AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF
OFFENDER REHABILITATION POLICIES IN ZIMBABWE

BY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation policies in Zimbabwe prisons in light of the efforts by stakeholders to reform offenders. The primary objective of the study was to establish the extent to which the correctional services are curbing ex-convicts from committing crimes. The study was also aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of rehabilitation policies implemented in Zimbabwe towards addressing the problem of re-offending. Furthermore, the study sought to identify the reasons why released offenders continue to commit crimes despite their participation in various rehabilitation programmes during their period of incarceration. The methodology of the study was centred on the interpretivist philosophy as practised in qualitative research methods. The study participants included prisoners who were first time offenders, prisoners who were re-arrested, prison officers who supervise the rehabilitation programmes and NGOs responsible for various rehabilitation programme concerning prisoners. Data was primarily generated through face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation which were inevitable in this study by nature of being a qualitative research where the researcher is the prime instrument of data generation. Secondary data was sought from documents analysed from Harare Central, Chikurubi Farm and Chikurubi Female Prisons records and statistics offices and other stakeholders. The findings of the study revealed a host of challenges that stall effective policy implementation chief among them being the deplorable living conditions in the prisons. The negative attitude perspectives and stigma, among other things, were seen to be the reasons for offenders getting into a vicious circle of re-offending. The study recommended stakeholder cooperation in policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation among other things.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give my greatest thanks to God Almighty for giving me life. His love, and Grace that saw me through this study. I say “Ebenezer Glory be to God.” I would like to extend my sincere and utmost thanks and gratitude to Dr Wiseman Mupindu, my supervisor for this dissertation, for his special guidance and help in this study. His continuous encouragement, inspiration and Godly wishes really motivated me to complete this study.

This is to record a special debt and thanks to Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services Commissioner General Major General P.W Zimondi (Rtd) and staff for their invaluable support and contribution in the various stages of this study. Thanks and appreciation goes to the officers in Charge (Chief Superintendents) Harare Central Prison, C Musonza, Chikurubi Farm Prison, N. Chomurenga and Chikurubi Female Prison Superintendent E Chifodya. My sincere and indebted thanks to two inmates who are serving a life term at Harare Central Prison for their distinct participation in this study. I pray God will grant you His unmerited Grace and have your prison term reviewed.

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see completion of this project. Your loving and inspiring spirit has a special place in my heart.

May your soul rest in peace. To my children, Tanyaradzwa Precious, Kudzanai, Tadiwanashe Courage, thanks for your love, continuous support and resourceful contribution to this study.
DEDICATION

I heartily dedicate this piece of work to my late husband, Noel Musango of Chidawanyika village, Mutasa District Tsonzo Mutare. Special dedication goes to my late father, Kurauone Tanyanyiwa Masona of Kamba village, in Nenguwo Marondera. I also dedicate this piece of work to my loving and caring Mother Josephine Zvayi (Tembo Mazvimbakupa) of Chakawa village Murehwa. I draw my courage and inspiration from you guys. You made me who I am. It was not easy mom, I know (Kukura Kurerwa!)
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<tr>
<td>ZPCS</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services</td>
</tr>
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<td>ZACRO</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Association of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of the offender</td>
</tr>
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<td>PFZ</td>
<td>Prison Fellowship Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZIMAFEP</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Association of Female Prisoners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Republic of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACSA</td>
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Staff

Implementation of offender rehabilitation programmes

Sports and Recreational Rehabilitation

Offending behaviour (cognitive skills) programmes

Vocational training

Social rehabilitation

Moral rehabilitation

Academic Education programmes

Skills Training

Rehabilitation of offenders in Zimbabwe

Effective Models of intervention to address offending behaviour

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Skills Training

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Offender rehabilitation is a process whose aim is to assist inmates to attain functional ability. This means the capacity to function in various social situations towards the satisfaction of their needs and the right to participate in the development of society (Fili, 2013). Compounded with increased rates of reoffending, this has become a challenge in the administration and management of prisons worldwide. Rehabilitation of offenders is one of the core functions of prison systems globally; however, increased rates of repeat offenders indicate some shortcomings, possibly, associated with policies to reform offenders. Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Service (ZPCS) has adopted quite a number of rehabilitation interventions in an effort to transform prisoners for their successful reintegration into society as law abiding citizens after serving their prison terms (Chinamasa, 2009; Makarawu, 2011). This is intended to reduce the number of offenders who are re-convicted and admitted into their prison institutions. Offender rehabilitation policies in place have been greatly influenced by the quest to discourage criminal behaviour through engaging those incarcerated in various rehabilitation programmes in an effort to control the tendency of recidivism. The relevancy and efficacy of these policies and programmes to assist prisoners’ reform and reduce reoffending after release from prison is subject to discussion in this study.
1.1 Background to the study

Institutions that provide reform service to offenders are commonly known as Prisons in most African countries and Correctional Centres in Europe and other continents (Veldhuis, 2012). As a way of dealing with those in conflict with the law worldwide, and the most severe punishment for law breakers is, arguably, imprisonment. However, there are shared values amongst those in correctional and prison management, according to the United Nations Standard Minimum rules for the treatment of offenders (1957), adopted as Mandela Rules (2015) viewed as best Correctional practice, “people come to prison as a punishment and not to be punished”, meaning whatever the treatment during incarceration, this should be designed to make the best out of the offender.

Nevertheless, there are different mechanisms used on offenders in a bid to rehabilitate and make them reform (Schartmueller, 2012). According to the parliament of Zimbabwe thematic Committee on the state of prisons (2011), rehabilitation in the prisons’ context means restoring and helping an individual or group of offenders socially, physically, and psychologically by moulding them to abide by socially acceptable norms and ethics.

The pictures in figure 1 and figure 2 depict two different Prison /Correction systems and conditions under which offenders receive rehabilitation programmes. In both situations, the desired end state is a reformed person who is skilled to live a useful life while abiding by the laws. The prison service is a key component of the security framework in any community and as such, it contributes to personal and state safety. This is, by and large, protection of the community by providing for a humane and
secure imprisonment of offenders, and rehabilitating criminals. The core function, in
genral, is to provide safe and secure custody to persons legally entrusted to the
organization. The world over, prisons have as a secondary duty to correct and refine
persons who in the estimation of the State judicial apparatus need to be reformed or
compelled to conform to societal norms. Through being one of the components and
the last segment of the Criminal Justice System, in Zimbabwe, their duty is centered
on the humane containment and rehabilitation of offenders for re-integration into the
society. In various contexts, correctional services play an essential part in
reconstruction and peace-building and play a crucial role in establishing stability in
societies, as reported in the Brahimi Report (2000).
Figure 1: European prisons

(Source: Bennett, Crewe and Wahidin, 2008)
Figure 2: African Prisons

Source: Bennett, Crewe and Wahidin (2008)
Prisons in Zimbabwe and, generally, in Africa are characterised by harsh conditions of incarceration (Dissel, 2012). Despite adoption of international values of incarceration, the living conditions in Zimbabwe’s jails are described by the Zimbabwe Association for Crime prevention and rehabilitation of the offender (ZACRO, 2010) as not suitable for human habitation. The findings of the Thematic Committee on Human Rights and state of prisons presented to the seventh parliament of Zimbabwe (2011) reveals that living conditions of prisoners in a cross-section of prisons institutions in Harare are worsening due to budgetary constraints. The Thematic Committee on Human rights and state of prisons notes an acute shortage of basic needs of prisoners which includes shortage of water, poor diet, unavailability of drugs for sick prisoners and poor sanitary facilities. It also mentions that cell accommodation is not enough in some prisons. The general infrastructure is dilapidated owing to age and poor maintenance. The cells are filthy and infected with bed bugs and lice. Prisoners are issued with one blanket and in most cases, the blankets are torn.

Prisoners are also supposed to be provided with two pairs of prison uniform, but due to poor funding, they are issued with one pair of shorts and shirts that are tattered. Prisoners also exchange the uniforms when attending courts or going out on work parties, thereby exposing them to the risk of communicable diseases (Waters, 2010). The committee panel confirmed observing prisoners walking half naked at Chikurubi Farm Prison. Prisoners interviewed complained of shortage of food. The management confirmed feeding inmates with porridge without sugar for breakfast and sadza (stiff porridge) with cabbage without cooking oil and sometimes with beans for lunch and supper. Meat has been not available for more than three months, thus resulting in
inmates contracting diseases associated with malnutrition (Chinamasa, 2009). Poor cell ventilation and unavailability of soap and cleaning detergents result in heavy smells in the cells. Ablution facilities were noted as not functioning in some parts owing to leaking sewer pipes, and the inmates use containers to relieve themselves. Of particular concern was that in the period 2008 and 2009 at the height of economic hardships, Chikurubi maximum prison lost 839 inmates due to suspected pellagra and food shortages (Makarawu, 2011). Offenders are kept in these institutions in order to serve their sentences and be rehabilitated. Against that background and following release from prison, certain individuals still come back to prison (Veldhuis, 2012). This research is typically influenced by the question: why do former inmates re-offend given the poor living conditions and the available programmes to reform?

The offender rehabilitation concept originated from western Correctional systems. The conditions in the western correctional services and jails are generally good. In Australia for example, the inmates are housed in single cells. They are issued with uniforms that suit different seasons of the year. A balanced diet is supplied adequately within a classic boarding system. Communication systems and sporting facilities are also provided. In Sweden, the inmates are housed according to offences committed and have basic provisions adequately supplied [Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights Report (ZLHR), 2011]. The problem of overcrowding synonymous with Africa is not really an issue. The nature of offences committed by inmates determines the rehabilitation interventions and programmes the offender is admitted for. Contrary to the background in African Prisons, the concept of rehabilitation tested and designed for such environments was generally adopted in most African countries including Zimbabwe and other world regions with the main thrust to transform prisoners so that
they desist from criminal behaviour. The adoption was facilitated by world and regional bodies such as the United Nations, African Union and Southern African Development Community (SADC), in particular, plus advocacy from humanitarian non-governmental organisations after realising that the number of people getting custodial sentences increased due to proliferation in crime rate. There were suggestions by SADC that re-offending could be eased by introducing training and rehabilitation programmes for inmates to equip them with some life skills instead of just locking up people since large numbers of those incarcerated were repeat offenders. The general view was that during the period of incarceration, offenders can acquire skills that would assist them to be productive after their release from prison and contribute to the development of their communities and societies and live as law abiding citizens.

