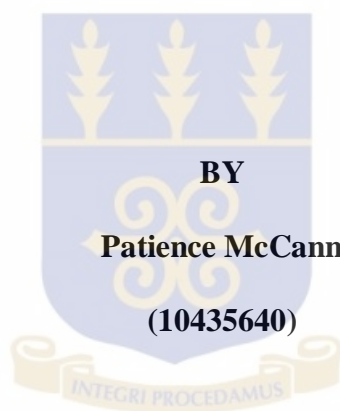


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**INSTITUTE FOR STATISTICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH
(ISSER)**

**Challenges Associated with Prisoner Intervention Programmes in Ghana: Case
Studies of the Nsawam Medium Security Prison and the Nsawam Female Prison**



**THIS THESIS/DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF M.A. DEVELOPMENT STUDIES DEGREE.**

JULY 2014

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work presented is entirely my own work produced from research carried out in the Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) under the supervision of Dr. Elizabeth A. Asante, and neither a part nor the whole work has been produced elsewhere for the award of any degree. Published and unpublished literatures have been duly acknowledged.

.....
PATIENCE ADALA MCCANN
(STUDENT)



DATE

.....
DR. ELIZABETH ASIUEDUA ASANTE
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE

DEDICATION

To the late Angelbert Obeng,

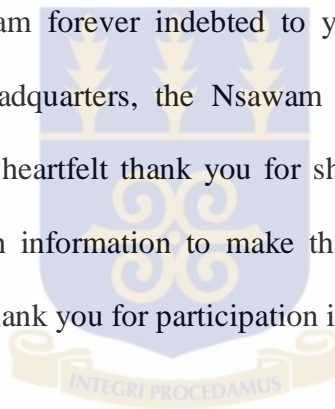
I did not write a single sentence of what follows without you at heart. Thank you for opening my mind to understand the challenges of a world where some individuals are dealt with unfair circumstances from birth. Thank you for making me realize that these circumstances can affect people's lives far beyond what outsiders may comprehend. You allowed me to be a part of your life, and through this you showed me the importance of positivity, faith, and determination. To you I am eternally grateful. Until we meet at the gates of heaven, rest easy my boy.



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To conclude, I give thanks and glory to God for His favour and mercy. It is only by His grace that I was able to finalize this research for submission.

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ABSTRACT

Although prison inmates are often seen as burdens on society, as their criminal activity has made them unproductive citizens, rehabilitation programmes within prisons give inmates the ability to become productive citizens upon their release. Such programmes, which focus on providing inmates with skills and knowledge, have the potential to greatly affect their integration back into society post-release, thus decreasing the likelihood that they will commit similar crimes in the future. However, because of limited resources allocated towards prisoner intervention programmes on the part of governments and other external funders, there are many obstacles facing the potential success of such initiatives. This study examines prisoner intervention programmes by examining the challenges from the perspective of the guards and the inmates at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison and the Nsawam Female Prison. The key findings from the study were presented in themes which included the Harnessing of External Support and Knowledge, Encouraging Internal Support and Knowledge, Increasing Program Funding, Formalizing and Solidifying Partnerships, and Focusing on the Modifications of Prisoner Behaviours and Attitudes. Based on an analysis of qualitative interviews, the study concludes with recommendations for policy makers and stakeholders, which focused on enhancing existing prisoner rehabilitation programming and networking to sustain their success.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

In recent years, the Ghana Prison Service has begun the intricate process of transforming their institutions to perform the contemporary intended purpose of penitentiaries, with a focus on rehabilitation. This purpose has become an essential component of prison functioning because regardless of the crime an inmate has committed, each individual undergoes social exclusion, and ‘successive status disintegration’ (Floch, 1956). Although receiving punishment for an unlawful activity, this social exclusion can jeopardize the ability for prisoners to prosper upon release. Even though rehabilitation and prisoner transformation is at the forefront of the Ghana Prison Service agenda, there are various obstacles that hinder continued progress. This dissertation investigates specific challenges of inmate rehabilitation programmes, thus addressing the necessity of increasing attention and allocating resources towards prison intervention programmes in Ghana.

1.0 Research Background

Prison inmates are often seen as burdens on society, as their criminal activity has made them unproductive citizens, necessitating government funding to support their survival. Imprisonment therefore refers to being ejected from society as a whole, a state in which inmates are segregated to an extraordinarily subordinate position (Floch, 1956). Special concerns arise in developing countries, as there are various other important prospects for

this funding. It is therefore essential that inmates are rehabilitated when imprisoned so that they can become productive citizens upon their release.

In order to rehabilitate prisoners, it is essential to first understand that deviance occurs not only from individuals' choices, but also as a result of complex social structures. This is in relation to both societal and economic disadvantages, which have been shown to characterize the majority of prison populations (Borzycki, 2005). For instance many inmates have poor employment histories due to societal and economic disadvantages, which can be linked to low levels of educational achievement, social exclusion, and poor physical and mental health, often leading to alcohol and drug addictions (Borzycki, 2005).

According to Barkan (2010), the societal and economic disadvantages that characterize the majority of prison inmates, as well as their associated challenges, cause deviant behaviour to occur. Barkan claims that deviance among the poor exists because these individuals are not economically successful in a society where the importance of wealth is greatly emphasized by cultural norms. The desire for individuals to gain acceptance, yet the inability to attain this goal through legitimized means, results in deviant behavior (Barkan, 2010). The gap between these individuals' desire for economic prosperity and their tangible success is dependent upon broader social structures. Thus, these structures can hinder the feasibility of their accomplishments.

The most effective strategy for addressing the origin of deviance in developing countries would involve changing the social structures that serve as a foundation for poverty. Although beneficial, the alteration of societal norms is a complex process that requires time and patience. Therefore, criminal activity will continue to take place for as long as inequality exists, resulting in the reality that the origin of deviance is essentially impossible to eradicate. Consequently, the most plausible solution is to rehabilitate individuals in prison who have been caught for their deviance. This rehabilitation can result in personal growth and development, and the benefits of this change will impact entire communities. When released from prison, the inmates will have a greater potential for economic prosperity, as the skills and knowledge gained from rehabilitation programming will enhance their ability to become active and participatory citizens.

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

For proper growth and development of a country, it is essential that the citizens feel safe and secure within their respective environments. This is a critical foundation for the environment to prosper through various development initiatives. However many societies in the developing world have undergone a process of uneven development that has led to inequality, exclusion and poverty. This creates grievances that can lead to various forms of violence and conflict (Goodhand, 2001). This is because in the majority of societies, where livelihoods are difficult to sustain, there is often an increase in criminal activity as individuals struggle to provide for themselves and their families (UNODC, 2011). Rehabilitation programmes are an essential aspect in reducing the crime in developing countries caused by this uneven development, because they give inmates access to

preventative measures and can makes their integration back into society less stressful. Therefore they would be less likely to commit similar crimes again.

The current struggle is that prisoner intervention programmes have not gained enough attention with government initiatives. Therefore even if money is fueled into prisons, it can become wasteful as criminals have little opportunities to better themselves before returning to society. Consequently prisons become institutions that detract from a person's ability to successfully contribute to society, rather than a location for inmates to harvest personal positivity and potential societal advancement.

The purpose of this investigation is to identify the challenges to the successful operation of prisoner intervention programmes in Ghana. This was done through examining the viewpoints of both individuals in authoritative roles, mostly prison directors, and inmates who take a more subordinate position in the decision making process of rehabilitation programmes.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess the challenges associated with prisoner intervention programmes in Ghana. With this intention, the study will seek to achieve the follow specific objectives:

1. To discover what intervention programmes are currently in progress at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison.

2. To identify the challenges of implementing prisoner intervention programmes.
3. To ascertain the difficulties inmates have with undertaking prisoner intervention programmes, and
4. to make recommendations for successful rehabilitation programming and through this, to advocate for the support of this type of prisoner intervention.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the intervention programmes currently underway at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison and the Nsawam Female Prison?
2. What challenges do the directors have with implementation of rehabilitation/intervention programmes?
3. What difficulties do inmates have with undertaking prisoner intervention programmes?
4. What opportunities do the intervention programmes provide inmates, and what are the experiences of inmates who have participated in these programmes?
5. How do the male and female experiences of the intervention programmes differ?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The rehabilitation of prisoners decreases the likelihood for them to recommit crimes upon their release because these programmes give inmates effective skills to achieve a sustainable livelihood upon their release. As stated by the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime “a lack of sustainable livelihoods causes vulnerability to criminal behaviour. In countries or regions where income is unevenly distributed and social justice is

inadequate, the crime rate is higher” (UNODC, 2011:6). Therefore in order to reduce criminal behaviour in developing countries crime prevention measures must be put in place. These measures should “encompass a wide range of approaches, including those that promote the well-being of people and encourage pro-social behaviour through social, economic, health and education measures” (UNODC, 2011:2). Prisoner rehabilitation through various intervention programmes is an effective way to attain these measures.

This is significant because the government will be able to reduce the amount of funds that are spent on second time offenders within the justice system. When offenders return to society, they will have an improved mindset, and will have learned skills through the intervention programmes that will help them to generate an income. Therefore they will contribute to the overall growth and development of Ghana, instead of becoming a danger or burden to society. With these advantages known, this study seeks to notify and address the challenges that are hindering the successfulness and the expansion of prisoner intervention programmes in Ghana. This will enable the researcher to not only advocate on the programmes behalf, but also to be able to inform policy makers and stakeholders about the appropriate measures to enhance this programme.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This dissertation will be organized into five chapters. Chapter One will introduce the dissertation topic, and the stated problems and objectives. Chapter Two is divided into two sections, the first will review literature that is relevant to prisoner rehabilitation programmes, while the second section gives an overview of the study area. In Chapter

Three the methodology is presented. In Chapter Four the empirical results are first presented and then analyzed. Chapter Five concludes the study after first providing a brief summary and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on prisons and prisoner rehabilitation programmes by addressing concepts, theories and debates surrounding this policy issue. Essentially the strategies and objectives of intervention programmes are discussed on a national and international scale to depict the challenges associated with such programmes, and to form a consensus about the likelihood of their success as an inmate rehabilitation strategy. The majority of the information presented in this chapter is theoretical and conceptual.

Only a small section is able to specifically address in any detail the background of the intervention programmes at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison. This is because of the lack of documentary information from the Head Office and the Prisons themselves despite several visits to them. The majority of information on the intervention programmes themselves was obtained through the Candidate's own research interviews, and is therefore presented as part of empirical findings in Chapter Four.

SECTION I

2.1 Conceptual Context

There are many definitions of rehabilitation that can serve as a foundation for examining the challenges of intervention programmes. Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2015) provides three definitions for rehabilitation [rehabilitate] that can be applied to prisoner rehabilitation. These definitions are quoted verbatim as follows:

- a) to bring (someone or something) back to a normal, healthy condition after an illness, injury, drug problem etc.
- b) to teach (a criminal in prison) to live a normal and productive life
- c) to bring (someone or something) back to a good condition

Many researchers, such as Lynch (2000) have elaborated upon the definition of rehabilitation to directly encompass inmates. Lynch (2000) therefore defines prisoner rehabilitation as follows:

Any discourse or practices that speak to transforming or normalizing the criminal into a socially defined non-deviant citizen, including psychological programmes, drug treatment programs, educational and work training programs, work and housing placement assistance, and half-way houses (p. 45).

This is in comparison to Smith's definition stating that prisoner rehabilitation is a "punishment intended to reform a convict so that she [or he] can lead a productive life free from crime" (Smith, n.d:1).

Although the definitions of rehabilitation differ slightly from author to author, the general overview is that the purpose of rehabilitation is to take an individual from deviancy to morality. The shift in their behavior may occur through an array of outlets depending on the specific needs of the individual, however regardless of the process, the goal of prisoner rehabilitation process is to reduce the rate of recidivism.

In addition, there are many theories that support prisoner rehabilitation. To begin, the importance of prisoner rehabilitation can be situated in the Human Capital Theory. According to Lamotte (2012) “Human capital corresponds to any stock of knowledge or characteristics the worker has (either innate or acquired) that contributes to his or her productivity” (Lamotte, 2012:4). Giving inmates the education and skills to increase their human capital will provide them with foundational skills to become independently productive and/or desirable to employers upon release. Considering prisoner rehabilitation programmes provide inmates with skills and knowledge that are applicable outside of prison, they are increasing the individual’s human capital thus decreasing their burden to society.

Another theory is the positivist approach, which justifies the use of rehabilitation because “offenders are victims of forces beyond their control” (Robinson & Crow, 2009:9). It is therefore possible to rationalize that offenders merit all resources that can potentially be made available to them to reduce the likelihood of becoming a second time offender. A rights-based approach to prisoner rehabilitation can be built upon the positivist viewpoint

through arguing that societal structures put the individual in a subordinate position therefore coercing them into criminal activity. For example Robinson and Crow (2009) argue the following:

If we accept that crime is caused, at least in part, by social deprivation (e.g. poverty) or other problems which society has failed to address (e.g. mental illness) such that the individual's capacity to avoid crime has been compromised, then it is possible to argue that society has an obligation to intervene or help the offender out of the situation (p. 9).

