 Recommendations.....	134
Bibliography.....	138
APPENDIX A	145
QUESTIONNAIRE	145
APPENDIX B.....	154
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES	154
APPENDIX C.....	156
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES	156

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
Table 3.1 Enrollment level of females in the various vocations.....	48
Table 3.2: Enrollment level of males in the various vocations.....	49
Table 3.3: Number of vocational skills instructors in the female prison.....	52
Table 3.4: Number of vocational programme instructors in the male prison.....	53
Table 3.5: Enrollment of male and female prisoners.....	67
Table 3.6: Number of instructors or teachers for the female prison.....	70
Table 3.7: Number of instructors for the male prison education.....	70
Table 4.1: Age distribution of respondents.....	76
Table 4.2: Religion of respondents.....	78
Table 4.3: Educational background of recidivists.....	79
Table 4.4: Nationality of recidivists.....	80
Table 4.5: Marital status of recidivists.....	81
Table 4.6: Employment status of recidivists before arrest.....	82
Table 4.7: Conviction and occupation of recidivists.....	83
Table 4.8: Length of sentence.....	84
Table: 4.9: Recidivists' enrollment in vocational training programme.....	85
Table 4.10: Various vocations enrolled in by recidivists.....	87
Table 4.11: Ability to complete vocational programme.....	88
Table 4.12: Kinds of jobs obtained by vocational trainees after discharge.....	93
Table 4.13: Savings of recidivists in a month.....	95
Table 4.14: Amount spent on utilities.....	96

Table 4.15: Participation in rehabilitation programme and standard of living	99
Table 4.16: Educational programmes.....	102
Table 4.17: Completion of educational programme.....	103
Table 4.18: Reasons for refusing application.....	106
Table 4.19: Jobs obtained by recidivist after discharge.....	107
Table 4.20: Type of rehabilitation programmed enrolled in ability to get jobs after discharge	109
Table 4.21: Overall enrollment in rehabilitation programmes.....	110
Table 4.22: Participation in rehabilitation programme and type of crime re-committed	112
Table 4.23: Over all completion rate of rehabilitation programmes.....	113
Table 4.24: Educational background and challenges of recidivists.....	118
Table 4.25: Families' attitude towards recidivists.....	119
Table 4.26: Recidivists reaction towards family.....	120
Table 4.27: Friends' attitude towards recidivists.....	121
Table 4.28: Recidivists' reaction towards friends' attitude.....	122
Table 4.29: Reasons for asserting unfair treatment.....	123
Table 4.30: Privileges denied recidivists.....	124
Table 4.31: General Experience of recidivists after previous discharge.....	125

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 1: Challenges faced by participants in vocational training programmes.....	90
Figure 2: Incomes received by recidivists after discharged.....	94
Figure 3: Recidivists' description of standard of living.....	97
Figure 4: Recidivists' satisfaction with standard of living.....	98
Figure 5: Frequency of visits enjoyed by recidivists.....	115
Figure 6: Kinds of challenges faced after discharge.....	117

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND PERSPECTIVES

1.1 Introduction

The security of a society is paramount to its existence or continuity. A state of pandemonium, fear and anxiety are the last things any sane person in a country would wish for. This is because for people to engage in economic activities that will enable them to earn a living and engage in other socio-economic activities, an atmosphere of peace and tranquility are pre-requisites. People who commit crime constitute one of the sources of threats to the peace and tranquility of any nation.

The world over, governments have tried to maintain law and order through institutions like the Police, Armed Forces, Navy, The Prison or Correctional Institutions, among others. Correctional Institutions have a peculiar way of contributing their quota to the preservation and promotion of peace. Apart from the safe custody of criminals, the theories of punishment employed by correctional institutions or penitentiaries are those of rehabilitation and or reformation, retribution (just deserts) deterrence, incapacitation and restorative justice.

According to Cullen and Jonson (2011, p. 295) rehabilitation is “a planned correctional intervention that targets for change internal and/ or social criminogenic factors with the goal of reducing recidivism and, where possible, of improving other aspects of an offender’s life.” This means that the criminal has some internal or other factors which make it likely for him/her to commit crimes. Rehabilitation is thus aimed at identifying these factors in order to curb them so that inmates will no longer commit crimes again after discharge from prison. The factors that are targeted for change include cognitive

processes, personality or mental health, social relationships to others, educational and vocational skills and employment (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Notable among the rehabilitation programmes for inmates are vocational skills acquisition, academic education, industrial work, cognitive behavioural skills, among others (Cullen & Jonson, 2012).

Another definition of rehabilitation which is worth mentioning is given by Wormith et al. (2007, p. 888). According to them “rehabilitation refers to a broad array of psychosocial programs and services that are designed to assist offenders in addressing a range of needs related to their offending behavior and in achieving a more productive and satisfying lifestyle.” This means that rehabilitation aims at using both psychological and social means of helping the offender quit a life of crime.

Rehabilitation of criminals, employed by correctional institutions, are seen as more useful in comparison to other correctional theories like retribution or just deserts, incapacitation, and deterrence (Cullen & Jonson, 2012). They further explain that rehabilitation is clearly distinguished from the other theories of punishment in a number of ways. First, it does not only ensure justice but also seeks to create social good in terms of improving the offender and reducing recidivism. Again, rehabilitation provides services like vocational skills and education that improve their lives. Lastly, it is the only theory of punishment that uses the medical model. In other words, it seeks to ascertain or identify what is wrong with the offender or what causes the offender to commit crime and to prescribe medicine, so to speak, accordingly. Rehabilitation aims at helping both the offender and society. It equips the offender with skills and attitudes

that might empower the offender to avoid crime and to live a productive life (ibid, p. 26).

Conklin (1995) explains that even though the prison became a place for punishment it was not originally meant for rehabilitation as we have today. He adds that it was in 1787 that Dr. Benjamin Rush advocated the incorporation of the treatment or rehabilitation of offenders in the prison instead of using the prison only for punishment. Cullen and Jonson (2012) further explain that it was in the 1900s, during the Progressive Era in the United States of America, that rehabilitation programmes were embraced by many. Particularly, the two scholars mention the 1950s to early 1960s as periods when the term ‘correctional institutions’ replaced the term prisons. This obviously portrayed that the prisons were no more used as places for punishing and keeping criminals in custody, but as institutions for treating or correcting or rehabilitating convicted criminals.

Abotchie (2008) explains the prison rule or the mandate or reason for rehabilitating as the effort to establish in the prisoner the will to lead a good and peaceable life upon discharge and equip them with the necessary skills that will empower them socio-economically. This then is the main aim of rehabilitating inmates.

“Most people agree that crime is a terrible problem, that one of the functions of prisons should be to minimize crime, and that released prisoners should be able to live decently in community after release”(Gehring, 2000, p. 197). Obviously, one of the ways of empowering ex-convicts is the provision of rehabilitation programmes with the hope that inmates who get enrolled in such programmes would desist from crime. As such

vocational training and educational programmes are among the various rehabilitation programmes offered in the Nsawam Prison. The availability of such rehabilitation programmes in the prison is a step in the right direction as some scholars have noted a positive relationship between unemployment and crime in particular. Thus, a higher crime rate in any society is closely associated with high rates of unemployment (Freeman, 1995; McCall, 1998; Uggen, 1999). According to Gainsborough and Mauer (2004), the provision of employment alone would not be adequate enough to keep ex-convicts out of crime, but employment with sustainable incomes keeps ex-convicts out of crimes.

Many Ghanaian prisoners leave prisons and return to society largely uneducated, unskilled, often without family, community and state support and with the stigma of prison records hanging over them. It is not surprising that the majority of ex-convicts are rearrested after their release (cited in Ansre, 2010).

It is in this vein that vocational training programmes like carpentry, blacksmithing, welding, electrical, bakery, soap-making, tie and dye and batik, crocheting, hairdressing, basketry, among others are provided by the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons for their inmates.

Alternatively, educational programmes like Non-formal education (Functional Literacy Programme), Junior and Senior High School as well as Information Communication and Technology are provided for inmates who do not want to enroll in the vocational programmes.

However, some inmates who are enrolled in these rehabilitation programmes are not able to fend for themselves after release. This compels some to engage in criminal activities which eventually land them in the same prisons where they probably learnt some vocations or enrolled in educational programmes with the hope of staying away from crime.

According to the Ghana Prisons Service (2008) 88.7% of the prisoners' population is between the ages of 18 and 45. This clearly indicates that the majority of prisoners fall within the working class of the general population of Ghana, and this situation is caused by the lack of vocational and educational programmes in the larger society. As a result, there are dire implications on human resource development and to a very large extent the economic growth of Ghana.

According to Cullen and Jonson (2012) effective correction is equal to public safety. Thus, when inmates go through the rehabilitation programmes and they desist from a life of crime, then the safety of any society or country is enhanced or maintained. It is pretty obvious that less crime means more safety and security for the people who live in any nation. In a nutshell, reducing or curbing the phenomenon of recidivism promotes safety or security. On the other hand, a high rate of recidivism is a threat to public safety (McKean & Ransford, 2004). They also comment that if inmates are not rehabilitated, they will return to a life of crime upon discharge into society.

According to McKean & Ransford (2004) the extent to which inmates have been rehabilitated and the extent to which correctional programmes are effective in reintegrating prisoner are reflected in the rates of recidivism. The picture of the extent

of recidivism in Ghana is clearly appreciated when one takes a look at the official statistics of the Ghana Prisons Service. In 2007, out of the total 9,895 inmates across the nation, 2,038 representing 20.6% were recidivists. For the year 2008, out of the total 9,377 admitted, 1,806 representing 19.3% had had previous convictions and in 2010, out of 7,942 inmates that were convicted 1,847 representing 23.6% were recidivists (Ghana Prisons Service, 2010).

It is in this vein that this study seeks to examine the impact of the rehabilitation programmes provided by the Nsawam Prison on its inmates.

1.2 Definition of the problem

Despite the commendation of rehabilitation programmes designed for inmates in prisons, some scholars have attacked the ideal of rehabilitation. One argument against rehabilitation is the fact that the correctional institutions do not know the individual cause of crimes; hence they cannot control these causes (Weatherburn, 1982). He adds that another argument against rehabilitation is its inability to reduce recidivism.

Martinson is another scholar who attacks rehabilitation. According to him, there is no empirical basis or support for rehabilitation programmes; as a result, he believes that rehabilitation does not work (Cullen & Jonson, 2012). In the study, Martinson argues that some high risk offenders were more likely to commit crimes after they had been placed in treatment programmes (cited in Sigel, 2003). In other words, the prison is a place where non-serious or first time offenders learn new and better ways of committing crimes from hardened criminals. The prison is, thus, a place for fine tuning

techniques of breaking the law or simply a place for contamination. Abotchie (2008) mentions Frank Tannebaum, Teeters and Barnes as scholars who doubt the efficacy of rehabilitation programmes for inmates. Hence, these scholars call for the abolition of the prison.

According to Abotchie (2008, p. 65), Hayner and Ash have described the prison as a conflict situation:

Although both officials and prisoners pay lip service to the reformatory function of the prison, neither really accepts this. To the staff, the prisoners are there to be feared and kept obeying orders and to pay for their crimes. To the inmates the staffs are screws, the representatives of a hostile society, and in themselves, individuals who are constantly frustrating and humiliating them.... They [the staff] reserve their favours for the prisoner who causes the least trouble, even though he is apt to be a confirmed old lag who knows the ropes, or a hypocrite.

Hayner and Ash, therefore, believe that this kind of environment makes the staff to place emphasis on outer conformity rather than inner conviction (Abotchie, 2008). It is not outer conformity that means that an inmate has changed but rather inner conviction. Hence they believe that the prison does not reform its inmates.

On the other hand, some scholars like Don Andrews, James Bonta and Paul Gendreau believe in rehabilitation (Cullen & Jonson 2012). They believe that if crime is caused by factors and not merely the freewill of the offender, then those factors like antisocial attitudes, bad companion and dysfunctional families can be checked through rehabilitation programmes in order to reduce recidivism (*ibid*, p.11).

This study therefore seeks to situate the debate about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programme in the Ghanaian context owing to the fact that not much work on the

impact of rehabilitation programmes on prisoners has been done in Ghana. Thus much of the debate originates from the western world.

A careful look at literature—much of it from the Western world—suggests that a lot of work has been done on the relationship between rehabilitation programmes and recidivism. However, not much is known about the impact of the rehabilitation programmes on the prisoners in particular. What is known is that most inmates who are released from prison do end up in prison again after a few years, albeit not much is known about what really happens to them when released. There is not enough Ghanaian literature that describes the effect of the rehabilitation programmes on the prisoners when they are released into society. This study, therefore, seeks to fill in that gap. Specifically, this study seeks to look at the socio-economic impact of the vocational and academic programmes of the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons on their participants. Are inmates truly empowered and equipped to be independent hence desisting from economic crimes when discharged into the larger society?

1.3 Significance of the study

Most literature that deals with offender rehabilitation in the world either supports or criticizes rehabilitation. The importance of this research is to add to the literature in offender rehabilitation in the Ghanaian context. Another significance of the study worth mentioning will be the policy implications that would serve as a guide to the Ghana Prisons Service. It would, therefore, bring to light the strengths and weaknesses of the programmes designed for inmates. As a result, the current rehabilitation

programmes can be improved upon in order to empower ex-convicts to stay out of crime.

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

The broad aim of the research is to find out the socio-economic impact of the rehabilitation programmes of the Nsawam Prisons on its inmates. The specific objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To find out the various rehabilitation programmes implemented by the Nsawam Prisons.
2. To identify the various problems faced by each programme.
3. To find out the various types of jobs acquired by recidivists.
4. To assess the standard of living of recidivists after being released.
5. To ascertain the life experiences of recidivists when released into the general society.

1.5 Research questions

1. Do recidivists who participate in vocational programmes have a higher standard of living than those who do not participate in the vocational programmes?
2. Is acquisition of jobs upon discharge dependent on the type of rehabilitation programmes inmates enroll in?
3. Do recidivists who participated in any rehabilitation programmes less likely to commit economic crimes when discharge than those who do not participate in any rehabilitation programme?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Two main theories have relevance for this study. The first theory, social control, explains the need for rehabilitation programmes in prisons and how it makes people conform to societal norms when they are discharged. The second theory, on the other hand, explains the phenomenon of recidivism.

1.6.1 Social Control Theory

According to Abotchie (2008, p. 1), social control is “the broad mechanism within which society ensures that its members do not deviate from the norms.” This simply means that since every individual behaves differently because of the differences in appetite, passions and organic drives, some individuals are likely to act contrary to the norms of society. The apparatus which society uses to ensure that, despite our differences, we conform to society’s norms is called social control.

Similarly, Young (1942) explains that the main objective of social control is to ensure the conformity to norms by members of a society so that society would continue to endure. This means that social control is vital and perhaps a pre-requisite for the survival and existence of any society. Young adds that social control also ensures solidarity and continuity of a particular group. Thus, rehabilitation programmes can be seen as mechanisms through which society ensures its members conform to societal norms thereby bringing about solidarity and continuity. This is because the prison rule states that the purpose of the training and treatment of prisoners would be to establish in them the will to lead good lives and to fit them to do so upon discharge. Put, differently, it is assumed that after prisoners have been trained and treated, they will desist from crimes thereby leading to conformity to societal norms.

Roucek (1947) gives an analytical definition of social control. He defines social control as mechanisms, whether planned and unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded and coerced to conform to norms of a group. Teaching has to do with socializing the individual about basic skills, social roles, social aspirations and the ideal self. By persuasion, Roucek meant the positive and negative sanctions attached to behaviour. Put differently, persuasion has to do with the rewards and punishments that are stipulated for certain actions in society. Rewards and punishment are there to convince the individual to conform to societal norms. Coercion has to do with the use of force to bring about conforming behaviour. Through the rehabilitation programmes inmates are taught the expectation that society has of them. Inmates are socialized about their social roles and social aspirations which are meant to discourage them from a life of crime. Further, they are taught some vocational skills. Moreover, inmates are motivated (persuaded) when they get to know that they can make a living out of the trades learnt in prison. They are also coerced, one way or the other, during their enrolment in the rehabilitation programmes. The teaching, persuasion and coercion evident in the rehabilitation programmes are aimed at discouraging inmates from recidivating when they are discharged into society.

Akers and Sellers (2004, p. 31) define social control as “a normative system with rules concerning the way people should and should not behave. This is combined with a formal and informal system to encourage and promote conformity, while at the same time discouraging and punishing deviance.” These definitions by Roucek and Akers and Sellers make one to understand that there are two types of social controls: the planned or formal, and the unplanned or informal. The Ghana Prisons Service’s

reformatory and rehabilitative role is a planned or formal way of controlling criminals. Thus, the Ghana Prison Service is seen as having the authority to punish members of a society who deviate from societal norms. In fact, the Prison Service is a formal organization with a bureaucracy. On the other hand, when members of a society try to correct or rebuke another for not conforming to societal values and norms, informal social control is evident.

A key factor about social control is that it is meant to make members of society to conform to society's norms. Thus, the Ghana Prisons Service is to ensure that inmates who leave the walls of any prison should lead good and peaceable lives. They are to ensure that the inmates in their custody upon release do not break the law by committing crimes again. They do this mainly through coercion.

However, one cannot rule out the fact that in reforming inmates some form of teaching and persuasion is resorted to. In fact, the vehicles of teaching, persuasion and coercion of social control are not independent of each other; they mutually reinforce each other.

In short, social control fits as the theoretical framework of the study since through the rehabilitation programmes, inmates are taught some vocational skills like carpentry, masonry, electrical, welding, basketry, bakery, soap-making, crocheting, among others. Those who pursue these trades and earn a living out of it may become economically independent. Their economic independence may discourage them from committing economic crimes. Hence prison rehabilitation leads to conformity as suggested by Rousek and Young. Further, inmates are exposed to moral teachings through the educational programmes like the Junior and Senior High Schools run in the Nsawam

Medium Security Prisons. Through these moral teachings, inmates learn or internalize what is good and bad. Inmates who uphold the values inculcated while in prison may desist from breaking the law again when discharged. Indirectly, by teaching inmates skills and morals, persuasion of inmates to lead a good life upon discharge also takes place. In fact, inmates who enroll in the rehabilitation programmes are motivated through the giving of certain incentives like bread, sugar and favours from some prison official. All these are meant to discourage them from committing crimes again. In a nutshell, the teachings, persuasion and coercion associated with the rehabilitation programmes and the prison as a whole compel inmates to conform to the norms of society whether in or outside the prison. This is how social control is seen as an imperative theory for this study.

1.6.2 Labeling Theory

Labeling theory, on the other hand, explains the phenomenon of recidivism. According to Shulman (2005) some groups of people in society create and define deviance. These groups of people have the power to tag and label selected others as deviants. Labeling theory treats such labels as both independent and dependent variables. As an independent variable deviant labels cause these selected individuals to see themselves as deviants and hence put up deviant behaviour. As a dependent variable, individuals are labeled as deviants because they acted wrongly. This gives rise to what Lemert has described as primary deviance and secondary deviance (See, 2004). Primary deviance are acts committed in the absence of a deviant labels. This, however, does not mean the first deviant act of an individual. On the other hand, secondary deviance is as a result of labeling a person as deviants. Thus, people become deviant just because they have

been labeled as deviants. Shulman asserts that when people are labeled as deviants they are treated differently by society or social groups. Society becomes suspicious of such people, intolerant towards them and even restricts their rights and privileges. Moreover, the deviant labels given to the selected people make it difficult for them to re-integrate into society. Consequently, people who are rejected find themselves in the company of other deviant people who engage in illegal activities. Thus, most people who recidivate is as a result of the labels society has placed on them. They see themselves as 'outsiders'. The only people who accept them are those who are themselves deviants. Differential association takes place and the labelled deviants may learn new methods, of for example, shoplifting or pickpocketing. When such people are apprehended, they are sent to prison again leading to the phenomenon of recidivism. This perhaps explains why some of the inmates in this study have found themselves back in Nsawam Prisons several times.

1.7 Research Design

The study is a non-experimental and cross sectional design. Thus, the study does not incorporate elements of an experiment which warrants the assigning of subjects or respondents to either an experiment or control group. Rather, the study seeks to ascertain the impact of the rehabilitation programme by gathering data at a particular point in time and not over a long period of time, as in the case of longitudinal studies.

1.8 Research Methods

1.8.1 Introduction

This section of the study deals with the particular methods employed in obtaining data. It includes study area population, sampling method and instruments of data collection. The study employs the mixed method or triangulation. Thus, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in order to get adequate and in-depth information as much as possible. Qualitative methods were resorted to in acquiring in-depth information about the various types of rehabilitation programmes and the challenges faced by each of the programme. Chapter three of this study captures the qualitative data on the rehabilitation programmes and their challenges. In instances where the real names of the convicts were mentioned, pseudonyms were used in their place. On the other hand, quantitative data was obtained in ascertaining the socio-economic impact of the rehabilitation programmes on the inmates. This data is presented in chapter four of this study.

1.8.2 Study Area

The Nsawam Medium Prisons, built in 1960 by the Nkrumah government, was chosen as the site for this research due to its ability to produce large numbers of inmates and recidivists in particular. As at the end of March, 2012, the male section of the prison had an inmate population of about three thousand four hundred and sixteen (3,416) inmates. The female section also housed about one hundred and twenty (120) inmates. Prisoners found in the male and female prisons include Ghanaians and other nationals like Nigerians and Togolese.

The medium security prisons are noted for providing rehabilitation programmes such as tailoring, carpentry, blacksmithing, welding, masonry, basketry for male inmates, and soap-making, crocheting, hairdressing, bakery, tie and dye and batik, and sewing for female inmates as well as educational programmes such non-formal education, Junior High School, Senior High School and Information Communication Technology.

Nsawam is a town in the Eastern Region and is approximately 40km North West of Accra. It is bordered on the east by Aburi, on the west by Adiaso Traditional Area, in the north by Teacher Mante and in the south by Medie. Nsawam is heterogeneous in nature and most of the residents are natives of the land, and a few have migrated from the little communities nearby. A significant number of people in Nsawam are from the suburbs in the Eastern Region.

1.8.3 Population and Sampling Procedure

The population for the study was all recidivists and some staff of the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. However, during the study, the total number of recidivists in the Nsawam Prison was not large enough to warrant the selection of a sample. Thus, all recidivists in the two Medium Security Prisons were used for the study. This was to ensure that a fairly large number of recidivists were obtained to ensure some level of representativeness. At the Male Prison, records indicated that the total number of recidivists by March, 2012 was one hundred and forty one (141), whereas female recidivists during the same period were only four (4). The relatively low number of female recidivists was due to the small number of female convicts in the prison at the time, and the transfer of some female recidivists to other prisons prior to the fieldwork.

Ten (10) male recidivists and one (1) female recidivist declined to participate in the study. Thus, the total number of respondents who participated in this study with respect to the prisoners was one hundred and thirty four (134) which comprises one hundred and thirty one (131) male recidivists and three (3) female recidivists. Ten (10) officers provided in-depth information about the different types of rehabilitation programmes and the challenges faced by each one.

Sampling procedure employed for the officers was purposive. Thus both senior and junior officers who were heads and or knowledgeable about the rehabilitation programmes and its challenges were selected for the study. In all, the grand total of the respondents that participated in this research was one hundred and forty four (144).

1.8.4 Data Collection

The tools for the data collection were structured and semi-structured questionnaire. To acquire in-depth information about the rehabilitation programmes and the challenges faced by each, a face to face interview was conducted with the top prison officials who headed or were knowledgeable about the various rehabilitation programmes. The interviews could not be audiotaped because tape recorders are not allowed within the precincts of the two medium security prisons. Consequently, field notes were taken instead. Inmates were also given structured questionnaires to fill. Those who were illiterate were helped by the researcher, and some prison officials, as well as some literate inmates in providing responses to their questions.