According to the Brahimi Report (2000), the United Nations has been concerned with humane treatment of all human beings, including those who are imprisoned. Therefore, it has created and adopted a number of international legal instruments to protect and guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms. The application and practice of the instruments in penal systems administration seek to encourage rehabilitative interventions in all criminal justice institutions in order to rehabilitate offenders. This report advocated for the adoption and to put into practice all the instruments to do with imprisoned people in diverse constitutional contexts.

Adoption of United Nations recommendations in the Brahimi Report (2000) research done in Europe and some parts of Africa has shown that the problem of re-offending continues globally. Many countries still have to grapple with increased numbers of
repeat offenders in their prison institutions despite adopting the recommended international best practices (Dissel, 2012).

In Australia, England and Wales, quite a number of researches have shown that issues of repeat offending have, of late, come to the fore, owing to the increased number of sex offenders and drug abuse (Raynor & Robinson, 2009). Contrary, research done by May and Pitts (2000) in American and Asian communities reveals that repeat offending may not be influenced or is not a result of ineffective rehabilitation. Further, May and Pitts (2000) suggest that focusing on rehabilitation alone without revisiting the attitude of the offenders may not be of much help to curb re-offending. This contradicts the Zimbabwe Association for Crime prevention (ZACRO) report (2010) that posits that successful implementation of rehabilitation policies in Zimbabwe will stop re-offending as well as ease overcrowding in prisons.

In Kenya and Tanzania, advocacy was much focused on changing the sentencing plan by judicial officers as a way of effective rehabilitation policy implementation. Snarken (2006) in Gona et al (2014) cites attempts to balance severity and leniency through rehabilitation policies that discourage long sentences and corporal punishments, which was a trend in Africa. The history in Africa shows that in post-colonial countries, there are four theories of punishment mainly used, namely: deterrent, punitive, retributive and reformative (Fili, 2013). The deterrent approach is based on the belief that society enjoys freedom while the offender is incarcerated while the reformative approach is based on the belief that an offender’s criminal behaviour poses them as patients who need treatment (Waters, 2010). There was much agitation for African states to adopt correctional measures that focus on humane
treatment of those incarcerated instead of the colonial inherited punitive measures. In addition, Grooves cited in Anderson et al. (2011:19) observes that as a measure for offender rehabilitation, secure and humane treatment is not enough because prisons/correctional services should offer programmes to inmates that transform them into better citizens, both physically and morally, upon release from prison.

The protection accorded to society must be viewed as a measure to make offenders more developmental and equal contributors of harmony in society (Makarawu, 2011). Therefore, this advocates for rehabilitative programmes and penal systems that help the offender to reform. The suggested offender-rehabilitative programmes include vocational training, cognitive skills training, academic education, therapeutic counselling and experience in various trades that will positively transform offenders as well as prepare them for successful re-integration into society (Chinamasa, 2009; Waters, 2010; Makarawu, 2011; Schartmueller, 2012).

It is against this background that most prison administrations have adopted the corrective approach towards treatment of offenders (Fili, 2013). The core function of any prison system is to provide safe and secure custody to persons legally entrusted to the organization. Thus, prison systems have a duty to correct and refine persons who, in the estimation of the State judicial apparatus, need to be reformed or compelled to conform to societal norms.

In Africa - South of the Sahara, South Africa became the first to adopt this approach (Makarawu, 2011). According to the ‘White Paper’ on Correctional Services (2005), South Africa strives to rehabilitate prisoners through changing its prisons to
Correctional centres. Nevertheless, Zimbabwe also followed suit in 2004 when significant changes in the structure and operative system ushered in a reformative and rehabilitative thrust. The rationale behind inmates’ rehabilitation was to break the habitual offender cycle by trying to restore prisoners to the status of law abiding citizens.

This was further consolidated by a constitutional amendment in 2013 that saw the change of the name ‘Zimbabwe Prison Service’ to ‘Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services’ (ZPCS). A department in the Ministry of Justice Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, established according to the constitution of Zimbabwe amendment (No 20) Act 2013 section 227, provides that (1) there shall be a prison and correctional service which is responsible for (a) protection of society from criminal elements through incarceration, rehabilitation of convicted persons and others who are lawfully required to be detained and their re-integration into the society; and (b) the administration of prisons and correctional facilities. The organisation’s head was elevated to Commissioner General appointed by the Head of State in terms section 229 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe from Commissioner.

According to the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services administration Statistics Office, ZPCS staff establishment of ten thousand three hundred (10 300) officers was increased to twenty thousand (20 000) with the thrust of improving the staff prisoner ratio to make rehabilitation more effective against the average sixteen thousand (16 000) prisoners in all its four (4) administrative regions. This number is not yet fully operational, but the idea is to make the prisons system more correctional for the benefit of offenders.
The organisation has since crafted and adopted legislation to support implementation of rehabilitation programmes, and, therefore, the research gap is now presumed to be on how effective the programmes have been to influence behaviour change in offenders. Hence the study’s aims to establish the causes of increased repeat offending rates in the Zimbabwe prisons. Since Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services’ mission is premised on four strategic goals which are: Protection of society from criminal elements, Incarceration, and Rehabilitation and Re-integration, the ZPCS has an obligation to value humane control, which is an aspect of human rights. Performance in ZPCS is, therefore, measured against the four cardinal points that constitute goals of the organisation and deviation from it creating a performance gap. In addition re-integration constitutes key issues to be addressed by the ZPCS Rehabilitation Policy. However, statistics obtained from the Administration Section of ZPCS at its Headquarters shows high recidivism by offenders. There is concern within the Government, Society and ZPCS Management as to what could be the gaps in the rehabilitation and re-integration processes which could contribute to high recidivism rates. The past ten years have also seen a significant investment into the development and delivery of offender rehabilitation programmes across the region in both prison and community corrections settings, and support for rehabilitative ideals is now more clearly enshrined in public policy than perhaps at any time in the past.

The most recent problem, according to the Zimbabwe Prison Central Statistics office (February 2014 to March 2014), one month after the release of prisoners under the Presidential Pardon Clemency order 1/2014 is that sixty per cent of the released prisoners were back in prison on the same or similar offences, thereby resulting in a 12% overcrowding rate. Media outlets in Zimbabwe in 2014 carried a story whereby
barely twenty four hours after release from prison under the presidential amnesty, three ex-convicts were back in court for a similar offence. “Within a day of release from Khami Prison, the trio elected to renounce their newfound freedom. Having previously been incarcerated for robbery, the three found themselves back in the dock for allegedly breaking into a house and stealing an assortment of valuables worth USD 865.” Experts have always argued that criminal activity is largely based on an individual’s own choice, and others argue that the incident of the trio can be attributed to the country’s correctional system. This is the notion that this study explored to establish where the problem could be and why offenders continue relapse into offending behaviour. In the same vein, the same newspaper quoted the spokesperson of the correctional services arguing that criminals will be arrested again, insisting on the fact that the institution is delivering on its mandate to facilitate offender reform. “We may be affected with the rising numbers of people returning to prison of late, but I can assure you, we are doing the best to make sure that offenders are reformed.”

Offenders undergo various skills development programmes in prison such as training inmates in various entrepreneurial skills to make sure that they can have a better life after serving their time in prison, but the number of those coming back to prisons continues to rise.

It has been reported that in the month of May 2013, more than 78 people were arrested and sent to prison as re-offenders. In 2013 alone, 632 re-offenders were admitted into prison. These statistics have led to an overall conclusion that offender rehabilitation interventions currently recommended by global bodies may not be producing the best results to help offenders reform. It is against this background that
Hungwe (2009) recommended that the punitive treatment of criminal offenders that existed in the early sixties in African states should be brought back in some cases when dealing with repeat offenders. This aimed, basically, to deter individuals from criminal behaviour. The recommendations by Hungwe (2009) consider repeat offending as a product and consequence of the modern international prescriptions to dealing with offending behaviour which emphasizes exhortation.

However, it can be argued that the recommendation did not look at the modern trends of crime (Makarawu, 2011). The calibre of current criminal offenders is mainly composed of a productive population (Fili, 2013). The population which was used for recommending the lock-up and stiffer penalty view were dominated by men who were, generally, bread winners in their families. In this day and era, women, girls and young men are also involved, making it very unreasonable to lock up such tender aged and vulnerable groups. Therefore, the researcher of this study would want to establish the basis for supporting international prescriptions that focus more on rehabilitation of the prisoner and giving a chance to their reform and re-integration into society as law abiding citizens.

Crewe and Bennett (2012) contradicted Hungwe’s thinking with a critical argument that focusing on prisoner control through reform programmes and rehabilitation of the mind-set will boost public confidence in the government’s goal of providing correctional services. Coyle (2009: 14) cited by President Nelson Mandela, speaking to prison staff in South Africa (1998) stated, “Secure prisons are essential to making our justice system an effective weapon against crime. The full contribution which our
prisons can make towards a permanent reduction in the country’s crime-rate lies also in the way in which they treat prisoners.”

Given that comment, the researcher feels that there are some shortcomings in programmes offered even in developed countries despite their known democracy; therefore, policies in developing countries may equally fall short of some intended benefits. In short, the prison facilities that house inmates in developed countries are well developed, but this does not correspond with the effectiveness of their rehabilitation policies.

### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Re-offending is on the increase in Zimbabwe because offenders make escalating inflow into prisons without corresponding outflow despite the adoption and implementation of modern international approaches to offender rehabilitation by Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Service. This problem has been marked by an uncontrollable growth of the prison population and overcrowding which has become a challenge in Zimbabwe’s prisons. The latest problem, according to the Zimbabwe Prison Central Statistics office (February 2014 to March 2014), is that one month after the release of prisoners under the Presidential Pardon Clemency order 1/2014, sixty per cent of the released prisoners are back in prison on the same or similar offences, thus resulting in a 12% overcrowding.

These challenges unveil a gap in the effectiveness of the rehabilitation programmes in reforming offenders. It is against this perceived problem that the study queries the efficacy of rehabilitation processes to break the offending cycle of prisoners through
the services offered by the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services since this adversely affects peace and security in the country.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The study aimed to establish the relevance and sustainability of the prison rehabilitation policies and to identify impediments to successful offender reform for reduction of recidivism rates.