Aside from the positivist position, it is the Utilitarian arguments that are in favor of prisoner rehabilitation through intervention programmes. This philosophy deems that an action is ethically correct if it produces the highest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people (Robinson & Crow, 2009:9). This is because utilitarian theorists argue that for something to be 'good' it cannot be individualistic. Instead 'good' must produce the greatest amount of pleasure both physical and emotional for the largest number of people possible (Pecorino, 2000).

Therefore when utilitarian's justify rehabilitation it is through the belief that "the transformation of offenders into law-abiding members of the community serves the interests of society as a whole" (Robinson & Crow, 2009:9). As a result, rehabilitating inmates produces citizens who are able to contribute to society in a beneficial manner, and in turn this protects society from a future of crime. Although some individuals would

argue that locking offenders up indefinitely would produce the same sense of happiness for society, this is problematic because it is not a comprehensive solution (Robinson & Crow, 2009).

Although there are many theories in support of prisoner rehabilitation, there are also criticisms against this reformation process. In the late eighteenth century Bentham formed the 'less eligibility principles' about prisoner rehabilitation. This principle is critically valuable in a society where there are citizens who have not offended, however have encountered many of the same social/economic disadvantages and challenges that are similar to those of inmates (Robinson & Crow, 2009). Bentham (1791) argued that,

'Saving the regard due to life, health and bodily ease, the ordinary conditions of a convict doomed to punishment' shall not be made 'more eligible than that of the poorest class of citizens in a state of innocence and liberty' (Bentham 1791, quoted in Robinson & Crow, 2009:10).

Simply stated, the 'less eligibility theory' argues that inmates should not be able to enjoy conditions that are better than the circumstances of the poorest individuals within the country (Robinson & Crow, 2009:10).

In addition, according to Smith (n.d.), prison is not a proper venue for achieving the objectives of rehabilitation because inmates are isolated from reality, and thus they are not improving themselves in an environment that can be compared to general society.

Supporting this point, Smith argues that the incarceration of inmates forces them to become dependent on the prison system. Therefore sentences which allow for parole, and community service are beneficial to rehabilitation because they “keep the offender functioning within [their] ordinary life to some degree while helping [them] to learn how to manage the responsibilities [they] will face after [their] sentence has expired” (Smith, n.d.:2).

Advocates for the rehabilitation of inmates counter criticisms of their standpoint by claiming that insufficient resources are consistently hindering their methods for the rehabilitation of inmates. Therefore activists maintain that if adequate attention and support were to be allocated to this practice, there would be substantial evidence to dispute theories against prisoner rehabilitation. However due to a lack of advocacy and funding on their behalf, these programmes have not been able to be genuinely implemented in many locations globally (Smith, n.d.:2). This has been a problem for successful intervention programmes since they began in the early 16th century.

Although historically penitentiaries were authoritarian centers strictly for the imprisonment of offenders, in the early 16th century opposing viewpoints arose, and the fundamental purpose of prisons began to alter. Therefore, there has been a shift in transforming prisons into rehabilitation centers for individuals who have acted in a deviant manner. One of the most advantageous strategies that began the facilitation of prisoner rehabilitation was the Bridewell Experiment. As a response to the crime wave occurring in England in the early 16th century, King Edward VI established the world’s

first house of correction, a rehabilitation facility called Bridewell. Although England already contained numerous prisons, they were intended strictly to reprimand inmates rather than revitalize them to reduce the chance of further transgressions. Contradictory to traditional practices, the Bridewell facility focused on the philosophy that educating prisoners through helping them develop a trade and applying useful work habits was the best reformation strategy. It was believed that gaining these skills and knowledge would teach the prisoner discipline while supporting the institution's maintenance (Roberts, 1984). Although inmate labor had existed throughout the earliest jails in the 11th and 13th century, the objective of this labour was strictly for paying the costs of incarceration and sheriff wages. Bridewell was unique because it was the origin of a transformation that introduced the concept of hard labor as a 'reformatory action' rather than the price of one's survival (Roberts, 1954).

However, the Bridewell Experiment was only the foundation for a transformative process that would spread through prisons internationally. Elaborating on the positive coalition between the Bridewell experiment and prison rehabilitation was work written by John Howard (Roberts, 1954), which furthered the concept of prisoner rehabilitation through arguing that the conditions of the English prisons were a 'breeding ground for the corruption of novice criminal' (Grass, 2003). The overcrowding and lack of provisions contributed to the moral corruption of an inmate who still had the possibility of positive transformation. Instead of labor as the fundamental root of transformation, Howard argued that the intent of prisons should be to use religion as a way for inmates to reclaim their morals. He felt as though solitary confinement would allow for prisoners to have an

epiphany about their wicked past. More over, Howard believed that the current prison system in England was far too overcrowded for prisoner rehabilitation, and he insisted that England make progress towards a prison system based on reformatory discipline, which would create a psychological transformation for inmates (Grass, 2003). Although there continued to be disagreement about how prisons should be run, the Bridewell experiment and the additions by Howard were the foundation for transforming prisons into rehabilitation centers.

2.2 Prison Rehabilitation Internationally

Internationally, countries have various viewpoints concerning the importance and the success of prisoner intervention programmes as a tool to rehabilitate prisoners. The general consensus however is that these programmes are a useful instrument for rehabilitation and therefore the reintegration of prisoners into society upon release. This is supported by “researchers and policymakers [who] are touting an emerging consensus that prison-based rehabilitation programs can indeed reduce future criminal behavior” (Travis, 2000). This supportive viewpoint is indispensable, because prisoners reoffending have dangerous costs to society. As stated by the former United States of American President, Lyndon B. Johnson, "We cannot tolerate an endless, self-defeating cycle of imprisonment, release, and reimprisonment, which fails to alter undesirable attitudes and behavior. We must find ways to help the first offender avoid a continuing career of crime" (Long, 1965:3). As this reality spread across the world, correctional practitioners began progressively embracing more innovative approaches to improving the chances of the rehabilitation of prisoners, thereby decreasing the likelihood of inmates re-offending,

and in turn improving upon their countries safety (Borzycki, 2005). Due to cultural norms and history, each continent has undergone a unique transformative process of renovating prisons from reprimand centers, to locations for facilitating rehabilitation. Programmes vary drastically across nations, however some of the most common interventions will be discussed below.

Religious interventions, which often encompass counseling, are one of the interventions that have proven to be highly successful. A study completed at a male medium/maximum security prison in South Carolina, United States of America, discovered that there is a correlation between religious intervention and prison infractions (O'Connor & Perreyclear, 2008). The results of this study demonstrated that the increase in religious involvement showed a decrease of inmate infractions. The results of this study can therefore be used as supportive evidence to shed light on the value of religion in the process of prisoner rehabilitation (O'Connor & Perreyclear, 2008).

As with any successful rehabilitation programme there are challenges and limits that religious intervention struggles with. These challenges fluctuate by country and by individual penitentiaries as each facility has a unique set of inmates, staff and management. As deviance is widespread in prison facilities, many scholars argue that religious intervention is a dual sided debate. On one side of the debate scholars argue that religious interventions lead to morality, however many scholars contest that viewpoint and argue that prisons have become incubators for religious extremists (Hamm, 2009). For example, since the attacks on 9/11/01 there has been a large influx of inmates converting to Islam. Although this alone is not problematic, federal law enforcement has

drawn attention to the issue as these prisoners are being recruited by Saudi-backed terrorist organizations (Hamm, 2009). Another challenge associated with religious interventions is the significance of religious stratification within prisons. This is significant because commonality through religion is a basis for collective inmate behaviour (Jacobs, 1975). The first documented instance of religious organization within prisons occurred with Jehovah's Witnesses during World War II. The large number of incarcerated Jehovah's Witnesses became problematic for administrators as they "engaged in numerous work slowdowns, strikes, and other protests involving collective action" (Jacobs, 1975:479). However this was only the beginning, and according to Jacobs (1975), the Black Muslims are undoubtedly the largest and most organized group to ever rise in American prisons. One of the most famous instances occurred at the Attica Prison in New York where the "Black Muslims at Attica had a lengthy history of organizing, recruiting and waging legal battles" (Jacobs, 1975:479). The significance of this stratification is that inmates become committed to their specific religious organization often causing them to disregard outsiders, and this contrasts the traditional idea of a prison community (Jacobs, 1975).

Although there are challenges with religious interventions, there are also many benefits. If the struggles and limitations of such programmes can be monitored and addressed, then the positive impacts of religious intervention can be seen. Through rehabilitation exercises such as religious intervention and counseling, inmates will have a changed perspective about their unlawful activity which not only benefits themselves, but society as well. Often this is reflected through family life, as prisoners desire to relocate near

relatives and take an active role in the nurturing and affluence of their family (Borzycki, 2005). In turn inmates become positive role models in their community for others who struggle with deviant behavior (Borzycki, 2005). As a result, rehabilitation promotes community safety, as individuals are less likely to re-commit crimes, because they have found a newly discovered sense of hope through rehabilitative measures. With the positive impacts known, it is therefore essential that on an international scale, prisons promote religious intervention programmes to rehabilitate inmates while in the penitentiary.

Although a drastically different approach from religious interventions, there are many beneficial reasons why education has been incorporated into the world of prisoner rehabilitation. The degree and focus of educational rehabilitation differs enormously depending on the location of a country and the necessary skills needed to be a beneficial contributor to society. Generally, education occurs through formal, vocational, or agricultural concentrations. A study conducted in several prisons in Canada, the United States and Great Britain in 1974-1975 concluded that education in prisons was constructive because inmates felt that courses provided “opportunities for jobs or for further education” (Ayers, 1981:27). Alongside this the study showed that “students have made certain cognitive changes in their way of thinking” (Ayers, 1981:28) which in some instances “[indicates] an awareness that problems and issues have more than one interpretation or solution, or that an open mind is necessary to appreciate alternative points of view (Ayers, 1981:28). This is vital because the connection is made between analytical thinking and judgments being made with understanding which are “indicative

of a more mature, rational approach to the solution of problems” (Ayers, 1981:28). In turn, an educational program that is provided by established instructors from outside of the prison can “effect significant growth in skills which have previously undeveloped in the delinquent and criminal” (Ayers, 1981:36).

Studies such as the one discussed above prove that education is in fact a useful tool for rehabilitating prisoners, however there are many obstacles for the successful operation of this intervention on a global scale. A report for the European Commission by GHK Consultants in 2013 stated that the challenges of education in prisons is manifold. On one hand the prison populations are diverse and constantly changing therefore the educational needs are altering on a daily basis. Alongside this challenge, prison management and educators are trying to “keep pace with changes in mainstream education and training systems, and the adoption of new technologies for learning, which presents particular challenges in relation to security issues in the prison environment” (Hawley, Murphy & Soutu-Otero, 2013:7). These challenges are compounded by an increase in prison populations across Europe, which has put a strain on resources and funding meaning that education has the potential to become a low priority (Hawley et al., 2013). This is highly problematic because this is occurring “in the context of an economic turndown and increasingly competitive labour markets [where] prisoners need more than ever to gain skills and competences to enhance their employability” (Hawley et al., 2013:8). Although all penitentiaries face challenges when educating prisoners both vocationally and through academia, the benefits of overcoming these challenges have the potential for everlasting impacts on societies.

According to Petersilia (2001), the majorities of offenders complete their sentences and leave prison without finances, and with few prospects for employment opportunities. As a result of this, individuals that are released from prisons encounter a magnitude of challenges. They remain largely uneducated and unskilled, and as a result the majority of persons end up rearrested, often within the first six months after their release (Petersilia, 2001). Educational interventions are the way to reduce these potential detrimental impacts. It has been proven that educating inmates in prisons gives them skills and knowledge to seek employment, which reduces the risk of re-offending by approximately a third (Hawley et al., 2013). According to Hawley et al. (2013), a former prisoner who has received an employment opportunity upon release has a reduced chance of reoffending (Hawley et al., 2013). Therefore it is “crucial to try to address prisoners’ skills gaps through the provision of learning opportunities which provide skills and competences, relevant to the (local) job market, to enhance their employability” (Hawley et al., 2013:13).

Another important intervention that occurs on a global scale is health awareness and services. This is important because in many countries health awareness is promoted through media campaigns which many inmates do not have access to for security reasons (Enuku & Enuku, 1999). Therefore various other interventions have been introduced to maintain the sexual health of prisoners. For example in the Montana State Prisons a wellness programme was introduced to “provide educational and service activities to male inmates for the purpose of improving health status and increasing knowledge on

significant health issues relevant to contemporary society” (Amtmann, 2004:335). Students from the Applied Health programme at Montana University introduced this programme and formed an agenda to meet a national agenda for health services. (Amtmann, 2004:335). This is similar to a viewpoint by the World Health Organization which states that partnerships with outside health officials are crucial for using health as an intervention measure. This is important because these individuals not only teach inmates about proper wellbeing, but also connect them to outside resources for their release back into society (WHO, 2007:5)

However there are many challenges associated with educational health services in prisons. One of the most prominent challenges is a prisoners’ attitude towards health. It is crucial to build the “physical, mental and social health of prisoners as part of a whole prison approach” (WHO, 2007:15) Without this key portion of rehabilitation; other intervention programmes would not function properly. It is particularly challenging because inmates at large tend to have a lower quality of mental, physical and social health than the rest of the population. This is in part because many inmates “had little to no regular contact with health services before entering prison” (WHO, 2007:16). The living conditions of the majority of prisons puts inmates at risk for many communicable diseases, as well as mental illness and drug dependencies. (WHO, 2007:16). It is important to intervene and rehabilitate inmates about health services through their imprisonment because health is crucially important for the personal growth and development of inmates, as well as for society.