1.9 Validity

Statistical validity is somewhat a problem since only one hundred and forty four (141) recidivists were selected to participate in the study. As a result of this, there are some threats to external validity since the results of this study may be different from those from other prisons in Ghana. Consequently, the findings may not be generalizable. Threats to internal validity are also evident in the work since the study seeks to explain causal relationship in terms of the hypotheses postulated. Again, there are some threats to construct validity. This is because the criminal records of the Nsawam Prisons are not a reliable way of measuring recidivism and hence getting recidivists for the study. That is, there are more recidivists in the two prisons than there are on the criminal records of the prisons.

1.10 Analytic approach

The units of analysis for the study were individual recidivists. Thus, any inmate who had served in the Nsawam prison at least once qualified to be selected for the study. The field data collected was edited for appropriateness, consistency and accuracy. In the light of this, numbers were assigned to each questionnaire for proper identification during the coding process and rechecking of information on the questionnaire. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to generate statistical frequencies for the purpose of data analysis. Descriptive statistics like tables and graphs were generated to describe demographics as well as other important information of the recidivists in the Nsawam Prisons. The study employed bivariate tables to test whether two variables had any association. Accordingly, percentages were used to

analyze the associations between variables. It was not possible to use inferential statistics in analyzing the data since the non-probability sampling method was used.

1.11 Ethical and Legal Issues

1. In the process of conducting the research respondents were assured that no harm would come to them.
2. Information given by respondents was treated confidentially.
3. Informed consent was sought from the respondents before they took part in the study.
4. Respondents were not deceived as to the real purpose of the study.

1.12 Definition of Key Concepts

Rehabilitation: “A planned correctional intervention that targets for change internal and/ or social criminogenic factors with the goal of reducing recidivism and, where possible, of improving other aspects of an offender’s life (Cullen & Jonson, 2011, p.295). In the light of this, the rehabilitation programmes would be the vocational and educational programmes run by the Nsawam Prison.

Recidivists: According to Lewis (2006), most researchers consider recidivists as offenders who have been re-arrested, re-convicted and/or re-incarcerated. However, for the purpose of this study, recidivists were people who have been re-incarcerated and are serving another term in prison. Thus, those who have been physically confined again to the Nsawam Prisons after serving some sentence in the prison. The recidivists were ascertained by examining the criminal records of the Nsawam Medium Security Prison.

Economic crime: In this study, economic crime refers to any crime which is directly related to or has the aim of acquiring some money or property. In the light of this, economic crime refers to the following convictions: stealing, armed robbery, fraud, narcotics (drugs), and kidnapping. Non-economic crimes, on the other hand, are defilement, murder, assault, rape, and possession of fire arms,

Standard of living: It is the amount of money and comfort enjoyed by a people in a society (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2012). Recidivists with a low standard of living are those whose income minus expenditure was less than GH¢100 per month. Those with a high standard of living are those whose income minus expenditure was above GH¢100 per month.

1.13 Limitation of the study

One major limitation of the study was the fact that some recidivists declined from participating in the study. As a result, the number of recidivists who actually participated in the study was fairly low. Another limitation of the study is the inaccurate and inefficient records of recidivists in the Nsawam Prison. Since there was no scientific ways of identifying a recidivist, with the exception of the records available to the institution, most ex-convicts when re-arrested or re-incarcerated changed their names and identity. Therefore, some inmates who were recidivists claimed that they were first time offenders.

Consequently, the number of recidivists available for the study was inadequate as first time offenders could not be used for the study. Furthermore, most of the inmates who

agreed to be part of the study were illiterate. Translators were therefore used in soliciting information regarding the study. In the translation, it is possible that some vital information which the recidivists could have given if they knew how to read and write would have been lost. Ex-convicts who could have also given some information about the programmes and their impact could not be contacted as prison officers refused to give their contact addresses out.

1.14 Organization of the study

This study on the impact of the rehabilitation programmes of the Nsawam prison on its recidivists is divided into five (5) chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction, definition of the problem, significance of the study, objectives, hypotheses, theoretical framework, research design and methods as well as the outline of the study.

Relevant literature on rehabilitation is reviewed in chapter two. The next two chapters deal with the data presentation and analysis as well as discussins. Chapter three derives its information from the interviews with key officials of the prisons, while chapter four draws all its data from the questionnaire administered to inmates of the Nsawam Male Medium Security Prison and the Nsawam Female Medium Security Prison. Furthermore, the last chapter deals with the summary, conclusions and policy implications of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A critical look at the literature concerning imprisonment of offenders in general presents us with three different but interrelating views. Firstly, some scholars have advocated for mass incarceration of prisoners. Such scholars believe that the harsh treatment meted out to prisoners will make them reflect on their bad behavior and as a result will make them resolve to lead good lives upon release (Cullen & Jonson, 2012).

Secondly, some scholars call for the abolition of the prisons. Such abolitionists believe that the prison will not be able to reform or rehabilitate prisoners; hence the prisons whether minimum, medium or maximum security should be closed down. These criminologists believe that punishment is never justified. In their view, the prisons have not only failed to control crime and prevent recidivism but are also inhumane mechanism used for controlling the least productive members of the labour force (Conklin, 1995). The Abolitionists advocate for the replacement of the prisons with community controls and community treatment (Lanier & Stuart, 1998).

The third view affirms the rehabilitation of criminals or inmates within the prison. Such scholars believe in the rehabilitative ideal even though it has come under attack for many years starting in the 20th century. A worth mentioning fact is that Lewis (2006) asserts that it was in the 1700s that correctional education and rehabilitation programmes were relied on in an attempt to reduce recidivism.

The focus of this review will be on scholarly findings which support the rehabilitative ideal and other works of certain scholars which debunk and refute rehabilitation programmes. The review also takes a look at the relationship between education and recidivism, vocational training and recidivism and effective versus ineffective rehabilitation as well as inmates' participation in rehabilitation programmes.

First let us understand the concept of rehabilitation as we have it today. "The concept of rehabilitation rests on the assumption that criminal behaviour is caused by some factors (Cullen & Jonson, p. 25). Further, this ideal posits that commission of crime is not only as a result of the freewill of the offender, but breaking the law is also as a result of a person's social surroundings, psychological development, or biological make-up. The rationale behind rehabilitation is that if breaking the law is caused by certain factors then reoffending can be checked if correctional interventions are geared towards altering the factors that influence certain people to commit crimes.

2.2 The debate

Robert Martinson in 1974 published a thesis based on the meta-analysis of two hundred and thirty one (231) studies conducted by researchers between 1945 and 1967 in the United States of America. Martinson did this to evaluate the effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation programmes. In what is known as the "Nothing Works" Doctrine, Martinson (as cited in Cullen and Jonson, 2012, p.34) concludes that, "With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciative effect on recidivism." Thus, Martinson believes that rehabilitation programmes do not work and are not effective in reducing recidivism.

According to Osterrman (2009), Martinson's findings influence what is known as the get-tough approach. Again, Osterrman asserts that despite Martinson's findings, current research in criminal justice portray rehabilitation to work. Martinson can, thus, be considered as one of the scholars who spurred on mass incarceration of criminals because of his disbelief in rehabilitation programmes.

However, Lewis (2006) clarifies Martinson's stance on rehabilitation programmes and asserts that Martinson did not emphatically claim that rehabilitation does not work but that the research design used in such studies are too weak to make any valid conclusion about the negative correlation between rehabilitation and recidivism. Whatever the case may be, Martinson's meta- analysis doubts the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes designed for inmates while serving their term in prison. According to Travis, Schwartz, and Clear (1983) other researchers had come out with the same conclusions as Martinson. Travis et al. (1983) mention Robison and Smith, and Bailey as scholars whose findings were similar to Martinson's.

Siegel (2003) asserts that in a study, Robert Martinson argues that some high risk offenders were more likely to commit crimes after they had been placed in treatment programmes. In other words, the prison is a place where non-serious or first time offenders learn new and better ways of committing crimes from hardened criminals. The prison is thus a place for fine-tuning techniques of breaking the law or simply a place for contamination.

Boufard et al. (2000) and Lewis (2006) believe that most studies that have favoured rehabilitation and consider them effective lack methodological rigor. The Maryland

Report is a report that sought to explain the relationship between research design employed by researchers and the conclusions that they reach. The Maryland report elucidates that when a research employs strong research design, that is randomized experiment, the conclusions of the study are likely to be that treatment programmes do not work. On the other hand, if a research design is weak and lacks internal validity, that is non-experimental designs, the conclusion, most often reached, is that treatment programmes are seen to be very effective. Thus, Boufard et al. (2000) and Lewis (2006) believe that if a study supports or affirms rehabilitation then a non-randomized experiment was used.

Harrison and Schehr (2004) have noted that incarceration is one of the means of deterring inmates from re-offending. This is what people have termed the get tough approach. Thus, incarceration should be favoured over rehabilitation of inmates.

Wilson (as quoted in Harrison & Schehr, 2004) has asserted that there is no correlation between unemployment and the crime ex-offenders commit after being release. This suggests that rehabilitation programmes aimed at equipping offenders with employable skills is not important. Wilson adds that this perceived relationship can be blame on methodological problems.

Hormant (as cited in Harrison & Schehr, 2004) has also criticized rehabilitation programmes and argues that the fact that an offender is equipped with skills which could land him/her a job does not mean the criminal behavior has been terminated.

Supporting Martinson's findings, Clear and Braga (as cited in Harrison & Schehr, 2004) report that after reviewing studies of ex-offenders on probation, the probationers did not have lower rates as compared to the comparison group after one year follow up. Harrison and Schehr (2004) mention Miller, a well-respected criminologist and social worker as having the same view point as Wilson and Martinson who argue that rehabilitation programmes have little impact on recidivism. Miller's assertion is based on his belief that the best place to offer rehabilitation programmes is not the prison but rather outside its four walls. He adds that the harsh condition of the prison is a debilitating factor in rehabilitation programmes.

Social scientists and educators, among others, still argue as to the effect of more punitive sentences on recidivism (Hull and associates, 2000). Mear and Bales (as cited in Hull et al., 2004) report that some scholars believe the 'supermax' incarceration would help inmates reflect on their criminal behavior, and isolate them from negative peer influence. Additionally, it is believed by some scholars that such mode of punishment produce deterrent effect on the inmates thereby reducing the likelihood of recidivism.

Cullen and Jonson (2012) explain the reason for the disbelief in rehabilitation programmes as an important way in reclaiming criminals. They assert that the belief in rehabilitation began in the 1900 during the Progressive Era of America.

However, during the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s social upheavals witnessed in America had brought the Criminal Justice system under scrutiny. It was blamed for the turmoil. During this period, both conservative and liberals were now against

rehabilitation. For the conservatives, rehabilitation victimized society. On the other hand, for the liberals, rehabilitation victimized offenders. Thus, both opted for the punishment of offenders.

In spite of the campaign against rehabilitation, many scholars still stick to this philosophy and believe that rehabilitation in general is helpful because it reclaims criminals.

According to Cullen (2005), twelve scholars rejected the "nothing works" professional ideology and instead used rigorous science to show that popular punitive interventions were ineffective, that offenders were not beyond redemption, and that treatment programmes rooted in criminological knowledge were capable of meaningfully reducing recidivism.

There seems to be some evidence that incapacitation (Cullen, 2012) has a negative effect on recidivism. For example, Mear and Bales (2009) studied the recidivism rate of inmates who have been incarcerated without any social contact or programming at all. Their findings revealed that such inmates had a higher rate of recidivism than those who were not punished harshly and were allowed to have some kind of rehabilitation programmes.

A study on recidivism with respect to domestic violence was conducted by Pitts et al. (2009). They chose 100 male domestic violence offenders who were enrolled in a treatment programme and matched them with other male domestic violence offenders who though were eligible for the treatment were not enrolled. Their study revealed that

participants of the programme did have lower rates of recidivism than the other inmates who were not enrolled into the programme.

Ubah (2002) explained a study by Schumacher et al. Schumacher and associates sought to ascertain rehabilitation success in terms of employment and parolee success. Those who were enrolled in vocational and or academic programmes were more successful than those who did not enroll in any.

Educational and vocational preparation, life skills training and drug treatment are examples of programmes designed for inmates in the attempt of curbing their propensity to recidivate (Baumer et al., 2009). They add that these programmes are not the only factors that correlate with recidivism, but also other factors such as age, previous experience of incarceration and offense type do so.

The reason for the emphasis on academic education and vocational training in prisons is explained by Boufard et al. (2000). The explanation, they assert, lies in the correlation between unemployment and crime. Thus, rehabilitation programmes are affirmed because they can empower ex-convicts to be economically independent. This will hopefully get them out of criminal activities. Moreover, meta-analyses conducted by prominent researchers suggested that in-prison programming focused on academic and vocational programmes could reduce recidivism (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Wilson et al., 1999, 2000).

Gerber and Fritsch (as cited in Cecil et al., 2000) criticize Martinson on his conclusion of his review of several studies that nothing works. According to them, Martinson incorrectly characterized his results. A second criticism of Martinson's conclusion was

that he did not develop a technique to assess the quality of the design of the various studies like the Maryland report. Rather, he treated both poorly designed studies and the good ones as the same. From the evidence shown, it is clear that some scholars still believe in rehabilitation as an ideal way of dealing with prisoners who are locked up and shut off from the wider society.

2.3 Education and recidivism

Educational programmes are among the most basic rehabilitation programmes prisons can offer to their inmates (McKean and Ransford, 2004). Since the inception of the prison, educational programmes have been the main form of rehabilitation although the programmes were mostly religious (MacKenzie, 2008). It was during the reformation era that religious education in the prison was replaced with basic literacy and communication skills.

According to Reagan & Stoughton (as cited in MacKenzie, 2008), Brockway, who is credited with the reformation and rehabilitation of the prison, believed that people in prison could change for the better through industry and education. But what exactly is the correlation between education and crime and for that matter recidivism? There are number of sociological explanations of the effect of education on crime. Hull et al. (2000) explain that educational treatment programmes run by correctional institutions are similar to the ones designed for the general population in a country. They also assert that those who receive such education are less likely to return to prison. Ubah (2003) explain that correctional education or academic education in prisons do actually work even if not for all offenders. Similarly, Cecil et al. (2000) looking at various

studies through the lens of the Maryland report assert that adult basic education programmes have a negative relationship with recidivism.

Education promotes a sense of self efficacy and accomplishment for inmates who are discharged thereby providing a tool for reducing recidivism (Marano, as cited in McKean & Ransford, 2004). McKean and Ransford (2004) observe that lack of high school degree positively correlates with criminal activity. Thus, providing education to inmates could reduce their criminal tendency. Furthermore, MacKenzie (2008) explains how educational programmes have impact on recidivism. MacKenzie and Wilson (2000) assert that education improves the cognitive skills of inmate thereby empowering them to deal with crime. This is because deficiencies in cognitive skill (understanding other people's social interactions) are found to be associated with criminal activity. According to MacKenzie (2008), basic and second cycle educations have the potency of reducing recidivism and improving the chance of employment.

Gendreau and Ross (as cited in Hull et al., 2000) conducted a meta-analysis on 95 studies in which inmates received academic education. Their findings show that the educational programmes were able to reduce recidivism significantly. According to Jenkins, Stetirer and Pendry, (as quoted in Hull et al., 2000) about 77% of their respondents who completed formal education got themselves jobs and incomes above the minimum wage. Their findings suggest a positive relationship between completion of formal education programmes while incarcerated and successful re-entry into community. Their findings show that the educational programmes were able to reduce recidivism significantly. An interesting phenomenon was that those who enrolled in the educational programme but could not complete had lower rates of recidivism compared

to those who did not enroll at all. This shows that formal education programmes obviously do have a great impact on the recidivism rate. Also, their finding reveals that those who completed the programme had higher rates of employment than those who did not complete any educational programme.

Ubah (2002) evaluated a number of studies about offender rehabilitation. One of the studies was conducted by Fox. Fox compared the recidivism rates of 114 inmates who enrolled in an academic programme in a medium security prison as against 114 inmates who did not enroll in any academic programme in maximum security prison. According to Ubah (2002) Fox's finding showed that inmates who enrolled in an academic programme in the medium security prison had lower rates of recidivism. Another study that Ubah reviewed was done by Zinck. According to Ubah (2002) Zinck studied 220 inmates. Half of the total number enrolled in academic programme for 2 months and half did not enroll. After three to five years post release, it was found that those who attended the school were significantly better in terms of arrest, conviction and incarceration.

Lochner (2004) explains why lack of education increases the propensity for people to commit crime. He asserts that people who are uneducated have low skill levels which translate into low opportunity and incarceration costs for committing crime. On the other hand, investment in human capital through education implies high skills which then make the opportunity cost for committing crimes to be high. As a result, people who are educated are inclined to desist from crime. He adds that policies that encourage skill investment and work will reduce.

Usher (1997) indicates that education in general does not only improve one's ability to earn income but it also inculcates into the individual the values of a society and promotes the virtues of hard work and honesty. This means that educational programmes can be effective in reducing recidivism.

According to Harm and Philips (2001) lack of high school education was one of the major causes of recidivism of women. Similarly, Freeman (as cited in Lochner, 2004) asserts that most incarcerated men did not have a senior high school certificate. These assertions suggest that if women and men receive academic education while in prison, it could perhaps keep them out of crime. Machin, Marie and Vujic (2011) amplify the negative relationship between education in prison and recidivism. They assert that improving education amongst offenders is one of the ways of curbing crime. It is in this vein that Porporino and Robinson (1992) assert that, for male offenders, involvement in educational programmes prevents them from living a life of crime. Lochner (2009) explains why educating male offenders reduces recidivism. He indicates that for uneducated young men, crime is their primary problem.

Ubah (2003) explains that some scholars argue that lowered propensity to recidivate is as a result of exposure to correctional programme. Similarly, Parkinson and Streuter (as quoted in Tam and Heng, 2008) have also reported that correctional education decreases the rate at which ex-convicts come back to prison.

Ubah (2003) contends that lowered recidivism can be attributed to offenders' exposure to academic programmes in the prison and these programmes aid in the successful reintegration of inmates into the general society. In other words, educational

programmes serve as a check on recidivism and socialize prisoners on accepted lifestyles (Wilson et al., 2000; Gaes, 2008).

The relationship between education in general and crime can also be explained in economic terms. In Economics parlance, Lochner (2004) explains that investing in human capital and increasing wages through education and training raises the costs of planning and engaging in crime. However, investment in human capital through education may also increase white collar crimes such as forgery, fraud and embezzlement. Lochner adds that unskilled crimes like assault and drug dealing is negatively correlated with education. On the other hand, white collar crime is not inversely correlated with education.

Lochner (1999, 2007) explains that even though there is an inverse relationship between education and crime, it does not mean that education would automatically reduce crime. Education increases one's wage rate; hence, it raises the opportunity cost of crime (Lochner 1999, 2007).

Prison education gives inmates skills with which they can enter the labour market (McKean & Ransford, 2004). Hopefully, when such inmates get employed and earn a good income, they may be able to desist from crime. Tyler and Kling (2005) have also observed that educational programmes are not geared toward economic advantages only, but they also serve as a way of making inmates gain knowledge.

Bushway (as cited in Wilson et al., 2000) comment that imprisonment in itself does not promote the employability of ex-convicts since there is a stigma attached to them. He

adds that the impact of the educational programmes does not outweigh the stigma of being imprisoned.

2.4 Employment, Vocational Training and Recidivism

The relationship between employment or vocational training and crime (recidivism) cannot be overemphasized. Kreinert and Fleisher (2001), skeptical about the relationship between employment and crime, compared the pre-imprisonment educational, employment and income data about inmates and that of the general population of the United States of America (USA). They found that inmates in their sample obtained more money legally than the rest of the population of USA. Another interesting finding was that at the time of their arrest, the majority of their respondents were employed in good paid jobs. Their finding questions the need for rehabilitating inmates by providing them vocational skills programmes with the hope of getting employed and earning good income.

Kreinert and Fleisher (2001) explain that some crimes do not have any economic motive. For example, crimes such as domestic violence, assault, drunk driving, rape, do not correlate with poor education or unemployment. This again questions the need for rehabilitation programmes in the prison. In view of this, these scholars assert that the prison is not the place for economic rehabilitation.

McCall (1998) has cautioned that providing inmates with employment skills might not help prevent recidivism. This is because the offender, aside economic reasons, has

several factors like alcohol, drug abuse, family problems among others, which make or propel him/her to commit crimes.

Witte and Witt (2000) explain employment in itself does not deter people from committing crime. They assert that some individuals can commit crime while they are employed since their employment can serve as a means of committing more crime. Additionally, Witte and Witt (2000) argue that some criminals may supplement the income from their work in order to satisfy their needs by committing crimes.

Despite these opinions of these scholars, there are others who believe that employment and vocational training have a positive impact on recidivism. According to Freeman (1991) crime, in this age, is not as a result of any deviant predispositions of the youth but rather it is as a result of unemployment and poverty.

Wilson (as quoted in Harrison and Schehr, 2004) believes that there is some kind of relationship between low quality jobs, unemployment and criminal behavior. Rahill-Beuler and Kretzer (as cited in Harrison and Schehr, 2004) explain that making inmates employable is critical if inmates are desired to be self-sufficient.

Gainsborough and Mauer (2004) have argued that it is not just employment that might reduce recidivism but that the issue of consistent salary for the ex-offender is crucial.

In a review of several studies, Finn (as cited in Harrison and Schehr, 2004) has concluded that unemployment and low-wage temporary jobs contribute to recidivism. He adds that, on the contrary, full-time jobs do go a long way to reduce recidivism for ex-offenders.

Uggen (1999) supports the view of Finn and asserts that getting a stable job may even have the potential of reducing the criminal behaviour in the offender. He, unlike Wilson (as quoted in Harrison and Schehr, 2004), believes that there is some kind of relationship between low quality jobs, unemployment and criminal behavior. He adds that vocational skills acquired before being released increases the chance of living a meaningful live upon release. Thus, to him higher paid quality jobs reduce recidivism and even substance abuse.

Rauman and Berk (as quoted in Harrison and Schehr, 2004) in their article entitled “Remuneration and Recidivism” have noted that in addition to the rehabilitation programmes offered, offenders who have been released should be given some funds to fend for themselves while they look for employment. They believe that such unemployment funds will keep ex-convicts from trouble and hence reduce recidivism.

Freeman’s (as quoted in Harrison and Schehr, 2004) meta-analysis of several studies concurs with Uggen’s (1999) findings that there is indeed a positive correlation between unemployment and criminal activity. The more people are unemployed, the more criminal activities increase.

McCall (1998) have agreed with Uggen (1999) and has noted that indeed there is a relationship between joblessness and recidivism. Thus, joblessness contributes to recidivism. He adds that helping ex-offenders get job through training programmes is both beneficial to both the offender and the government that carries a huge cost of taking care of prisoners while in custody.

Ross (2002) explains that one of the main reasons for the rehabilitation of inmates is for them to acquire skills that will help them to find jobs. Another reason is for inmates to behave well while in prison. Freeman (as cited in Borland and Hunter, 1999) explains an interesting relationship between crime and employment. He asserts that a person's employment status or even income may influence the likelihood of being arrested. If a person finds his or her income to be too low, the person may resort to a life of drinking which can also influence the person in committing crimes which are perpetrated under the influence of alcohol.

Freeman (1991) asserts that because of more income from crime, some young men will reject employment. Also, others will have a problem of getting employed because of their criminal record (Freeman, 1991; Borland and Hunter, 1991).