1.4 Research Objectives

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- To explore the factors contributing towards an increase in repeat offenders’ numbers within Zimbabwe prisons.
- To assess the weaknesses of rehabilitation programmes currently offered in Zimbabwe Prisons.
- To analyse the communities’ contribution towards reforming repeat offenders.
- To examine challenges faced by prison officials in implementing rehabilitation programmes.
- To explore the relevance of rehabilitation strategies for successful re-integration of offenders into the society.

1.5 Main Research Question

How effective are offender rehabilitation policies in Zimbabwe?
1.5.1 Sub-questions

The study is informed by the following research sub-questions:

- Why does the number of repeat offenders continue to increase in Zimbabwe Prisons?
- What are the weaknesses of rehabilitation programmes implemented in Zimbabwean Prisons?
- To what extent do rehabilitation initiatives implemented by communities minimise criminal behaviour?
- How do challenges faced by prison officers in implementing offender rehabilitation programmes impact on prisoners’ reform processes?
- How relevant are programmes implemented by the prisons to inmates’ reform?

1.6 Assumptions of the study

The assumptions of the study are as outlined below:

- Rehabilitation programmes are not effectively done to equip inmates with life skills.
- Several factors inhibit the efficacy concerning sustainability of offender rehabilitation training programmes.
- The ZPCS rehabilitation policy is relevant and could help in the successful re-integration of offenders into society.
- Recidivism rates can be reduced by a relevant rehabilitation policy.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study is unique in the sense that though re-offending is common, world over, the prison conditions in Zimbabwe are different, especially when benchmarking with the
developed world where the concept of rehabilitation is rooted. It involves intangible concepts, is implemented across a diverse range of settings and applied by a wide variety of staff, to an even wider audience of individuals. This thesis unpacks these complexities by isolating key policy elements and discussing them within the framework of policy utility in Zimbabwe, thus adding new perspective to the knowledge body.

The rehabilitation programmes recommended under different circumstances have a different impact owing to the resources availed by the different governments which, in some instances, lack provision of basic components of human life such as sanitation, clothing and wholesome food. According to Wilkinson (2010), contemporary offender management is based on the recognition that imprisonment alone is ineffective in changing behaviour and has a negative effect on inmates, thus leading to greater recidivism and, ultimately, increased social, emotional and economic costs to the community. Recidivism is the relapse into criminal activity and is generally measured by a former prisoner’s return to prison for a new offence. Attention to rates of recidivism is an important way to monitor the role of prisons in rehabilitating inmates.

Prisons have, traditionally, been designed to punish and confine those who break laws. However, as more focus bears on Human rights and humane treatment of offenders, civil society and public policy, increasingly, are demanding that prisons adopt programmes that rehabilitate inmates and prepare them for re-integration into society capacitated against criminal behaviour. With a clear background of different prisoners under different conditions, the new knowledge generated may be of great significance in that the findings could link policy decisions to key performance
indicators on the implementation of programmes meant to change offending
behaviour. To some extent, this research will provide a higher level and
comprehension of the backgrounds, social standing and fuller understanding of
economic circumstances of offenders in Zimbabwe. This, to a greater extent, will
inform prison officers with a context in which to address offenders’ needs and risks,
for successful reformation.
The researcher expects the study to influence more positive improvement in the
current review of Zimbabwe Correctional services policy according to the provisions
of the Constitution amendment Act (20) 2013.

The new Constitution stipulates the inclusion of the Correctional aspect anchored on
Rehabilitation and the expansion of the department to focus on more reforms aligned
to offender treatment for reform. Zimbabwe being the chair of African Correctional
Services Association (ACSA) can influence the adoption of some of the
recommendations to be used as reference in penal systems management in Africa.
Since Zimbabwe is currently the leader of the regional block, the policy makers can
take advantage of its process of transformation to lead by example as well as
recommending adoption of the same by member states.
The researcher would like to establish the weaknesses, relevance and sustainability of
offender rehabilitation, training programmes currently offered to inmates in
Zimbabwe. The purpose is to examine why the rate of re-offending is on the increase
as well as aim to assess the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes being
undertaken by ZPCS in controlling the tendency of recidivism. This will channel for
more follow up studies.
Following the transformational process and the policy provisions, the study will also help policy implementers to research more and access documents that specify idle treatment and ensure compliance with modern standards of offender rehabilitation. Furthermore, the study may form a basis for further research in other regional Correctional institutions on different categories of prisoners and in different political and economic settings. The study has more benefit to different social and economic institutions such as the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services (ZPCS), the government of Zimbabwe, the offender and their families as well as the industry and employer communities in Zimbabwe.

1.8 Delimitation of the study

The focus of this study is on prison-initiated activities customised to rehabilitate prisoners and deter criminal behaviour. The evaluation contained herein relates to the programmes implemented at Harare and Chikurubi complex. The main focus is delimited to the current rehabilitation policy on issues to do with successful re-integration of offenders to curb re-offending in Zimbabwe. The study was strategically focused on the Harare and Chikurubi prison complex that accommodates prisoners of all classes. The concept of rehabilitation was adopted only after independence in Zimbabwe; therefore, the focus is on post-independence Zimbabwe.

1.9 Limitations

The notion of rehabilitation of offenders originated from developed countries. Most literature and studies were done in Europe before the subsequent adoption of the concept in Africa. Therefore, they may not apply in African settings. Programmes recommended might not really apply in the Zimbabwean context. This could be an
impediment to the successful carrying out of the study. Furthermore, literature on the concept of rehabilitation in relation to policy implementation is scarce in developing countries. Precisely, there is scant, if any, literature on the rehabilitation of offenders in Zimbabwean Prisons, as this is relatively a novel area of study. The researcher overcame this hurdle by making reference to the experiences of other jurisdictions in and beyond Africa.

Theories that focus on re-offending may apply but are limited to particular economies and cultural contexts other than those of Zimbabwe. The fact that prisons are naturally closed and high security institutions in Zimbabwe (and, generally, in Africa) implies that people are not free to discuss issues that are perceived as negative, and the stigma attached limited the researcher accessing information from individual repeat offenders. Prisons management is a government responsibility. This makes them bureaucracy in nature; therefore, generation of data may be stalled by political pressures associated with institutions of this nature. Coordinating with respective authorities on the stations under study and various sections, as well as various agencies involved was a challenge despite having approval from the national headquarters.

The researcher proposed a programme of events, meetings and schedule for interviews and submitted to the authorities prior for their approval and consent. There were restrictions to access some sections of the prison classified as sensitive like visual aids and documents. To mitigate these challenges the researcher used pictures and referred to some documents already published and reported on them. Generally, dealing with people’s attitude, behaviour and character is complex because human
beings tend to portray the best of these all the time. In this study, people portrayed a
different picture from the reality on the ground. However, the researcher capitalised
on the fact the she is an official in the service and used the direct observation
technique to circumvent this.

1.10 Organisation of the Study
The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 sets out the perspective for the
research as well as spelling out the motivation and inspiration for the study. Chapter 2
comprises the organisation of literature in relation to the problem, presentation of
literature, summary of literature and highlights aspects used in the study. Chapter 3
details the research approach adopted for the study. In particular, the research
philosophy and its justification thereof is provided. The chapter takes the reader
through the case study research design used to conduct the study, namely, the data
analysis plan and the ethical issues that govern the conduct of the study. Chapter 4
covers the presentation of data and analysis of the findings. Chapter 5 provides the
summary and conclusion that ties all the major findings and the recommendations.

1.11 Definition of Key Terms
The meanings of some key terms used in this study are defined below:

1.11.1 Policy Effectiveness: The Cambridge advanced learners Dictionary
(2004:958) defines policy as a plan “a set of ideas of what to do in particular
situations that has been agreed officially by a group of people, a business
organization, a government or a political party.” According to Crewe and Bennett
(2012:29), “a rehabilitation programme is effective if the objectives are successfully
achieved and produce the desired changes in the behaviour of participants”.
Effectiveness: In this study, there are doubts as to how successful rehabilitation programmes are in changing behaviour of inmates.

1.11.2 Prison overcrowding: Refers to a situation whereby too many prisoners live in too close proximity to each other and are made to compete for the limited space and resources. This situation creates diminished access to available and limited facilities such as medical attention, recreation, rehabilitation programmes.

1.11.3 Rehabilitation: This is the process of changing the offenders’ disposition, attitude to life, perception, behaviour through treatment therapy, educating and training as well as offering support that will enable the offender to live a crime-free life after release from Prison (Bennett, et. al. 2012).

1.11.4 Re-integration: According to Liebling et. al. (2011), re-integration is the process by which an inmate is reintroduced into the community after imprisonment.

1.11.5 Convict: A person found guilty of an offence and sentenced by a court of Law.

1.11.6 Prison reform: Is “the attempt to improve the conditions inside prisons, aiming at a more effective system”. It implies the changing of old practices and work processes to achieve dramatic improvements in critical measures of performance such as quality of rehabilitation strategies (Hulley et al., 2012)

1.11.7 Re-offending: In this study, this refers to the relapse of offenders released from prison into committing new offences within a certain time following their release.

1.11.8 Juvenile: Is a child or young person who has attained the age of 14 and is under the age of 18 years who is alleged to have committed or has been found to have committed an offence.
1.11.9 Rehabilitation: Is also used frequently and interchangeably with correctional programmes to describe the need of the offender to be exposed to basic life skills to acquire moral values, education or a vocational background to maintain an independent and crime free lifestyle.

1.11.10 Rehabilitation strategies: This term, in this study, describes specific methods which are employed by Zimbabwe Prison Service officials such as skills training and academic education, moral rehabilitation, social rehabilitation, sports and recreation.