Health services in prisons educate inmates to understand the importance of health and wellbeing. This is beneficial to society because according to McDonald (1999), poor conditions within prisons increase the likelihood that inmates will contract a spreadable disease such as hepatitis and HIV. This is because in some countries these diseases are extremely prevalent among the prison community. Therefore unless inmates are provided health care services, when they are reentered into society it poses potential public health risks (McDonald, 1999). It is clear that the impacts of imprisonment can extend far beyond the incarcerated individual and therefore it is essential that more countries fuel resources into health services within prisons. According to the World Health Organization there are several reasons why health interventions are an important part of prisoner rehabilitation. First the World Health Organization argues that having “good prison health is essential to good public health” (WHO, 2007:2). Secondly, healthy and educated ex-prisoners can contribute to the health of their communities by helping to improve the wellbeing of some of the most disadvantaged people in society.

The importance of intervention programmes discussed above, alongside many others unique to specific prisons can be supported by research conducted in the United States of America that has shown that the collateral penalties of prison extend beyond the individuals themselves, and further impact entire communities (Borzycki, 2005). According to Petersilia (2001), there are a large number of unfortunate collateral consequences, including “child abuse, family violence, the spread of infectious diseases, homelessness, and community disorganization” (Petersilia, 2001:2). In some communities, the ability to reduce future trajectory towards crime and unlawful activity is

deteriorating because incarceration is becoming a normalized (Petersilia, 2001). Typically, in these communities, businesses want to relocate and employment opportunities diminish, thus decreasing the socio-economic status of individuals living in these districts (Borzycki, 2005). Therefore, to reduce the sprawling impacts of imprisonment, it is essential to rehabilitate inmates during their sentence, so that they can have positive societal impacts upon their discharge. Although all countries and continents use rehabilitation and intervention programmes differently, some of the interventions discussed above are also occurring within African prisons.

2.3 Prisoner Rehabilitation in Africa

Over the past decade African prisons have faced extreme criticisms due to the way in which they operate. In African countries that struggle financially, prisons and prisoners are seen as a low level national priority. This is because there is a general perception on the continent that prisons are, and should continue to be, strictly for punishment due to an individual decision to disregard national laws (Tapscott, 2008). However, administrators for Prisons have become knowledgeable on prisoner rehabilitation and the importance behind this method. Alongside this administrators are aware of the constraints that hinder their ability to transform the prison system, for example limited budgets, motivation and infrastructure (Tapscott, 2008). This is beneficial because acknowledging the limitations that are hindering the process of inmate rehabilitation allows for these challenges to be addressed.

In order to address the challenges associated with prisoner rehabilitation in Africa, it is first essential to have an understanding of what rehabilitation programmes look like in the Africa context. Various countries can be examined for this purpose, however “a report by the African Journal of Criminology and Justice indicates that Uganda has the best prisons rehabilitation programmes in Africa” (Mudoola, 2014:1). The commissioner General of Prisons in Uganda, Dr. Johnson Byabashaija understands the need for the rehabilitation of inmates and has incorporated many initiatives into the prisons. Besides counseling services, prisons in Uganda have a peaceful conflict resolution center and religious empowerment courses (Mudoola, 2014). Alongside this educational interventions are noted for their rehabilitation benefits which including formal education, agriculture and vocational skills. The vocational training includes tailoring, weaving, beauty skills, leather working, metal works engineering and construction, carpentry and handicraft (Mudoola, 2014:1). However similar to many other countries, funding has been an issue for the upkeep and maintenance of these programmes (Mudoola, 2014).

Another country in Africa that focuses on prisoner rehabilitation is South Africa. However unlike Uganda, the successfulness of many of these rehabilitation programmes depends on volunteer organizations coming to assist the prison with the interventions. One of these programmes is the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders, which provides an array of programs that inmates can choose with their own agency to select to disregard (McAree, 2011:15). Another intervention is the Khulisa’s ‘my path’ programmes that focuses on stress management and communication skills as well as advanced planning for inmates release into society

(McAree, 2011:15). This form of rehabilitation is strikingly different from many other African nations as there is a strong core of outside NGOs that work in collaboration with the prison to implement rehabilitation measures.

Nigerian prisons have also put rehabilitative measures into place. According to the Federal Government of Nigeria “rehabilitation services in Nigerian prisons have been defined as services provided for prison inmates in order to restore them to fullest physical, mental, physiological, social, vocational and economic usefulness which they are capable of” (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1989). There are several different programmes in place to meet the goal of the rehabilitation services. This includes inmate training productivity, which focuses on training inmates for farming and industries. These training sessions are meant to give the inmates practical skills (Asokhia & Agbonluae, 2013:226). This is very similar to vocational skills interventions that are common in other countries rehabilitation programmes. Nigerian prisons also focus on religion as a rehabilitation measure; this includes activities such as worship services, religious courses, prayer services and crisis or personal counseling from chaplains (Asokhia & Agbonluae, 2013:226). Unique to Nigerian prisons, inmates who are inside their cells for the majority of the day are allowed to play games like ludo and cards to help rehabilitate themselves, where as other inmate can participate in recreational activities including table tennis, volleyball, football and badminton (Asokhia & Agbonluae, 2013:226). Although each country discussed above differs slightly in their rehabilitation measures, it is clear that there are many interventions being put into place across Africa to help inmates become

productive citizens upon release. However, although these programmes exist, there are still many concerns with the implementation and success of these programmes.

One of these concerns is budgetary constraint as the majority of money is fueled into basic prison operations, therefore restricting the amount of finances that can be used for rehabilitation programmes. In many countries that struggle to receive initial funding for prisons, the challenges associated with budgetary constraints are worsened by management skills. According to Tapscott, “the misuse of resources, poor financial control and planning, and misappropriation of funds impact adversely on the functioning of any prison system” (Tapscott, 2008:79). In turn this directly and/or indirectly, affects the welfare of inmates because management has failed to provide fundamental resources to them (Tapscott, 2008). This is closely linked to motivation, which is another limitation of prisoner rehabilitation in Africa.

According to Tapscott (2008) prisoner rehabilitation in Africa is limited due to motivation. Tapscott stated that when resources are provided to rehabilitate inmates, many prison staff lack the motivation and innovation to use these means effectively (Tapscott, 2008). However the blame cannot be placed solely on their determination, as the majority of staff members lack official training to execute successful rehabilitation techniques. In September 1996 the United Nations Economic and Social Council held a conference to discuss a continent wide prison reform called the Kampala Declaration on Prison Condition in Africa (Tapscott, 2008). During this initiative 47 nations agreed that “any improvements in conditions for prisoners [would] be dependent on staff having a

pride in their work and a proper level of competence” (Tapscott, 2008:8). Without instruction and training exercises on rehabilitation, it is futile to have staff try to apply successful techniques to revitalize prisoners.

In addition to these challenges, many prisons in Africa do not have infrastructure to execute proper rehabilitation of prisoners. Among many African countries there has been a large increase in incarcerations since the millennium alone. Ghana witnessed a 38 per cent increase in prison population, alongside at Malawi (35%), South Africa (24%) and Cameroon (26%) (Tapscott, 2008). Although there has been an increase of incarcerations, there has been little to no physical improvement in many of these countries prisons since their original construction in the period of colonial rule (Tapscott, 2008). According to a study discussed in Tapscott, in 2001 a scholar, Kibuka, addressed that the lack of physical improvement in prisons has lead to an enormous increase in prison overcrowding. Statistics in the researched staggered from 20 per cent in Zimbabwe to as high as 116 and 128 per cent in Tanzania and Kenya (Tapscott, 2008:69). The prison infrastructure in combination with overcrowding has severely constricted the ability to successfully deliver rehabilitation. The layout of the grounds is not ideal for this practice due to the lack of facilities leaving no space for recreational, educational and religious facilities. These are ideal places for inmates to route their energy into positive activities (Tapscott, 2008).

However, when prison services are able to overcome these shortages, there is the possibility to advance to the stage of rehabilitating inmates successfully (Tapscott, 2008).

However, aside from the challenges, there are many prisons in African countries, such as the countries discussed above, that have attempted to incorporate rehabilitation into their practices regardless of the challenges, another one of these countries is Ghana.

2.4 Ghana Prison Service: Intervention Programmes in Ghana

The information in the subsequent sections was obtained through the 2011 Annual Report for Ghana Prison Service, and a documentary titled *Inside Prisons*, which aired on Ghana Television (GTV). As a result of a lack of resources, the specific background information was obtained by the researcher through verbal communication, and will be presented in the empirical findings in chapter four. Considering there was a challenge in accessing literature pertaining to the intervention programmes implemented in the Ghanaian prisons, the documentary and the Annual Report were obtained by the researcher at the Prison Headquarters, and became a major source of background information. That information will be presented as follows:

Although traditionally it is believed that offenders should have strict consequences for their criminal activity to deter them from partaking in unlawful actions in the future, Ghana Prison Service has implemented a different transformative method for incarceration. This change in thinking is in correspondence with their mission statement listed in the Annual Report for Ghana Prison Service (2011), which declares that,

The Ghana Prison Service is tasked with the safe custody of convicted persons from the Courts as well as the provision of Reformation and

Rehabilitation Programmes for their successful resettlement into society.

Our cherished values are humanity, vigilance and fortitude (p. 3)

Accompanying this mission statement is their vision "to transform the Prisons in Ghana into highly efficient correctional facilities managed by a well-trained and motivated staff" (Ghana Prison Service, 2011:3).

Therefore, according to *Inside Prisons* documentary obtained from the Headquarters, Ghana Prison Service now focuses on exposing prisoners to intervention programmes that will help them to gain skills that are applicable when they move out of the prisons. The goal of these programmes is that when inmates acquire knowledge, it will reduce the likelihood of them reoffending (Ghana Prison Service, 2014). In addition, the prison service undertakes the necessary reform programmes to rehabilitate prisoners, and to reduce the negative perception associated with prisons. Their intent is to provide inmates with skills and knowledge that will help to reduce the stigma they face from the rest of society when they are released from incarceration. A foundational background of Ghana Prison Service, and of the intervention programmes that have been implemented will be addressed below.

Ghana Prison Service is comprised of forty-five major establishments, including the Prison Headquarters, Prison Officers' Training School, a Senior Correctional Centre, seven Central Prisons, thirteen Local Prisons, seven Female Prisons, three Open Camp Prisons, nine Agricultural Settlement Camp Prisons, a Medium Security Prison, a Maximum Security Prison, and a Contagious Disease Prison (Ghana Prison Service,

2011:4). With forty-five establishments to manage, it is essential that all of the five thousand and twenty five (5,025) staff operate according to the legislative mandate. The mandate is operated strictly under the following directives:

- Prisons Regulations, 1958 (L.I. 412)
- Prisons Standing Orders, 1960
- Prisons (Amendment) Regulation, 1970 (L.I 648)
- Prisons (Declaration of Prisons) Instrument, 1971 (E.I22)
- Prisons Service Decree, 1972, NRCD 46
- Ghana Prison Service Scheme of Service (Administration of 17th January, 1989)
- The 1992 Constitution of Ghana

The Annual Report indicates that in 2011 the total release of money, which only allowed Ghana Prison Service to operate at minimum levels, was Seventy-four Million, Eight Hundred and Two Thousands, Four Hundred and Fifty-five Ghana Cedis, Seventy-two Ghana Pesewas (GH 74,802,455.72). This was divided under four major allotments, personnel emoluments, administration, service expenses, and investment expenses (Ghana Prison Service, 2011:15).

One of the major expenses of the prison system is the daily upkeep of convicted prisoners. The annual report states that in 2011, there were 18,592 prisoners admitted. Of the total admission number, 7,011 individuals were convicts, with 6,788 being male and

233 being female. This makes the female to male convict admission ratio at 1:30 This is in comparison to the 11,581 individuals who were remand prisoners, with 11,155 being male and 426 being female and a female to male ratio of 1:26 (Ghana Prison Service, 2011). The average age of the convicts admitted during the year is 28.9 years, with 79.4% of all convicts admitted falling between the ages of 18 to 35 years. Prisoners were admitted on a wide variety of offenses in 2011. However 41.9% of the causes of imprisonment were because of stealing. Some of the other offenses committed, each calculating at less than 6% of the total were causing damage, causing harm, assault, fraud, unlawful entry, robbery and conspiracy. Offenses of murder and manslaughter combined made up the miniscule number of 0.90% of offenses in 2011.