According to Craig and Rogers (2010) a major goal of vocational training programmes is to instill in the inmates some productive roles in society. These productive roles translate into having jobs or working in society. Vocational programmes are mainly designed to empower the participants to earn income. As a result of this, Wilson and his associates (2000) assert that educational programmes may be more advantageous than vocational training programmes. Nevertheless it is hoped that money or income obtained from engaging in a trade learnt in prison would keep the offender away from crime.

Danso (as cited in Ansre, 2010) in a post-release study of the inmates observed that most inmates do not want to indicate that they had some form of vocational training in

prison while they are employed. This is because they were worried that if their employers found out they will be fired.

A study conducted by Danso (as cited in Ansre, 2010) at the James Camp Prison in 1985 indicates that most prisoners upon release were jobless and had no skill. Consequently, such inmates had the tendency to go back to prison for committing other crimes. This perhaps explains why imparting vocational skills training is imperative in prison.

2.5 Effective treatment programmes versus Ineffective treatment programmes

Cullen and Jonson (2012) assert that in responding to Martinson's standpoint, it was not the case that nothing works but the case that a lot of analysis was imperative in ascertaining which rehabilitation programmes are effective and which are not. In other words, the case is not really about debating whether rehabilitation in the prisons works or not. It is now a matter of effective programmes as against ineffective ones. According to Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (1990) effectiveness translates into reductions in recidivism.

Gendreau and Ross (2000) explain that rehabilitation programmes which work are those that target or focus on changing what they called criminogenic needs. The term refers to two things. First, factors which are supported by empirical research and are related to offender recidivism. The second are factors and predictors that can be changed. For example, attitudes can be changed and not a person's past criminal record. Other factors that are targeted for change include cognitive processes,

personality or mental health, social relationships to others, educational and vocational skills and employment.

A number of scholars (Andrews et al., 1990; Gendreau, 1996; Latessa, Cullen and Gendreau, 2002; Cullen and Jonson, 2012) have developed principles that should guide correctional administrators in rehabilitating inmates. These principles can be termed as principles of effective rehabilitation. First, interventions should target the known predictors of crime and recidivism for change. This is simply called the need principle. Second, treatment principles should be behavioural in nature. This is also called the responsivity principle. Lastly, treatment interventions should target high-risk offenders. This is called the risk principle. Thus, the three principles together can be called the risk-need-responsivity principle. Andrew et al. (1990) add a fourth one to the three principles. They assert that correctional administrators or professionals should step beyond the first three principles if the situation demands so.

Gendreau (1996) notes that these principles have profound implications for reducing recidivism. On the other hand, Latessa, Cullen and Gendreau (2002) indicate that rehabilitation programmes that are designed for inmates without consulting these principles will have little or no impact on recidivism. They assert that such programmes may even end up in increasing recidivism.

Paparozzi and Schlager (2009, p. 431) have also explained that “to make correctional programmes more effective, these factors should be looked at: leadership, professionalism, organizational dynamics and politics.”

On the other hand, Cullen and Gendreau (2000) give other reasons why certain rehabilitation programmes are not effective. They argue that one major reason for the ineffectiveness of certain rehabilitation programmes lies in the fact that such programmes lack therapeutic integrity. Thus the prison administrators do not have the qualifications to administer the treatment programme to the inmates. Hence, such personnel do not implement the programmes as designed. Moreover, some treatment programmes which are not effective are as a result of the fact that they do not have any grounding in criminological theories.

2.6 Inmates' Participation in rehabilitation programmes.

Most literature that comment on the participation of inmates in rehabilitation programmes are forthright with their conclusions. According to Grattet, et al. (as cited in Cullen & Jonson, 2012) most inmates do not willingly participate in rehabilitation programmes. As a result, enrollment level is low. A vast majority of prisoners, Petersilia reports, do not receive the rehabilitation they need (Cullen and Jonson, 2012).

Amanfri (as cited in Ansre, 2010) conducted a study on thirty (30) recidivists at Kumasi Central Prison. He found out that seventy percent (70%) of the respondents acquired little or no skill at all. This finding supports the fact that most inmates do not enroll or participate in the rehabilitation programmes designed for them.

Similarly, Gyamfi (as cited in Ansre, 2010) wrote on the characteristics of recidivism at James Fort Prison in Accra and indicated that most inmates upon incarceration

believed they were hopeless; hence, they did not participate in the rehabilitation programmes designed for the inmates.

Perhaps, the low level of enrolment can be attributed to what is termed the pains of imprisonment (Abotchie, 2008). According to Abotchie, inmates in a prison are denied certain privileges. These include deprivation of liberty, goods, heterosexual relations, autonomy and security. These are basic privileges that any ordinary human being will crave for; thus, the deprivation of these privileges constitutes pain for the inmate.

On the other hand, Zamble and Porporino assert that inmates' decision to participate in programmes result from their conviction and sentence to prisons (Cited in Wilson et al., 2000). This means that prisoners eventually participate in rehabilitation programmes as a result of the hardship they go through. Perhaps, they do so in order to escape the challenges they go through. This assertion by Zamble and Porporino concurs with the observation of Spark and Harris. Spark and Harris (2005) observe that for women, participation in educational programmes does not only help the participants to be employable but it also helps them to forget about their worries.

Ubah (2003) believes that participation in correctional programmes does not affect rates of recidivism but motivation to participate rather has an effect on recidivism.

2.7 Conclusion

It is clear that while some scholars affirm rehabilitation, others do not support rehabilitation. Both schools of thought utilize the relationship between education and recidivism, and employment and vocational training to either support or debunk the

effectiveness of rehabilitation. Yet other scholars have designed principles which they assert, if followed, will make rehabilitation programmes effective. Notwithstanding, this review ends with the observation of Kreinert and Fleischer. Kreinert and Fleischer (2001) describe the several possibilities of offender rehabilitation. They assert that some offenders will decline from rehabilitation and pursue crime. Another possibility is that inmates could accept the rehabilitation and never commit crime. Moreover, others will enroll in a rehabilitation programme and still pursue crime. The last possibility is that others will still decline from the programme and never commit crime upon release.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF DATA ON REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES OF THE NSAWAM PRISONS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data is relied on. As a result, the data presentation and analysis is divided into two chapters. This chapter mainly contains the qualitative data which is presented using the narrative approach. Accordingly, the direct quotations of the respondents are captured in this chapter. An overview of the vocational and educational programmes that are available, current enrollment levels in the two rehabilitation programmes as well as the challenges of the programmes are discussed.

3.2 Vocational Training Programmes

The main vocational training programmes at the Nsawam Male Medium Security Prisons are tailoring, electrical, basketry and doormat making, masonry, carpentry, shoemaking, and metal work (blacksmithing), hair-cuts and plumbing. On the other hand, vocational training programmes designed for female inmates are bakery, crocheting, soap-making, batik tie and dye, hairdressing, and sewing.

3.2.1 History of the Vocational training in the Nsawam Prisons

All the central prisons in Ghana have vocational skills or trades that are designed to equip inmates with skill that will make them earn income when they engage in those trades after discharge or that will make them employable. Just like the other central

prisons in Ghana, workshops which serve as places for teaching and learning of the various trades were incorporated when the prisons were built. However, not all the trades began with the inception of the prisons.

As more trades became available spaces were also created to accommodate those trades. For example, a space has been created for the hair-cut shop and the shoemaking (cobbling) shop in the Nsawam Male Prison. An important thing to note is that the trades or vocation present or operative in the prisons are contingent on the availability of raw materials in the geographical location of the prisons.

The same can be said of the female prison. Within the female prison a block houses the various workshops for soap-making, batik tie and dye, sewing, crocheting among others. However, one of the relatively new trades, the hairdressing salon, is outside the precincts of the female prison. The bakery trade was not originally considered as a possible trade during the inception of the prison. The bakery shop or trade came into being when the Presbyterian Church of Ghana Prisons Ministry advocated for baking in the prison as a way of providing inmates with skills that they can rely on for employment. Somewhere in the late 1980s the Prison Ministry bought an oven for the female prison. However, upon agreement with the Ghana Prisons Service, the service had to pay back the money in installment.

Some of the trades or vocations that began with the inception of the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons have completely phased out. Others, on the other hand, are existent but inoperative. For the male prison, vocations or trades like draughtmanship, cane

weaving, soap-making, painting and decoration were fully operative with high enrollment levels. Nevertheless, these trades are no more.

Despite these happenings, certain trades which were not existent before 2005 were introduced. Vocations like doormat making and shoemaking (cobbling), plumbing, barbering and masonry were introduced after 2004 and were fully functional at the time. Now, even though these trades are existent in the male prison, they are not fully functional because of the lack of raw materials and tools that will keep such trades in constant operation (Ghana Prisons Service, 2005).

Similarly, vocations for the female prison which were not existent in the year the year 2004 were introduced in the ensuing years. Such trades for the female include soap-making and hairdressing (Ghana Prisons Service, 2005).

A look at the annual report of the Ghana Prisons Service from 2004 onwards shows that the main trades with the highest number of enrolment for male prisoners nationwide were the tailoring and carpentry trade. This is also evident in the Nsawam Prison. As at April, 2012, the tailoring shop had the highest number of trainee-inmates. Similarly, the trade with the highest number of enrolment for the females nationwide is bakery. This is also true in the female prison. The highest enrolment level by trainee-inmates is in the bakery shop. However, the crocheting shop in the early 2000s was highly patronised by inmates (Ghana Prisons Service, 2004, 2005). Currently, it is one of the trades with the lowest enrolment level. The situation with the crocheting shop is not different with the sewing trade in the female prison. Enrolment level in the sewing vocation is low because now inmates only make uniforms for the prison staff and do no

longer make dresses for people. Since the male prison receives the majority of the task of sewing uniforms for the prison officials, the sewing at the female prison is not as vibrant as it used to.

Comparatively, over the years, the Nsawam Prisons has had the highest enrolment in vocational or trade programmes designed for inmates nationwide (Ghana Prisons Service, 2004, 2005). This is probably because it has the highest number of convicts in the whole of Ghana and it also houses inmates with long sentences who qualify for enrolment in rehabilitation programmes.

3.2.2 Purpose for establishing vocational training

The main aim of the prison as captured by the Director-General of Prisons, Mr. Michael Kofi Bansah is to rehabilitate inmates. These are his exact words in an interview:

What purpose will it serve if at the end of the day, the ex-convict returns to society without any skill to help him [or her] operate as a law-abiding citizen with means to survive?

(Vibeghana, 2010)

Similarly, all the various heads of the vocations asserted that the purpose for the establishment of the vocations is to equip the inmates with certain skills or teach the inmates certain trades which the inmates can rely on or utilize in order to make a living. Thus, the prison staff indirectly admits that there is indeed a relationship between employment, poverty and crime. This is what theory and most research have established. When one is employed, the person is less likely to commit crime since the person earns some income that could support the person financially. On the other hand,

when one is unemployed, he/she is more predisposed to committing crime since he or she is not economically sound or independent. The head of the bakery shop explains the purpose for setting up the bakery shop and of course all the various vocations in the two prisons:

The purpose for establishing the bakery shop is to give inmates some skills so that they can get something to do when they are discharged.

3.2.3 Duration of vocational programmes

3.2.3.1 Training Days

All the vocational training lessons start after the day's work. Most of the workshops start at 8:00 a.m. while others start at 8:30a.m. The training for the day ends at 3:00 p.m. for some while others end at 3:30p.m. All the vocational training or shops (as known and used by the prison officials) run on weekdays. In addition, the hairdressing salon and barbering shop run on weekends.

3.2.3.2 Entire vocational programme

On the average it takes an inmate 2-3 years to learn a trade. However, an inmates' ability to learn a trade is dependent on his or her mental ability or intelligence. Thus, inmates who are mentally sharp learn the trade in good time. However, inmates with dull minds could go beyond the normal 2-3 years to learn a trade. The average duration for completing the vocational programmes in the prisons is almost the same for completing the same programmes outside the prison. In fact, the National Vocational Training Institute slate the same duration for completing similar courses that they organize. According to Sutherland, in his theory of Differential Association, the

amount of time an individual spends with other criminals would influence the criminal tendency of the individual. Keeping inmates in a programme for 2 or 3 years reduces the amount of contact with other prisoners who may contaminate them.

3.2.4 Enrollment in vocational training programmes

A previous knowledge in a vocation is not a criterion for enrollment in a vocation. However, a long prison sentence is the main criterion for enrollment in the vocational training programme. Inmates with at least 2 or 3 years imprisonment are eligible for enrollment in the vocational training programme. For some of the vocations, lifers (those who have been sentenced to life) are not encouraged to enroll. However, there is one lifer in the tailoring shop at the male prison. If one's sentence is two years or above, then the person qualifies to be enrolled in any vocational training programme of his or her choice. The other criterion for enrolling in a vocation is a person's interest in that vocation. An inmate's interest will be a very good motivating factor that will keep the inmate in the training programme. On the whole, more people enroll in the vocational training programmes than the educational programmes. However, the general enrollment level in the vocational training programme is not the best. Only a few people among the thousands of convicts do enroll. The table below captures the level of enrollment in the female prison.

Table 3.1 Enrollment level of females in the various vocations

Type of vocation	Frequency	Percentage
Bread making	9	47.4
Sewing	4	21.0
Soap-making	2	10.5
Hairdressing	2	10.5
Crocheting	1	5.3
Tie and dye and batik	1	5.3
Total	19	100

Source: Field data, April, 2012.

From table 3.1, it is evident that most of the inmates (47.4%) have enrolled in the bakery shop. This is followed by those who have enrolled in the sewing vocation. They make up 21% of the total number of inmates who have enrolled in the vocational programme. One person each has enrolled in both the crocheting (needle work) and batik, tie and dye shop. The reason why more people have enrolled in the bakery shop is because of incentives like sugar, bread and sometimes money that they receive. This high level of enrollment is consistent with the annual report of the Ghana Prisons Service. Over the years bakery has been the number one trade inmates enroll in (Ghana Prisons Service, 2004, 2005). Table 3.2 also captures the level of enrollment in the male prison.

Table 3.2: Enrollment level of males in the various vocations

Type of vocation	Frequency	Percentage
Tailoring	12	20.3
Carpentry and Joinery	10	16.9
Electrical	10	16.9
Shoemaking	6	10.1
Metal works	5	8.4
Basketry and doormat	5	8.4
Masonry	5	8.4
Barbering	4	6.7
Plumbing	2	3.3
Total	59	100.0

Source: Field data, April, 2012.

The majority (20.3%) of the inmates are enrolled in the tailoring shop. Only 3.3% of the recidivists are enrolled in the plumbing trade. This finding is consistent with the Ghana Prisons Service annual reports. Over the years the tailoring and carpentry shop have had the highest number of enrolment nationwide (Ghana Prisons Service, 2004, 2005). The reason why the tailoring shop has the highest number of participants in the Nsawam Prison is because the tailoring shop is the main formal vocation in the prison. However, a latent reason why most people enroll in the tailoring trade is because participants are motivated with good food and sometimes money, especially when an inmate has completed the trade and is being discharged. Inmates who enroll in the tailoring shop are given money upon discharge so they can start up their own tailoring shop in the wider society.

A look at the enrollment level for both the males and the females depicts that the overall enrollment in the vocational training programmes is very low. This is consistent with the remark of Petersilia. According to Petersilia, most inmates do not receive the rehabilitation they need because they do not enroll in the programmes (Cullen & Jonson, 2012). At the male prison, there are about two thousand (2,000) convicted inmates. On the other hand, there are about ninety (90) convicts in the female prison. Even though not everyone is eligible for enrollment in a rehabilitation programme, a large proportion of this number could be eligible. A total number of seventy eight (78) male and female inmates enrolling in the vocational programmes is not so encouraging. But why is the level of enrollment in the vocations low as compared to the number of convicts in the two medium security prisons?

Perhaps the low level of enrollment could be attributed to the hardship in the prisons. Most inmates who responded to the questionnaire asserted that they did not enroll in any rehabilitation programme in the prison due to the hardship in the prison. Some of the hardships in the prison include having to sleep in turns at nights because the cells are too small for the teeming number of inmates. Inadequate food or meals is another hardship of the prisoners. Another reason for the low level of enrollment is the emotional trauma of some inmates. A prison official reports that “Adwen no bo mo”¹ so they are not able to concentrate on the training offered in the prison.

Moreover, the low level of enrollment in the vocational training programme can be explained by the fact that enrollment in rehabilitation programmes in the two prisons is voluntary and not compulsory. Inmates are not coerced into enrolling in rehabilitation

¹ Adwen no bo mo translates into not being in the right frame of mind.

programmes as a whole. The availability of vocational training programmes is made known to the inmates almost every morning during what the prison officials call parade (an assembly of prisoners in the morning before they go for hard labour). Even though inmates are in custody, they still have their human right. They have the right to either enroll in rehabilitation programmes or not.

3.2.5 Motivation for Trades Participants

Learning a trade in a prison environment is difficult. Some literature advocate for rehabilitation outside the four walls of a prison (Miller as cited in Harrison et al., 2004; Kreinert & Fleisher, 2001). The attitude of inmates towards the vocation was not the best. Inmates are lackadaisical towards the trade that they have enrolled in. Some are more or less compelled to come for lessons. Instructors and some key prison officials, in order to make sure that inmates get the necessary vocational skills, motivate the inmates.

This was the comment made by the head of the bakery shop:

While they are here, we do motivate them every week for them to be happy. This propels them to come to the shop to learn the trade. Sometimes we give them little sugar. Sometimes too we give them bread and other things. Then every Christmas we do something for them. When they are going on discharge too we buy clothes for them to sew.

It is evident that the motivation given to participants, in the form of gifts, makes them conform to norms regarding the rehabilitation programmes by making themselves available to be trained during training days. This phenomenon is explained by Rousek's theory of social control.

3.2.6 Instructors

Instructors for the various vocations are either prison officials or the inmates themselves. However, the prison officials are the main instructors. Every instructor in the vocation is primarily a prison warden. These prison wardens are sometimes trained by some non-governmental organizations for a period of time to become instructors in the various vocations. When these prison wardens have mastered the trade or vocation, they are then appointed as instructors for the various vocations.

Nevertheless, they still maintain their roles as prison wardens. However, some prison officials have professional qualifications in the type of vocation that they manage. For example, the instructors of the carpentry and electrical vocation have Higher National Diploma (HND) in Building and Construction and Electrical Engineering, respectively. Their work is somehow tedious as they have to combine their roles as prison wardens with that vocational training programme instructors. To ameliorate their plight, inmates who have completed a vocation are asked to assist in training other inmates. In the absence of the main instructors, these inmates take over and train their fellow inmates. Table 3.3 captures the number of instructors for the various vocations.

Table 3.3: Number of vocational skills instructors in the female prison.

Type of vocation	No of instructors	Percentage
Bread making	4	26.7
Hairdressing	3	20.0
Sewing	3	20.0
Tie and dye and batik	2	13.3
Soap-making	2	13.3
Crocheting	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Source: Field data, April, 2012.

The highest number of instructors is found in the bakery trade or vocation. They make up 26.7% of the total instructors. On the other hand, only one instructor is found in the crocheting shop. An interesting finding is the fact that the number of instructors in a trade normally correlates with the number of inmates enrolled in the trade. The higher the number of instructors, the higher the number of participants found in that same trade. Below is a table that captures the number of instructors at the male prison.

Table 3.4: Number of vocational programme instructors in the male prison.

Type of vocation	No. of instructors	Percentage
Tailoring	8	30.8
Electrical	5	19.2
Carpentry and Joinery	3	11.5
Metal works	2	7.9
Plumbing	2	7.9
Masonry	2	7.9
Shoemaking	2	7.9
Barbering	1	3.8
Basketry and doormat	1	3.8
Total	26	100.0

The tailoring shop has the highest number of instructors. They make up 30.8% of the total number of instructors of the vocations. Both the barbering shop and the basketry and doormat trade have one instructor each. The tailoring shop has the highest number of participants. It is therefore not surprising that it has the highest number of instructors. Obviously, more inmate-trainee for the tailoring programme would warrant more trainers for the vocation.

3.2.7 Funding

The Government of Ghana provides the funds needed to run all the vocational training programmes through the Ghana Prisons Service. Monies from the headquarters are disbursed to the officials of the Nsawam Medium Security who then buy all the necessary materials and equipment for running the rehabilitation programmes. However, for one reason or another, heads of the various vocational training programmes were not able to disclose the specific amount given to each respective trade or vocation.

3.2.8 Products and Services of the various trades or vocation

The various products of the various vocational programmes are packaged and sold and their services are rendered to three categories of people. The products are primarily sold to the general public. Moreover, the products are sold to the inmates and the prison officials themselves. Some of the products include soap, bread, table cloths, dress materials (batik tie and dye), slippers, among others. The services on the other hand include hairdos, hair and dressing, sewing of uniforms.

The process by which inmates get to buy products of the vocations is quite interesting. Inmates have an account into which relatives and loved ones deposit money. Their monies are kept by the prison officials. When an inmate needs something, he/she notifies a prison official and the prison official goes into the account of the inmate and purchases the item for the inmates. For instance, when an inmate needs bread or soap, it is the prison officials who purchase the item for the inmate. Some relatives give tips

to some prison officials who help in acquiring certain goods or commodities for the inmates.

The general public also gets to know of the products made by the prisoners through some of the prison officials who advertise and market the products when they go outside the precincts of the prison.

However, the services rendered by other vocational programmes like the electricals, metal works, masonry are mainly meant for the maintenance of the prison. Thus, for example, those in the electrical programme render services to the prison and not to the general public.

With respect to the hairdressing shop, only prison officials and the general public utilize their services. One would wonder why somebody would come to the prison to have his/her hair done. Comparatively, the fee charged for having a hair permed or hair washed is cheaper than the one charged in the wider society. The case of the female officials is even better. As part of the workers in the Nsawam Prison the fee is subsidized for them. The barbering shop is within the precincts of the male prison. As a result, the general public cannot come in and have their hair trimmed. The only people who utilize the services of the barbering shop are the prison staff and the prisoners. However, visitors may be allowed to use the services of the barbering shop. The barbering shop charges only GH¢0.50 per haircut which is relatively cheaper than the average charge of GH¢2.00 outside the four walls of the prison.

The proceeds from the products and services of the Medium Security Prisons are given back to the administration of the Nsawam Medium Security Prison. The profit is what

is returned, but the heads of the various vocations keep the rest to run the vocational training programme.

3.2.9 Success stories

It happens that some of the convicts, after training, take up the various trades after being discharged. Interviews with the heads of other various rehabilitation programmes show that there are some success stories. The researcher asked whether the heads of the programmes knew of ex-convicts who are currently pursuing the trade they learnt in prison. These were some of the comments made by some of the heads of the trades.

The head of soap-making vocation mentioned:

Yea I know one. Even last week she rang me and I met her at Accra and we went to buy the materials for her and she has sent it back. Her name is *Agartha*. She bought the material some time ago and her father told her that the business had boomed so she called me to go with her to buy more material. She is doing well now.

This is what the chief instructor of tailoring shop for the male section had to say:

I know three. One is in Kumasi. The other is in Tamale and the other in Ashaiman. They actually do work and pay. Thus they help people in their tailoring shops and they are paid. They have not set up their own shops yet. I call to check on them. They are doing well.

The head of the bakery trade narrates:

Yes, but they are not here. They are in Nigeria. They even call us now ... Ifeoma... We here use the rock salt for the bread but unfortunately in Nigeria they do not have that rock salt. She called us to get some for her. We made it and sent it to her and she has started the baking.

Similarly, the instructor of the batik, tie and dye vocation explains:

Yes, there is one person I know. She has her own shop. Last week she called me to help her buy some materials. We bought the materials and she is continuing with the production of materials for dresses.