1.11.11 Recidivism: Is used interchangeably with re-offending, and in this study, it is understood to be a relapse into prior criminal behaviour and is measured by a former prisoner’s return to prison for a new offence. (Crewe & Bennett, 2012)

1.12 Chapter Summary

Reforming and rehabilitating prisoners is an important role played by prisons and correctional services. In this chapter, the critical factor that Prisons and Correctional services are a people-business that matters in societies was brought to the fore, therefore justifying the need to adequately rehabilitate offenders. A greater emphasis on offender rehabilitation may help in stabilizing communities in Zimbabwe. In addition, the rationale and purpose of the study justified the contribution that this study will make to offender management policy formulation and implementation. The research questions have been clearly stated for essential direction and execution of the rest of the study. In addition, limitations to the study were defined and solutions to mitigate on the limitations were clearly discussed. The key terms used in the study were defined. The next chapter focuses on review of literature related to the study.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

The general background to the study provided the introductory aspects of the study focusing more on rehabilitation programmes from an international perspective, regional perspective and finally, the rehabilitation efforts by authorities in Zimbabwe. This chapter reviews literature on offender rehabilitation to curb re-offending. Particular focus is on prison rehabilitation policy formulation and implementation. In addition to this line of thinking, reference is made to literature on the effects of repeat offending behaviour and incarceration. The main focus is on identifying the tenets of offender transformation and its impact on society. The existing literature related to the discourse is reviewed through reasoning from the relevant theoretical framework informing this study. Further, some studies showing the genesis and best practices of offender rehabilitation in prisons, as well as the subsequent adoption of the concept in Zimbabwe are discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Conceptual framework

A good number of scholars in Europe and Africa have carried studies and research in offender rehabilitation exploring its effectiveness to influence behaviour change and successful re-integration of released prisoners back into society, among other things. The general observation and point of agreement is that offender rehabilitation is a complex phenomenon (Dissel, 2012). The complexities are aided by the fact that it is riddled with a myriad of challenges, depending on the diverse economic and social
settings. This and many other facts have inspired this study to unpack those complexities that are unique to the Zimbabwean rehabilitation concept and policies.

According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2010), rehabilitation is to restore to normal life or near normal capacity through treatment and training. Rehabilitation is a process, the aim of which is to attain functioning ability; this ability means the capacity of a person to function in various social situations towards the satisfaction of his or her needs and the right to achieve maximum richness in his or her participation in society. Further, rehabilitation is a process of systematically equipping inmates with skills and knowledge to aid them to live independent of crime. This ensures that offenders conform to the norms and expectations of society, thereby providing a long-term protection to the society as given by the Zimbabwe Prisons Correctional Services in the parliamentary report (2011). Research has shown that when this ability is compromised, some people resort to committing crime and end up in prison (Duff) 2005 cited in Robinson and Crow (2009). In general, correctional services rehabilitation is defined as a planned intervention which aims to bring about change in the mind of offender to shift from some aspect of criminal thinking and behaviour to law abiding (Rupande & Ndoro, 2014: 62).

In the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services rehabilitation policy document (2005), rehabilitation is defined as the process of preparing an offender by the prison officer so that he or she is informed and can easily be re-integrated and accepted by the community as a useful and constructive individual and be able to live a crime-free life. Reading from all the cited definitions, it is imperative that all correctional systems include in their policies as well as embark on rehabilitation programmes that
seek to empower and restore functioning ability in incarcerated people. Another perspective, according to Cormier et al. (2006) cited in Rupande and Ndoro (2014), rehabilitation assumes that crime results from personal deficiencies and maladjustment. This implies that rehabilitation attention should be focused on the individual criminal rather than the crime. Considering that rehabilitation is not an alternative to punishment, Magaisa and Muromo (2005) argue that since the law aims to prevent first offenders and not simply re-offending, by incarcerating criminals, rehabilitation of offenders in prison becomes a legal sanction that provides the occasion and means to help the individual adjust to society and reduce re-offending.

The concept of offender rehabilitation is, arguably, compounded by the effective implementation of the requirements of a prison mandate. In Zimbabwe, management of prisons has been on the positive trajectory with the introduction of globally recognised standard minimum rules for the treatment of offenders. It is based on the principles of incarceration of offenders not as a punishment but as security for protection of society, care and good order for people who are detained or imprisoned. More importantly, focus should be put on helping offenders to reform and behaviour change to discourage re-offending. Recidivism is the relapse into criminal activity and is generally measured by a former prisoner’s return to prison for a new offence. Rates of recidivism reflect the degree to which released inmates have been rehabilitated and the role correctional programmes play in re-integrating prisoners into society (Willison et al., 2011). Furthermore, it exposes the challenges relating to implementation of the rehabilitation policies in a country (Griffiths et al., 2014). Rakis (2005) cited in Griffiths et al. (2014) indicates that in every prison system,
Restorative Justice is the core to achieve successful re-integration and curb recidivism.

A number of scholars discussed and investigated different perspectives to the concept of rehabilitation and the policies that guide implementation in various contexts. Veldhuis (2012) argues that rehabilitation programmes should be rooted in explicitly, unambiguously formulated programme theories, which should include detailed descriptions of different components of intervention and explicate how they relate to each other. Above all, these theories need to describe the primary and secondary objectives, the policy implementation instrument different and expected outcomes. The outcomes are the impact that a policy has on a target population. Policy outcomes are social changes that are caused by the implementation of elements of the intervention. Secondly, the policy mechanisms are the engine behind the programme. Mechanisms explain what it is about the intervention that causes change and how specific instruments contribute to achieving the desired outcomes.

Another perspective on rehabilitation programmes is the aspect of monitoring and evaluation which is intimately interwoven with the pervading issue of programme integrity. According to Steler and Davis (1987) cited in Crewe and Bennet (2012), monitoring and evaluation serve two purposes. The first purpose is concerned with the programme itself. It examines the operation of programmes and assesses to what extent the stated objectives have been fulfilled. Further, it summarises the strengths and weaknesses in the implementation of the programme and identify areas that can be improved. The second purpose extends beyond the programme itself and is concerned with policy application, as a result of programme implementation. It focuses on the policy implications of the programme and assesses whether the programme can be adapted to a different setting. It follows then that rehabilitation
programmes cannot be formulated or implemented without integrating mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation.

According to Wilkinson (2010), research has constantly shown that active, engaging and participatory programmes delivered by appropriately qualified, trained and supervised staff that can maintain interactional style to catalyse pro-social behaviour and develop positive alliances with offenders, are the most effective.

An often overlooked principle of best practice in offender rehabilitation is programme integrity. It is essential that processes are built into the system as a whole to ensure that rehabilitative programmes and services are being delivered as planned, and are achieving their intended purposes. Offenders will desist from crime if they are given the opportunity and experience necessary to develop the skills and knowledge to meet their needs in socially acceptable ways.

There is also an agreement that programme integrity plays an important role in determining the effectiveness of rehabilitation, meaning that programmes have to be constantly delivered by staff according to the programme design or blueprint. Researchers have strongly recommended that the staff responsible for programme delivery receive adequate training and supervision (Andrews et al., 1990; McGuire, 1998; Coyle, 2009; Crewe & Bennett, 2012).

Pawson and Tilley (2007) propose that the interpersonal relationships between the stakeholders and actors involved should be supportive of the programme. The development and implementation of rehabilitation programmes require a joint effort by a wide range of actors who each contribute unique expertise and skills at different phases and stages of the process. For such a complex enterprise to be successful, a shared sense of ownership and constructive communication lines between individuals involved are necessary pre-conditions. Successful rehabilitation depends not only on
the type of correctional programmes offered, but also on the conditions under which it is delivered. Issues of organisational resistance and staff innovation may need to be addressed before implementation of programmes in the correctional services environment.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model

The Risk Principle, according to Bonta (1990) cited in Dissel (2012) suggests that interventions should focus on assessment of the risk of offenders to re-offend, those offenders found to be on high risk, and are likely to continue committing crimes should be exposed to robust behaviour change programmes. Less focus is given to the low risk offenders.

On the other hand, the Need Principle suggests that interventions target the key circumstances and factors that contributed to offending behaviour (Polascheck 2012). These can be static or dynamic; the static factors are those factors that the interventions cannot do much to change, for example, the age of first commission of crime and a background of exposure to poverty. Some criminal behaviour can be inherent in the family history. Dissel (2012) posits that dynamic factors are those known as criminogenic needs. When targeted by appropriate interventions, they are more associated with changing the offending behaviour, for example, lack of interpersonal skills education and employment, to mention a few. The changing of antisocial behaviour has positive effects on curbing recidivism.

Furthermore, the Responsivity Principle suggests offering of high structured programmes (Dissel, 2012). There should be a match between the intervention and the
learning styles of the person, thus making sure the programmes are delivered in a way that the offender respond positively and benefit from the interventions. Much focus is on the capabilities of the offender to change. On the same note suggesting that the impact of *Programme integrity* is influenced by implementation and delivery. There should be a standard that is consistent to achieve the intended goals and objectives.

In line with the RNR model, the researcher argues that the rise in the re-offending rates should be traced in implementation of the policy to address criminogenic needs of the offender and provision of aftercare services, hence the query on the efficacy of the programmes to discourage offending behaviour and curb recidivism. The researcher in this study aimed to establish the extent to which the offenders’ behaviour-change programmes offered by the Correctional services restore the social status of ex-offenders on after release, as regulated in the Prisons rehabilitation policy document (2005).

New Zealand annual report on correctional services (2011) cited Ward and Brown (2004) critique the efficacy of correctional programmes in developed countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Britain. In the same report, it is argued that despite the increase in the number of rehabilitation programmes available to meet the needs of a growing prison population, few have been subject to any rigorous evaluation. In an Australasian context, the massive over-representation of offenders from indigenous cultural backgrounds has raised important questions on the efficacy and cultural appropriateness of mainstream programmes based on the Risk-Needs-Responsivity model and draw attention to some of the inadequacies of the approach. There is no enough empirical evidence to say “what works” for these groups of offenders, and
critics of correctional rehabilitation programmes in Australasia lament about how the RNR model, with its focus on the management of offenders, neglects both the social and cultural context in which offending occurs and the process by which offenders desist from crime (Fili, 2013). In addition, its focus on the reduction of criminogenic needs means that it tends to under-emphasise the interests of offenders and subsequently faces problems of compliance and motivation.

In Africa, Dissel (2012) argues that the Risk-Need-Responsivity model is much more biased towards improving the interventions to suit some aspects on the behaviour of the offender, thereby leaving out the capacity of the implementers and capacity of the providers of the service in provision of adequate resources. The study cited South Africa’s Department of Correctional Services’ failure to effectively implement the provisions of the White Paper (2004) blueprint despite their well-performing economy. Furthermore, the study indicates given that the RNR model is highly technical and requires implementation by highly qualified psychologists, which is a challenge to the Department of Correctional Services. These and more are factors that compromise the effectiveness of the behaviour change programmes in Africa based on the RNR model.