Ghana Prison Service organizes prisoners into three categories. First time offenders are defined as individuals who have been admitted into the prison for the first time. Second time offenders are those with one previous conviction and have been admitted into prisons for the second time, and lastly recidivists, means prisoners who have two or more previous convictions (Ghana Prison Service, 2011). In hopes of reducing the number of second time offenders and recidivists, Ghana Prison Service has focused greatly on rehabilitating prisoners inside penitentiary walls. The rehabilitation programmes that are currently in progress at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison and/or the Nsawam Female Prison will be addressed below. Again the information presented was gathered through the *Inside Prisons* documentary video.

2.4.1 Diagnostic Center

The diagnostic center is the first place that inmates go upon their imprisonment. The center acts as a temporary cell, where inmates are diagnosed, counseled, and taught about what they should expect during their sentence. In the beginning of their sentence, inmates receive introductory counseling at the center. According to Daniel Dau Sowah, the head of the Diagnostic Centre for Ghana Prison Service, inmate counseling is a way to guide prisoners on what to expect during their sentence. This is essential so that the individual is prepared for the journey ahead (Ghana Prison Service, 2014). The Diagnostic Center views crime as a disease that an inmate is struggling with (Ghana Prison Service, 2014), and therefore counseling acts as a basis for the subsequent intervention programmes to develop positive change.

2.4.2 Religion

Religious intervention is imperative, particularly in a country where faith has a dominant impact on society. At the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison religious interventions offer inmates the ability to freely practice any religion of their choice. Inmates who practice Islam or Christianity are allowed to attend Church or Mosque daily. In addition, there are Prison Officers who are in charge of overseeing the various religions, and they are available for counseling and support. This is extremely important in Ghana, because according to the Ghanaian Embassy, the Christian Population accounts for 71.2% of the total population in the country, where as the Muslim population accounts for 17.6%. The remaining percentage of the population are generally influenced by traditional or customary practices (Global Scope Inc., 2012).

Therefore Ghana Prison Service has used religion as an integral section for rehabilitating prisoners. According to Rev Supt. James Tetteh, religious intervention occurs immediately after introductory counseling. This prepares inmates mind in a spiritual way to endure their new environment. The intention of religious affiliation is to remove criminal's minds from deviant behavior, and instead bring religious figures closer to them so that they follow the positive lessons learned through religion (Ghana Prison Service, 2014).

The Christianity aspect of religious intervention is to rehabilitate prisoners by altering their attitudes and their behaviors. The goal is to correct their social conduct, so that upon their release into society they will be more easily accepted by other citizens (Ghana Prison Service, 2014). Prisoners themselves have attested that this form of rehabilitation has deepened their Christian ways and fortified their relationships with Christ. The Ghana Prison Service claims that this endeavor reduces the anxiety and potential tribulations associated with reintroduction into the civilian life style, and is therefore extraordinarily beneficial (Ghana Prison Service, 2014). The Muslim religion is also supported through intervention programmes. According to one of the inmates at the Nsawam Prisons, himself and his brothers are able to have two basic prayers a day. This has allowed them to ask for forgiveness of their sins, and for the harm they have caused themselves and others (Ghana Prison Services, 2014).

2.4.3 Formal Education and Vocational Training

The Nsawam Medium Security Prison and the Nsawam Female Prison offer rehabilitation programmes in formal education and vocational training. Formal education is provided so that inmates can continue their education while incarcerated, or begin learning if they have not have the opportunity prior to imprisonment. Vocational training interventions are available for inmates that do not want to participate in formal education but would skill benefit from gaining additional knowledge. These programmes include training in sewing, carpentry, shoemaking and welding. According to Borzycki, research indicates that in general, prisoner's low levels of literacy and numeracy are highly linked to low levels of educational instruction (Borzycki, 2005). Therefore education is an essential aspect to prisoner rehabilitation. Prisoners who attend educational programmes are much less likely to reoffend (Vacca, 2004). According to the Director General of Ghana Prison Services, Matilda Baffour-Awuah, Ghana prison service has introduced vocational training and formal education to support this belief. It is proven that these interventions will equip the prisoners with adequate means to be a productive citizen outside of the prison walls. These various types of education will also provide a foundation to create and sustain livelihood that in turn will prevent inmates from committing further crimes. (Ghana Prison Services, 2014). Although in the past prison has been for punishment only, research all over the world indicates that education is the most important tool needed to transform prisoners and help them from relapsing into crime again.

Supt. Peter Afari Mintah, the head of formal education ensures that offering this type of learning allows for inmates to catch up to their brothers and sisters. In the year 2008, the

prison services added its center for collaboration with distance learning, this was to help bring educational programmes into the prison. After the first batch of inmates sat for examination in 2010, their scores were computer selected to continue on with further education. However, due to their sentences and judicial laws, their education was unable to be completed. Currently, Ghana Prison Service is working in collaboration with many tertiary education institutes, and is appealing to all stakeholders involved to help inmates gain further education.

Also, as mentioned above, prisoner intervention programmes focus on vocational training. Here, inmates learn anything from carpentry, to jewelry making. This is an indispensable aspect of the intervention programmes, because it provides inmates with the basic skills to work in the informal sector (Ghana Prison Services, 2014). In Ghana, the informal sector makes up 80% of the workforce and therefore this type of education provides extraordinary benefits (Osei-Boateng & Ampratwum, 2011).

2.4.4 Agriculture Knowledge

Both the Nsawam Medium Security Prison and the Nsawam Female Prison offer agricultural interventions. This is implemented through training inmates about farming, and how to keep livestock. Agricultural training is not only beneficial to the prisoner rehabilitation, but it is also beneficial to the prisons livelihood. The prison services has large tracks of land, and a surplus of labor. It is an undisputed fact that the prisons could become the agricultural hub for Ghana (Ghana Prison Services, 2014). The major factor

standing in their way, is the lack of machinery. Instead prison service is focused on low level cut grass agriculture. To advance prison services needs tractors, warehouses, harvesters and driers. An increase in agricultural production has the possibility of creating enough revenue to be able to sustain the prisons, and provide a small sum of money to inmates being released to ease the difficulty of resettling into society. As these advancements have been thwarted, currently agricultural training is the tool by which inmates are corrected. They gain skills and experiences working on the farms that can be carried with them outside of prison walls. These skills will help them to gain livelihood as they can create their own farms with crop or animal production (Ghana Prison Services, 2014).

2.4.5 Justice for All Programme

Essentially the portion of the Justice For All Programme that will be examined throughout this research serves as an intervention for remand prisoners. The objective of this intervention is to bringing the court setting into the prison itself. Therefore inmates who have not seen lawful justice are able to undergo trials at a faster pace. According to a report by Amnesty International, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights assures that individuals on remand are to be tried, or given a projective trial date within two years. This is to assure people on remand are tried within reasonable time. However, Amnesty International found that there are prisoners who claim to have been on remand for up to seven years (Amnesty International, 2012). As stated by Amnesty International (2012), the justification of this human rights abuse is accompanied by Article 14 of the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, stating that prisoners on remand have the following right:

The right to be informed of the charges promptly and in a language the accused understands; the right to a fair and prompt hearing before a competent, independent and impartial tribunal; presumption of innocence; the right to defend oneself or have counsel of one's choosing and for the counsel to be provided free of charge if you cannot afford to pay; and the right to appeal (p. 12).

Even more substantially, the Ghana Constitution states in Article 14 that a detainee who is suspected of committing a crime, should be brought before a court within forty-eight hours after the original arrest. If this fails to occur, then the suspected criminal should be released to be recalled for a court hearing at a later date (Amnesty International, 2012).

Considering these human rights abuses were brought to the attention of Ghana Prison Service through the Amnesty International Report, the prisoner intervention programmes have accompanied the Justice For All Programme. According to Justice Ajet Nassam, a high court judge, the Justice For All Programme is comprised of judges going into the prisons to try the cases for inmates. In some instances, prisoners on remand have already been incarcerated for an amount of time exceeding their offense, and in these cases, the high court judges have the ability to release them. In other situations, individuals face charges of murder or robbery, and can be granted bail, on the condition that they will return for their court date. This is a crucial aspect of rehabilitation, because prisoners

need to be made aware of the offense that they have committed. If they are unable to afford lawyers, then the Justice For All Programme does its best to provide professionals (Ghana Prison Services, 2014). Although the Justice For All Programme is expensive to fund, it provides inmates with outlets and guidance concerning legalities. The introduction of this programme has helped to create enormous advancements in the reduction of human rights abuses, and in turn the rehabilitation of prisoners who have been legally tried and proven guilty of criminal deviance.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The methodological chapter outlines the research approach that is used to address the objectives of the study. Information about the sample size and techniques, methods and procedures used in gathering data, and the limitations of the study will also be discussed.

3.1 Methodology

This study was designed to utilize qualitative methods of research. The qualitative approach was used to understand the experiences of the various prisoners who have been involved with intervention programmes, and to gain deeper insight into the difficulties that the directors of these programmes have with their implementation. The research instrument used was interviews.

3.2 Methods/Data Collection Tools

This section provides the methodology and will look at the sampling procedure for the study, the tools that were used to gather data, and how data was obtained.

3.2.1 Sampling

From the nineteen major penitentiaries in Ghana, the Nsawam Prisons were purposively selected as the study area based on their implementation of a broad number of interventions, including having the only Diagnostic Center in the country. There is both a male and female prison located on the grounds at Nsawam, thus allowing for a gendered dynamic. Moreover, the selection of the Nsawam Prisons was greatly due to its closeness to Greater Accra.

The study population consisted of individuals who are currently incarcerated at the Nsawam Prisons, and are engaging, or have previously engaged in the prisoner rehabilitation programmes. Persons interviewed were purposely selected to meet the following criteria:

- i) A representative sample of both male and female inmates
- ii) Individuals must have been imprisoned for at least three months prior to participating in interviews

Using the above sampling frame, 40 respondents, were selected using purposive and convenience sampling methods (non-probability methods). Purposive sampling was used with the intention of specifically selecting inmates that have engaged in prison intervention programmes and had been imprisoned three months prior to interviews (an exception was made for the Diagnostic Center due to the purpose behind this intervention). Convenience sampling method was based on the regulations of prison structure and the rules of authority. This meant the researcher had no decision aside from

the aforementioned qualification in the choice of sample. The Ghana Prison Service selected the inmates that the research was allowed to interview. This prior selection made probability sampling difficult. The directors of the prison intervention programme located at Nsawam and at the Prison Headquarters in Cantonments were also purposively selected to be interviewed. This is because they held indispensable information regarding the challenges of prison intervention programmes from the perspective of implementation.

3.2.2 Data Collection Tools

The data for the study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all categories of respondents. The interview had questions, to cover respondents' socio-demographic background, and their viewpoints on the prisoner intervention programme. The researcher conducted the interviews, with support from assistants to help with transcribing and translation. The use of translation was used only in circumstances where the inmate was unable to communicate in English. The languages spoken that had to be translated were Twi or Pidgin English. The translation occurred immediately and was recorded in English and then transcribed at a later date.

The secondary data was obtained from the documentary from Ghana Prison Service. The documentary gave additional information about the usefulness of prisoner intervention programmes from both director and inmate perspectives. The secondary data was used to enhance and support the interpretation of the findings from the research.

3.2.3 Data Analysis Technique

Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) propose that analysis of data in a qualitative study involves synthesizing the information that the researcher obtained from various sources into a coherent description of what he or she has discovered or observed. For this study, the analysis was based on the research questions. All data obtained from respondents through interviews and observation was analyzed using the content analysis procedure. The researcher systematically recorded the answers from the respondents and analyzed these responses into categories. The interviews were conducted in the director's offices and on the Nsawam Prison grounds. The questions focused on background information about inmates and Officers, as well as specifics about their experiences with the intervention programmes and the challenges that they have encountered.

3.4 Limitations of the Study

During the research process, the researcher encountered a large number of limitations:

The first and most difficult limitation was the language barrier. Considering the researcher does not speak any of the native languages spoken in Ghana, it placed a communication barrier between the researcher and the respondents, as not all respondents could speak English. Therefore, there was a need to get the assistance of translators. In addition, due to precautionary security measures the researcher was not allowed to conduct interviews without the accompaniment of a prison officer. Although officers encouraged inmates to speak truthfully about the challenges they had encountered, there was the possibility that their presence hindered the inmate's willingness to surface

specific issues. It is also important to note the limitation of having researchers and translators present which may have altered inmate's responses.

In addition to the above information, there was a limitation in the convenience data collection technique. This made it difficult to establish a sampling frame that was representative of the entire prison population. This is because the researcher could not control how the characteristics of the sample compared to the opinions of the entire population. Lastly, there were few sources of official literature that could be used as documentation for background information about the intervention programmes that are presently occurring at the prison institute.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyzes the empirical findings of the study. The section is divided into two main parts. The first part presents a report of data gathered from all interviews and is arranged along the main objectives of the study. The second section seeks to answer the research questions of the study by thematically analyzing and discussing data gathered from both primary and secondary sources.