These success stories can be explained by Roucek's theory of social control. As a result of participating in the rehabilitation programmes in the prison, some ex-convicts are now making a living and are becoming economically independent. Consequently, they are conforming to the norms of the society by not indulging in criminal activities, but focusing on their trades. Thus, the teaching (of vocational skills) and the motivations from the income earned is keeping them from crime.

Despite these success stories, some heads of the trades or the vocations admitted that they do not know of any participants who were still pursuing the vocation learnt in the prison. An officer commented that she does not know because she is not able to follow up on the inmates she trains.

Summarily, according to some of the instructor, some inmates who go through the vocational training programmes are able to make a living out of the vocation learnt in prison. However, it is quite obvious that others are not able to pursue the vocation in order to make a living out of it.

3.2.10 Economic Support for participants upon discharge

It was observed that inmates who complete some trades and are discharged from prison are given some monetary and sometimes logistic support. The monies, which are undisclosed, are given to them to start their own shops or trade in the vocation that they learnt while in prison. The heads of the bakery shop, the tailoring shop and the tie and dye and batik disclosed that some amount of money is given to support inmates who complete a vocation and are discharged. However, not all the heads of the various

trades were aware of this phenomenon. For the other trades, the heads mentioned that if an inmate is lucky and a non-governmental organization happens to visit the prison just at the point of discharge, the non-governmental organization gives money to the inmates who are ready to be discharged. Sometimes the non-governmental organizations even buy hair driers for those who complete the hairdressing vocation.

However, a key official at the female prison disclosed that now a discharge board has been set up. Inmates who complete and are competent in the vocation that they enroll in prison appear before the discharge board one month prior to the discharge. When the board is convinced of the competence of the inmate in the vocation learnt, it approves for some amount of money to be disbursed to the inmate. The amount of money is not fixed and it is generally based on the discretion of the board. In the case of those who complete the hairdressing trade, hair driers are also bought for them.

The head of the hairdressing shop discloses:

We have formed a discharge board. The inmate to be discharged appears before the board one month to the time of discharge. If she is deemed to be good in that vocation, money is approved to be given to that person as well as hair driers.

This finding is similar to the commendation of Rauman and Berk. Rauman and Berk assert that in addition to the rehabilitation programmes offered, offenders who have been released should be given some funds to fend for themselves while they look for employment (cited in Harrison & Schehr, 2004). They believe that such unemployment funds will keep ex-convicts from trouble and hence reduce recidivism. This is what Rousek's theory of social control explains. Motivation of people encourages them to conform to societal norms.

3.2.11 Certificates

Every inmate who completes the trade learnt in prison is given a certificate by the Ghana Prisons Service. The certificates serve as a very important asset to the inmates. It was observed that when inmates are not given some money upon discharge the certificate awarded serve as a means of getting employed. Three ex-convicts who are now tailors were not able to set up their own shops upon discharge but through their certificates they were able to get employed in someone else's tailoring shop. Unfortunately, the prison officials the researcher contacted did not give the whereabouts of these ex-convicts who are now gainfully employed in other people's shop.

3.2.12 Challenges of the vocational training programme

The various vocational programmes are plagued with certain challenges. Some of the challenges cannot be dealt with. Other problems or challenges can be solved. Some of the challenges that can be solved are lack of appropriate equipment, poor quality of available tools, obsolete machinery, poor attendance by inmate, and lack of large capital as well as negative perception of vocations by some inmates.

The availability of enough funds for the two medium security prisons would be a step in the right direction in making sure that these challenges are solved. The provision of funds can help purchase the right equipment so the instructors and the inmates would not have to improvise in cutting, for example, soaps of equal sizes with their bare hands. Again, with enough money, tools of high quality can be purchased so that after several years of use those tools would still be in good shape. New machines like the roller and the mixer for the bakery trade can be bought by the Ghana Prisons Service

so the profit margin of the bakery shop does not continue to decrease as some of the capital is used to pay technicians who repair the roller and the mixer when they break down. A vocation like the batik, tie and dye needs large capital in order to buy the raw materials and equipment in bulk so as to bring down the cost of production thereby increasing the profit margin. Through a series of talk and education, inmates with negative perception towards the vocational training programmes can change their minds. Similarly, inmates who are not self-motivated can be spurred on to remain committed to the vocational training programmes they enroll in.

However, it is difficult to solve some challenges. A typical example is the slow assimilation of some inmates. Some heads of the various vocational training programmes admitted that some inmates take a long time to learn simple tasks or parts of the production process. The head of the soap-making shop discloses:

Hmm, some of the inmates do not get (understand) things fast. I mean some of them are not fast in learning. Something that takes a week could take an inmate 3 months so you have to always instruct them. Sometimes I leave them alone and ask them to do it on their own.

The slow assimilation of some of the inmates becomes clear when one looks at the time span needed to complete the learning of a trade. The instructors of the various trade report that some inmates are not able to learn the trade within the stipulated time slated for a trade. An inmate's ability to learn a trade is dependent on how fast or slow an inmate is in learning some task. Consequently, most inmates go beyond the stipulated time. Nevertheless, some inmates are also able to learn fast and hence complete the trade in good time and sometimes before the stipulated time. But clearly, this challenge is difficult to tackle by the prison officials in charge of rehabilitation.

Another challenge that is difficult to manage is the role conflict of the instructors of the various vocations. The conflict arises when some of them have to perform some general duties for the prison and at the same time train the inmates and even sometimes try and finish orders by customers. This is what the head of the crocheting shop had to say:

It becomes a big struggle between me and my senior officers. Because they [the inmates] have to do their hard labour and come back to work for me. Or sometimes during the peak periods when I have to complete some orders and I myself have to perform some general duties. It also delays my work.

Clearly the dual role of some prison staff as both prison wardens and instructors of a vocation is something that is difficult to manage. Notwithstanding, this phenomenon is not peculiar to the prison staff only. Indeed, there are times when the inmates need to be at the workshop in order to produce some things. Unfortunately, at the same time, they would be doing their hard labour or attending to some other duties.

3.3 Prison Educational Programmes

There are basically four forms of educational programme in the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. They are non-formal education, information and communication technology, Junior High School and Senior High School.

3.3.1 History of the Educational programmes

It was in the year 2003 when the Ghana Prisons Service sought sponsorship from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to begin some form of education in the prison. This was because the Prison Service had realized that the majority of those

incarcerated were illiterates who could not read or write. The UNDP therefore sought to train coordinators for the educational programmes not only in the Nsawam prisons but in other central prisons in the country.

In January, 2008 under the Presidential Special Initiative on Distance Learning, the educational programmes of the Nsawam Prisons were established. However, educational programmes had existed in some prisons. Indeed, as at 2007 there were three (3) student-inmates who had enrolled in the Junior High School and three (3) student-inmates who had also enrolled in Senior High School in the other prisons (Ghana Prisons Service, 2007).

Also, the non-formal education was also operative in Nsawam Prison as well as other prisons before 2008. The non-formal educational programme was revamped in the year 2008 when other forms of education like the Junior High School and Senior High School as well as the Information and Technology were introduced in the year 2008 under the President Special Initiative on Distance Learning.

The educational programmes were designed to provide opportunities for inmates who have never had any kind of formal education or who for one reason or the other, not able to complete either their Junior High School or Senior High School. In 2008, the programme began with about sixty (60) students who enrolled in the different educational programmes namely non-formal, Junior High School, Senior High School, Information Communication and Technology. However, the story of the Junior High School is worthy of note. Even though many student-inmates were trained to write the final exams, only six (6) students were registered for the 2008 final exams. All six (6)

students passed. In other words, none of the student-inmates failed in any subject. These students were then enrolled in the Senior High School in the same prisons.

Currently, the Prison Service in collaboration with Centre for Distance Learning and Open Schooling (CENDLOS) runs the educational programme in the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons as well as other prisons. CENDLOS is a new agency created under the Ministry of Education. This agency has absorbed all the activities of the President Special Initiative on Distance Learning on Distance Learning. Now CENDLOS trains staff of the Nsawam Prisons as well as staff of other central prisons to deliver education to the student-inmates who enroll in the Junior High School and the Senior High School.

The United Nations Development Programme also contributes its quota to the development of the educational programme by donating money and training prison staff to man the educational programmes. However, it is not actively involved in running the educational programme.

The Ghana Education Service (GES) also helps in delivering education to the inmates of the Nsawam prison and other central prisons, by donating approved textbooks to the inmates. It is one of the main stake holders in the provision of education to the inmates. The GES has approved and given accreditation to the Nsawam Reformers Junior High School as autonomous and fully fledged school. However, the Nsawam Reformers Senior High School has not received accreditation to run as a full school yet. Consequently, the student-inmates of the Senior High School write the private candidate exams organized by the West African Examination Council.

3.3.2 Purpose for establishing educational programmes

According to a top official at the Nsawam Male Prison, the non-formal education was set up to provide functional literacy to inmates who have never had any kind of formal education. The idea is to teach inmates how to read and write English, Akan, Ga and Ewe. Another official made an interesting comment with regards to training inmates in the educational programme, specifically the non-formal education. She observed:

What I believe is that certain crimes are done because of lack of knowledge. So if the person is educated it can prevent crime. There might be a warning not to do something but because one may not be able to read it he violates and therefore commits crime and arrested. So we want to train them and educate them.

This comment made by this official corroborates the study of Vacca (2008). Vacca asserts that crime can be prevented if schools teach juvenile offenders how to write. This assertion by Vacca is supported by a popular quote of Victor Hugo. According to Victor Hugo, “He who opens a school door closes a prison door.” Clearly, the belief is that one of the ways of keeping people away from committing crime is by teaching them how to read and write for themselves. Indeed ignorance of the law does not mean that one is exonerated.

The purpose for establishing the Junior High School, on the other hand, is to give opportunity to inmates who were not able to complete Junior High School before being arrested. This reason also applies to the Senior High School. Thus, the Senior High School is meant to give opportunity for those who were also not able to complete second cycle before being imprisoned.

When asked about the purpose for establishing the information communication and technology (ICT), this is what a key official of the prison had to say:

It is to train those who are literate but who are not interested in formal education or those who already have some form of formal education. They are trained in both hardware and software.

Another official who was an instructor in the educational programme gave a somewhat general purpose for the education in the prison. She believes that not every inmate may be able to set up his/her own shop after enrolling in a vocation. Secondly, it is not every inmate that will do well in business, but those who enroll in the formal education can apply for jobs in both government and private institutions. This is how she captures it:

It is not everybody who can do business. If you give them capital for a vocation, it will fail. So for those who cannot start something on their own, we put them through the formal education so that when they leave here they can be absorbed into either government or private work.

From her statement, one can deduce that the main purpose for the educational programmes in the prison is to equip inmates with knowledge that can make them employable. Of course with employment, they will earn some income which may be able to keep them away from crime.

3.3.3 Duration of educational programmes

3.3.3.1 Schooling Days

The duration for the Junior High School and the Senior High School are exactly the same for the schools in the wider society. Lessons begin at 8 in the morning and end at 2:30 in the afternoon. The ICT and the non-formal education classes begin in the morning and end in the afternoon.

3.3.3.2 Entire educational programme

On the whole, it takes an inmate two to three years to complete the non-formal programme. With respect to the Junior High School and the Senior High School, the duration is quite clear. Both take three years to complete just like the Junior High School and the Senior High Schools within the larger society. The ICT also takes about 2 years to complete. Despite the stipulated time for each of the educational programme, an inmate's ability to complete a programme is contingent on whether the inmate is a fast learner or a slow learner. For instance, with both the Junior and Senior High Schools in the prison, if an inmate is deemed not well prepared for the final exams, he or she is not registered for the final exams. The inmate is made to repeat the third year with the hope that he or she will be well prepared for the following year's final exams conducted by the West African Examination Council (WAEC).

3.3.4 Enrollment

Enrollment in the educational programmes has some interesting dynamics. For the non-formal education, an invitation is thrown to all who may be interested in learning how to read and write. However, with this form of education, a test is conducted to assess one's proficiency in any of the three Ghanaian languages (Akan, Ewe and Ga) of interest together with the English language. When an inmate successfully passes through the non-formal education and is still in prison, he or she is encouraged to enroll in the Junior High School.

Nevertheless, inmates who have passed through primary education and could not get to Junior High School before their imprisonment also enroll in the Junior High School.

Similarly, when an inmate is able to complete the Junior High School programme and is still in prison, he or she is encouraged to also enroll in the Senior High School.

With respect to the ICT, a test is conducted to know whether a person is already literate and have had some form of formal education already. If an inmate passes the test, he or she is allowed to enroll in the ICT.

Table 3.5: Enrollment of male and female prisoners

Educational Programme	Sex of Students		
	Male	Female	Total
Non-formal	60	26	86(47.2%)
Junior High	24	6	30(16.5%)
Senior High	14	5	19(10.4%)
ICT	40	7	47(25.8%)
Total	138	44	182(100.0%)

Source: Field data, April, 2012.

From table 3.5, it is clear that for both prisons more people enroll in the non-formal education than any other form of education. They make up 47.2%. Only 10.4% of the participants of the educational programme are enrolled in the Senior High School. Perhaps, the reason more people enroll in the non-formal education is because it does not require inmates with very sharp minds. The lessons taught are purely language. They do not entail any rigorous mathematical calculations and memorizations. However, a very interesting phenomenon is the fact that the type of education with the second highest number of enrollment is the ICT. Perhaps more inmates and of course the Ghana Prisons Service have realized the importance of ICT training.

3.3.5 Curriculum

The curriculum for the Junior High School and the Senior High School in the prisons is the same for the any normal Junior high School and Senior High School in the wider society. Consequently, the same courses which are taught in any Junior high School and Senior high School are taught in the prison.

For the Information Communication and Technology, the programme is run like other computer schools outside the prison. Some courses taught in the prison are Microsoft Word, Microsoft PowerPoint, Microsoft Excel, among others.

3.3.6 Examinations

Junior High School participants or students as well as Senior High School participants take the final exams organized by the West Africa Examination Council. Since the Senior High Schools for both prisons have not been approved, students are registered as private candidates. Participants of the ICT also take part in the final examination organized by the National Vocational Training Institute. The non-formal education participants do not take part in any external examination. There is an internal examination for the participants to test their proficiency in the languages taught them.

3.3.7 Motivation for inmate-students

Motivation is a key issue in the enrollment and attendance of classes. It was reported that enrollment and attendance of the educational programmes were not encouraging. This is probably due to the prison situation or the conflict situation of the prison. Even

though the prison is noted for rehabilitating inmates, it is also a place of hardship. This situation deters inmates from enrolling. Sometimes inmates who have enrolled in the educational programmes do not attend classes regularly. As a way of motivating inmates to both enroll and attend classes, biscuits and candies are given to the participants by some teachers. The biscuits and candies are what propel inmates to enroll and especially attend classes. This is what a key informant in the female prison had to say:

There was one teacher...if he is going to teach he will buy biscuits, so immediately the inmates hear the chanting of the words 'akrantea' (bush meat) or paracetamol they know there will be biscuits so the inmates rush to the class. But if they go and there are no biscuits or toffee, the next time they will not go. So they need to be motivated.

This finding does not corroborate Spark and Harrison's observation. Spark and Harrison (2005) observed that for women, participation in educational programmes does not only help them to be employable, but it also helps them to forget about their worries. As a result more women participated in the educational programmes. Perhaps the low level of motivation of the participants in the Nsawam Prison is because of what is known as the pains of imprisonment (Abotchie, 2008). From the quotation of the prison official, it was when inmates were provided with certain goods like biscuits and candies that they were motivated to attend classes. Thus, the theory of social control comes into play here. Persuasion (motivation) a key component of Roucek's social control is what encourages inmates to attend classes and to conform to the rules in the prison school.

3.3.8 Instructors or Teachers

The teachers of the various educational programmes are both prison staff and inmates of the prison. Table 3.6 indicates the number of teachers for the various educational programmes.

Table 3.6: Number of instructors or teachers for the female prison

Type of education	Frequency	Percentage
Non-formal	1	12.5
Junior and Senior High	5	62.5
ICT	2	25.0
Total	8	100.0

Source: Field data, April 2012

In the female prison, only eight (8) teachers are available for the entire educational programmes. Out of this number, 62.5% are teachers of the Junior High School while 12.5% are found in the non-formal section. Ironically, there are more participants of the non-formal education than any other form of education. One would have expected that more teachers would be found in the non-formal sector. However, the non-formal education section has the least number of teachers.

Table 3.7: Number of instructors for the male prison education

Type of education	Frequency	Percentage
Non-formal	3	10.3
Junior High	12	41.4
Senior High	10	34.5
ICT	4	13.8
Total	29	100.0

Source: Field data, April 2012.

The result from table 3.7 is not different from that of table 3.6. Out of the twenty nine (29) teachers or tutors at male prison 41.4% teach at the Junior High School whereas only 10.3% teach at the non-formal level. Clearly, there is a contrast here. More inmates enroll in the non-formal programme than any other programme yet the non-formal education section has the least number of teachers. There is therefore the need for more teachers in the non-formal section.

3.3.9 Funding

The funding of the educational programme was originally done by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Ghana Prisons Service sought sponsorship from the UNDP in order to establish some form of education as is the case of many prisons in the Western world. In this light, the UNDP trained officials in all the central prisons to be coordinators of the educational programmes. The educational programme formally began in the year 2008. Since then the Ghana Prisons Service has taken it upon itself to finance all four forms of prison education in both the male and female prison. However, certain organizations and non-governmental organizations have come in from time to time to support the Ghana Prisons Service in providing education for inmates who are in their custody.

3.3.10 Challenges of the educational programme

The challenges of the educational programme in the two medium security prisons are worthy of note. Again the challenges can be grouped under two: the ones that something can be done about and the ones that nothing can be done about.

One of the main challenges of the educational programme is the lack of trained teachers who could be of immense help to the student-inmates in the various educational programmes. To provide the best of education to the inmates perhaps having trained teachers would be the best.

Another problem of the educational programme is the absence of motivation for both teachers and student-inmates of the various educational programmes. It is not easy teaching inmates who may be hardened criminals. Some teachers have a tough time teaching the student-inmates. Motivating the teachers, both prison staff teachers and inmate teachers, would be a step in the right direction. Similarly, it is not easy to school in prison. Some inmates who responded to the questionnaire clearly indicated that the prison is not the best place for education. The hardship and trouble in the prison makes it difficult for inmates to concentrate during classes. This explains why some teachers in the female prison carry with them biscuits and candies when they want to go and teach. Nevertheless, motivating inmates with biscuits and candies may not be enough for some inmates who do not like such things. The inmates should be admonished not to consider their plight but to focus on the knowledge that they will acquire.

Another challenge of the educational programmes as a whole is the lack of Ghana Education Service approved textbooks for teaching and learning. Even though some teachers resort to other books not approved by the GES, the right thing to do is to supply the inmates with the government approved textbooks for English, Mathematics, Social Studies as well as Integrated Science. The lack of textbooks affects the Senior High School more often than the other educational programmes.

The next problem is the interference of classes especially for the female inmates. For the female prison there is a block with many rooms. These rooms serve as the workshop for the various vocations like the soap-making, tie and dye and batik, crocheting, and tailoring shop. The two classrooms for both Junior and Senior High Schools are at the end of the block. Noise from the other workshops, as a result of the production of the various products, distracts and sometimes irritates both teachers and student inmates. As a result, an official with the female educational programme advocated for a separate building or structure to host the classes for both the Junior and Senior High Schools. These are her words:

Another big challenge is where the classrooms are. I had wanted them to put a different structure standing on its own for the Junior High School and Senior High School. Currently, the classrooms are part of the shops and so disturb us. We made an appeal but it is still not done.

Moreover, the age difference between the instructors or teachers and some of the inmate students is so wide that some of the teachers find it difficult to teach. Nothing can be done about the age difference between the teachers and the students. The normal thing would be that a teacher would be older than a student because this makes the student accord some level of respect to the teacher. However, this is not the case in the two medium security prisons. For example, there is a 60 year old man who has enrolled in the Junior High School after passing through the non-formal education in the male prison. Some of the teachers find it difficult to punish or discipline him when he does the wrong thing. The same phenomenon happens in the female prison too. An official also complains about the effect of the wide age difference in a very concise and precise manner:

We are not able to organize them like young adults because they are adults. Some of them can be my grandmothers.

Obviously, inmates who are well advanced in years have their own thoughts and the way things ought to be run. These ‘grandmothers’ will definitely find it difficult complying with some instructions or directives from the ‘young’ teachers.

Transfer of inmates who are still pursuing the academic programme is also a major problem within the female prison. The norm at the Nsawam Security Prisons is that inmates who are enrolled in any rehabilitation programme are exempted from transfers to other prisons. This seems to be working well in the male prison. In fact, the headmaster of the Junior and Senior High School disclosed that some inmates enroll in the educational programmes, and indeed the vocational programmes, in order to be exempted from transfers. However, this does not seem to work for the females. In fact most of the inmates who are enrolled in the non-formal education have experienced many transfers. An official with the female educational programme explains:

The problem we have is the transfer of inmates especially the non-formal inmates to other prisons. You know this is a big establishment so other prisons would want some inmates so they are transferred to those prisons.

The next problem only applies to the female and that is the lack of student desks for the female students. Students make do with long benches which serve as both chairs and tables. Consequently, the long hours sitting on those benches make them easily tired. This is one of the peculiar challenges of the female prison education.

Lastly, the male ICT programme does not have enough computers. This is because there are forty (40) inmates enrolled in the programme; however, the number of computers available is less than twenty (20).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined critically the vocational and educational programmes that are available to inmates in the Nsawam Prisons. A brief history of these programmes in the prison was outlined. More specifically, an overview of the programmes including enrollment levels as well as challenges was captured. Enrollment levels for both males and females in the educational training programmes were higher than that of the vocational programmes. This could be explained by the fact that the vocational programmes are not functional and fully operative all year round. Additionally, the majority of these trades are for maintenance purposes. On the other hand, the educational programmes are operative all year round. A latent reason why more people enroll in the educational programmes is because they are exempted from transfers to other prisons. The challenges facing these two rehabilitation programmes are numerous. While some of the challenges cannot be dealt with, others can be handled if the Prison Service has enough funds allocated for rehabilitation programmes.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA ON THE IMPACT OF REHABILITATION

PROGRAMMES ON RECDIVISTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The second part of the data presentation and analysis is discussed in this chapter. This chapter captures information regarding inmates' demographics as well as their enrollment in rehabilitation programmes, their standard of living and the effect of the programmes on the inmates who participated in them during their previous incarceration.

4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

4.2.1. Age of respondents

In looking at the demographic background of respondents age is a very important variable. In fact, it is the one of the primary basis of demographic groupings. According to Edwin Sutherland, in his theory of Differential Association, if one commits crime at his or her formative age, then it is probable that such a person may have a long criminal history. Table 4.1 shows the age groupings of the inmates in the two Medium Security Prisons.

Table 4.1: Age distribution of respondents

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
18-24	11	8.2
25-31	51	38.1
32-38	40	29.9
39-45	19	14.2
Above 45	13	9.7
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March, 2012

Table 4.1 reveals that most of the inmates in the Nsawam Prisons are youth. In Ghana, the youth are those within the age bracket of fifteen (15) and thirty five (35). About thirty eight percent (38%) of the recidivists selected for the study are between the ages of twenty five (25) and thirty one (31). This is closely followed by inmates whose age ranges between thirty two (32) and thirty eight (38); they make up about fourteen percent (14%) of the total recidivists. Those who are between thirty nine (39) and forty five (45) also account for about fourteen percent (14%) of the recidivists. In all, those age ranges from fifteen (15) to thirty-five (35) accounts for about seventy-five percent (75%) of the respondents. The implication of the age distribution of the recidivists cannot be overemphasized. Ghana's youth and, in fact, the working class make up the prison population in the nation. If such inmates are not reformed then as youthful as they are, they may commit further crimes again. This situation may pose a threat to the internal security of Ghana.