The researcher took a different view to the two scholarly pieces based on the Meta-analytical conclusions by a group of American psychologists cited in McGuire (2008) that the RNR model can be implemented as long as there are mechanisms to evaluate and monitor the implementation process. Furthermore, it can be modified to suit different environments but adopted as a guiding framework. The RNR principle can be an effective fundamental principle of operationalising the rehabilitation policy. Focusing on addressing the needs of the offender and addressing the factors that
influence the person to offend, whether static or dynamic, will have a positive impact towards offenders’ behaviour change. Media reports, as reflected in the story published by The Standard newspaper of 14 May 2014, where prison authorities blame communities and families for not accepting ex-convicts as equal members who deserve another chance, also suggest that targeting the needs of the offender may influence behaviour change.

According to the report stated above, this has created many recidivists. The treatments that focus on addressing factors that influence mind-set change can work. It can, however, be noted that although most of the treatments focus on the interests of the offender, there are also generic needs that benefit the interests of both the communities and the offender. A good example is in cases where the victim and the offender are from the same family. In many occasions, the victims in cases of domestic violence, child sexual abuse and gender-based violence are close family members. There is need to reunite those families if re-offending is to be avoided, otherwise the offender will be left with no option than to go back to prison on another offence. Educational and awareness programmes on the importance of family support, by engaging families of the offenders (the need principle) in the rehabilitation of their own, can make a difference.

The researcher further sought evidence to confirm media reports that the Zimbabwe Correctional system rehabilitation policies are among the best in Africa. Programmes offered suggest that the RNR model can be adopted as best practice. There is an indication that the Restorative Justice (RJ) and more ideal models of interventions are being adopted, as evidenced by the current programme on the Zimbabwe Television
‘Another Chance’. This is based on the principles of yet another modern approach of reducing re-offending called Restorative Justice (RJ) which is discussed later in this review as a model of intervention.

Henseltine, Day and Sarre (2009) agreed that correctional rehabilitation programmes in New Zealand are typically informed by the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) approach and target specific areas of criminogenic need for high-risk offenders (predominantly sex offending, violence, and substance abuse). For lower-risk offenders, the emphasis is primarily on community re-integration. The therapeutic community framework has also been adopted in New Zealand with considerable success. For example, specialist prison treatment units have been established for child sex offenders.

The literature reviewed in this study has consistently shown that there are some rehabilitative programmes that help in discouraging criminal behaviour, thereby reducing chances of reoffending. Andrews and Bonta (1990) created a Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model of offender management. This and several other studies were prompted by the debate surrounding the Robert Martinson idea of “what works” literature of evidence based practices in offender rehabilitation. The RNR Model is underpinned by general personality and social learning theory of criminal behaviour which focuses on reducing the offenders’ risk of re-offending. The RNR model is widely believed to be the anchor of best practices in offender rehabilitation treatments adopted globally, as evidenced by the Correctional mandates adopted through recommendations by the United Nations Standard minimum rules for the treatment of offenders (1996) in developing countries.
The RNR principles stress that it is of paramount importance to assess offenders on admission to prison and make subsequent classification to make sure there is a match between the type of treatment, the duration of the prison term and the style of the intervention offered to curb recidivism (Dissel, 2012). The researcher further interrogates the three aspects of the model in order to identify the gaps in the implementation of offender rehabilitation policies in Zimbabwe.

2.2.2 Social Learning Theory

Bandura and Walters (1963) cited in Rupande and Ndoro (2014) argue that learning is a cognitive process that takes place in a social context through socialisation. According to the social learning theory, this is through observation and participatory observation. In offender rehabilitation, modelling or observational learning is very important in behaviour change for successful re-integration.

The social learning theory, as stated by Willison et al. (2011), highlights the fact that learning can occur, independent of an observable change in behaviour; hence reinforcement through modelling is also important for behaviour change. The social learning theory is, thus, important in establishing the relevance of a rehabilitation policy on the successful re-integration of ex-offenders in that the environment influences an individual’s behaviour and the environment is, in turn, influenced by the individual’s behaviour. According to Rupande and Ndoro (2014), this is what the social learning theory terms the reciprocal determinism concept. For example, an offender’s offending behaviour is a result of the environment, and the consequences of the offending behaviour influence the environment.
2.2.3 The cognitive model of offender rehabilitation

Ross and Fabiano (1985) propose a cognitive model of offender rehabilitation, a variant of social learning theory. This has particular focus on cognitive skills. The cognitive model of offender rehabilitation is anchored on the notion that many offenders have cognitive deficits (Crewe 2009). The scholars found evidence to support a hypothesis that persistent offenders differed from non-offending populations in that they were rigid in their thinking styles, more impulsive, less likely to think before acting, and less likely to consider the potential consequences of an alternative course of action. Further, the theory confirms that re-offending is caused by lack of cognitive skills on the part of the offender and not necessarily the ineffectiveness of rehabilitation efforts.

Therefore, the theory suggests that targeting these deficits and building offenders’ cognitive skills could be a fruitful strategy for reducing their propensity to offend. Given the above, the researcher feels offending is part of human behaviour, and changing it is yet another problem. While this theory points at rigidity in the thinking of offenders, it should be noted that some prisoners commit offences against simple prison regulations; this shows a weakness to stand against social factors that influence offending behaviour and is that gap of knowledge the study aimed to fill.
2.2.4 Social Labelling Theory

The labelling theory of crime by Becker (1963) considers how people think about labels given to them by the society as very influential to the way they behave. Becker (1963) cited in McKneil (2012:25) argues that labelling creates self-fulfilling prophecies and that crime and deviance arise as self-fulfilling prophecies as a result of labelling within the society. According to McLaughlin and Muncie (2007) cited by Day et al. (2011), the labelling theory of crime is a sociological approach to understanding crime and deviance which refers to the social process through which certain individuals and groups classify and categorise the behaviour of others. Individuals and groups are labelled and stereotyped to act in certain ways and consequently, respond accordingly. In other words, like the cognitive model of offender-rehabilitation, the labelling theory does not see recidivism as a result of ineffective rehabilitation but as a result of the effects of labels that are given to offenders by members of the society upon their release from prison.

The social labelling theory highlights the social responses to crime and deviance. Social labelling theory connects to sociological ideas of Durkheim’s (1933) anomie as cited in Day et al. (2011). If the society is stable, its parts operate smoothly, and social arrangements are functional. There is consensus and cohesion, but if parts are dysfunctional, there is social disorder. Durkheim’s theory suggests that human conduct or misconduct lies not in the individual but in the group or social organisation. Mead (1931) cited in Crewe and Bennet (2012) believes that social behaviour develops in a continuous process of actions and reactions. The way people perceive themselves, which is their self-concept, is built not only on what they think of themselves but also on what others think of them. This is key to the study as
rehabilitation is a process of changing an offender’s disposition, attitudes and perceptions to restore lost hope for successful re-integration into social groups hence offender rehabilitation policies being relevant should address this.

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. Deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender (Becker, 1963 cited in Gona et al., 2014).

Gona et al (2014) indicated that Becker (1963) and Lemert (1967) challenged the studies which viewed deviance as maintained by the status quo of the establishment and the correction list. Becker (1963) and Lemert (1967) recognised that labelling was a political act. This is confirmed in Zimbabwe through the passing of legislation. For example legislation that prohibits employment of ex-offenders has been for a long time not reviewed because the parliament does not agree on how to review it. The labelling theorists are therefore, concerned with policies of de-institutionalisation and de-criminalisation, among other issues.

Adler et al. (2007) argue that given a criminal record, ex-offenders will gradually begin to think of themselves as they have been officially defined. Dissel (2012) affirms that Tannenbaum (1893-1969) states that it is the process of labelling that ex-offenders fail to break the offending cycle. Lemert (1967), in his elaboration of secondary deviance, refers to the way crime and deviance become ‘central fact(s) of existence’ for an ex-offender, through the continued experiences of sense of injustice,
which is reinforced by job and accommodation rejections, police cognisance, stigma, discriminations and strained interactions with the general society. These strain successful re-integration processes. According to Adler et al. (2007), the effects of social labelling are significant so as to push the ex-offender to re-offend hence recidivism so as to find a social grouping that accepts him.

2.3 Basic guiding principles of offender management

According to the United Nations (2000) Prison Support Recommendations Revised Policy, the core aim of any credible prison system is the protection of society from criminals. This is normally done by designing programmes that target convicted prisoners in prisons. This is one to make sure they return to society as reformed persons after serving their sentences. This is best achieved by putting programmes in place, in their sentence plan, which directly address the offending behaviours that brought them to imprisonment. If this is achieved, the ex-convicts will not return to society to add on existing criminals who have not been apprehended. People-centeredness and respect for human dignity in the operations of prisons has taken centre stage in correctional policies of the twentieth century (Makarawu, 2009). From the recommendations made by Justice Makarawu as a visiting Justice at Harare Central Prison in July 2011, it was observed that sustainable rehabilitation and reform programmes focus on comprehensive review of constitutional, legal and policy frameworks to spearhead the transformation of a penal system into modern correctional service.

The next challenge then is to devise the process of operationalising the adapted international standards in Zimbabwe. The focus in many African states was on
maintaining security and making sure the persons serve their sentence, as stated by the
courts, to the full. In Zimbabwe, issues to do with behaviour change and curbing of
the re-offending cycle began to take precedence over other issues in the year 2005
with the introduction of the Rehabilitation department in the Prison Service. This was
according to the recommendations of the Ouagadougou Conference (2002) for Heads
of Correctional Services in Africa. The need to focus on best practice and
progressively implement the adopted United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the
treatment of offenders was emphasised (ZACRO, 2014).

2.3.1 Prison rehabilitation as Public Policy

Prison rehabilitation policies are widely regarded as public policy. This is anchored in
the nature and characteristics of public polices, as defined by scholars. Anderson
(1994:40) defines public policy as whatever governments choose to do and what not
to do. Further, it is perceived that public policy may be viewed as the government
decision of what they want to do for their people. Public means people. Stakeholders
in public policies are stakeholders that depend on the society to achieve their
objectives. The society also depends on these stakeholders to achieve its multi-
dimensional objectives. Therefore, there is a mutual link. This generally and explicitly
qualifies the rehabilitation policies in Zimbabwe to be viewed as public policy to
address criminal behaviour.