SECTION I: Presentation of Empirical Findings

4.1 Presentation of Empirical Findings

The focus of this investigation was to gather information to sufficiently meet the main objective of the research, to obtain information about the current intervention and to investigate the prison intervention programmes in Ghana. In order to achieve this goal it was essential to ascertain the viewpoints of management of Ghana Prisons and of both the male and female inmates participating in the intervention programmes. The Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison were used as Case Study locations for the purpose of data collection. Background information about the intervention programmes, and about the prison institutions that were unavailable from secondary sources because of the lack of documents, are presented in more details in this chapter. It would have been beneficial to the researcher to include this information in the literature review, however this was impossible because these details were obtained

through personal interviews. Official literature pertaining to these matters were not made available to the researcher.

4.1.1 Age Distribution of Male and Female Prisoners

Table 1: Age of Respondents

Age	Male Prisoners		Female Prisoners	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
0-25	3	18.5%	1	10%
25-35	5	31.25%	3	30%
36-45	7	43.75%	4	40%
46-55	1	6.5%	1	10%
56-65	0	0%	1	10%
66+	0	0%	0	0%
Total	16	100%	10	100%

Table 1 above indicates the ages of male and female prisoners. Out of the 16 male prisoners interviewed 18.5% were between the ages of 0-25; 31.25% were between the ages of 25-35; 43.75% were between the ages of 36-45, and 6.5% were between the ages of 46-55. No male inmates interview were above 55 years old. The majority of inmates were thus between the ages of 36-45 years old.

For women Prisoners the results showed that 10% were between the ages of 0-25; 30% were between 25-35; 40% were between 36-45; 1% were between 46-55, and 10% were

between 56-65. No inmates interviewed were above 65 years old. The majority of the inmates were thus between the ages of 36-45.

Out of the 26 total individuals interviewed, 16 were male and 10 were female. The sex distribution therefore indicates that 61.5% of inmates interviewed were males, whereas only 38.5% were females. The increase of male inmates compared to female inmates is directly correlated to the Male Prison having 2 more intervention programmes compared to the female prison, therefore the researcher interviewed 6 persons extra in the male prison. For one of the additional intervention programmes (The Diagnostic Center), a before and after analysis was done, which added 4 additional persons. The last additional 2 were interviewed for the Justice For All Programme.

4.1.2 Length of Prisoner Sentence

Table 2: Length of Prisoner Sentence

Length of Sentence (months)	Male Prisoners		Female Prisoners	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
0-36	0	0%	1	10%
37-60	2	12.5%	2	20%
61-96	3	18.75%	1	10%
97-132	3	18.75%	3	30%
133-180	4	25%	1	10%
181-240	1	6.25%	1	10%
240 and above	3	18.75%	1	10%

Total	16	100%	10	100%
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Table 2 above indicates the length of time that prisoners were given as a sentence. Out of the 16 male prisoners interviewed 12.5% were sentenced to 37-60 months; 18.75% were sentenced to 61-96 months; 18.75% were sentenced to 97-132 months; 25% were sentenced to 133-180 months; 6.25% were sentenced to 181-240 months and 18.75% were sentenced to 240 months and above. The majority of male inmates were thus sentenced to 133-180 months.

For women Prisoners the results showed that 10% were sentenced to 0-36 months; 20% were sentenced to 37-60 months; 10% were sentenced to 61-96 months; 30% were sentenced to 97-132 months, 10% were sentenced to 133-180 months; 10% were sentenced to 181-240 months, and 10% were sentenced to 240 months and above. The majority of inmates were therefore sentenced to 61-96 months.

Although prior methodology states that inmates interviewed are to have been incarcerated prior to interviews for a minimum of 3 months, an exception was made for 2 male prisoners in order to review the before and after effects of one of the intervention programmes.

4.1.3 Length of Time Officers Have Held Current Position

Table 3: Length of Time at Current Position

Length of time at current position (months)	Officers at Male Prison		Officers at Female Prison	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
0-12	0	0%	2	33.33%
13-24	2	25.0%	2	33.33%
25-36	1	12.5%	1	16.67%
37-48	3	37.5%	1	16.67%
49-60	0	0%	0	0%
61-72	0	0%	0	0%
73-84	1	12.5%	0	0%
84 and above	1	12.5%		0%
Total	8	100%	6	100%

Table 3 above indicates the length of time that the Prison Officers have held their respective positions. Out of the 8 male officers interviewed 25% held their respective position for 13-24 months; 12.5% held their position for 25-36 months; 37.5% held their position for 37-48 months; 12.5% held their position for 73-84 months and 12.5% have held their position for over 84 months. The majority of the prison officers had thus held their position for 37-48 months.

For women Prison Officers the results showed that 33.33% have held their respective position for 0-12 months; 33.33% held their position for 13-24 months; 16.67% held their position for 25-26 months; and another 16.67% held their position for 37-48 months. None of the officers interviewed held their respective position for over 48 months. The majority of prison officers have thus held their position for between 0-24 months.

4.2 The Nsawam Medium Security Prison and Intervention Challenges

The major research questions for this study were focused on obtaining basic information about prison intervention programmes, and the challenges that are associated with implementing them. Prison Officers and Inmates were interviewed in this regard. From the interviews the researcher found that:

The construction of the Nsawam Medium Security Prison began in 1956, although the first inmate was not incarcerated until 1960. It is a male prison. Located on a one mile squared plot of land, the prison was originally built to sustain a capacity of 717 inmates. However, as of July 7th, 2014, the Nsawam Medium Security Prison housed 3,784 prisoners. Of the 3,784 inmates, over 700 inmates were considered to be remand prisoners. This constitutes over 18% of the prison population. In addition, there are 400 guards who work on the premises. The Nsawam Medium Security Prison has implemented several intervention programmes to rehabilitate inmates. These programmes include educational services, both formal and informal, a diagnostic center, agricultural training, religious interventions and a justice for all programme.

4.2.1 Diagnostic Center Challenges

The Diagnostic Center at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison is a pilot programme that began in 2010, and from the date that the research commenced was the only Diagnostic Center in all of the Ghana Prisons. The United Nations Development Programme funded this center, and it serves as an intake point for first time offenders who have been sentenced to prison for 5 years and above. Essentially the Diagnostic Center is a residential programme that provides inmates with a temporal holding cell before bringing them into the yard. However, the Diagnostic Center also provides counseling support. Inmates stay at this center for approximately three weeks before being placed in a cell and allowed into the prison yard. The purpose of this center is to allow inmates to adjust to their sentences, and to receiving counseling and to address any concerns that the inmates may have. It is during an inmates stay at the Diagnostic Center that he is told about what to expect throughout his sentence.

The research revealed that although the inmates and Officers believe that the Diagnostic Center is an extraordinarily beneficial programme for prisoner rehabilitation, there are many challenges with this intervention. The prison officer's interviewed mentioned that similar to other departments, the Diagnostic Center lacks in resources. These include the lack of stationary, and a vehicle to go check on the validity of background information that inmates have given. These challenges have led to a stagnation of the program, as it remains in an initial pilot phase. In turn, it has been difficult to work on capacity building, as far as training of staff and the hiring of new staff who are specifically

educated in counseling and rehabilitation practices. The research also revealed that confidentiality has become challenging within the Diagnostic Center. The interviewee stated, “*there is a limited space for counseling so confidentiality is a problem*” (Officer 1, July 4, 2014).

He also noted that language barriers affect confidentiality because of the lack of translators for foreigners who are not fluent in English or one of the local languages. The study also proved that the interviewee and his colleagues are challenged by a lack of space. Considering inmates are not allowed outside of the Diagnostic Center for approximately a three week period minimum, they are confined to close quarters. This is compounded by the intake of juveniles into the Diagnostic Center, regardless of the fact that the Nsawam Medium Security Prison is not to hold juveniles. Judges have sentenced these individuals to lengths that extend beyond what is allowed at the Juvenile Prison, and therefore the safest place for them is in the Diagnostic Center. Lastly the interview revealed that the criteria for selection has become problematic, because he believes that all individuals should partake in the programme, however due to space, and resources, this has become impossible (Officer 1, July 4, 2014).

For the purpose of this research four inmates were interviewed to reveal their challenges at the Diagnostic Center. Two of the inmates (M1 and M2) were currently based in the diagnostic center, and were yet to enter the rest of the prison, whereas two inmates (M3 and M4) had completed their time in the Diagnostic Center and were freshly adjusting to the yard. The research revealed that all four inmates felt that the space within the

Diagnostic Center was a problem. However one of the respondents (M3), who had completed his time at the Diagnostic Center, stated that the major challenge concerning the Diagnostic Center is that there are no points of adaptation. Although inmates are counseled and told what to expect in the yard, they are not given any physical exposure during their adaptation phase. The inmate (M3) suggested that he felt that he would have been more prepared if he were slowly adjusted into the yard and into his cell.

4.2.2 Educational Challenges

The second intervention programme to be examined is education. At the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, education occurs through both formal and vocational means. Formal education takes inmates from the basic level through to senior high school. In addition, there is an Information and Communication Technology (ICT) course taught for inmates. Vocational Education is taught through many different trades such as sewing, shoe making, carpentry and welding. Both formal and vocational education meet with the participating inmates daily to undergo classes and to complete tasks assigned to them. Although extremely beneficial for inmates to receive education, the programme has many struggles and challenges, as outlined below.

Within the Nsawam Medium Security Prison the research reveals that guards have three major challenges that are limiting their ability to successfully rehabilitate more prisoners with formal education. The major challenge that was identified was a lack of funding for supplies. According to the Assistant Superintendent of Prisons, who has been the 2nd in command for the education department at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison for over

two years, “*There is no direct government funding, we have to get funds from the Head Quarters, and we are often depending on donations from individuals, churches and philanthropists*” (Officer 2, July 7, 2014). The second major challenge was the teacher-pupil ratio. Although for the first time in history Ghana Education Service gave the prison five teachers this year, a more consistent teacher relationship is needed to be able to reach a greater percentage of the inmate population. Although there are inmate teachers, they are not consistent, as their sentence will eventually end. It was therefore identified that the Nsawam Medium Security Prison education department is challenged with developing a permanent partnership to obtain stable educators, and inflow of supplies. The last challenge identified was the difficulty with inmates receiving tertiary education. Although there have been discussions of inmate education advancing to this stage, there is a “*difficulty of the arrangements coming into full circle*” according to the ASP (Officer 2, July 7, 2014). Considering there are various stakeholders involved in this process, the concerns of all actors have to be considered and addressed before this would be implemented.

Throughout the research the inmates participating in formal education noted several similar challenges to what the Prison Officers mentioned, in addition to several unique challenges. Inmates interviewed (M5 and M6) shared concerns of funding, and associated these concerns directly to a lack of supplies and space. One inmate (M6) stated “*we need books, paper, pens without this we can’t study*”, whereas another inmate (M5) noted that although a new school structure is being built, currently he faces distractions from other inmates who are not receiving an education due to the location of the temporary tent

structure being used as a school in the prison yard. Inmates (M5 and M6) also noted that there is a struggle with power inconsistency, especially concerning the Information and Communication Technology department of formal education because they constantly need access to computers. When discussing why more inmates do not partake in the programmes, one inmate (M5) noted that the lack of participation is in correspondence with prisoners' mindsets. He (M5) stated that other inmates think, "*well I can write my name I don't need more*". Therefore the attitude of inmates can be clearly defined as a challenge in successfully rehabilitating prisoners through intervention programmes, because rehabilitation cannot occur unless individuals agree to participate.

Vocational Education is taught through many different trades such as sewing, shoe making, carpentry and welding.

The vocational programmes at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison are a place for inmates to learn skills for specific programmes. Individuals participating in these programmes go to their trade each day. This programme also has its own unique difficulties. The Head of Technical Services at Nsawam for four years prior to being interviewed, spoke on the Officers behalf to identify challenges with the vocational programme. The research revealed that funding is the major obstacle for vocational programmes at the prison. Due to a lack of funding most vocational programmes are not able to manufacture goods unless they are ordered prior to beginning work. He stated that "*almost all vocational programmes are strictly for maintenance, besides tailors who sew officers uniforms*" (Officer 3, July 5, 2014). An impact of there being a lack of funding

for start up materials is that most vocational programmes “*can’t employ more inmates because there is nothing for them to do*” (Officer 3, July 5, 2014). The Officer also noted that “*many inmates aren’t interested [in participating], otherwise space for them would be a problem*” (Officer 3 , July 5, 2014). This therefore is in close connection with formal education where inmate attitude is a primary difficulty for the programmes growth and expansion.

Similar to the viewpoints of Officer 3, the inmates (M9 and M10) identified an inconsistent workflow as a significant problem with vocational programmes. However, inmates identified their largest struggle as a lack of machinery. One inmate (M10) stated, “*we don’t have machines, they broke and someone took them to fix them but they never came back. Everything is done by hand. If I showed you the works we made by hand you wouldn’t believe it*”. Although making due with situation at stake, this inmate (M10) also noted that, “*machines are needed for proper teaching of work*”. Therefore it can be noted that for this intervention programme to be productive in benefiting inmates, their machinery needs to be repaired. In addition, one inmate noted that those participating in vocational training are not given a fair amount of money for the time and effort that they have to put forth.