4.2.2 Sex of Respondents

In all one hundred and thirty one (131) males accounting for about ninety eight percent (98%) participated in the research while only three (3) female recidivists, who make up only two percent (2%), took part in the study. This variable was chosen to look at the dynamics of sex with respect to recidivism in the prisons. In other words, it was asked to look at the different experiences of both men and women while incarcerated and the different impact if any of the rehabilitation programmes on them.

4.2.3. Religion of respondents

Religion is another important demographic variable. It permeates through every facet of the live of the individual. It may have varying impact on the rate of re-offending on the parts of inmates who adhere to any religion in general. The table below depicts the religion of the respondents. This variable was looked at in order to know the religious orientation of recidivists.

Table 4.2: Religion of respondents

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Christianity	112	82.1
Islam	22	16.4
African Traditional Religion	1	.7
Buddhism	1	.7
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March, 2012.

As displayed in table 4.2, about eighty-two (82%) of the respondents asserted to be Christians while sixteen percent (16%) of recidivists of the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons indicated that they were Moslems. Two (2) respondents were adherents of the African Traditional Religion and Buddhism, respectively. Clearly, the information above is a true picture of the religious backgrounds of Ghanaians. More Ghanaians like to be identified with the Christian religion followed by Islamic religion and then African Tradition Religion. Put differently, there are more Christians than any other religious group with Moslems being the second largest group of religious folks in Ghana. Other Eastern religions like Budhism are recent phenomena in the country.

They have not gained much ground and ascendancy in the nation, Ghana. This explains why such religions are virtually not represented in the study.

4.2.4. Educational background of recidivists

Investigating the educational background of respondents is important. This is because there seems to be some kind of relationship between a persons' educational background and the commission of crime. The table below shows the educational background of the recidivists.

Table 4.3: Educational background of recidivists

Educational Background	Frequency	Percentage
Basic	81	60.4
Second Cycle	30	22.4
Tertiary	8	6.0
None	15	11.2
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March, 2012.

The majority of the respondents (60%) had only basic education. On the other hand, twenty two percent (22%) have had education up to the secondary level, and only 6% had education up to the tertiary level. Yet about 11% of the respondents have had no form of formal education at all. To some extent, the information depicts some kind of relationship between education, employment and crime. People with low level of education may not be able to get good jobs that would earn them enough money for their living. They may have to supplement their meagre incomes with other activities and such activities could be illegal leading to their arrest, prosecution and incarceration. The fact that about 11% of the recidivists had no education is not

surprising. The likelihood of them being unemployed and hence not having any income is high. They are therefore forced, in the words of Merton, to innovate. This finding is consistent with McKean and Ransford (2004) who observed that lack of high school degree positively correlates with criminal activity.

4.2.5. Nationality of recidivists

The table below shows the various countries from which the recidivists come from. This was asked to ascertain the kind of nationals who make up the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons.

Table 4.4: Nationality of recidivists

Nationality	Frequency	Percentage
Ghanaian	123	91.8
Nigerian	5	3.7
Togolese	5	3.7
Dutch	1	.7
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

It is not surprising that 92% of the respondents are Ghanaians. Nigerians and Togolese make up about 4% of the recidivists. Only one of the respondents is non-African.

4.2.6. Marital status of recidivists

Marriage is one of the sources of social bonds that affect a person's criminality. When people have strong social bonds it is likely to deter them from crime. The marital status of the recidivists is captured in the table below. For the purpose of this study, the

marital status of the recidivists was grouped into single, married, divorced/widowed/separated and cohabiting.

Table 4.5: Marital status of recidivists

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	46	34.3
Married	72	53.7
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	11	8.2
Cohabiting	5	.7
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Table 4.5 indicates that 53.7% are married. Only 0.7% of the recidivists were cohabiting. Recidivists who were single make up 34.3%. The fact that the bulk of the recidivists are married is not surprising as many of the recidivists are of marriageable age.

4.2.7. Employment status of recidivists before arrest

The link between crime and occupational status is well established. A person's employment status may determine whether or not a person commits crime. All things being equal a person without employment is more likely to commit crime due to lack of income. On the other hand, a person who is employed is less likely to commit crime. This is due to the fact that a person's income may be able to cater for his or her needs thereby deterring him/her from committing crimes.

Table 4.6: Employment status of recidivists before arrest

Employment Status	Frequency	Percentage
Employed	105	78.4
Unemployed	29	21.6
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

As seen from Table 4.6, 78% of the recidivists were employed one way or the other. Only a small proportion (21.6%) of the recidivists was unemployed. This revealing information is quite surprising. This is because one would have expected that a larger proportion of the recidivists would have been unemployed. Clearly this is not so. Rather a larger proportion of the recidivists were employed. This means that apart from economic reasons other reasons may be compelling people to commit crimes. This finding concurs with McCall (1998). McCall explains that aside economic reasons, several factors like alcohol, drug abuse, and family problems, among others make people to commit crimes.

4.2.8. Conviction and occupation of recidivists

Looking at the two variables, crimes committed and occupation would help in ascertaining what kind of workers or professional are prone to what kind of crimes.

Table 4.7 captures this information.

Table 4.7: Conviction and occupation of recidivists.

Conviction	Occupation				Total
	Civil Service	Public servant	Self-employment	Private organization	
Stealing	2 (5.9%)	1(2.9%)	21(61.8%)	10(29.4%)	34(100%)
Robbery	7(20%)	3(8.6%)	20(57.1%)	5(14.3%)	35(100%)
Fraud	0(0%)	1(14.3%)	5(71.4%)	1(14.3%)	7(100%)
Drugs	3(75%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(25%)	4(100%)
Defilement	0(0%)	0(0%)	5(55.6%)	4(44.4%)	9(100%)
Murder	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)	1(100%)
Assault	0(0%)	5(50%)	3(30%)	2(20%)	10(100%)
Rape	0(0%)	0(0%)	3(100)	0(0%)	3(100%)
Possession of fire arms	0(0%)	1(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Kidnapping	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Total	12(11.4%)	11(10.5%)	58(55.2%)	24(22.9%)	105(100%)

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

The majority of the recidivists were employed before their current incarceration. The table reveals that out of the thirty-four (34) people who were convicted of stealing, 61.8% of them were self-employed. Again, out of the thirty-five (35) inmates who were convicted of robbery, the majority of them (57.1%) were also self-employed. Clearly, most of the inmates who were self-employed were either convicted of stealing or robbery. One makes this inference: the kind of self-employment that the recidivists engage in did not fetch them much money hence their commission of such economic crimes. This finding supports the theory of poverty and crime. When one is poor, evidenced by low income, one is therefore compelled to commit economic crimes in order to support one's self. This finding is also consistent with the observation of Witte

and Witt. Witte and Witt (2000) explain that employment in itself does not deter people from committing crime. They assert that some individuals can commit crime while they are employed since their employment can serve as a means of committing more crime. Additionally, they comment that some criminals may augment the income from their work in order to satisfy their needs by committing crimes. This situation where more of the recidivists were employed is consistent with the theory of this study. Rocucek's social control explains that individuals who are not well motivated are more likely to defy societal norms. Perhaps, the reason why most of the respondents who were employed committed crimes could be due to the low rewards obtained from their respective jobs.

4.2.9. Length of current sentence

Invariably the number of years given to recidivists is dependent on the type or kind of crime committed. The length of the sentence was asked in order to know the amount of time recidivists are made to spend in the prison.

Table 4.8: Length of sentence

No. of years	Frequency	Percentage
0-9 years	69	51.5
10-19 years	37	27.6
20-29 years	8	6.0
30-39 years	7	5.2
40-49 years	8	6.0
Lifers	5	3.7
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Table 4.8 indicates that the majority of the recidivists' (51.5%) sentence was between 0-9 years. This was closely followed by those whose sentence was between 10-19 years. They make up 27.6% of the total respondents. Only 3.7% of the recidivists were to spend their whole life time in prison.

4.2.10. Part of sentence served

The majority of the recidivists (73.9%) had served only up to five (5) years in the prisons. This is followed by 22.4% of the recidivists who had spent between six (6) to ten (10) years in the prison for their current conviction. Only one person had spent above fifteen years in the male prison. This means that the majority of the recidivists are left with more years to spend in the prison.

4.3. Completion of vocational training and standard of living

4.3.1 Enrollment in vocational programme

Enrollment in vocational programme is very crucial in determining the success of the rehabilitation mandate of the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons.

Table: 4.9: Recidivists' enrollment in vocational training programme

Enrollment	Frequency	Percent
Yes	38	28.4
No	96	71.6
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

From table 4.9, it is evident that with respect to vocational training, only thirty eight (38) of the recidivists representing 28.4% percent enrolled in a vocational training programme during their previous incarceration. A vast majority of them (71.6%) never enrolled in a vocational programme. Thus, the majority of the respondents did not receive any teaching (vocational training skills or academic education) which is an essential element in Roucek's theory of social control. The theory states that teaching, persuasion and coercion makes people to conform. Consequently such ex-convicts who did not take part in the rehabilitation programmes indulge in crimes when they are discharged. This finding is consistent with other correctional studies (cited in Cullen & Jonson; Ansre, 2010). These studies have asserted that most inmates do not enroll in rehabilitation programmes. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the majority of them had their jobs or vocations which were not present at the prisons. In such instances, the recidivists are not motivated to enroll in a trade or vocation which is not the same as what they had prior to their imprisonment.

4.3.2. Type of vocational training

Apart from examining whether recidivists enrolled in vocational training programme or not, both male and female recidivists who enrolled were asked to state the particular vocational training programme that they enrolled in. Table 4.10 shows the various types of vocations that the recidivists took interest in.

Table 4.10: Various vocations enrolled in by recidivists.

Type of vocational Training Programme	Frequency	Percent
Tailoring	12	31.6
Shoemaking	7	18.4
Basketry and Cane Weaving	6	15.8
Carpentry	5	13.2
Electricals	4	10.5
Plumbing	3	7.9
Bread making	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Table 4.10 depicts that the majority of the recidivists (31.6%) who enrolled in the vocational training programmes were interested in the tailoring shop. This is followed by 18.4% of the recidivists who enrolled in shoemaking. Only one female recidivist enrolled in the bread making trade. A probable reason why most of the recidivists had enrolled in the tailoring shop is because it is the only official and operative vocational training programme for the inmates. This, perhaps, explains why most of the recidivists were interested in the tailoring vocation. The other vocational training programmes for the male inmates such as the masonry, carpentry, metal works, among others, are currently for maintenance of the prisons and hence are not very operative.

4.3.3. Completion of vocational training

Enrollment in vocational training programmes, though good, is not the most important thing. Rather an inmate's ability to complete a programme is more crucial. An inmate's

ability to complete the vocational programme enrolled in is very pertinent to the success of the rehabilitation programmes designed for inmates in the Nsawam Prisons. Thus, an inmate's ability to complete is not only crucial for the success of the Prisons' programme, but also for the reformation and rehabilitation of the inmates themselves. The next table indicates the number of inmates who were able to complete their vocational training programmes while in custody.

Table 4.11: Ability to complete vocational programme

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	27	71.0
No	11	29.0
Total	38	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the thirty eight (38) recidivists who enrolled in a vocational programme, seventy one percent (71%) were able to complete their vocational training programme during their previous time in prison. On the other hand, twenty nine percent (29%) were not able to complete the training programme and so were compelled to drop out due to some factors.

4.3.4 Reasons for incompleteness of training

Examining the reasons for the incompleteness of the vocational training programme is very pertinent in designing measures that will ensure a high completion rate of the inmates who enroll in vocational programme. Out of the eleven (11) recidivists who were not able to complete their vocational training programme, the majority of them (36.4%) were compelled to stop because of constant thinking about their sentence and

their family that they have been separated from. This is followed by 27.2% of them who also did not finish because of the bad living conditions in the prison. Lack of time and food were the other reasons given by the four (4) recidivists. 18.2% of the respondents each asserted that lack of time and food were their challenge. The conflict situation of the prison, as explained by Hayner and Ash (cited in Abotchie, 2008) is clearly seen here. The prison is a place for inmates to be rehabilitated; however, the prisoners experience very challenging and difficult situations which sometimes deter them from enrolling or completing rehabilitation programmes.

4.3.5. Duration for completion

One of the factors that ensures or determines the efficiency of the vocational training programme is the duration of the training. All things being equal, if the duration of the training is just the same as other vocational training programme outside the prison walls then one can have confidence in the programmes designed for inmates. Fifty nine percent (59%) of the recidivists spent up to two years in completing their training while the other 41% of the recidivists spent three (3) to five (five) years. The duration for completing the vocations in the prison was compared to the duration of completing similar vocations organized by the NVTI, and they were found to be similar.

4.3.6. Number of recidivists who faced challenges during enrollment

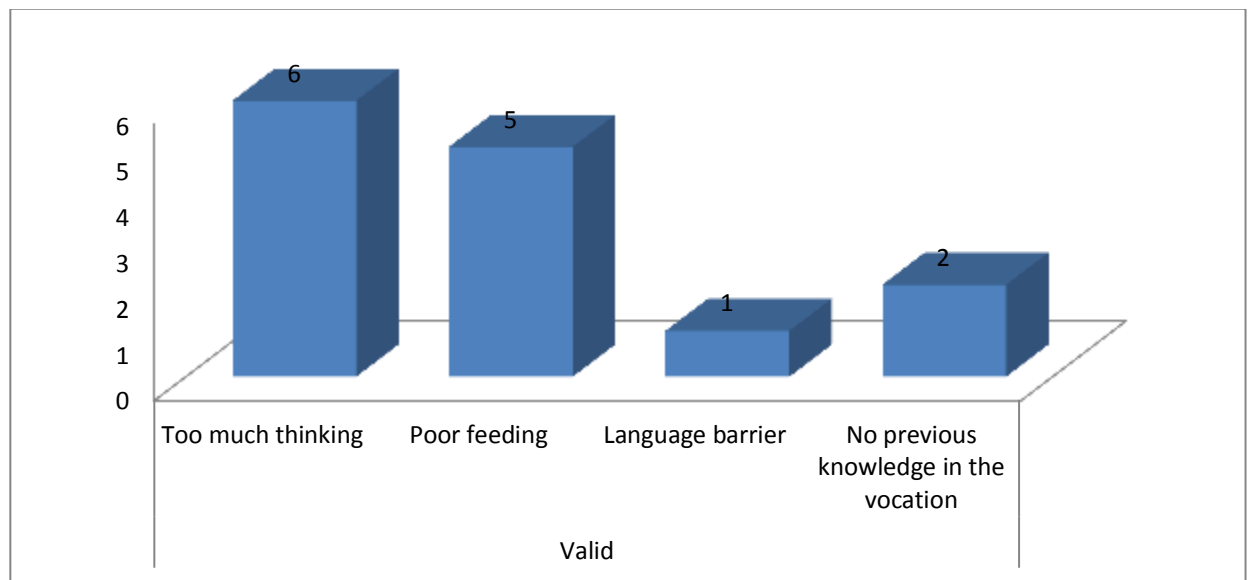
This variable was examined to know the proportion of recidivists who enrolled in the vocational programmes and had peculiar challenges during their enrollment. Out of the thirty eight (38) recidivists who enrolled in the vocational training, the majority of

them (63%) did not face challenges whereas thirty seven percent (37%) faced challenges.

4.3.7. Challenges faced by recidivists during enrollment

The challenges faced by recidivists during enrollment in vocational training programme undoubtedly affect the process of rehabilitating inmates. This variable was examined in order to know the challenges faced by participants of the various vocational training programmes. When such challenges are known, measures can be put in place to ameliorate if not totally curb these challenges. Figure 1 shows the various challenges faced by the recidivists during their enrollment in the vocational programme.

Figure 1: Challenges faced by participants in vocational training programmes



Source: Field data, March 2012.

Figure 1 reveals that out of the fourteen (14) recidivists who faced challenges during their enrollment, 42.9% indicated that constant thinking about their sentence was their

main challenge. This is followed by five (5) of them who asserted that poor feeding was their main challenge. Two (2) of them representing 4.3% also indicated that their challenge was lack of previous knowledge in the vocation. It is not surprising that constant thinking by recidivists and poor feeding were the main challenges faced by the recidivists. In fact, these two were among a number of reasons why some recidivists were not able to complete their vocational training programme. This means that even though those who enrolled in the vocational training programmes were faced with similar challenges, some of them were able to surmount those challenges and were able to complete the training.

4.3.8. Helpful factors during enrollment in vocational training

The helpful factors present during enrollment are a big motivation for inmates who enroll in vocational programmes. When such things are always present, many more recidivists would be inspired to engage in the vocational training programme. Among the many factors that the thirty eight (38) recidivists indicated helped during their enrollment, 39.5% of them asserted that what really helped them was the fact that they were exempted from transfers to other prisons. This is followed by those who said that they obtained some personal money. They make up 18.4% of the total number of recidivists who enrolled in the vocational training programme. Only two (2) recidivists indicated that the pride of being able to solve some problems was helpful to them. The majority of the recidivists indicated that being exempted from transfer helped them. In the male prison, participants of any rehabilitation programme, be it vocational and educational programme, are exempted from being transferred to other prisons. Perhaps,

the exemption from transfers to other prisons is the main motivation for the enrollment in rehabilitation programmes.

4.3.9 Importance of vocational training programmes to inmates

Inmates who enrolled were asked the extent to which the vocational training programme was important to them. The range for measuring the extent of the importance was from poor to excellent. Out of the thirty-eight (38) recidivists who enrolled in vocational programme, 42% of them rated their programme to be good. This is followed by 34% of the recidivists who asserted that their programme was satisfactory. Only three percent (3%) of the participants in the vocational programme rated their training to be excellent. On the whole, participants of the various rehabilitation programmes admit that the programmes are helpful.

4.3.10. Employment after discharge

Ascertaining the employment of inmates after enrolling in vocational programme is, to some extent, a measure of the efficiency of the vocational training programmes run by the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. Out of the thirty eight (38) recidivists who enrolled in a vocational programme, only thirty seven percent (37%) of them got jobs. On the other hand, the majority of them (63%) were not able to get jobs after being discharged.

4.3.11 Jobs obtained by recidivists after discharge.

Table 4.12: Kinds of jobs obtained by vocational trainees after discharge

Kind of jobs obtained	Frequency	Percentage
Chop bar attendant	1	7.1
Trader	1	7.1
Farmer	2	14.2
Janitor	2	14.2
Tailoring	2	14.2
Shoemaker (Cobbler)	2	14.2
Porter	4	28.6
Total	14	100.0

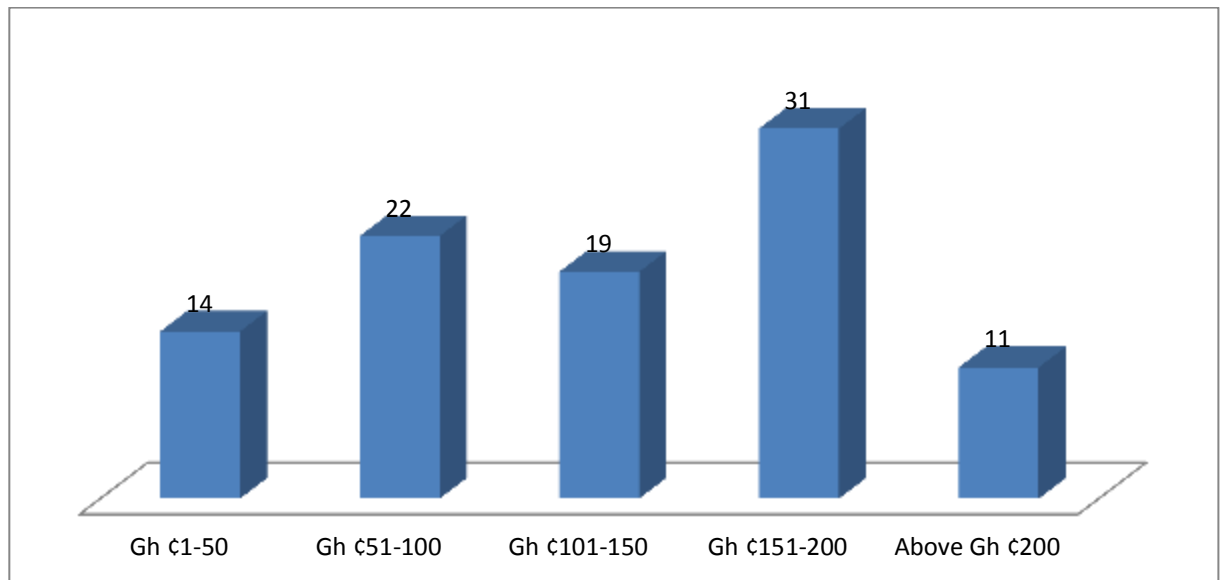
Source: Field data, March 2012.

Table 4.12 indicates that the majority of the recidivists (28.6%) became porters. On the other hand, 14.2% each of the recidivists were shoemakers, janitors, farmers and tailors, respectively. The implication of the information above suggests that most of the recidivists who enroll in the vocational trade were not able to pursue a trade in the vocation learnt in the prison. They rather found themselves in other jobs that did not require training in the prison. This can, perhaps, be explained by the lack of capital for recidivists to engage in a trade after release. It is in this light that the Ghana Prisons Service has determined to support all inmates who complete a vocation with some amount of money and sometimes logistics or equipment needed in the vocation. On the other hand, only a few of the recidivists pursued a trade in a vocation learnt in prison. Perhaps, these were beneficiaries of the policy of the Ghana Prisons Service of giving economic support to inmates who complete a vocation. Another possible explanation is that the needed capital to start a trade like for example shoemaking is not huge.

4.3.12 Income received by recidivists

The incomes received by recidivists will to some extent determine how economically independent they were. It would also be a key determining factor in ascertaining their standard of living after release. Figure 2 depicts the various levels of income by some the recidivists who took part in the study.

Figure 2: Incomes received by recidivists after discharged



A total of ninety seven (97) recidivists received some kind of income even though not all were employed. Out of the total number who received income in one way or the other, the majority of them (32%) earned between GH₵150 and GH₵200 per month. On the other hand, 11.3% of the recidivists earned above GH₵200 monthly. Figure2 speaks for itself. This information suggests that the amount of income that recidivists receive in general after release from prison is perhaps not enough to meet all their needs and that of their dependents or family members. To have these respondent back in prison suggests that the theory of poverty and crime is evident here. When income is low, people would be forced to engage in other socio-economic activities in order to

supplement their income. This situation predisposes such ex-convicts with low incomes to commit crime with the hope of getting enough money for themselves and their families. The situation can also be explained by Rousek's theory of social control. Individuals need to be well motivated in order to conform to society's norms. On the other hand, if individuals are not well motivated or rewarded (low incomes) they are predisposed to going against societal norms.

4.3.13 Savings in a month

Saving in general speaks a lot about the economic standing of a person. The table below shows the saving pattern of the recidivists.

Table 4.13: Savings of recidivists in a month

Amount	Frequency	Percentage
GH ₵1-20	18	22.8
GH ₵21-40	14	17.7
GH ₵41-60	7	8.8
GH ₵61-80	9	11.3
GH ₵81-100	2	2.5
Above GH ₵100	29	36.7
Total	79	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the total number of recidivists that were involved in the study, a total of seventy nine (79) were able to save after being discharged from prison. Table 4.13 depicts that 36.7% of them were able to save above GH ₵100 per month. This is followed by those who were able to save GH ₵1-20 monthly. They make up 22.8% of those who were able to save. Only 2.5% of them were able to save GH₵81-100 per month. The information suggests that the majority of them were not able to save an appreciable

amount of money. About 60% of them saved less than GH¢100. This is perhaps due to the low income that they received after release from prison. In summary, the low income received by recidivists leads to low savings. However, the low savings by recidivists does not necessarily predispose them to crime. This is because there are a lot of law-abiding citizens who also have low savings.