According to Muzondo (2012:67), a policy is a course of action, a procedure, a route,
a strategy or a guiding principle. “This is a plan of action taken by person, a group or
an organization within the context of the very persons’ or groups’ strengths to address
a problem. This is a more organized way of achieving a given preset objective or
policy as a proposed course of action of a person group or government within a given environment, providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose. The offender rehabilitation policies evaluated in this study are government’s course of action to address the problem of re-offending in the society. They are also societal efforts to punish offending activities by citizens as well as protect the society from these criminal elements. There is mutual link by various stakeholders to serve the interest of society and supporting each other to achieve a purpose. However, there are factors that influence the formulation of these policies. There are factors that affect their implementation, hence the need to evaluate the policy impact and effectiveness in achieving the intended goals.

It is in the interest of the government and society to evaluate the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation policies against the intended objectives so that a way forward is established. The issues that concern public policy in Zimbabwe are generally the same issues that concern successful implementation of offender rehabilitation policies in the Prisons and Correctional Services (Chinamasa, 2011). The general issues that concern the various stages of offender rehabilitation policies are, but not limited to, economic, political, professional, technological and the social environment in a country. These are to be considered in the evaluation of the successful implementation of the policy and the achievement of the set goals in this study.

Offender rehabilitation is a tool in which government and other stakeholders use to address issues and challenges pertaining to recidivism and the prison mission delivery in the country. Various economic and social problems are linked to the prison and
communities through the way prisoners are treated during imprisonment. This also
determines how the communities are faring in helping offenders to reform (Cullen et
al. 2011).

In any society, the people the government and the civil society work together to enact
laws, formulate policies, and allocate various resources for prisons to deliver their
mandates. Given this fact at all levels, representatives of the various stakeholders
always work hand-in-glove to make sure the desired results are achieved. According
to the Zimbabwe Human Rights and Non-governmental Organizations forum (2011),
individuals and groups often attempt to shape corrections and rehabilitation policy
through education, advocacy, or mobilization of interest groups (Fili, 2013). This is
different in the Zimbabwean jurisdiction and in other forms of government. The main
reason is the priority given to prison issues compared to other public policies.
Stakeholders in the criminal justice system have generally agreed and recognized that
prisons rehabilitation policy, though supported by civil society, its process is always
affected by competing interest groups to influence policy makers in their favour.
Prisons do not always get priority in developmental issues unless there is advocacy
and lobbying from the rule of law and human rights activists (Fili, 2013).

A major aspect of rehabilitation policy is the supporting legislation and laws. In a
general sense, the law includes specific legislation and more broadly defined
provisions of constitutional or international law. There is general recognition of the
current effort in the provisions of the constitution (2013) to shift the focus of prisons
from punitive to reformatory and correctional. This influences how policy makers,
implementers and beneficiaries view the issues of offender rehabilitation. The way
offenders are treated and the type of assistance they get is influenced by legislation research and funding the policies receive. Thus, it is in the best interest of the stakeholders in the criminal justice system to influence policy debate over proposed legislation and funding.

In the Zimbabwean context, advocacy can be used to influence prison rehabilitation policy through education, lobbying, or political pressure by the civic organisations and NGOs. Advocacy groups often attempt to educate the general public as well as public policy makers about the nature of problems, what legislation is needed to address problems, and the funding required providing services or conducting research. Although advocacy is viewed as unseemly by some in the professional and research community, it is clear that public policy priorities are influenced by advocacy. “Sound research data can be used to educate the public as well as policy makers, thereby improving the public policy process” (Kilpatrick, 2009:89).

2.3.2 The Process of coming up with offender rehabilitation policy

According to Kilpatrick (2009:90) “when new public policies are created, there are generally three key things involved in the process: the problem, the player, and the policy. The problem is the issue that needs to be addressed, the player is the individual or group that is influential in forming a plan to address the problem in question, and the policy is the finalized course of action decided upon by the government.” It is against this background that the offender rehabilitation policies are formulated and directed to benefit the society. Muzondo (2012) suggests that typically, the general public does not have much influence in the policy formulation process in the Zimbabwean context. However, there are various means to make the
government aware of an issue through the various sectors of society, the different social groups, and formal organizations and opinion leaders who may be used to push the issue in the media then brought forward during government meetings and the process for creating new policies begins. Muzondo’s (2012) sentiments imply that the government is the chief actor when polices on prisons are enacted. The various players are, however, in support of the different arms of international laws.

The relationship between the government and its citizens, the systems of governance, and the socio-economic conditions influence the process and need for that particular policy. This confirms the reasons for the process of coming up with the policy, as explained by Muzondo (2012) that “the rational model for the public policy-making process can, typically, be divided into three steps: agenda-setting, option-formulation, and implementation”. It should be noted that within the agenda-setting stage, the agencies and government officials meet to discuss the problem at hand. In the second stage, option-formulation and alternative solutions are considered, and final decisions are made regarding the best policy. Furthermore, the decided policy is implemented during the final stage; in most cases, once public policies are in place, they are widely open to interpretation by non-governmental players, including those in the private sector. Implied within this model is the fact that the needs of the society are a priority for the players involved in the policy-making process; also, it is believed that the government will follow through on all decisions made by the final policy. The level at which the policies are made varies within governments.

The government, though compelled by other forces, has to consider the interests of its citizens. The fact that in prison systems, the government, itself, is responsible for
protecting the offending citizen makes the whole process complex. Varying interest of people who are key to societal development should be put into consideration. Offender rehabilitation, like any other public policy, is for the common good of the citizens; it is prone to what Muzondo (2012) termed “policy problems; the problems need an oversight mechanism in place to be quickly addressed but unfortunately, those who frame the issue to be addressed by policy often exert an enormous amount of influence over the entire process through their personalities, personal interests, political affiliations, and so on. The bias is extenuated by the players involved. The final outcome of the process, as well as its implementation, is, therefore, not as effective as that which could result from a purely rational process.” Muzondo (2012) further agrees with other scholars regarding the overall notion that public policy continues to be a vital tool in addressing social concerns.

2.3.3 Correctional Policy

A correction system is one of the components and the last segment of the Criminal Justice System. According to the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights Charter (1948), Corrections is the humane containment and rehabilitation of offenders for re-integration into the society. Corrections systems play an essential part in peace-building and establishing stability in societies. Its primary duty is to keep convicted persons whose sentences require imprisonment in the hands of the state apparatus with residential placements.

The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (20) Act 2013 part 5 section 227 (1) provides that there shall be a Prison and Correctional Service responsible for the protection of Society from criminals through the incarceration and rehabilitation of
convicted persons and others who are lawfully required to be detained and their re-integration into society. The key functions are incarceration; rehabilitation and re-integration of offenders back into society. The correctional policy in Zimbabwe spells out, in principle, the strategies in place for the management of prisons and prisoners. The policy has been like any other government policy, subject to review. The pre-independence prison system adopted a policy which had norms and values articulated characterised by punishment and retribution as the main goals for incarceration. The punishment for male offenders is mainly hard labour. This is believed to be a way of deterring recidivism and the general offending behaviour. Rupande and Ndoro (2014:16) assert that the hard labour punishment is, to a larger extent, rehabilitative because of the element of restitution. The restitution, as a form of ensuring justice between the offender and the offended, would discourage re-offending. To some level, one would argue that the regime was double-punishment on the part of the offender. The birth of more rehabilitative regimes in Africa and following the independence of more African states saw the review of prison policies because most of them were designed to punish the blacks and political prisoners.

The Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa (1996), The Kadoma Declaration of 1997, The Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action on accelerating Prisons and Penal Reforms in Africa (2002), all emphasise the review of correctional policies and adoption of and provision of rehabilitation programmes in African prisons. Of particular note is the emphasis on provision of education, skills-based training in the context of economic development and social change (Rupande & Ndoro, 2014). For sustainability and effective adoption of the recommendations, the government’s part to the declarations was to review the correctional policies and align
them towards the provisions agreed. Zimbabwe’s government adopted the new dispensation of running the prison system and took heed of the fact that government was encouraged to partner with other stakeholders in the criminal justice system to achieve the goal of prisoner reform.

In their review of the rehabilitation strategies to reform prisoners, Rupande and Ndoro (2014) figured out that for government to succeed in reforming offenders and dealing with the problem of re-offending, programmes should align to social, cultural and family values to be more effective and sustainable. At the core of Zimbabwe’s Correctional policy there should be strategies to de-congest the prisons, thereby curbing re-offending. Subject to this study is the effectiveness of these strategies and correctional policy to curb recidivism. The core function of the correctional policy is to make prisoners more productive and self-sufficient. This, according to the research done in Europe and South Africa, has marked the distinction between the better performing economies in Africa and the world over to curb re-offending. The observation by this researcher is that poverty may be the biggest impediment towards achieving successful re-integration and creating a society that has confidence in their prisons rehabilitation systems for sustainable development.

Adopting the initiatives of the declarations and the Ouagadougou Action Plan (2002) changed the face of prisons in better performing economies and promotion of the functional ability of prisoners, as provided for in the correctional policy become easier. In these economies, successful re-integration is, to a larger extent, achieved because the programmes for offenders are directed to address different needs and reasons for re-offending compared to poor countries. The changes were equally
beneficial in Zimbabwe through the changes in how the prisons operated. This manifests in the adoption of a more liberal and open prison system and successful review of the policy. The introduction of the offender rehabilitation policy document to guide and direct rehabilitation strategies implementation sealed and iced the success.

Inspired by the regional trends and global agitation, the system was expanded to embrace the new dispensation as to the policy requirement. A department responsible for rehabilitation activities and implementation of the rehabilitation policy was established. The prisons acquired more farms for rehabilitation activities and boost of production. A private company was launched with the aim of engaging into commercial rehabilitation projects for inmates. Additional professional staff which included sociologists, psychologists and artisans was recruited to accelerate for the implementation of the policy - hence the study to evaluate the effectiveness of these policies against achieving the national goal to reform inmates.