4.2.3 Religious Challenges

The Nsawam Medium Security Prison uses religious intervention as a way to try and rehabilitate the inmates. The prison officers allow inmates to participate freely in the religion of their choice, however the majority of inmates are Christians or Muslims.

There is a Church, and a Mosque on the prison grounds, where inmates are allowed to go freely during the day apart from the time that they spend in their cells. In addition, many Churches and Mosques come from outside of the prison to provide services to inmates.

Aside from the services themselves, the Prison Officers in charge of these programmes are available for individual counseling and support. This intervention provides prisoners with the potential to overcome existing social instability, which is perhaps a root cause for them having engaged in deviant behavior. This viewpoint is in line with the Social Control Theory, which argues that deviance occurs when an individual has a weak or broken link to the norms in their society (Sampson & Laub, 1990). This point is important because the principles of faith are rooted in socially conscious behaviors that an individual can learn from engaging with other persons in the population who are moral in their thoughts in actions (Ames, 1921).

Reverend ASP (Officer 4) is in charge of monitoring Christian activities within the prison. This includes church services, counseling, partnerships with external churches and the allocation of donated goods. The research revealed the most important aspect of Christianity is the word of God, and according to Reverend ASP (Officer 4), “the power of the gospel alone can change people, it can rehabilitate and transform them” (Officer 4, July 4, 2014). However upon further data collection the research revealed that the major challenge with Christianity at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison has to do with partnerships. Although there is a vast array of churches that come to preach or donate foods to inmates, there still needs to be an increase in donation. This was further supported by the inmate viewpoint.

The research also revealed that inmates (M7 and M8) felt that there were not enough donations from churches. This was closely linked to inmate attitudes, as according to one inmate (M8) *“my brothers worship and praise God, but no one visits them so they give up, ten years in here and no change in sentences so they give up, they think they pray for no purpose. They connect the spiritual with the physical. Visiting pastors come and provide food, clothing and soap, if these don’t come then they give up”*. Other challenges mentioned had to do specifically with the condemned block where the research revealed that inmates do not have drums, tables and chairs.

Alongside Christianity, Islam is practiced inside the prison. The Deputy Superintendent of Prisons, Officer 5 (the Prison Imam), who has held his position for 7 years, noted that inmate attitude is a major challenge with their rehabilitation. He stated that *“they [inmates], are difficult to convince and it’s difficult to do away with their attitude”* (Officer 5, July 7, 2014). He mentioned that a lot of problems with inmate attitude is directly related to the stigmatization that prisoners face upon their release to society, and he noticed the importance of preparing inmates for this struggle. The research also revealed that space and prison regulations place hindrances on Islamic growth in the prison. As stated by the Imam, *“the congestion impacts inmate counseling, because there is a problem with one on one counseling in this office. We need a space just for counseling”* (Officer 5, July 7, 2014). Also, the research revealed that the lack of space is very detrimental to the practice of Islam within the Nsawam Medium Security Prison because the prison regulations are set forth so that inmates are contained in their cells for

three of the five daily prayers. Lastly, the Imam noted that formal partnerships are a challenge for the practice of Islam as an intervention programme. He stated that although he has reached out to Islamic University College in Ghana to formalize a partnership whereas inmates would receive official training and become certified in Islamic Studies, there have been no arrangements made.

The research revealed that inmates (M11 and M12) undergoing the intervention programme in Islamic Religion noted many similar challenges that the Imam himself mentioned. The major problem from Inmates (M11 and M12) viewpoints was pertaining to Space. As mentioned above, three of the five prayers each day have to be done inside the inmates cell. Due to extreme overcrowding at the Prison, there are an extraordinary amount of difficulties that arise during prayer time. According to one respondent (M11), *“we only pray lunch time prayers in the mosque, the others are said in the cell. My cell is too crowded and we [Muslims] have to wake people up sleeping on the floor to pray at dawn”*. During the interview the inmates (M11 and M12) noted that they would prefer an increased number of visits from their Muslim Counterparts and Organizations for the feel of integration in Muslim community even as they are imprisoned.

4.2.4 Agricultural Challenges

Agricultural training is used as a rehabilitation method in the intervention programmes at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison. The programme consists of livestock and farm training. Individuals who partake in the programme are taken to the farm and are given instructions about how to properly plant, maintain, and harvest goods, and about how to

keep livestock healthy. Inmates participate in the programme approximately five days a week.

The study revealed that Prison Officers have encountered two major problems with implementing agricultural training. The primary difficulty has to do with the criteria for selection of inmates who are able to participate. Due to the large number of inmates in the Nsawam Medium Security Prison there is the potential to have a large labour force for agriculture, however strict sentencing regulations limit the number of inmates that are able to participate. This is because many offenders are not allowed off of the prison grounds because their sentence convicts them of being a danger to society. As a result, many individuals who partake in the agricultural intervention are on shorter sentences, which increases turnover in the programme, and therefore inmates have to be trained more frequently. The second obstacle captured from the study was the need for resources. Similar to the other intervention programmes funding is limited which reduces the amount of insecticides, fertilizers and machinery. In turn, the lack of supplies, alongside a limited labour force restricts the amount of output that the prison farm can produce.

The results from the study depicted that similar to the prison officers, inmates (M13 and M14) participating in agriculture noted a lack of resources as a significant challenge. A participant of the study (M14) acknowledged that equipment, including insecticides and machinery are needed. The inmate (M14) stated, “*we have no working gear*”, and that it would be beneficial to the working conditions if inmates were providing with protective clothing and instruments on the farm.

4.2.5 Justice for All Challenges

The Justice for All Programme is divided into four major sections. For the purpose of this study, the remand review section was focused on, as it is undergone within the Nsawam Medium Security Prison. Essentially, the Justice for All Programme brings the court setting to the prison, in hopes of hearing more cases in a shorter amount of time thus reducing the number of remand prisoners. In order for this programme to occur, all stakeholders, including judges, prison officers, police officers and non-governmental organizations, create the criteria for the selection of inmates. The prison then takes the criteria and selects the inmates that fit into the regulations. After this process has been completed, non-governmental organizations interview the inmates and lawyer to defend their cases pro-bono. On the hearing date, various courts are set up within the prison grounds where offenders have their trial. Prisoners are then sentenced or released depending on the outcome of the trial. The Justice For All Programme typically meets once a year, over a two-day period, if the first day is not enough time to finish the cases presented.

The study disclosed that the Justice For All Programme is being limited by several challenges. However, it was also revealed that there are many stakeholders involved in this particular programme, and therefore it is essential to acknowledge that many of the difficulties are expanded beyond what Ghana Prison Services has the ability to change as a single actor in the equation. However, this programme has many challenges. Essentially the research depicted that the criteria for selection of inmates to participate in the Justice For All Programme is a major challenge for Ghana Prison Services. The Security And

Criminal Data Management Officer (Officer 6), who is also a member of the Justice For All Task Force, stated, *“I see the criteria limits the number of prisoners who should have otherwise qualified. They set criteria for misdemeanors, and for felony. At the last court sitting for felony you should have been in prisoner for I think it was three years before attending court. You see, this thing is limited. Does this mean if someone is there for 2 years without a trial they have to be there still? This is a challenge”* (Officer 6, June 30, 2014). The second challenge that was revealed during the interview was the difficulty with formal partnerships between Ghana Prison Services, NGOs, Judges and especially the Ghana Police Service. This is because of the Police Services common inability to produce prisoners’ dockets in front of the Justice For All Court, therefore not allowing for prosecution to take place due to police officers having a lack of evidence at their disposal. During the interview the Officer clarified *“I don’t want to talk for them, they have their own systemic challenges which warrants that some documents get missing along the line due to transfers and other things,”* (Officer 6, June 30, 2014). However, the research has concluded that this is clearly a limiting factor to the success of the Justice For All programme. Also, as a result of insecure formal partnerships, the Justice For All committee does not sit in the Nsawam Medium Security Prison frequently enough to have a consistent reduction of remand prisoners. As stated above, this programme only occurs once a year. This is in close connection with funding, which was revealed as a challenge, because it limits stakeholders’ willingness to participate. This is for two reasons. First, though the majority of the work is pro-bono, stakeholders’ increased efficiency and productivity is reliant on monetary incentives. In addition, the

non-governmental organizations involved need financial support to successfully operate their section of the programme.

Inmates (M15 and M16) also had several challenges with the Justice For All Programme. Inmates who had participated in the Justice For All programme, but were still imprisoned for various reasons were interviewed for this portion of the study. Two key challenges were exposed. Primarily, participants (M15 and M16) complained about the prison guards' lack of liaison with other stakeholders such as Police Officers and the NGOs involved. One of the inmates (M16) acknowledged that the majority of the challenges occur because of the Police Department, however he noted that the prison guards know their issues, and he feels that they do little to assist them. According to one inmate (M16), *“the Officer In Charge [Prison Officer] is demanding that the Criminal Investigator [Police Officer] of the case should come sign before we are freed”*, however this regulation is detrimental because the inmate (M16) stated that *“they want money, the policeman is demanding 500 Cedi before coming to sign my papers, I have been here seven years and have been discharged for one, but the CID won't sign, I can't reach him”*. Another inmate (M15) stated, *I've gone through the programme but I'm still here because of the money, I can't get a relative to pay*". The inmate also noted that since the court sitting at the prison the NGO has not done any form of follow up with the inmates, *“they have never checked on me since”* he stated. Lastly the research revealed that other inmates want to partake in the programme, but that the criteria has limited their ability to be chosen because they have not been imprisoned on long enough sentences.

4.4 The Nsawam Female Prison and Intervention Challenges

The Female Prison at Nsawam was established December 10th, 1973, and is the largest female prison in the country. The prison has four cells, one of which is for remand prisoners only. Although it has a capacity for 200 prisoners, there are currently only 85 inmates. In addition to the four cells, there is an administration block, which comprises of accounts, reception, stores and visits. In case of pregnancy or feeding mothers, there is a separate unit to help ensure their safety. Generally, there are a total of 145 officers that work on the grounds, for the purpose of safety, rehabilitation and intervention programmes. The female prison has many industries set up including soaps, a bakery, sewing and tie and dye, which have the potential to provide the prison with substantial income. In addition there is formal education, a church, a kitchen, and an infirmary on the grounds. It is important to note that the Female Prison does not have a Diagnostic Center, and that the Justice For All Programme has not happened at the Prison for as far back as the officers could remember. Below, the challenges associated with prisoner intervention programmes will be addressed.

4.4.1 Educational Challenges

Formal education is one of the intervention programmes in the Nsawam Female Prison that is developing inmates into vital members of society. The formal education programme is open for all inmates to part take in. This form of education is operated by the curriculum of the Ghana Education Services in the levels of junior high, senior high and the National Vocational and Technical Institute standard (NVTI). The normal

classroom education is done simultaneously alongside ICT programmes. These programmes meet daily.

A Corporal (Officer 7) has held the position as the assisting officer in charge of formal education, and the director of ICT for over four years. Through the interview the research revealed that formal education, including the ICT programme, from the guards' viewpoints had many challenges. The challenges faced by the programme are compounded by the lack of adequate stationeries in the form of textbooks, pens, exercise books and other materials that would assist the inmate progression. In addition, the respondents revealed that funding is a major challenge, which limits their ability to run genuine software on the computers. When asked for clarification, it was mentioned that finance aids in registering the inmates for their external examination with West African Examination Council and the National Vocational And Technical Institute secretariat. Lastly the study revealed that an inconsistent supply of power is hampering the programme, when there is power outage the students are unable to continue with their education until the power supply is reconnected. Although they have access to a generator from the male prison, it is often challenged with fuel constraints (Officer 7, July 11, 2014)

The study revealed that inmates (F1 and F2) felt that the formal education system within the Nsawam Female Prison was limited because of supplies. The participant (F1) stated that inmates need notebooks and pens and that *“there is no cabinet to keep [their] notebooks, so they're scattered around the room”*. The respondents (F1 and F2) also

mentioned how power supply limits their ability to partake in ICT programmes during lights off.

On the vocational side of education, the research brought to light the challenges concerning funding. There is a strain on resources because inmates need to write their NVTI exam to become formally certified for their knowledge in the vocational skill of their choice. The Prison Officer (Officer 8) stated that “*funds are needed to register inmates to write the exams, and they need materials to be able to practice*”. The second challenge that the Prison Officer (Officer 8) mentioned was the difficulty in marketing the goods that the inmates produce. The inability to market and sell their goods is reducing the amount of profit that the Ghana Prison Service can produce. Compounding this difficulty is the need for more vehicles to be able to transport the goods that are produced to potential buyers.