4.3.14. Amount spent on utilities

The amount of money spent on utilities forms part of the expenditure of the recidivists. It is another factor worth considering in the measurement of the standard of living of the recidivists. The table below shows the amount of money spent on utilities in general.

Table 4.14: Amount spent on utilities

Amount	Frequency	Percentage
GH ¢1-50	22	22.7
GH ¢51-100	31	32.0
GH ¢101-150	12	12.4
GH ¢151-200	3	3.0
Above GH ¢200	29	30.0
Total	97	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

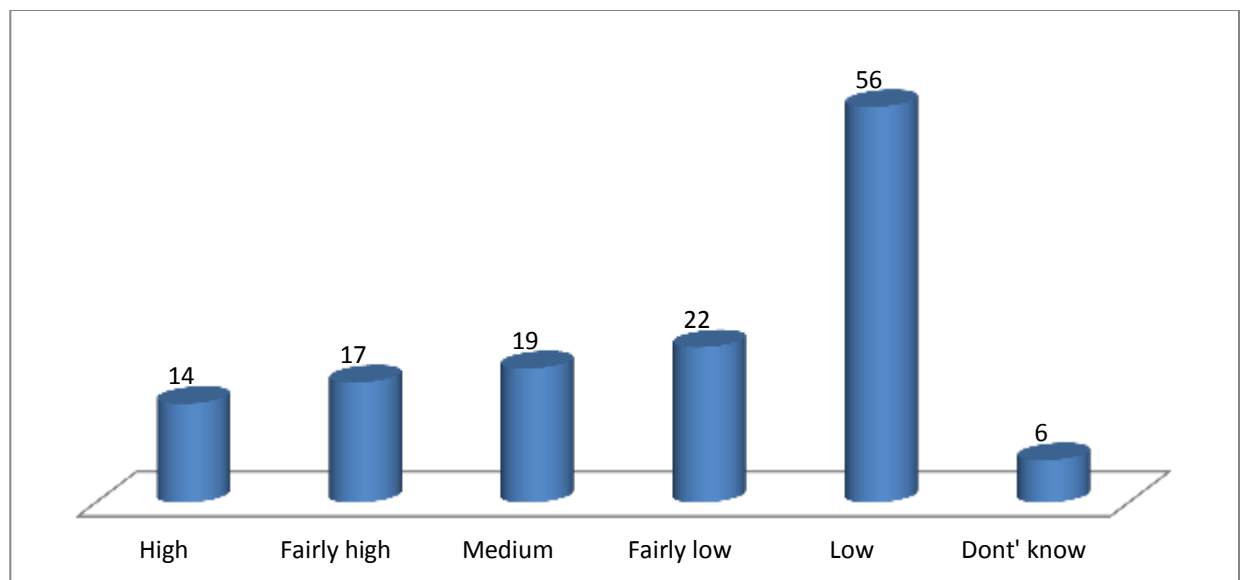
From the table, a total of ninety seven (97) recidivists spent money on utilities. Out of this number, thirty two percent (32%) spent GH ¢51-100 per month. This is followed by 22.7% of the recidivists who spent GH¢1-50 monthly. This finding implies that

most of the recidivists did not spend much money on utilities. The obvious reason is because they did not earn much money.

4.3.15. Recidivists' self-description of standard of living

Recidivists were asked to indicate their standard of living after release. In other words, apart from the objective measurement of their standard of living, the recidivists were also given the chance to describe their standard of living. The chart below shows the various descriptions of the standard of living of the recidivists who took part in the study.

Figure 3: Recidivists' description of standard of living



Source: Field Data, March 2012.

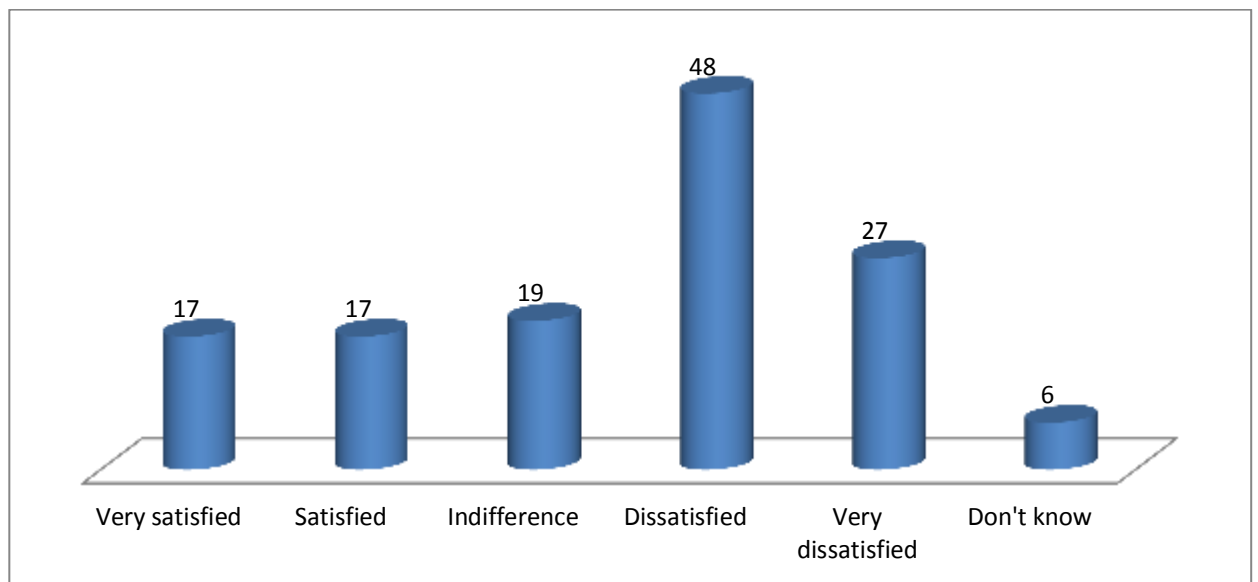
The chart shows that fifty-six (56) of the total number of recidivists described their standard of living as low. These make up 41.8%. Only fourteen (14) people who make up 10.4% of the recidivists asserted that their standard of living was high. On the other hand, 4.4% of the total numbers of recidivists were not able to describe their standard

of living. This information is not startling as most of the recidivists earned little income, saved less and had high expenditures.

4.3.16 Recidivists' satisfaction with standard of living

Again the recidivists were given the opportunity to indicate their satisfaction with their standard of living. Thus, apart from the recidivists describing their standard of living, they also expressed their satisfaction with their standard of living that they described. The chart below shows the various expression of the satisfaction of the standard of living by the recidivists.

Figure 4: Recidivists' satisfaction with standard of living



Source: Field Data, March 2012.

From the chart, about forty eight (48) recidivists who make up 35.8% of the recidivists asserted that they were dissatisfied with their standard of living. On the other hand, only seventeen (17) recidivists who make up 12.7% each asserted that they were very satisfied and satisfied with their standard of living, respectively. Again 4.4% of them

did not know what to make of their standard of living. Since the majority of the recidivists described their standard of living to be low, it is not surprising that the majority of them also were dissatisfied with their standard of living. This dissatisfaction could be a compelling drive that forced some to commit crimes again. Thus, the theory of social control by Rousek explains why many ex-convicts do not conform to norms of society. The lack of motivation compels them to adapt by committing other crimes.

4.3.17 Comparative impacts of participation and non-participation in rehabilitation programmes on the recidivists' standard of living

An important element in the prison rule is to equip inmates to lead a good life upon discharge. One way of equipping inmates is to encourage them to enroll in rehabilitation programmes. As such, the study sought to look at whether enrolling in rehabilitation programmes had any relationship with their standard of living when they were discharged. This is because a good standard of living is a good deterrent to committing crime or a good motivation to conform to norms of society.

Table 4.15: Participation in rehabilitation programme and standard of living

Standard of living of recidivists	Participation in Rehabilitation Programme		
	Participants	Non-Participants	Total
High	25(44.6%)	26(33.3%)	51(38.1%)
Low	31(54.4%)	52(66.6%)	83(61.9%)
Total	56(100.0%)	78(100.0%)	134(100.0%)

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

The table depicts that a greater percentage (54.4%) of the participants of the rehabilitation programme had a low standard of living after their discharge from

prison. On the other hand only 44.6% of them had high standard of living. The majority of the respondents (66.6%) who did not participate in a rehabilitation programme previously also had a low standard of living. About 33% of them had a high standard of living. This means that there is no significant relationship between participation in rehabilitation programmes and the standard of living of the ex-convict.

As a result, it cannot be validly concluded that participating in rehabilitation programmes have any significant impact on the standard of living of participants in rehabilitation programmes. A possible explanation could be that inmates who enrol in the vocational programmes do not get start-up capital to continue in the trades they learnt while in prison. Others who enrolled in the educational programme do not get jobs after discharge in order to improve their standard of living. Another possible explanation for this situation could be that even if the inmates who enrolled in the vocational programmes do get start-up capital, the trades designed for inmates in prison are not lucrative enough to improve the standard of living of the recidivists. In relating this finding to Roucek's theory of social control, it can be seen that persuasion or the motivation which is needed to make people conform to norms in society is absent in the lives of the recidivists. Thus, if inmates who are discharged are well motivated, in terms of acquiring jobs which are stable with good incomes, they can be expected to conform to usages and values of society. This will mean that they may not commit further crimes which will land them back in prison. However, since this is not the case, the absence of jobs and the low standard of living may compel ex-convicts to indulge in criminal activities which make them end up in prison again.

4.4. Enrollment in Prison Educational Programme and Ability to Get Jobs

4.4.1 Enrollment in prison educational programme

Enrollment in educational programme generally shows the attitude of inmates towards education whether formal or informal. 87% of the recidivists did not enroll in any kind of educational programme during their previous incarceration. Only 13% of the recidivists enrolled in prison education. This is not surprising as the prison education was started in the year 2008. This means that those who were incarcerated before 2008 could in no way be participants in the prison educational programme.

4.4.2 Reasons for non-enrollment in educational programme

This variable was explored to ascertain the factors that might be a threat to the prison education in general. The majority (52.6%) of the recidivists did not enroll in the educational programme because it was not available during their previous incarceration. Again 24.1% of the recidivists did not enroll in the educational programme because they had had some kind of formal education already. 7.8% of the recidivists were not able to enroll because they were not in the right frame of mind. Such inmates claim that they constantly found themselves thinking about their sentence. This was also a major reason why many did not take part in the vocational training programmes.

4.4.3 Type of Educational programme

Recidivists who enrolled in the educational programme during their last period of incarceration were asked to indicate the particular type of educational programme that

they enrolled in. The table below shows the type of education that the recidivists enrolled in.

Table 4.16: Educational programmes

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Junior High School	12	66.7
Senior High School	3	16.7
ICT training	2	11.1
Non-formal	1	5.5
Total	18	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the eighteen (18) people who enrolled in the educational programme, 66.7% enrolled into Junior High School. Only one person enrolled into non-formal education. A possible reason why the majority of those who took part in the educational programme were enrolled at the Junior High School level was because they were school dropout at the time of their arrest. Hirschi (1969), in his explanation of the social bonds that affect social control, he asserts that the more idle time an individual has, the more likely he is to engage in delinquent activities. This obviously predisposes the individual to crime. These students who enrolled in the Junior High School probably made effort to complete their basic education in the prison and more importantly to keep themselves busy thereby having less idle time to learn criminal techniques from other inmates.

4.4.4 Ability to complete educational programme

Once again the completion rate of inmates with respect to educational programmes is very important in investigating the effectiveness of education in the setting of a prison.

The table below indicates the number of inmates who were able to complete some form of education in the prison.

Table 4.17: Completion of educational programme

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	5	27.8
No	13	72.2
Total	18	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the eighteen (18) recidivists who enrolled in the education program only 27.8% were able to complete the type of programmes they were enrolled in. However, majority of them (72.2%) of them were not able to complete the educational programme. The next section captures the various reasons given by the participants for not completing their educational programme.

4.4.5 Reasons for non-completion of educational programme

Knowing the causal factors for the non-completion of the educational programme by its participant is pertinent in measuring the effect of correctional education on inmates. Nine (9) recidivists representing 69.2% of the recidivists were not able to complete their educational programme because of hardship in the prison. Two (2) recidivists each asserted that they were not able to complete because they did not have time and they were discharged, respectively. They each make up 15.4% of those who were not able to complete their educational programme. The hardship of prison life, characterized by poor living conditions and inadequate meals, is a major bane not only in the enrollment in a rehabilitation programme, but also in its completion.

4.4.6 Preference of Educational Programme to vocational programme

In the two medium security prisons—male and female—the main kind of rehabilitation programmes available are the vocational and educational programmes. Inmates were asked which one they preferred. Seventy six (76) recidivists representing 56.7% indicated that they preferred education to the vocational training programmes in the prison. On the other hand, 58 recidivists representing 43.3% of the recidivists rather prefer vocational training programme to educational programme in the prison. According to Wilson and his associates (2000) educational programmes may be more advantageous than vocational training programmes since vocational programmes are only aimed at making the inmate earn money after discharge. Educational programmes are not aimed at making the inmate employed but also builds the self-confidence, esteem as well as the cognitive skills needed to relate well with others and to deal with crime (MacKenzie & Wilson, 2000).

4.4.7 Reasons for preferring education to vocation

Recidivists were asked to explain why they preferred education to the vocational training programmes. About 50% of the recidivists who preferred education to vocation did so because they believe that education will secure their future. Only six (6) recidivists representing about 8% of the recidivists preferred education to vocational skills because they felt education could earn them employment in any organization.

4.4.8 Reasons for preferring vocational training programmes to education

In the same vein, recidivists who liked vocational training programmes more than education were asked to give their reasons. Only two (2) major reasons were given by recidivists for their preference of vocational training programmes to education in prison. 62.1% of these recidivists preferred vocational training to education in prison because they believed that vocational training could enable one to set up his/her own shop or trade. The others (37.9%) preferred vocational training because they believe that the vocational training programmes equip one with a skill.

4.4.9 Application for job after enrollment in educational programme

Jobs are sources of income. Income, on the other hand, determines a person's economic standing. In the light of this, recidivists were asked whether they applied for jobs after being discharged from prison. Out of the eighteen (18) recidivists who enrolled in the reformers' educational programme, fifteen of them applied for jobs while three (3) of them did not apply for any job. It is obvious that majority of them (83.3%) would apply for jobs in order to earn some income and make a living for themselves and their dependents.

4.4.10 Refusal of job application

Recidivists who applied for job were asked whether their applications were refused. Out of the fifteen (15) respondents, 33.3% were refused jobs while 66.7% of them were not refused. Perhaps the respondents' whose application were refused could be

due to the law in Ghana that prohibits ex-convicts from being employed in the public sector.

4.4.11 Reasons for refusal of job application

Recidivists who were refused job opportunities were asked whether they knew the reason for the refusal of their applications. Table 4.17 captures the reasons that employees gave to the recidivist for refusing their application.

Table 4.18: Reasons for refusing application

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Labeled as an ex-convict	3	50.0
Lack of certificate	3	50.0
Total	6	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Only six (6) recidivists responded to this question. Out of the six (6) recidivists who responded three (3) of them asserted that their application was refused because they were ex-convicts while the other three indicated that they were refused because they did not have the pertinent certificate that proved their capabilities in the sphere of work which they applied for. This corroborates the labeling theory by Becker (1963). Becker asserts that once individuals are labeled they are treated as outsiders. Thus, employers believe that such people cannot belong to their organization.

4.4.12 Ability to get a job after discharge

The recidivists who applied and were not refused jobs were able to get the jobs that they applied for. Out of the eighteen (18) recidivists who enrolled in the educational

programme, only 33% of them were able to get a job. On the other hand, 67% of them were not able to get any kind of jobs. This finding is consistent with Bushway's view (as cited in Wilson et al. 2000) that imprisonment in itself does not promote the employability of ex-convicts since there is a stigma attached to them. At the same time this finding does not corroborate the findings of Jenkins, Stetirer and Pendry, (as quoted in Hull et al., 2000). In their study, about 77% of their respondents who completed formal education got themselves jobs and incomes above the minimum wage.

4.4.13 Kind of jobs acquired after enrolling in educational programmes

Table 4.19 captures the various jobs obtained by recidivists who enrolled in the educational programmes.

Table 4.19: Jobs obtained by recidivist after discharge

Kind of Job	Frequency	Percentage
Messenger	2	33.3
Sales boy	1	16.7
House agent	1	16.7
Trader	1	16.7
House help	1	16.7
Total	6	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the six (6) participants in the educational programme who got jobs after release, majority of them (33.3%) were messengers in organizations. One person, on the other hand, became a house agent.

4.4.14 Stability of job

Even though getting a job is a good thing for the recidivists, an important question to ask is whether the jobs that they acquired were stable. If the jobs acquired by the recidivists were stable, then it means that it could keep them away from crime. According to Uggen (1999), stable jobs have the potential of reducing the criminal behaviour in the offender. Out of the six (6) recidivists who enrolled in the educational programme only 25% asserted that their job was stable. The remaining 75% recidivists' jobs were not stable. This instability of jobs is a bane to the economic independence of the recidivists. This obviously compels some of them to commit crimes.

4.4.15 Type of rehabilitation programmed enrolled and acquisition of jobs after discharge

It is imperative to know which type of rehabilitation programme best suits inmates, in terms of making them easily employable. In that light, if the vocational programmes enable inmates to be easily employed, then the Prison Service can channel a lot of resources into it so that it becomes even more efficient. The same applies to the educational programmes.

Table 4.20: Type of rehabilitation programmed enrolled in and ability to get jobs after discharge.

Ability to get jobs after discharge	Type of Rehabilitation Programme		
	Vocational	Educational	Total
Employed	14 (36.9%)	6 (33.3%)	20(35.7%)
unemployed	24 (63.1%)	12 (66.7%)	36(64.3%)
Total	38 (100.0%)	18(100%)	56(100%)

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

These two variables were analysed to ascertain whether the kind of rehabilitation programme an inmate enrolls in has any association with ex-convicts ability to acquire jobs after discharge. It can be observed that a majority (63.1%) of the recidivists who enrolled in the vocational programmes were not able to get jobs after discharge. Only about 37% of them were able to get some jobs after discharge. On the other hand, 66.7% of the inmates who enrolled in the educational programme were also not able to get jobs. However, only 33.3% of the participants in the educational programme were able to obtain jobs after discharge. This means that there is no significant relationship between the type of rehabilitation programmes inmates enrolled in and their ability to acquire jobs after discharge. Perhaps, this situation can be explained by the fact that ex-convicts who enrolled in either the vocational programmes or the educational programmes have an equal chance of being employed. On the whole, the reason why only 34.7% of the participants in the rehabilitation programme could be employed can be due to the law in Ghana that prohibits ex-convicts from being employed in the government sector. There is therefore the need for the law to be revised. This finding is contrary to the assertions of Boufard et al. (2000). They assert that the emphasis on

educational and rehabilitation programme is due to the correlation between unemployment and crime. Simply put, they assert that participating in rehabilitation programmes make inmates employable. However, this study has shown that participating in either the vocational or educational programmes does not necessarily make inmates employable.

4.5 Completion of rehabilitation programmes and rate of offending

4.5.1 Overall enrollment in rehabilitation programmes

Knowing the overall level of enrollment in the both the vocational and educational programmes is important because it reflects the interest and participation of inmates in the programmes. Table 4:21 shows the overall enrollment level in the rehabilitation programmes designed for inmates in the Nsawam prisons.

Table 4.21: Overall enrollment in rehabilitation programmes

Rehabilitation programme	Frequency	Percent
<u>Vocational</u>		
Tailoring	12	21.4
Shoemaking	7	12.5
Basketry and Cane Weaving	6	10.7
Carpentry	5	8.9
Electricals	4	7.1
Plumbing	3	5.3
Bread making	1	1.8
<u>Educational</u>		
Junior High School	12	21.4
Senior High School	3	5.3
ICT training	2	3.6
Non-formal	1	1.8
Total	56	100.0

Out of the one hundred and thirty-four (134) recidivists who took part in the study, only fifty six (56) of them participated in a rehabilitation programme during their previous sentence. Twelve (12) recidivists each, who make 21.4% of the total number of recidivists, participated in the tailoring shop and Junior High School, respectively. This simply means that a greater percentage of those who participated in the vocational training programmes during their previous sentence enrolled in the tailoring shop. Similarly, for those who participated in the educational programme, a greater number of them enrolled in the Junior High School. Baking of bread and non-formal education seem to be the least ones the recidivists participated in. Only 1.8% of the recidivists each participated in bread making and non-formal education, respectively during their previous sentence. Accordingly, it is evident that the overall enrollment level in the rehabilitation programmes is low. Grattet, et al. (as cited in Cullen & Jonson, 2012) asserts that most inmates do not willingly participate in rehabilitation programmes. This can be the reason for the low level of enrollment. Similarly, Gyamfi (as cited in Ansre, 2010) wrote on the characteristics of recidivism at James Fort Prison in Accra and indicated that most inmates upon incarceration believed they were hopeless; hence, they did not participate in the rehabilitation programmes designed for the inmates.

4.5.2 Comparative impacts of participation and non-participation in rehabilitation programme during previous incarceration on crimes committed

It is generally assumed that recidivists who have enrolled in any rehabilitation programme will go back into the wider society not committing crimes again after being discharged. This is because they may have acquired certain skills that will make them

employable. However, the fact that they were released and re-offended can be explained with reference to Martinson. According to Martinson (as cited in Siegel, 2003) high risk offenders were more likely to commit crimes after being placed in treatment programmes. This study therefore sought to look at the relationship between participation in rehabilitation programme during their previous incarceration and the type of crime the respondents committed.

Table 4.22: Participation in rehabilitation programme and type of crime committed

Participation in Rehabilitation Programme			
Type of crime	Participants	Non-Participants	Total
Economic	27(48.2%)	75(96.2%)	102(76.1%)
Non-Economic	29(51.8%)	3(3.8%)	32(23.9%)
Total	56(100.0%)	78(100.0%)	134(100.0%)

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

The table above depicts that the majority (51.8%) of the respondents who participated in a rehabilitation programme during their previous incarceration committed non-economic crimes while 48.2% of the participants committed economic crimes for which they are serving their current sentence. For the non-participants, a greater percentage (96.2%) committed economic crimes while only about 4% committed non-economic crimes. This suggests a significant relationship between participation in rehabilitation programme and the type of crime the recidivists committed for which they are serving their present sentence. The data in table above suggests that participation in a rehabilitation programme is associated with committing non-economic crime. Put differently, inmates who participated in the rehabilitation programmes were less likely to commit economic crime. This obviously means that ex-convicts who participated in any of the rehabilitation programmes were re-convicted

for other reasons other than economic reasons. A possible explanation for this phenomenon could be that those who completed the rehabilitation programmes may have put their skills to work for which some income is earned. This finding can, perhaps, be explained with reference to McCall (1998). McCall explains that apart from economic reasons, factors like alcohol, drug abuse, family problems among others, make people commit crimes. In relation with the theory of this work, social control by Roucek, it can be deduced that the persuasion (motivation) obtained by recidivists as a result of participating in the rehabilitation programme deter them from re-committing economic crimes after their discharge into the open society. Such motivation may stem from acquiring some job and income after their discharge.