2.3.4 Offender Rehabilitation Policy

Offender rehabilitation has become a topical and priority area in Zimbabwe and beyond, following the call by United Nations and regional blocks to adopt a more correctional approach to prison management rather than punitive. The corrections policy (2005) require the Prison Service to ensure that “the purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life” adding that one of its main objectives in rehabilitating offenders is reducing re-offending. In Zimbabwe, the Prison Service policy document (2005) has
stated that “reducing re-offending by released prisoners is central to reducing crime and is therefore part of the Prison Service’s core business of protecting the public”.

A Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) (2013) report in conjunction with the Law Society of Zimbabwe (LSZ) (2013) submissions entitled ‘Re-trial Detention in Zimbabwe’, revealed gaps in rehabilitation and shortcomings in the Prisons Act with regard to rehabilitation of prisoners arguing that The Prisons Act is silent on issues to do with rehabilitation, and it does not include rehabilitation as a core business of the Prison Service where an inmate is expected to come out of prison with a skill that he or she can then use to re-integrate into society. Research has shown that many developing countries have developed and reviewed their legislation on prison management to suit the requirements of the United Nations standards for the treatment of offenders. This has become a priority in an effort to reduce recidivism and re-offending.

Zimbabwe has tried in earnest to domesticate its national legislation according the international and regional conventions that they have ratified. The Prison Act of 1996 has been revised several times, with the latest version being a replica of UN minimum standards for the treatment of offenders. These correctional approaches have been used successfully in countries in Europe with very positive results in preventing, reducing and treating offending behaviour (Webster et al., 2003; cited in the House of Commons report, 2006).

The rehabilitation concept has worked well in developed countries. In England and Wales from which, historically, Zimbabwe adopted the system; there are still some
reports of the need for more efforts needed for successful rehabilitation. The UK House of Commons report of (2006) states:

“We have carried out an inquiry into the rehabilitation of offenders as law-abiding and useful members of the wider community. The best way of reducing re-offending is to ensure that prisoners on their release have the ability to get into work and have a home to go to. We focus especially on ways of delivering these aims. As a result of recent official reports and government initiatives, a basic policy framework is now largely in place, which could make possible the more effective rehabilitation of offenders. However, implementation has been patchy”.

Some experts in criminal psychology in Zimbabwe argue that for the policy to be effective, there should be a central coordination of activities of the correctional services and well-coordinated effort to continuously monitor implementation and adequately resource the activities. This suggests that there should be a whole ministry in charge of Correctional Services that deals with issues of finance and total rehabilitation of prisoners, as opposed to the current situation where the department is under the Ministry of Justice and Legal Affairs. A psychologist, Makono, in the Herald (2014:5) argues that “under the ideal and suitable correctional system, inmates are afforded the chance for self-introspection and pondering the dire consequences of their actions. That means there is need for a conducive environment for actual reform rather than a lock-up system of rehabilitation where the person intended to reform ends up mixing with habitual criminals. From the assertion by Makono, this researcher concludes that there are different groups of offenders. Others, given the chance and opportunity, may reform while others are habitual criminals who may not really see the consequences of their actions and have no hope to reform.
Makono further commends the rehabilitation policies in Australia which she commends as one of the best correctional systems in the world and has indicated that “it has been recognised that rehabilitation programmes should be well-integrated with other services to ensure that the ex-convicts do not become misfits in their communities, and the system has been effective in reducing the rates of re-offending. In a way, the suggested system of correctional services in Australia may be used as a benchmark to gradually adopt and align policies for effective rehabilitation and reducing repeat offending rates in Zimbabwe.

There are further recommendations that Zimbabwe’s rehabilitation policy can borrow from Botswana and South Africa where correctional rehabilitation policies and efforts have paid positive dividends with the communities involved in facilitating offenders’ reform. The levels of community involvement in Botswana are said to have helped in the effectiveness of offender transformation policies.

There is also another school of thought on offender rehabilitation policy. Some commentators’ in the communities suggest that the policy in Zimbabwe, though reviewed towards rehabilitation of offenders, should not lose sight of their mandate to protect society from those people posing a danger to the lives of others in the society. The fact that offenders are in prison for making other peoples’ lives miserable should not be overlooked. Mawere (2012) cited in Rupande and Ndoro (2014) suggests that crime is one of the biggest threats to social stability and economic growth; therefore, any correctional policy and rehabilitation efforts should take that into consideration. Tsokeli (2010) in Dissel (2012) had also given an example of South Africa whose correctional system is recommended and rated the best in Southern Africa, but the
consequences are that the crime rate has continuously increased. The concluded meaning, therefore, is that the systems are too sympathetic and lenient to offenders; therefore, the offenders are motivated to go to prison rather than see this as a deterrent.

According to Zimbabwe Female Prisoner Support Trust (FEMPRIST, 2014), “Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services lack the capacity to follow up on former inmates. This gap, according to Nyamupinga, created non-continuation of the rehabilitation programmes, and this contributes to high levels of ex-convicts returning to criminal behaviour and coming back to prison”. Adding that rehabilitation is a process and it takes all parties involved to agree on common ground and by giving the offender a second chance.” quoted in the Sunday Mail dated 16-24 March (2014:15).

2.3.5 Factors that affect implementation of policies

There are several policy issues that affect implementation in many ways. Some may be positive, and some may be negative. According to Muzondo (2012), these include, among other things, economic issues and the people, their various groups and interests, the opinions of various publics and research findings. Also to be considered are the various political landscapes and the technological developments. As suggested by Machingauta in the (2011) parliamentary report, implementation of offender management policies is a very complex and generally multifaceted process. It requires and involves the honest and sincere interplay and participation of many parties. The parties who are involved include and vary according to jurisdictions. Generally, many interest groups and individuals compete to influence policy outcomes.
Machingauta (2011), in the Herald, agrees with the suggestion by Muzondo (2012) that the most influential factor is the people. These individuals and groups have differences in interests and capabilities. They are also driven by different factors of life in whatever they do. Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services do operate in an environment full of differences in opinions, decisions, and this influences the successful implementation of the offender rehabilitation policies. The parliamentary report of (2011) brought out that economic conditions significantly affect the offender rehabilitation policy environment and operating context. When the economy is performing well, availability of resources and policy requirements is easy to manage. The current prevailing economic conditions in Zimbabwe may pose difficulties in the implementation of the policies due to the limited resources (Machingauta, 2014). The technology development, around the globe, is also another factor that influences policy delivery in Zimbabwe. Technology is constantly changing, and this affects negatively, the implementation of some ideas borrowed and found working in other countries. Hungwe (2010) points out that the offenders may be greatly disadvantaged by the developments in the sense that some skills offered to them while in prison may become irrelevant. The adoption and coming in of new machinery in the industry may be viewed as a challenge since new machinery may be difficult to be acquired by prisons because of the prices and technical requirements.

As mentioned by Muzondo (2012), interest groups may also affect implementation of rehabilitation policies positively and negatively. These include Human Rights groups who put pressure on government to observe the rights of inmates. Business associations may decide to support and sponsor prison programmes and further their interest to get cheap labour. In some incidents, they may support in a positive way to
improve the employability chances for prisoners after release from prison. There are conditions that produce effective or ineffective implementation of policy. These include communication and availability of resources. Actors in the implementation process are the people who play different roles, and they are vital for successful implementation of the policies.

According to Hulley (2012), the “First requirement for effective policy implementation is that those who are to implement a decision must know what they are supposed to do. Policy decisions and implementation orders must be transmitted to the appropriate personnel before they can be followed. Naturally, these need to be accurate, and they must be accurately perceived. They must be clear and consistent.”

This assertion is supported by Kotler (2000) cited in Hungwe (2009) who agree that policy inconsistency can lead to discretion. The policies must be communicated with integrity and right standing. The problem of resources may lead to inconsistency. Right quantities and qualities should be available for successful policy implementation. Adequate and well informed staff is a vital factor for successful policy implementation (Fili, 2013). These factors are absent in Zimbabwe.

2.3.6 Factors influencing effectiveness of policy

According to the Parliament of Zimbabwe Thematic Committee (2011), to come up with an effective policy, there are factors that influence its successful achievement of intended results. These include, among other things, relevance of the policy activities to achieve the results. The committee report states that there should be consideration as to the objective and purpose of the programmes. Are the objectives clearly defined simple, measurable, attainable, realistic and well allocated time-wise? Muzondo (2012) echoed the same sentiments that the policy directors should look into issues of
responsiveness of the people involved as well as the capacity of the actors to deliver. If there are limitations, suggestions on how to address those should be in place. Also critical is the fact that all stakeholders should be in agreement on the use of the relevant strategies to address the issues in the problem.

2.3.7 Impact of the policy

There should be an intended impact in the implementation of a policy. Significant achievements from the efforts should show and influence changes in the state of this Muzondo (2012). In the case of offender rehabilitation, there should be some significant changes in the behaviour, character and attitudes of the participants. This should be recorded as a positive impact of the policy interventions to the lives of the people.

2.3.8 Policy efficiency

The general definition of efficiency, according the Oxford English dictionary (2004) is that efficiency in policy is measured to come up with a clear evaluation of its success. The evaluation of policy includes the efficient provision and use of resources. It also includes the achievement of the right goals in the intended time. This focuses much on the actors. The establishment of communication lines that is effective for supervision and continuous monitoring of assignments. The factors which affect the effectiveness of policy in the implementation of rehabilitation programmes include the environment in which the programmes are being conducted. Greater focus is also on the operating procedures, communication lines and the capabilities of actors and different players to deliver the interventions. This includes suggested implementation
plan and achievement of strategic goals, as well as the availability of strategies to improve.

2.3.9 Policy sustainability

Muzondo (2012) agrees with Willison et al. (2011: 132) that measures to make the policy interventions and programmes be incorporated into everyday life of the society should be in place. There should be continuity of programmes with new leadership or without. The structures should provide for strategies to review the policy in accordance with the changing cultural and economic conditions for sustainable development.

2.4 Strategies to effective rehabilitation of offenders

An effective rehabilitation policy agrees that the core purpose and measure of rehabilitation must be to reduce re-offending. However, a reduction in re-offending can only be achieved through a rehabilitative strategy which re-integrates offenders into society by giving them the opportunity and assistance needed to reform. An effective prison rehabilitation strategy must look not only at the offending criminal behaviour but also at the individual prisoner himself or herself Mackenzie (2009) cited in Dissel (2012). A prison rehabilitation regime must, where appropriate, investigate the prisoner’s background and needs in order to develop specific measures for his or her re-integration into society. A lot is involved in addressing offending behaviour and other deficiencies.