The inmate respondents (F3 and F4) stated that even though the vocational programmes have been helpful to their rehabilitation, they are being phased by several difficulties. Protective clothing during work to help inmates from obtaining minor injuries are inadequate, therefore exposing them to potential danger. Another challenge is that raw materials like flour for baking and chemicals for dyeing are insufficient. One respondent (F4) who participates in sewing stated “*we need machinery, we have three electric machines and two hand machines, we need thread, and everything*”. This therefore limits their amount of output because they can only work depending on the availability of their materials, and considering the fact that funding is an issue, the inflow of materials is inconsistent.

4.4.2 Religious Challenges

Inmates in the Nsawam Female Prison are allowed to practice any religion of their choice, however the majority of inmates are either Christians or Muslims. Inside the prison there is a Church and a Mosque for inmates to partake in their daily religious affairs. Similar to the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, prison officers are also available to counsel inmates throughout the day.

According to the Prison Officer (Officer 9) interviewed there were very limited challenges with the implementation of Christianity within the prison. The guard stated that “15-20 churches come to bring things for the whole prison, they arrange parties, bring clothes and food” (Officer 9, July 5, 2014). Although she noted that they are highly supported, there is always the room for additional support. The research also revealed that the prisoners need more musical instruments for their church services. Although they do have access to some musical instruments, the respondents (F5 and F6), complained that the musical instruments are broken or they do not have anyone to teach them how to play.

Muslims have their own unique challenges with the implementation of Islam in the prison. However, based on scheduling conflicts related to the data collection component of this study, an interview with the Guard related to this programme was not possible. For further information regarding this topic, inmates were extensively interviewed.

The research revealed that inmates (F7, F8) of the Islamic faith are challenged by the need for formal certification for their studies. Upon their release, inmates do not have any formal documentation to guarantee their knowledge of the traditions of the Holy Prophet Mohammed, which limits their ability to apply their knowledge in society upon release.

4.4.3 Agricultural Challenges

At the Nsawam Female Prison agriculture is implemented through training in farming, and through livestock keeping. Many of the inmates participating in this programme are purposively selected by Prison Officers, because their sentence requires them to participate in labour activities. Throughout the programme inmates receive training about farming and caring for animals.

The research revealed that within the Nsawam Female Prison the prison officers have difficulty with the implementation of agricultural interventions because of a strain on materials. Although the headquarters does send the agricultural department funding quarterly, the supplies for farming and livestock is expensive. The Officer (Officer 10) stated *“a challenge is the feeding of the rabbits, and that their medications are expensive so we make a schedule of when rabbits will get each medicine”* (Officer 10, July 5, 2014). The study showed that a lack of food and medicine for the animals results in the inability to increase the population of rabbits at a large enough scale to provide substantial income for the Nsawam Female Prison.

The research revealed that inmates (F9 and F10) encounter two main challenges with the agricultural intervention programme at the Nsawam Female Prison. First, inmates (F9

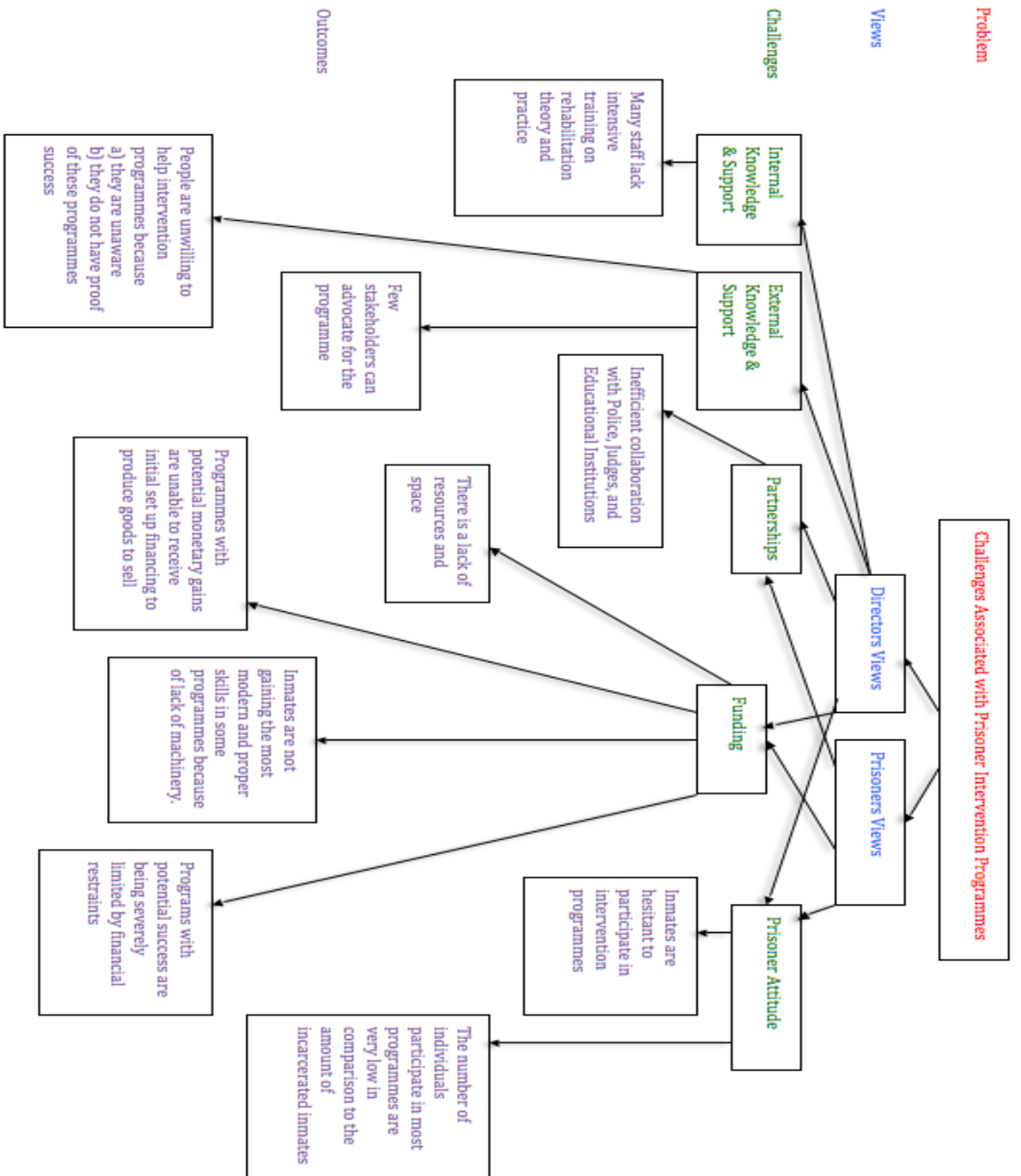
and F10) stated that they are lacking funding which is limiting the amount of access that they have to fertilizers, insecticides and machinery for spraying the farm. In addition, a participant (F10) stated that “*the structure to hold the rabbits is too weak, so sometimes they fall out of it during the night and the guards wake us up in the night to catch the rabbits*”. The study showed that this is problematic to the inmates because they are disturbed throughout their sleep as a result of poor infrastructure to house the animals.

SECTION II: Analysis of Empirical Findings

4.5 Problems and Outcomes

The following section will link the empirical findings to literature to provide a strongly supported analysis of results. The major challenges mentioned above in the empirical findings section, will be grouped into themes according to prevalence throughout the study. To begin, a diagram will be presented that depicts the challenges presented above, and the potential outcomes of these challenges. Then the themes (External Knowledge and Support, Internal Knowledge and Support, Funding, Partnerships, and Prisoner Attitude), will be discussed.

Figure One:



4.8 Harnessing External Support and Knowledge

The research revealed that external knowledge and support is a major challenge for the above mentioned intervention programmes. This challenge is found within the Education, Religion, Agriculture, Diagnostic Center and Justice For All programmes. As a result of stigma towards prisons, the public, and potentially valuable stakeholders are hesitant to provide assistance to inmates (Officer 5, July 7, 2014). Cooperation with external sources would be beneficial to intervention programmes because it would reduce many of the other challenges that will be addressed below. External stakeholders can provide partnerships, funding, training exercises, and resources. In addition they can advocate in favor of prisoner rehabilitation programmes.

One of the major factors limiting external knowledge and support is that the majority of information within the prison system is inaccessible to the public for security measures. As a result, potential contributors are unaware of the intervention programmes and the challenges that the inmates and Ghana Prison Service have encountered with implementation of successful interventions. In turn, the majority of the public is unaware of these programmes or has not been provided with substantial evidence to support their success. Therefore they are speculative about their ability to firstly rehabilitate inmates, and secondly to have an overarching positive correlation with the prosperity of their country. However, according to Borzycki (2005), intervention through education and skills training will result in a greater likelihood for the inmate to have material wellbeing

and employment once released. The potential for success in this realm is evident in both the Nsawam Medium Security and the Nsawam Female Prisons through their intervention programmes, as both males and females gain equal potential for opportunities in the workforce upon their release. However, societal gender dynamics may influence an inmate's ability to get hired. As ex-prisoners become increasingly knowledgeable, they will generate economic prosperity within their household (Borzycki, 2005). As the socio-economic disadvantages of communities begin to diminish, further employment opportunities will arise to stabilize the environment (Borzycki, 2005). In turn, released inmates will contribute to community prosperity instead of becoming a hindrance on their society. Publicizing points such as the information above will increase the public's awareness of the benefits of supporting intervention programmes. Relating the benefits of rehabilitation beyond the prisoner themselves into a societal issue reminds external contributions that their knowledge and support for inmates can benefit the country in entirety.

4.9 Encouraging Internal Support and Knowledge

Internal knowledge and support was also a challenge that was presented throughout the intervention programmes. The research revealed that many staff members do not have substantial training about the theory and practice of rehabilitation. This is problematic because officers need to be provided with the skills and knowledge to excel in their current positions. Although officers have used their own educational backgrounds to best form programmes and provide support for inmates, it would be beneficial to the inmates, the officers, and the institute itself to organize more formal training programmes for staff.

This pertains especially to the Diagnostic Center where inmates are counseled about what to expect throughout their sentence and where they are given a behavioral assessment. The Diagnostic Center is unfortunately more developed within the Nsawam Medium Security Prison in comparison to the Nsawam Female Prison. This is disadvantageous to female inmates, as equity would demand that both males and females have access to this beneficial resource. Although “actuarial risk assessment instruments [are] better at predicting criminal behaviour than professional judgment” (Bonita & Andrew, 2007:3), it is pertinent that officers working for this intervention programme have fundamental knowledge about rehabilitation and risk assessment to make abrupt decisions if necessary. However, increasing staff knowledge about the use of intervention programmes as rehabilitation methods through training exercises will continue to promote quality and excellence throughout the Ghana Prison Service.

4.10 Increasing Program Funding

The research revealed that there are issues with funding which pose challenges to the Nsawam Female Prison and the Nsawam Male Prison. In the male prison however, these issues are compounded by severe overcrowding and are therefore more pertinent. Also, many of the financial issues extend beyond the control of Ghana Prison Service, and are a direct result of lack of government funding. However, all of the staff and inmates of intervention programmes acknowledged this a disadvantage deterring from the success of the programmes. As a result programmes that could potentially rehabilitate inmates are being limited in their abilities because of financial restraints. These restraints impact the

quality of the intervention programmes, because usually inmates lack resources and supplies. In some instances, such as vocational training, inmates are not being taught with modern equipment because their machinery is broken. If funding was allocated to fix these issues, many of the programmes have the potential to provide monetary gains for the prison. This is in correlation with Smith (n.d.), who argues that many rehabilitation programs inside prisons have not been genuinely attempted, because resources are inadequate to provide the foundational support needed to successfully implement these programmes. It is also essential with vocational programmes that inmates are given preceding funds to create goods that can be sold within a market place, therefore providing income to the prisons that can be refueled into other intervention programmes.

4.11 Formalizing and Solidifying Partnerships

The research revealed that Ghana Prison Service should increase their number of formalized partnerships, and assess the current relationships that they maintain. For example, both educational and religious programmes (mostly Islam) need to formalize proposals to build relationships with external institutions, because this will provide inmates with advanced certified levels of knowledge. These partnerships can substantially contribute to prison life for staff and inmates, as individuals, groups and organizations from outside of the prison will be able to provide inmates with support systems and resources to fuel their success (Thomas & Zaitzow, 2006). Considering such partnerships have such high potential for increasing the success and productivity of intervention programmes, they should be equally implemented in both male and female prisons. The Justice For All programme on the other hand needs to review its current

relationship with Judges, Police Officers and non-governmental organizations. It is crucial that an officer is appointed at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison to address this programme alone. This officer needs to be in constant communication with the other stakeholders, because it is unacceptable for inmates to remain in prison for a significant length of time after successfully going through the Justice For All programme. Inmates, who are technically released from prison, need to be signed for by police officers, and it should be this prison officer's job to efficiently track down these officers, and thus better the relationship between the two institutions. Otherwise, the Justice For All programme at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison has the potential to become useless, and will continue to result in unnecessary overcrowding.