4.5.3 Ability to complete rehabilitation programme

The table below shows the overall completion rate of all the recidivists that enrolled in any one of the rehabilitation programmes.

Table 4.23: Over all completion rate of rehabilitation programmes

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	32	57.1
No	24	42.9
Total	56	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

In all, out of the fifty six (56) recidivists who enrolled in the rehabilitation programme, thirty-two (32) of them were able to complete their programme. This makes 57.1% of the recidivists. On the other hand, twenty-four (24) recidivists representing 42.9% of the participants in the rehabilitation programme were not able to complete their programme. It is not surprising that majority of the recidivists were able to complete

their programme. This is because the officials of the Nsawam Prison make sure that only those with long sentences are accepted into any rehabilitation programme. However, others who had long sentences were not able to complete due to certain factors; key amongst them is the hardship of prison life which consequently denies them the concentration needed to function in any of the rehabilitation programmes.

4.5.4 Non-completion of rehabilitation programme

Recidivists were asked whether their inability to complete any of the rehabilitation programmes previously contributed to their re-arrest and subsequent re-incarceration. Out of the twenty four (24) recidivists who were not able to complete their rehabilitation programme only twenty one (21) of them responded to this question. Out of the twenty one (21) fifteen (15) of them representing 71.4% strongly disagree that their incompleteness led to their re-incarceration. Only one person agreed that his inability to complete the rehabilitation programme led to his commission of crime again and subsequently, his re-incarceration. This means that a majority of the recidivists attribute other factors to their re-incarceration.

4.6. Social rejection and recidivism

4.6.1 Feeling of recidivists after discharge

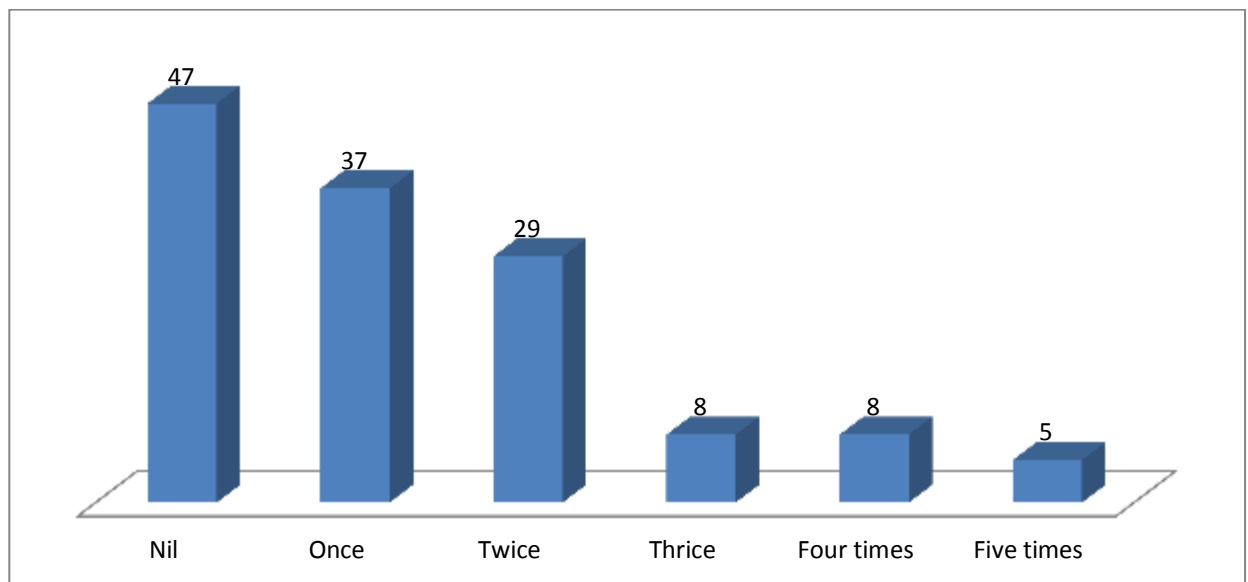
Recidivists were asked to describe how they felt when they were discharged previously. 81.3% of the recidivists were very happy when they were discharged from

the prison. One person was afraid after being discharged. This is probably because of the fear of being hurt by those he may have wronged.

4.6.2 Frequency of visit in a month during previous incarceration

Social support is very crucial in the rehabilitation of inmates. Visits within the last year before the release of inmates play an important role in their reformation (Bales & Mears, 2008). Recidivists were therefore asked the frequency of visit that they had in a month. Figure 5 shows the various frequencies of visits that recidivist enjoyed in a month.

Figure 5: Frequency of visits enjoyed by recidivists



Source: Field Data, March, 2012.

From the bar chart, forty seven (47) recidivists representing 35.1% did not receive any visitation at all. Thirty seven (37) recidivists who make up 27.6% of the total recidivists had only one visit in a month. Only five (5) recidivists representing 3.7%

had five (5) visits in a month. It is not surprising that most of the recidivists did not receive any visit while incarcerated. When people are incarcerated, some friends and family members reject them. The lack of social bonds is also one of the reasons why people commit crime. Labeling theory may also explain why majority of the respondents did not receive any visit at all during their previous time in prison. The theory posits that when people are labeled as deviants they are rejected by society. That explains why the family and friends of the most of respondents did not visit them.

4.6.3 Most frequent visitors

As the saying goes, “Blood is thicker than water.” As a result, recidivists were asked whether family relations visited them most or it was their friends that visited them most during their previous incarceration. Majority (94%) of the recidivists were visited mostly by their family relations while the remaining 6% were visited mostly by their friends.

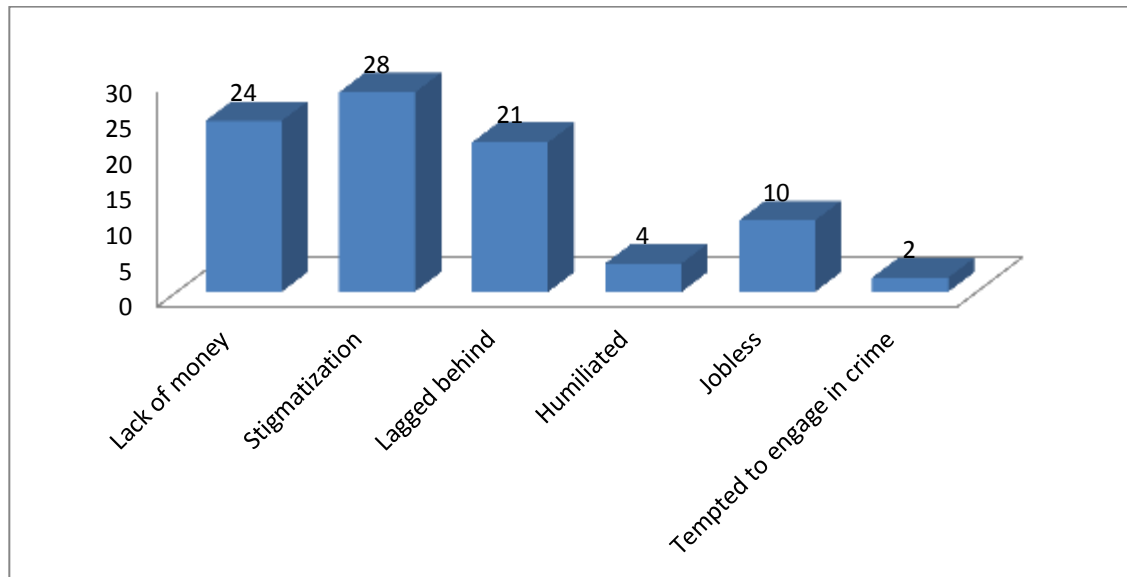
4.6.4 Challenges after discharged

Challenges are a part of our lives. Recidivists were asked if they faced any challenges after being discharged. Out of the one hundred and thirty four (134) recidivists, 66% of them faced challenges after release while 34% of them did not face challenges. This information is exactly what happens with prisoners who are discharged into the larger society. They face many challenges.

4.6.5 Kind of challenges faced after discharge

As many recidivists indicated that they face challenges, it became pertinent to ask them the kind of challenges that they faced. Figure 6 shows the various kinds of challenges faced during their previous discharge from prison.

Figure 6: Kinds of challenges faced after discharge



Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the eighty nine (89) recidivists who faced challenges, about 31% asserted that stigmatization was their major challenge. According to Goffman (1963), social deviants who go against the norms of society are stigmatized. Thus, this finding corroborates the assertions of Goffman. The main challenge of two recidivists who make up 2.2% of those who faced challenges asserted that their main challenge was the temptation to commit crimes again. Perhaps these two found themselves in the company of other criminals who were willing to offer them some solace after their discharge and as a result were tempted to commit crimes again.

4.6.6. Educational background and challenges

A cross tabulation of educational background and challenges after release was explored to identify the peculiar challenges of people with different educational background.

Table 4.24: Educational background and challenges of recidivists

	Challenges						Total
	Lack of money	Stigmatization	Lagged behind	Humiliation	Jobless	Tempted to engage in crime	
Educational background							
Basic	13 (24.5%)	13 (24.5%)	15(28.3%)	3 (5.6%)	8(15.1%)	1(1.8%)	53 (100%)
Second Cycle	8 (44.4%)	7(38.9%)	2(11.1%)	1 (5.5%)	0	0	18 (100%)
Tertiary	2 (28.6%)	3 (42.9%)	0	0	2(28.6%)	0	7 (100%)
None	1 (9.1%)	5 (45.5%)	4(36.4%)	0	0	1 (9.1%)	11 (100%)
Total	24	28	21	4	10	2	89

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Out of the fifty three (53) inmates whose educational background was basic, 28% said that their main challenge after release was the fact that they were lagging behind when they compared themselves to their colleagues. This is closely followed by 24.5% of them each who asserted that they had no more money and were stigmatized. Only one person indicated that he was tempted to commit crime. With respect to those with second cycle education, 44.4% of the eighteen (18) respondents indicated that lack of money was their challenge. One person asserted that humiliation was his major challenge. For those with tertiary education about 28.6% of them each asserted that lack of money and joblessness was their main challenge. Thus, the problem of not having money was applicable to all the respondents with different educational background. Interestingly, whereas some of the respondents with basic, second cycle

and no education indicated that they lagged behind, none of the respondents with tertiary education said so. This, perhaps, can be explained by the fact that their tertiary education makes them feel proud of themselves.

4.6.7 Attitude of family towards recidivists

The attitude of family members towards an ex-convict can be a contributing factor of the recidivists' attitude after discharge. Recidivists were asked to indicate the attitude of their family members towards them. The table below shows the various attitudes of the family members towards the recidivists.

Table 4.25: Families' attitude towards recidivists

Attitude	Frequency	Percentage
Cordial as before	104	77.6
Shunned my company	16	11.9
Advised me	11	8.2
Others were warm while others were cold	3	2.2
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Majority of the recidivists (77.6%) asserted that their relationship with their family was as cordial as before. Only 2.2% of them indicated that while some family members were cold, others were warm towards them. This means that more people may be heeding to the advice of accepting ex-convicts and consequently helping in the re-integration of them back into society.

4.6.8 Reaction of recidivists towards family's attitude

As mentioned early on, the attitude or behaviour of the family members towards the recidivists affects the behaviour of the recidivists while in the larger society. The table below shows the various reactions of the recidivists towards the attitude of their family members.

Table 4.26: Recidivists reaction towards family

Reaction	Frequency	Percentage
Calm	27	20.1
Spent little time at home	9	6.7
Defiant	10	7.5
Listen to their advices	47	35.1
Spent more time at home	2	1.5
Impressed them	34	25.4
Prayed for them	3	2.2
Shocked at their hostility	2	1.5
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

Majority of the recidivists (35.1%) indicated that as a result of the attitude of the family towards them, they listened to their advice. On the other hand, two (2) recidivists each asserted that they were shocked at the hostility of their family members. The hostility can be explained by Goffman's idea stigma.

4.6.9 Attitude of friends towards recidivists

Apart from the attitude of family members towards the recidivists, the attitude of the friends of the recidivist also has an effect on the actions and behaviour of the

recidivists when discharged. The table shows the various attitudes of the friends of the recidivists.

Table 4.27: Friends' attitude towards recidivists

Attitude	Frequency	Percentage
Skeptical of my reformation	8	6.0
Feared me	17	12.7
Rejected me	44	32.8
Accepted me	59	44
Accepted and rejected me	6	4.5
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

From table 4.27, 40.3% of the recidivists explain that their friends accepted them. On the other hand, 4.5% of them indicated that some accepted them while others also rejected them. The general attitude of friends towards recidivists was similar to the attitude of the families towards the recidivists. This again drives home the point that more and more people are becoming receptive to ex-convicts.

4.6.10 Reaction of recidivist towards friends' attitude

Again the reaction of the recidivists was sought in relation with the attitude of their friends. Table 4.28 indicates the various reactions of the recidivists towards the attitudes of their friends.

Table 4.28: Recidivists' reaction towards friends' attitude

Reaction	Frequency	Percentage
Refused to commit crime	9	6.7
Shunned their company	29	21.7
Heeded their advices	28	20.9
Good to them	36	26.9
Prove my reformation	22	16.4
Prayed for them	3	2.2
Unhappy	5	3.7
Happy	2	1.5
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

It is not surprising that 26.9% of the recidivists were good to their friends as a result of their friends' attitude. Two (2) recidivists were happy as a result of their friends' attitude. This proves the point that when inmates are accepted, they tend to be of good behaviour. However, when they are labeled as criminals or deviants they to tended to violate societal norms.

4.6.11 Recidivists' view on fair treatment

The recidivists were also asked whether they were treated fairly after they had been discharged from prison. A small proportion (25%) of the recidivist asserted that they were not treated fairly while 75% of them indicated that they were treated fairly. Again the education to accept ex-convicts and help integrate them seems to be heeded by people.

4.6.12 Reasons for asserting unfair treatment

The recidivists who asserted that they have been treated unfairly were asked to explain their stance. The table shows the various reasons for their assertion.

Table 4.29: Reasons for asserting unfair treatment

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Labeled as a criminal	19	59.4
Discriminated against	7	21.9
Mocked at	6	18.8
Total	32	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

From the table, a total of thirty-two (32) recidivists indicated that they were not treated fairly after they were discharged. Majority of them 59.4% asserted that they were not treated fairly because they were labeled as criminals. On the other hand, seven of them representing 21.9% explained that they were not treated fairly because they were discriminated against. Also 18.8% of the recidivists explained that they were mocked at. This statistics above is not surprising. This is the fate of many who are discharged from prison. Becker's Labelling theory describes the process of labeling others and posits that discrimination is as a result of the labeling. This is exactly what these respondents went through.

4.6.13 Denial of privileges

Again, recidivists were asked whether they were denied any privileges. Out of the total number of recidivists who took part in the study, 25% of them asserted that they were denied some privileges that they used to enjoy previously. On the other hand, 75% of them explained that they were not denied of any privileges due them.

4.6.14 Privileges denied

Recidivists were also asked to state the various privileges that were denied them during their release. The table below shows the different kinds of privileges that the recidivists were denied during their previous release into society.

Table 4.30: Privileges denied recidivists

Privilege	Frequency	Percentage
Denied my room	4	12.1
Smoking and drinking	8	24.2
Mingling with friends and family	10	30.3
Denied to go to work	11	33.3
Total	33	100

Source: Field Data, March 2012

Majority of them (33.3%) asserted that they were not allowed to work in the organizations or firms that they used to work before their incarceration. Out of the total of thirty three (33) recidivists who were denied certain privileges, 12.1% of them indicated that they were denied entrance into their former rooms. There is some linkage between this finding and labeling theory. Labelling theory postulates that when people are labeled they are restricted in their rights and privileges (Shulman, 2005). It is therefore not surprising that some of the respondents were denied certain privileges.

4.6.15 General experience after discharge

Finally, recidivists were asked to give their general experience after discharge. The table below shows the various experiences of the recidivists during their last or previous release into society.

Table 4.31: General Experience of recidivists after previous discharge

Experience	Frequency	Percentage
Tough	56	41.8
Pressured to commit crimes	12	9.0
Felt so special	15	11.2
Relieved	26	19.4
Good	12	9.0
Horrible	7	5.2
Felt alienated from society	3	2.2
Became a changed person	3	2.2
Total	134	100.0

Source: Field Data, March 2012.

The majority of the recidivists (41.8%) summarized that on the whole their life experience after discharge was hard. On the other hand, 9.0% indicated that their life experience was good. Perhaps, these were those accepted by their families and friends. However, 2.2% asserted that they felt alienated from society. It is probable that such inmates were the ones who were rejected by their families and friends. This again can be explained with reference to Goffman. Individuals who go against the conventions of society, they are 'discredited' or stigmatized. Another 2.2% of the recidivists asserted that they became changed persons when they were discharged. The fact the majority of the recidivists indicated that their life experience was hard is not a new phenomenon. Unfortunately, this situation is what compels some to commit crimes again. In their effort to make life more bearable for themselves, they engage in illegal activities

leading to their arrest and subsequent incarceration. Labeling theory by Becker (1963) can also explain this phenomenon. Becker argues that individuals become deviants not because they broke any rule but because society labeled them as rule breakers and 'outsiders'. This is exactly what happens to many ex-convicts after being discharged from prison.

4.7 Conclusion

The data analysis and discussion presented in this chapter was obtained from the structured questionnaire that was administered to one hundred and thirty four (134) recidivists in the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. Questions bordered on three main issues: completion of vocational training and standard of living; enrollment in prison education and ability to acquire jobs, and completion of rehabilitation programme and recidivism. It was revealed that many inmates do not get access to jobs when discharged. For those that do get jobs, their job acquisition is not on dependent on the type of rehabilitation programme that they enrolled in whiles in prison. Since most inmates do not get jobs, their standard of living of is low. Many inmates also assert that stigmatization is the major challenge that they face when they are discharged.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This session captures the summary of the study plus the main findings, as well as conclusions of the impact of the rehabilitation programmes of the Nsawam Prison on its inmates. A number of recommendations, based on the findings, are outlined.

5.2 Summary of the study and main findings

Debates about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes have mainly been situated in the developed countries. This study placed the debate about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes within the Ghanaian context by ascertaining the impact of the rehabilitation programmes designed for inmates at the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. Are rehabilitation programmes designed for inmates in Ghana effective or not? In line with this, the specific objectives were to explore the various rehabilitation programmes and their challenges as well as the kind of jobs acquired by recidivists. Additionally, the study sought to ascertain the standard of living and the life experiences of recidivists after release.

In exploring the various rehabilitation programmes and their problems, in-depth interviews were conducted with ten (10) heads and key informants of the various rehabilitation programmes. Ex-convicts who had served their term in the prisons would have been the best people to have contacted to respond to the structured questionnaire. However, prison officials, as an unspoken rule, do not give information about ex-convicts and their whereabouts. As a result, all the one hundred and thirty four (134)

recidivists of the two medium security prisons were selected for the study. As such non-probability sampling method was employed. The recidivists were selected because they were easily accessible within the precincts of the two medium security prisons.

A number of challenges were encountered on the field. Some inmates declined from the study. Further, there was no accurate and up to date data on the total number recidivists and their participation in rehabilitation programmes during their previous incarceration. Again, some of the recidivists were illiterate.

The study revealed that there are two main forms of rehabilitation programmes in the Nsawam Prisons. Vocational training and educational programmes are the main types of treatment programmes. The vocational training programmes at the male prison are tailoring, carpentry and joinery, electrical, metal works, plumbing, masonry, barbering, shoemaking, basketry and doormat. On the other hand, those of the females include soap-making, bread making, hairdressing, sewing, batik, tie and dye and crocheting.

Again, there are four main forms of education in the two medium security prisons. They are non-formal, Junior High School, Senior High School and Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The non-formal education has the highest number of enrollment. However, there are fewer teachers or instructors in the non-formal education than in any of the other forms of education.

Only a few of the participants in the vocational training programmes engage in the trade learnt and make a living out of it. As a result of this, most of the participants commit crimes again upon discharge. This finding can be explained with reference to McCall. McCall (1998) has cautioned that providing inmates with employment skills

might not help prevent recidivism. However, some of the inmates who enroll in the shoemaking (cobbling) and tailoring trade are able to pursue the trade and make a living out of these trades when they are released. The outcome of participating in the rehabilitation programmes and being able to make a living thereby desisting from crime can be explained by the theory of social control by Roucek. Thus, inmates who are taught skills needed to master trades like tailoring and shoemaking are able to utilize these skills by pursuing the trades after their discharge. Indeed, the money accruing from these trades may be motivating enough to make them stay away from crimes, especially economic crimes.

Another important finding in the study has to do with the peculiar challenges of both the vocational and educational programmes. For both types of rehabilitation, the study revealed that some of the challenges are difficult to be dealt with. Key amongst them is the wide age difference between the instructors or teachers of the various rehabilitation programmes and the inmates who are participants or trainees of these programmes. As one of the instructors asserted, “Some of them are old enough to be my grandmother.” Another challenge has to do with low assimilation rate of inmates in learning some tasks associated with their rehabilitation programme. Consequently, some inmates are not able to learn or complete the rehabilitation programme within the stipulated time allotted. Clearly, no one can change the dull nature of the inmates who enroll in the rehabilitation programmes. Moreover, a challenge which is difficult to deal with concerns the security task and rehabilitative role of prison officials who are heads or instructors of some of the rehabilitation programmes. For some officials, combining these two roles is somehow hectic for them.

Nevertheless, some of the challenges of the various rehabilitation programmes can be dealt with. These challenges hinge around the issue of money. For the vocational training programmes, money is needed to buy new equipment, machinery and tools for effective running of the trades. Again, money is needed to buy, in bulk, the raw materials needed for production. With respect to the educational programmes, teaching and learning materials need to be available for the smooth running of the schools. A challenge that pertains to both forms of rehabilitation is the issue of motivation, especially for inmates. The hardships and trouble of prison life are a major deterrent to the enrollment in rehabilitation. Hence, some inmates who defy these challenges and enroll in these programmes need to be properly motivated. The motivation of these inmates will propel them to stay and complete the rehabilitation programme they enroll in. All things being equal, they may be able to use the skills learnt in the prison to engage in economic activities that may make them economically independent. This finding in itself is a key element or component of Roucek's social control theory. Inmates are motivated in order to help them conform to the norms regarding the particular rehabilitation programme they enroll in. Such norms could be attendance and punctuality. Thus, by being motivated to engage in the rehabilitation programmes, inmates are eventually motivated to conform to norms of society when they are able to make a living out of the vocational programmes or educational programmes they enrolled in. This therefore, to some extent, reduces recidivism.

Ex-convicts are not able to get jobs in general. Even when they do get jobs, these jobs are not stable. For those who are fortunate to get jobs, the kind of job they get is menial. For some inmates, they end up being chop bar attendants, traders, janitors,

messengers, porters, among others. Hence not much income is realized in these jobs. This situation may contribute to the rate of recidivism in the country. Thus, if inmates are not well motivated (low incomes) they find it difficult to desist from crime since committing economic crimes may give them extra money in their pockets. . Consequently, the low income from these jobs pushes some of them to engage in other illegal activities leading to their arrest and subsequent incarceration. The social control theory establishes the link between the low incomes of the ex-convicts and their tendency to re-offend. The theory of social control by Roucek stipulates that for individuals in a society to conform to the norms, they must be taught, persuaded (motivated) and coerced. The low income received by inmates does not motivate them enough to conform to the norms of society. They are therefore compelled to violate societal norms in order to get enough for themselves and their families.