4.12 Focusing on Modifications of Prisoner Behaviours and Attitudes

The research revealed that prisoner's attitudes are having negative consequences on the intervention programmes. This is far more problematic in the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, than the Nsawam Female Prison. In comparison to the number of incarcerated inmates at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, very few are participating in an intervention program. Thus it is more imperative to encourage participation of males in such programming as they have lower rates of partaking in interventions as shown by the research. Morris (1974) argues that the participation of inmates in rehabilitation programs should not be mandatory, as voluntary involvement has a greater potential for inmates to build self motivation (Morris, 1974). However, this it is problematic in the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, because the majority of inmates are not willingly partaking in many of the available interventions. As a result there is a lot of dishonesty and corruption

amidst the prisoners. According to Petersilia (2000), many inmates are declining to participate in intervention on a global scale, because there are fewer programmes available, and there are a lack of incentives for inmates to participate in these programmes. This is why it is important to create partnerships with external institutions. These relationships can provide inmates with formal certification for their knowledge, and with resources and supplies. In turn this will become an incentive measure for their participation in intervention programmes, and will transform inmates attitudes towards rehabilitation.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Summary

This study examined the major challenges that were associated with intervention programmes at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison. At the Nsawam Medium Security Prison there are five programmes that are currently running. These programmes include the Diagnostic Center, Educational Service (formal and vocational) Agricultural Training, and Religious Intervention and the Justice For All Programme. The Nsawam Female Prison currently has three of the above programmes underway. This includes Educational Services (formal and informal), Agricultural Training and Religious Interventions. The Diagnostic Center provides inmates with a safe environment for their adjustment period into prison by counseling and housing new offenders. Educational services gives inmates the opportunity to gain skills and knowledge that have the potential to provide them with an income upon their release. Agricultural training teaches inmates how to farm and keep livestock, which has the prospect of contributing to economic productivity. Religious interventions are used to mentally rehabilitate inmates and transform their mindset away from deviant behavior. Lastly, the Justice For All programme provides remand prisoners with an opportunity to

have quicker trials and thus to be released from prison or to officially be convicted of a crime.

Overall, five underlying themes continuously presented themselves when examining these challenges. The first and second challenges identified were a lack of support both internally and externally to advocate for the prison intervention programmes. The third challenge was the absence of continued relationships both with Non-Government Organizations, and the lack of coordination amongst the infrastructural and governing bodies that control various aspects of the prison (this includes the role of police, judges, teachers, programme coordinators, affiliated educational institutions, and other vital stakeholders). Fourth, there is a substantial need for funding which negatively impacts the potential advancements that could be made from intervention programming. The last major challenge identified was Prisoner Attitudes, as this is thwarting the overall rehabilitation of the entire prison population. Although these challenges are present within both the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison, they have become more detrimental to the male prison because of the overcrowding of inmates. These challenges have limited the success of the above-mentioned programmes to rehabilitate inmates because the programmes cannot be properly implemented unless these difficulties are addressed. In addition, such challenges have hindered the advancements of current programmes, namely because these interventions do not have support, as a thorough monitoring and evaluation of the program impacts has not been rigorously conducted.

5.1 Recommendations

Potential solutions for mitigating many of the above issues can be determined from the analysis of this study. Most notably, there should be an intervention programme that combines funding opportunities with coordinating the various stakeholders, which relies on the skills and productivity of the inmates themselves. Therefore a comprehensive solution will reduce many of the challenges. It would necessitate the creation of a sustainable and available marketplace as an outlet so that goods from vocational skills can be sold. This would require sufficient cooperation between programme coordinators, educational institutions and government affiliates. In turn this would provide inmates with the motivation and desire to perfect the skills they have obtained while in prison. Once such a marketplace has been created, individual product niches can be identified, and additional intervention programming can be developed within prisons in order to meet product market demands. This would generate increasing levels of income for the prisons to spend on further intervention programmes, in addition to harnessing the vocational skills necessary for inmates to leave the prisons as productive and economically valuable citizens. This marketplace would reduce the challenges associated with funding, as the goods sold would provide the prisons with a sustainable income.

A second solution to reduce the challenges associated with intervention programmes is the need to increase coordination between Ghana Police Service and Ghana Prison Service. This will reduce unnecessary overcrowding caused by poor communication resulting in the detainment of persons who should have been released through the Justice For All Programmes and other outlets.

The third recommendation that will help reduce the challenges of the intervention programmes is to create formal partnerships with international organizations and non-governmental organizations. These organizations have the ability to create positive change in the Intervention Programmes through the donation of supplies and interpersonal resources. It is important that the prison targets donors for specific programmes whose aims and objectives align with the specific intervention programme.

Building a stronger partnership between the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison is the fourth recommendation to reduce the challenges of intervention programmes. This collaboration will ensure adequate resources are shared and dispersed between the two institutions, depending on what is created and available in each institution. This will minimize unnecessary costs that can be fueled into intervention programmes.

Another important recommendation is to immediately seek funding to employ Diagnostic Centers within all of the Ghanaian Prisons in order increase counseling and promote the importance of intervention programmes. Thus is to ensure that a greater number of inmates participate. This will enhance overall rehabilitation within the prisons. It is also important to make sure that regardless of sentence length or previous convictions, all inmates are brought through the Diagnostic Center. The Diagnostic Center team members should reach out to previously incarcerated individuals who did not have the opportunity for this intervention. In addition they should offer counseling support and as bi-yearly

presentations in the yard to assure all inmates are aware of the benefits of participating in intervention programmes for sustaining a lawful livelihood upon their release.

Lastly, Ghana Prison Service and their partners need to disseminate awareness programmes in communities towards decreasing stigmatization associated with imprisonment. In turn, this will strengthen the possibility for various organizational involvements in the rehabilitation programmes. In addition to this Ghana Prison Service should publish an Annual Report to liaise between themselves and potential partnerships about the importance, and the success of intervention programmes to help prisoners' integration upon their release.

5.2 Conclusion

It is clear from the empirical results analyzed above, that the Nsawam Medium Security Prison, and the Nsawam Female Prison have many challenges associated with intervention programmes. These challenges, grouped into 5 major themes (external knowledge and support, internal knowledge and support, funding, partnerships and inmate attitude), have hindered the successfulness of rehabilitation efforts on behalf of the Ghana Prison Service. It is essential that all of the stakeholders who have the potential to alleviate any of the aforementioned challenges collaborate with Ghana Prison Service to provide an environment where inmates can successfully be rehabilitated. In order to reduce the challenges associated with prison intervention programmes, the above recommendations need to be addressed. The study revealed that through intervention programmes inmates are gaining new skills and knowledge for their release into society,

however the challenges associated with intervention programmes are placing a hindrance on their complete rehabilitation. Therefore, based on the information above, one is able to identify the feasibility of both enhancing existing prison rehabilitation programmes, and creating additional interventions to better prepare inmates for social and economic wellness outside of the prison walls. Rehabilitating inmates through these intervention programmes is economically and socially beneficial to the growth and development of society.

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APPENDIX

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE HEADS OF INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES AT THE NSAWAM MEDIUM SECURITY PRISON AND THE NSAWAM FEMALE PRISON:

This interview is being conducted to gather information for research to **Assess the Challenges of Prisoner Intervention Programmes in Ghana: A Case Study of the Nsawam Prisons.**

The individual being interviewed is_____. The completion of this interview will make available the information needed for the researcher to complete her thesis.

The individual interviewed is assured of truthful representation of all responses and that all information collected will be use solely for the purpose of this study.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

- A. Demographics
 - a. Name
 - b. Sex
 - c. Position Title
 - d. How long have you held this position
- B. Can you give me a brief overview of the programme?
- C. How long has this programme been going on at Nsawam Medium Security Prison?
- D. How are inmates selected to partake in the programmes?
- E. What difficulties do you think that inmates face when participating in intervention programmes?
- F. What challenges do you face with implementing the programme?
 - a. Funding
 - i. How much money is allocated to rehabilitation each year?
 - b. Staff
 - i. Do you believe that attitude of your staff effects prisoner rehabilitation?
 - ii. Are all, or any of your staff trained in rehabilitation practices?
 - c. Stakeholders
 - i. Have you appealed to any stakeholders for supplies or funding etc?
- G. How do you think this programme helps prisoners inside prison walls and upon their release?
- H. Has there been any research or documentation regarding prisoners who have participated in rehabilitation programmes, and are now released from prison. Have many of these people reoffended?
- I. Are there any further questions, comments or concerns you would like to share with me?

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE PRISONERS AT NSAWAM PRISONS WHO ARE PARTICIPATING IN THE PRISONER INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES

This interview is being conducted to gather information for research to **Assess the Challenges of Prisoner Intervention Programmes in Ghana: A Case Study of the Nsawam Prisons.**

Individuals being interviewed are both male and female prisoners participating in intervention programmes. The completion of this interview will make available the information needed for the researcher to complete her thesis.

Those interviewed are assured of absolute anonymity and confidentiality for all responses to all questions.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

A. Prisoner Demographics:

- a. Age
- b. Sex
- c. Occupation prior to imprisonment

B. General

- a. Reasons for imprisonment
- b. Years spent thus far in prison
- c. Years required to spend in prison for your sentence
- d. Do you participate in Formal Education
- e. Do you participate in Introductory Counseling
- f. Do you participate in Vocational Training
- g. Do you participate in Agricultural Training
- h. Do you participate in religion
- i. Do you participate in the Justice For All Programme.
- j. Are you aware that these programmes are meant to rehabilitate you for your release from prison?

C. Depending on answer in B(c) please continue with the categories the inmate participates in:

- a. Introductory Counseling
 - i. Did you receive counseling upon your entrance to the prison where you were told what to expect?
 - ii. If no, do you feel that this type of counseling would have been useful?

- iii. If yes, did this prepare you for your prison experience? How or How not?
 - iv. Are there continual opportunities for you to receive counseling about your sentence and your experiences in prison?
 - v. How has this programme helped you and how do you think it will continue to help you upon your release?
 - vi. Do you know other inmates in the prison who want to receive counseling but can't?
 - vii. Do you have any suggestions for the prison service to improve the introductory counseling?
- b. Formal Education
- i. What level of education did you have prior to participating in the programme? Is there a minimum level that must be attained prior to imprisonment to participate?
 - ii. What level of education have you reached now?
 - iii. How long have you participated in this programme?
 - iv. How were you chosen to participate in the programme?
 - v. How has this programme helped you for your life in prison and your life when you get out?
 - vi. What challenges make it difficult for you to participate in this programme?
 - vii. How often does the programme meet?
 - viii. Is there enough supplies for all students?
 - ix. Who teaches you?
 - x. Do you know other inmates in the prison who want to participate in the programme but can't? If yes, why?
 - xi. Do you have any suggestions for the prison service to improve the programme?
- c. Informal Education
- i. How long have you participated in this programme?
 - ii. How were you chosen to participate in the programme?
 - iii. What challenges make it difficult for you to participate in this programme?
 - iv. How often do you get to participate in activities and what are those activities
 - v. Is there enough supplies for all participants?
 - vi. Who teaches you?
 - vii. Do you know other inmates in the prison who want to participate in the programme but can't? If yes, why?
 - viii. Do you have any suggestions for the prison service to improve the program?
 - ix. How has this programme helped you for your life in prison and your life when you get out?

d. Agriculture

- i. How long have you participated in this programme?
- ii. How were you chosen to participate in the programme?
- iii. What challenges make it difficult for you to participate in this programme?
- iv. How often do you get to participate in activities and what are those activities?
- v. Does the supplies limit that amount of crops and livestock you can produce?
- vi. Who teaches you about agriculture?
- vii. Do you know other inmates in the prison who want to participate in the programme but can't? If yes, why?
- viii. Do you have any suggestions for the prison service to improve the programme ?
- ix. How has this program helped you for your life in prison and your life when you get out?

e. Religion

- i. What religion do you practice? (Christianity, Islam, Traditional Religion)
- ii. Where and how often do you meet for (church/mosque) in prison?
- iii. Can anyone going to (church/mosque)/ how were you chosen to be able to go?
- iv. What challenges make it difficult for you to go to (church/mosque)?
- v. Are you allowed to keep a bible or Quran in your cell?
- vi. How could church/mosque be improved in Prison?
- vii. Who oversees the church (Pastor, Malam)?
- viii. Is there any continual support of counseling from them?
- ix. Do you know other inmates in the prison who want to attend (church/mosque) but can't? If yes, why?
- x. Do you have any suggestions for the prison service to improve your experience at (church/mosque)?
- xi. How has this program helped you for your life in prison and your life when you get out?

f. Justice for All

- i. How long have you participated in this programme?
- ii. What advancements have been made in your case since it began?
- iii. How were you chosen to participate in the programme?
- iv. What challenges made it difficult for you to participate?
- v. How often do lawyers and judges come to hear your case?
- vi. Do you know other inmates in the prison who want to participate in the programme but can't? If yes, why?
- vii. Do you have any suggestions for the prison service to improve the programme?

viii. How has this programme helped you for your life in prison and your life when you get out?

D. Conclusion

- a. Are there any programmes that you want to participate in but are not allowed? Why or why not?
- b. Do you have a suggestion for other programmes that could help prisoners?