The majority of ex-convicts continue to have a low standard of living upon discharge. Inmate-trainees who enroll in the vocational training programmes are not able to make a living out of the trade learnt while incarcerated. However, some recidivists are able to pursue a trade in the vocation learnt in prison. Thus, there are some success stories of both the rehabilitation programmes, especially the vocational programmes. The success story can be explained by Roucek's theory of social control. The inmates who leave the four walls of the prison and are able to put their skills to work in terms of pursuing the trade they learnt conform to the norms of society by not breaking the law. This is because they have been taught (the skills), persuaded (motivated by the income) and coerced (compelled) to lead good lives upon discharge.

The life experience of ex-convicts is bitter. Some family members and friends of ex-convicts reject them and even deny them certain privileges. This sometimes compels them to associate with old friends who entice them to engage in illegal activities again. The attitude of family members of recidivists, to a large extent, determines the attitude of the inmates when they are discharged. If the family members of ex-convicts were good to them, they reacted positively and became repentant. On the other hand, when family members were hostile to the ex-convicts, they reacted negatively and also sought comfort from friends who sometimes lured them into criminal activities again. This finding has a linkage with Becker's Labeling theory which explains that as selected people are labeled as deviants they engage in deviant acts. Consequently, society or particular social groups like family and friends reject them. They seek succor from other people who are likewise deviants and therefore relapse into a life of crime.

5.3 Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be made from the study.

Educational and vocational training programmes are the main rehabilitation programmes found in the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. Some of the challenges of these programmes can be solved if adequate funds are made available. On the other hand, some of the challenges cannot be easily solved. These challenges have to do with the attitude and characteristics of participants in the rehabilitation programmes. Some are not punctual while others are also slow in learning.

Most of the ex-convicts are not able to get jobs after discharge. Even if they do get jobs, these jobs are not stable. Acquiring jobs in the wider society upon discharge is not influenced by the type of rehabilitation programmes that inmates enroll in. Inmates who enroll in either the educational programme or the vocational programme had equal chances of getting jobs.

As a result of the inability of recidivists to acquire jobs, they do not have a high standard of living. In fact, the standard of living of the recidivists upon discharge was not dependent on the participation or non-participation in a rehabilitation programme while in prison. Also, it was evident that there is an association between participating in a rehabilitation programme and the chances of committing of economic crimes upon discharge. Inmates who participated in rehabilitation programmes were less likely to commit economic crimes upon discharge

The attitude of recidivists in the greater society, to a large extent, depends on the attitude of the family and loved ones towards the recidivists. When recidivists felt accepted, they behaved well. On the other hand, when the recidivists were stigmatized, they acted waywardly.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following policy measures are suggested:

1. The Ghana Prisons Service in collaboration with the NVTI can introduce more competitive vocations which will make the ex-convicts more marketable. In this light, vocational programmes like graphic designing, tile laying, furniture making, computer hardware servicing, cookery, waiting, among others, which

the NVTI offers in their institution, can be introduced in the prisons. This will enable ex-convicts to comparatively earn more income which may lead to economic independence.

2. The law forbidding ex-convicts from working in the government or public institutions should be reviewed. Forbidding ex-convicts from working in government institutions means that government does not believe in the rehabilitation of offenders; yet, the government, through the Ministry of Finance, provides funds for the Ghana Prisons Service to rehabilitate inmates. Thus, the government, in one instance, supports the rehabilitation ideal and yet makes it difficult for inmates to acquire jobs in the public sector through the enactment of that law. In short, the law defeats the purpose of rehabilitating inmates.
3. The public education on the need to accept ex-convicts should be continued. This will ensure that ex-convicts are not stigmatized. Powerful media like television advertisements, short films and the air waves (radio) can be employed to promote the acceptance and reintegration of ex-convicts into society. This is because stigma and labeling make some ex-convicts to recidivate.
4. The Ghana Prisons Service in trying to decongest the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons should not transfer inmates who have already enrolled in a rehabilitation programme to other prisons. Even though the norm is that inmates who enroll in rehabilitation programmes should not be transferred to other prisons, this policy or directive does not seem to work well in the female

prison. Some female inmates who may be undergoing training in a trade are transferred. It is therefore recommended that only those who have completed their rehabilitation programmes and are still serving their term be transferred. This is to ensure that inmates who have enrolled in a rehabilitation programme would not be denied the completion of the programme. Alternatively, only those who have not enrolled in rehabilitation programmes should be transferred to the other prisons.

5. The Ghana Prisons Service should have an inmate management system that captures the criminal records of the inmates as well as inmates' enrollment or non-enrollment in a rehabilitation programme. This will make it easy for future studies on the rehabilitation programmes as records on the participants of the programmes will be readily available.
6. Social workers should be mandated to follow up on inmates who have enrolled and completed any of the rehabilitation programmes in order to monitor and help them if the need arises. Also, social workers can help inmates to acquire jobs prior to their release so that when they are released, the jobs will be waiting for them. This will be much realized if the law prohibiting ex-convicts from being employed is revised.
7. Also, the heads of the various rehabilitation programmes should be made to write yearly reports on their activities so that the progress of all the rehabilitation programmes can be tracked, monitored and evaluated. This will enhance the quality of the delivery of the rehabilitation programmes to the inmates.

With reference to the above recommendations, I hasten to indicate that because the quantitative data of this study was obtained from a very small sample of recidivists, and secondly because the sample size made it impossible for the chi-square statistic to be used, the policy measures suggested will become relevant after my findings have been verified using a more rigorous sampling and data analysis techniques. In addition to my recommendation, I suggest that other studies with large sample sizes may focus on testing the following hypotheses:

1. Recidivists who complete the vocational skills training programme are more likely to have a higher standard of living than those who do not complete the vocational programmes.
2. Recidivists who enrol in the academic educational programmes are less likely to get jobs after being released than those who enrol in the vocational programmes.
3. Recidivists who complete any rehabilitation programme are less likely to be convicted of economic crime than those who did not complete any rehabilitation programme.

Bibliography

- Abotchie, C. (2008). *Treatment of criminals and crime prevention in Ghana*. Accra: Hans Publication Limited.
- Akers, R. L., & Sellers, C. S. (2004). *Student study guide to criminological theories: Introduction, evaluation and application 5th ed.* Retrieved October 11, 2012 from http://www.oup.com/us/pdf/crimtheories/Akers_Study_Guide.pdf
- Andrews, D.A, Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. D. (1990). Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 17(1), 19-52.
- Ansre, S. K. (2010). *Analysis of the rehabilitation of inmates at the Nsawam Prison*. An unpublished dissertation submitted to Ashesi University College.
- Bales, W. D., & Mears, D. P. (2008). Inmate social ties and the transition to society: Does visitation reduce recidivism? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45(3), 287-321.
- Baumer, E. P., O'Donnell, I., & Hughes, N. (2009). The porous prison: A note on the rehabilitative potential of visit home. *The Prison Journal*, 89(1), 119-126.
- Becker, H. S. 1963. *Outsiders*. New York: Free Press.
- Borland J., & Hunter, B. (2000). Does crime affect employment status? The case of indigenous Australians. *Economica*, 67, 123- 143.
- Boufard, J. A., MacKenzie, D. L., & Hickman, J. L. (2000). Effectiveness of vocational education and employment programs for adult offenders: A methodology-based analysis of the literature. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 31(1/2), 1-41.
- Cambridge Dictionary (2012). *Standard of living*. Retrieved June 03, 2012 from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/standard-of-living>

- Cecil, D. K., Drapkin, D. A., Mackenzie, D. L., & Hickman, J. L. (2000). The effectiveness of adult basic education and life skills program in reducing recidivism: A review and assessment of the research. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51(2), 207-226.
- Conklin, J. E. (1995). *Criminology* 5th ed. Massachusetts: Allyn-Bacon.
- Craig, D., & Rogers, R. (1993). Vocational training in prison: A case study of maximum feasible misunderstanding. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 20 (1- 2), 1- 20.
- Cullen, F. T., & Gendreau, P. (2000). Accessing correctional rehabilitation: Policy, practice and prospects. *Criminal Justice* 3, 109-175.
- Cullen, F.T. (2005). The twelve people who saved rehabilitation: How the science of criminology made a difference. *Criminology*, 43(1), 1-42.
- Cullen, F. T., & Jonson, C. L. (2011). Rehabilitation and treatment. In Wilson, J.Q & Petersilia, J. (eds.), *Crime and public policy*. (pp. 293-344). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cullen, F. T., & Jonson, C. L. (2012). *Correctional theory: Context and consequences*. California: Sage Publications Inc.
- Freeman, R. (1995). The Labor Market. In Wilson, J. Q and Petersilia, J. (eds) *Crime: Twenty-Eight Leading Experts Look at the Most Pressing Problem of Our Time*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies: 171-191.
- Freeman, R. (1991). Crime and the employment of disadvantaged youths. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper* 3875.
- Gaes, G. (2008). *The impact of prison education programs on post- release outcomes*. In re-entry roundtable on education. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/TheEffectivenessofPrisonEducationProgramsNov_09.pdf
- Gainsborough, J., & Mauer, M. (2004). *Diminishing Returns: Crime and Incarceration in the 1990's*. Washington: The Sentencing Project.

- Gehring, T. (2000). Recidivism as a measure of correctional education program success. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51, 197-205.
- Ghana Prisons Service (2010). *Ghana Prisons Annual Report*.
- Ghana Prisons Service (2005). *Ghana Prisons Annual Report*.
- Ghana Prisons Service (2004). *Ghana Prisons Annual Report*.
- Goffman, E. 1963. *Stigma*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Harrison, B., & Schehr, C. (2004). Offenders and post release jobs: Variables influencing success and failure. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 39(3), 35-68.
- Harm, N. J., & Philips, S. D. (2001). You can't go home again: Women and criminal recidivism. *Journal of offender rehabilitation*. 32(3), 3-21.
- Hull, K. A., Forrester, S., Brown, J., Dobe, D., & McCullen, C. (2000). Analysis of recidivism rates of participants of the academic, vocational, transition education programs offered by the Virginia Department of Correctional Education. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51(2), 256-261.
- Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kreinert, J. L., & Fleisher, M. S. (2001). A re-assessment of the link between employment and crime. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, 5(4), 53-63.
- Lanier, M.M., & Stuart, H. (1998). *Essential criminology*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Latessa, E. J., Cullen, F. T., & Gendreau, P. (2002). Beyond correctional quackery: Professionalism and the possibility of effective treatment. *Federal Probation*, 66(2), 43-49.

- Lewis, J. (2006). Correctional education: Why it is only “promising”. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 57(4), 286-296.
- Lochner, L. (1999). Education, work and crime: theory and evidence. *Working Paper* 465. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from http://rcer.econ.rochester.edu/RCERPAPERS/rcer_465
- Lochner, L. (2004). Education, work and crime: a human capital approach. *International Economic Review*, 45(3), 811- 841.
- Lochner, L. (2007). *Education and crime*. Retrieved May 22, 2012, from <http://economics.uwo.ca/faculty/lochner/papers/educationandcrime.pdf>
- Mears, D. P., & Bales, W. D. (2009). Supermax and recidivism. *In American Society of Criminology*, 47(4), 1131- 1166.
- McCall, A. (1998). Meeting the offender re-integration challenge. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 6, 185–194.
- McKean, L. & Ransford, C. (2004). *Current strategies for reducing recidivism*. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from <http://targetarea.org/researchdoc/recidivismexecutivesummary.pdf>.
- Machin S., Marie O., & Vujic, S. (2011). The crime reducing effect of education. *The Economic Journal*, 121, 463- 484.
- MacKenzie, D. L. (2008). *Structure and components of successful educational programmes*. In re-entry roundtable on education. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/DorisMackenzie_Final.pdf
- Osterrmann, M. (2009). An Analysis of New Jersey’s Day Reporting Center and Halfway Back Programs: Embracing the Rehabilitative Ideal Through Evidence Based Practices. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 48, 139-156.
- Paparozzi, M. A., & Schlager, M. (1999). Reconciling what works and broken windows: The policy relevance of individual and social correlates to recidivism reduction. *Victims and Offenders*, 4, 427-434.

- Pitts, W. J., Givens, E., & McNeeley, S. (2009). The need for a holistic approach to specialized domestic violence court programming: Evaluating offender rehabilitation needs and recidivism. In *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, 60(3), 1-22.
- Porporino, F. J., & Robinson, D. (1992). *Can educating adult offender counteract recidivism?* Retrieved May 22, 2012 from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/reports/r22/r22e_.pdf.
- Ritzer, G. (Ed). (2005). *Encyclopedia of social theory*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Ross Pavis, M. A. (2002). Preparing federal prison inmates for employment after release: An innovation at the federal bureau of prisons. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 53(4), 146-149.
- Roucek, J.S. (1947). *Social control*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company.
- See, E. (2004). *Student study guide for criminological theories: introduction, evaluation and application*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing company.
- Shulman, D. (2005). Labelling theory. In Ritzer, G. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Theories*. California: Sage Publications Inc.
- Siegel, L. J. (2003). *Criminology* 8th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Thomson.
- Spark, C., & Harris, A. (2005). Vocation, vocation: A study of prisoner education for women. *Journal of Sociology*, 41(2), 143-161.
- Tam, K. Y., & Ham, M. A. (2008). Rehabilitation for young offenders in Hong Kong Correctional institutions. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 59(1), 49-63.
- Travis, L. F., Schwartz, M. D., & Clear, T. R. (1983). *Corrections: An issue approach* 2ndEd. United States: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Tyler, J.H., & Kling, J.R. (2006). *Prison-Based Education and Re-Entry into the Mainstream Labor Market*. NBER Working Paper No. 12114.

- Ubah, C. B. A. (2003). Reaffirming the limits of offender rehabilitation but with caution. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 16(3), 197-203.
- Ubah, C. B. A. (2002). A critical examination of empirical studies of offender rehabilitation correctional education: *Lessons for the 21st Century*, 53(1), 13-19.
- Uggen, C. 1999. "Ex-Offenders and the Conformist Alternative: A Job Quality Model of Work and Crime." *Social Problems* 46, 127-151.
- Usher, D. (1997). Education as a deterrent to crime. *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, 30(2), 367-384.
- Vacca J. (2008). Crime can be prevented if schools teach juvenile offenders to read. *Children and Youth Services Review* 30, 1055-1062.
- Vibeghana. (2010). *Ghana Prisons to give inmates cash*. Retrieved September 18, 2010 from <http://vibeghana.com/2010/09/28/ghana-prisons-service-to-give-inmates-cash/>
- Weatherburn, D. (1982). *Seven arguments against rehabilitation*. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from <http://anj.sagepub.com/content/15/1/56.extract.pdf>.
- Wormith, J. S., Althouse, R., Simpson, M., Leitzel, L. R., Fagan, T. J., & Morgan, R. D. (2007). The rehabilitation and re-integration of offenders: *The current landscape and some future directions for correctional psychology*, 34, 879-893.
- Wilson, D., Gallagher, C., Coggeshall, M., & Mackenzie, D. (1999). Quantitative review and descriptions of corrections based education, vocation and work programs. *Corrections Management*, 3 (4), 8- 18.
- Wilson, D., Gallagher, C., & Mackenzie, D. (2000). *A meta-analysis of corrections based education, vocation and work programs for adult offenders*. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from <http://jrc.sagepub.com/content/37/4/347>

Witte, A., & Witt, R. (2000). *Crime causation: economic theories*. Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from <http://www.surrey.ac.uk/economic/files/apaperspdf/ECON03-00pdf>

Young, K. (1942). *Sociology*. Cincinnati: American Book Company.

7c) If yes, how long did you work before being imprisoned?

1)..... Days 2). Weeks 3). Months 4) Years.

8. Currently, what crime have you been convicted of?

.....

9. How long is your current sentence?

10. How much of your sentence have you already served?

.....

SECTION B: COMPLETION OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND STANDARD OF LIVING

11a. Did you enroll in any vocational training/ shop programme during any of your previous time here?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

11b. If yes, which vocational training/ shop programme(s) did you enroll in during your previous stay in prison?

.....

11c. If no, why did you not enroll in a vocational training/ shop programme? (**After answering Continue from Q 18**)

.....

12a. Were you able to complete your vocational training/ shop programme(s)?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

12b. If no, why were you not able to complete the training programme?

.....

12c. If yes, how many months or years did it take you to complete the vocational programme(s)?

.....

13a. Did you face any challenges during your enrollment in the vocational/ shop programme(s)?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

13b. If yes, what kind of challenges did you face? Please explain below.

.....
.....

14. What was helpful to you during your enrollment in the vocational/ shop programme?

.....
.....

15. How would you rate the importance of the vocational/ shop programme you enrolled in, on a range of 1 to 5, where 1 is poor and 5 is excellent, in that order.

1) Poor () 2) Satisfactorily () 3) good () 4) very good ()
5) Excellent ()

16. Were you able to secure a job or establish your own workshop after prison?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

17. What kind of job did you get?

.....

18. The training/ shop programme helped you to secure this job or establish your own workshop.

1) Strongly agree () 2) agree () 3) undecided ()
4) disagree () 5) strongly disagree ()

19a. Did you have to take care of dependents after being released?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

19b. If yes, how many dependents did you have to take care of?

1) 1 () 2) 2 () 3) 3 () 4) 4 () 5) above 4 ()

20a. How much money did you receive as income monthly after release?

1) GH¢1-50 () 2) GH¢ 51-100 () 3) GH¢ 101-150 () 4) GH¢151-
200 () 5) Above GH¢ 200 () 6) None ()

- 1) GH¢ 0-50 () 2) GH¢ 50-100 () 3) GH¢ 150-200 () 4) GH¢ 200-250 ()
 5) Above GH¢ 250 () 6) none ()

27a. Would you say the rehabilitation programmes that you enrolled in helped raise your standard of living?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

27b. Explain your response.

.....

28. Generally, how would you describe your standard of living after you were released the first time?

- 1) High () 2) fairly high () 3) medium () 4) fairly low ()
 5) low () 6) don't know ()

29. Generally, were you satisfied with your standard of living after release?

- 1) Very satisfied () 2) satisfied () 3) indifference () 4) dissatisfied ()
 5) very dissatisfied () 6) don't know ()

SECTION C: ENROLMENT IN PRISON EDUCATION PROGRAMME AND ABILITY TO GET JOBS AFTER RELEASE

30. Did you ever enroll in any education programme during your previous time in prison?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

30b. If yes why did you enroll in the educational programme

.....

30c. If no why did you not enroll in any educational programme.

.....

31. Which education programmes did you enroll in?

- 1) Junior High School () 2) Senior High School 3) ICT training () 4) non-formal () 5) others, specify

.....

32a. Were you able to complete the education programme?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

32b. If no, why were you not able to complete the education programme?

.....
.....

33. Do you prefer education programmes to vocational programmes?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

34. Please explain your response

.....
.....

35a. Did you ever apply for a job after enrolling in the education programme?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

35b. If yes, why did you apply for a job

.....
.....

35c. If no, why did you not apply for a job

.....
.....

36. Was your application ever refused?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

37. If yes, what reasons were given?

.....
.....

38a. Were you able to get a job when you applied for one?

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

38b. If yes, state the kind of job that you got.

.....

39. Was the job a stable one?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

40. How long did you work?

1)..... Days

2) Weeks

3) Months

4) Years

41. Did you encounter problems at your job place?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

42. What kinds of problems did you face; please explain below.

.....

.....

43. If you did not get a job, would you attribute your inability to get a job to not enrolling in any vocational training in prison?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

44. Please, explain your response above?

.....

.....

SECTION D: COMPLETION OF REHABILITATION PROGRAMME AND RATE OF RE-OFFENDING

45. Which rehabilitation programme did you enroll in while in prison?

.....

46a. Were you able to complete the rehabilitation programme that you enrolled in?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

46b.If yes how long did it take you to complete the programme

.....

46c. If no did your inability to complete the programme affect you in any way?

1) Yes ()

2) No ()

47. How did it affect you?

.....
48. Your inability to complete the programme contributed to your coming here again.

1) Strongly disagree () 2) disagree () 3) undecided () 4) agree () 5) strongly agree ()

49. Why did you not complete the programme. Please explain below.

.....
50. For the times you have been imprisoned here what crimes were you convicted of?
.....
.....

SECTION E: SOCIAL REJECTION AND RECIDIVISM

51. How did you feel when you were released from prison previously?

.....
52. Did your friends or family members ever come to visit you while you were in prison?

1) Yes () 2) No ()

(If you ticked no, go to Question 57)

53. How often did they visit you in a month?

1) Once () 2) twice () 3) thrice () 4) four times ()
5) 5 times () 6) more than 5 times ()

54. Which of them visited you the most?

1) Family () 2) Friends () 3) none ()

55. Did you go back to your home after release?

1) Yes () 2) No ()

56a. Did you face any challenges after being released?

1) Yes () 2) No ()

56b. If yes, what kind of challenges did you face?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES

1. What is the full name of the programme(s) that you head?

Historical background

2. Kindly give me a brief history about this programme?

Probes: The state of the Ghana prisons before the introduction of the programmes

Why the need for the programmes and when it started?

How many people enrolled at the inception?

What is the current state of the programme

3. What is the purpose for establishing this particular rehabilitation programme?

About the Programme

4. How many instructors train inmates for this programme and how do you get these instructors?

Probe: Are the instructors or teachers non-prison staff or prison staff?

How many are males and how many are females?

5. How many inmates are currently enrolled?

Probe:

6. What times of the day does the programme run, and for how long and where?

7. On average, how long does it take for one to complete this programme?

8. Are there any criteria that an inmate must meet before being enrolled?

Probe: on the whole, what is their participation level?

9. How is this particular programme funded?

10. When a participant of this programme is discharged from prison, is he/ she given some money to start something on his own based on what he learnt?

11. Are there any success stories you can share?

Probe: do you know of any inmate who has enrolled in the programme and how the person is using the skills learnt in the larger society.

Products

12. What happens to the products of this rehabilitation programmes? Do you sell them?
13. Where do the proceeds of the products go to?

Challenges

14. Are there any specific challenges or problems?
Probe: funding, attendance, logistics , social support/ perceptions about the programme, etc...?
15. Who should help in solving this problem?
Probe: What do you think can be done to resolve such challenges or problems?
What should Ghana Prisons do?
What should be done by the government or NGO's or individuals etc.

Debriefing section

1. Do you think that there is something about the programme that I did not ask which you want us to talk about?
2. Any questions?
Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES

1. What is the full name of the programme(s) that you head?

Historical background

2. Kindly give me a brief history about this programme

Probes: The state of the Ghana prisons before the introduction of the programmes

Why the need for the programmes and when it started?

How many people enrolled at the inception?

What is the current state of the programme

3. What is the purpose for establishing this particular rehabilitation programme?

About the Programme

4. How many teachers train inmates for this programme and how do you get these teachers?

Probe: Are the instructors or teacher's non-prison staff or prison staff?

How many are males and how many are females?

5. Who are the teachers of the various subjects?

Probe: are they actual teachers, inmates or prison staff?

6. How many inmates are currently enrolled?

7. Do you run the schools like the one outside the prison in terms of duration of classes?

If it is non-formal. What times of the day do you teach inmates?

8. What subjects are taught in the school?

9. Do you use the same syllabus as other schools outside

10. How does one get admitted into the educational programme

11. Do you write final exams like other schools outside?

12. Is it every student who is registered for the final exams?

13. What happens to an inmate who finishes or completes his education and is still in the prison?

Probe: do you make them help in the teaching? Maybe extra classes?

14. Are you GES approved?

Probe: when were you approved?

Challenges

15. Are there any specific challenges or problems?

Probe: funding, attendance, logistics, social support/ perceptions about the programme, etc...?

16. Who should help in solving this problem?

Probe: What do you think can be done to resolve such challenges or problems?

What should Ghana Prisons do?

What should be done by the government or NGO's or individuals etc.

Debriefing section

1. Do you think that there is something about the programme that I did not ask which you want us to talk about?

2. Any questions for me.