In developed countries, programmes such as offering alternative life choices to the offender through the provision of education, training and work opportunities are
common and well-funded (Coyle, 2009). In addition, their rehabilitation regimes are
designed to deal with the different needs of different types of prisoners. These include
factors affecting the re-offending of certain groups such as women, juveniles and
terminally ill and remanded prisoners. Various prisons reports have recommended
that, wherever possible, offenders should be actively engaged in their own
rehabilitation and encouraged to take responsibility for themselves and their
behaviours.

The other strategy used in western countries, according to Henseltine et al. (2009), is
to capacitate the families of offenders to support the re-integration process other than
targeting only the offender for behaviour change. This is a two-way process that seeks
to address the problem of re-offending, especially sex offenders and drug addicts. The
community and family of the offender are prepared to support and keep the person
occupied as well as provide maximum support to the person so that they become
responsible for their actions and behaviour. These encourage strong family bonds.
The idea is echoed by a renowned Zimbabwean Catholic priest, Father Fidelis
Mukonori. Mukonori, in his speech on the graduation day of prisoners in Christian
theology certificates (Herald November, 2011), reiterated the need to strengthen
family bonds so that ex-convicts are accepted back into families on completion of
their prison terms, so that they are not tempted to re-offend. This is a worked system
of controlling criminal behaviour, as proved in the United States Department of
Justice Report on Faith Based Corrections Re-entry Programmes (Willison et al.,
2011).
In this study, based on the argument from the western reports and studies, the researcher notes that though rehabilitation activities may target skills development, there is need to focus more on the cognitive sphere of re-offenders to change the mind-set. There are views in the study by Rupande and Ndoro (2014:64-66) that failure by individual offenders to achieve the set goals after release from prison may influence re-offending (Hugh et al., 2011 cited in Rupande & Ndoro, 2014). The researcher concurs with these views, concluding from the assertion that preparing the family and the community to accept the offender on release may work in western economies, but all the same, there are reports that despite all those programmes in place, there are records of repeat offending. This confirms the dictates of social strain theory, as noted by Agnew (2002) cited in Gona et al. (2014) that failure to achieve social goals may cause certain frustrations leading to re-offending despite having a welcoming family and community.

2.4.1 Regional instruments on re-integration of offenders

According Dissel (2012), there are several instruments which deal with rehabilitation and re-integration of offenders. The Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa (1996) is one such prison document outlining rights for prisoners in Africa. The declaration came up with several points of interest which include the following:

- Prisoners shall be given opportunity to maintain and develop links with their families and develop links with their families and the outside world; and
- Prisoners should be given access to education and skills training in order to make it easier for them to re-integrate into society after release.

In 2002, the Ouagadougou Declaration on Accelerating Penal Reform and Prisons in Africa recommended promoting the re-integration of offenders into society through
the use of period imprisonment or other sanctions to develop the potential of offenders and empower them to lead a crime-free life in the future (Dissel, 2005 cited in Rupande & Ndoro, 2014).

The instruments directed African States to come up with policies to address conditions in prisons. Chief among the requirements was the undertaking by individual governments to observe prisoners’ rights. Amongst the rights was the issue of rehabilitation of offenders held in their prison institutions. The issue of rehabilitation, though new, is part to the mission of almost all prison regimes adopted through the United Nations.

2.4.2 Effective Models of intervention to address offending behaviour

Prisoners, as human beings, have various expectations that, to a larger extent, should influence the kind of approaches and programmes to rehabilitate them (Thiane, 2010). Given the diversity of circumstances in which individuals commit offences, it is generally agreed by various researchers in criminal rehabilitation that successful prisoner reform programmes should be guided by the principles discussed below.

A sound conceptual model, targeting the criminogenic needs of offenders: This is in sound compliance to the Responsivity principle. Social cognitive skills, role playing and modelling are also essential (Rupande & Ndoro, 2014:67). These principles work in various degrees depending on the capacity of individual policies and regimes of implementation. All the same, generic models of interventions compatible with world standards of good correctional practice and treatment of offenders are in place and accessible to various correctional settings. In the advent of a global village and
millennium development goals, more of the recommended interventions have proved useful if applied holistically.

Rehabilitation regimes around the world comprise a number of different types of interventions which are employed in varying degrees to provide purposeful activity for prisoners. These challenge offending behaviour, provide basic education to tackle illiteracy and innumeracy and equip prisoners with life and work skills (Cullen et al., 2011:110). The most common interventions are:

- Needs assessment to identify the offender’s needs and classify the types of intervention required.
- Academic education to address the prisoner’s educational deficits and enlighten them mentally and socially for acquisition of the various skills to be offered;
- Behavioural and cognitive skills programmes to challenge offending behaviour and offending-related risks;
- Vocational training to provide transferable and recognised skills to increase prospects of employment on release;
- Work to give prisoners experience and create a normal culture of working and increase prospects of employment on release; and
- Re-integration to provide assistance to prisoners with finding social family support and employment after their release.

The models of intervention do have their shortcomings, especially those tested and found to work in western economies. Studies done in Africa, particularly Southern Africa and Zimbabwe, revealed that there are socio-cultural determinants of criminal behaviour. Rupande and Ndoro (2014: 66) cite a study done in Nigeria that confirms
this notion saying social and economic activities available in communities are major determinants of the nature of crime the offenders get involved in, meaning criminal behaviour is influenced by economic and social activities one is exposed to. This researcher then comes into the conclusion that the natures of crimes common in western economies are different from those of Zimbabwe. To a larger extent, the tested and proved working models to address criminal behaviour and curb re-offending, may also not really work in the Zimbabwean society regarding the determinants of criminal behaviour and social activities the local offenders are exposed to.

The nature of crime is different, though some tenets and values are agreed upon in correctional regimes, with Zimbabwe being party and a signatory to some international instruments and approaches to prisoners’ management. The common crimes in Zimbabwe are theft, stock theft, rape, arson and murder. In South Africa, the most common crimes are robbery, murder, car theft, drug dealings and rape. In America, the most common are domestic violence, sex offences, drug and substance abuse and gun running. These are different economies with different activities, social and industrial development. These may require different interventions to address criminal behaviour and help offenders reform.

On the other hand, from the various pencilled strategies and programmes to discourage criminal behaviour and curb re-offending for successful re-integration of inmates into society, one may not need to be in prison for skills training and other rehabilitation interventions. For example, The Faith Based and Correctional Re-entry programmes in the United States, the offenders, in some cases, get into the
rehabilitation programmes in their communities. They are not admitted in prison for the crime (Willison et. al., 2011). From the report, the researcher has concluded that it is not only the responsibility of prisons to rehabilitate offenders but a cross-cutting responsibility. Correctional services are required in many spheres of life because offending is naturally part of human behaviour; it cannot be completely eradicated.

2.4.3 Restorative Justice Approach

According to Cullen (2014:08), restorative justice principle is holistic in approach. Within the background that Rehabilitation of offenders should be viewed as way to observe Human rights and facilitate harmony in communities, the notion of restorative justice becomes central to address criminal psychology. The Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional policy document (2005:6) states that this is whereby the offender and the offended come together to address the problem. The focus is on the offender, victim and the community. Rehabilitation of offenders is voluntary to encourage the offender to own responsibility for their crime so as to achieve maximum benefits. The responsibility for governance of security, crime and disorder is shared among community members. This is a key concept to alternatives to imprisonment (Hungwe, 2009). Situating this principle to the study, therefore, means that rehabilitation of offenders for successful re-integration in society is not the responsibility of prisons and correctional services alone but of the social system, as a whole, for national ownership and cooperation among stakeholders. This also gives sustainability to the programmes. Several strategies are used, according to the Restorative Justice concepts, such as victim-offender dialogue, family and community re-unifications.
In other jurisdictions of criminal justice, the core is on understanding that crime is a societal menace. Restorative justice, as a concept, addresses this societal concern. According to Zimbabwe Prisons Rehabilitation Policy Document (2005), communities are encouraged to support the offender to rehabilitate and reintegrate and to identify the root causes of the crime. This will make programmes targeting behaviour change easier to implement, since both the offender and the victim are supported to deal and recover from the effects of crime.

Restorative justice aims to enhance offender personal competencies, through encouragement and support for integration into the community. According to Coyle (2009), these are readily interpreted as rehabilitative and can be allocated in offender rehabilitation policy and practice agenda of right to education and skills/vocational training for successful re-integration. In principle, offender rehabilitation includes a supportive relationship between the offender and victim and community. Therefore, restorative justice can be adopted as a long-term intervention in the development of a rehabilitation framework whose expected outcome is reduction in recidivism rates through the application of relevant rehabilitation policies.

2.5 Rehabilitation of offenders in Zimbabwe

The United Nations encourage work, education, religion and moral social support to be included in prison rehabilitation programmes. The idea behind this recommendation is that treatment of prisoners should encourage personal reformation and social rehabilitation in order to help the person change the behaviour and also cope with prison life. The purpose of the prisons service, therefore, should be to help the offenders lead a normal life despite losing some of their rights and privileges. This
is also to prepare them for a better and law abiding style of life after release from prison. According to the Prison Act (17.1), “all mentally and medically fit convicted prisoners shall be required to work”. The work is objectively and generally aimed to give the prisoners skills so that they can uphold and sustain the human and cultural aspect of Zimbabwean adults who generally work even in their households outside the prison communities. People naturally work as part of their everyday chores and to physically maintain themselves. Besides being of community value, the work will equip the offenders with different skills required for navigating in different spheres of life and environments. The national regulations and other legislation regarding work, religion and education apply in prisons in the same manner in which they apply in communities.

The rehabilitation policy in Zimbabwe has four components that are central to effective rehabilitation of the offender and successful re-integration. The four components are: skills training and academic education, sports and recreation, moral and social rehabilitation.

2.5.1 Skills Training

The revised version of the Zimbabwe Prisons rehabilitation policy (2005) states that the aim of skills training and development is to train and enhance prisoners’ technical skills guided by the principle of producing independent and law abiding citizens who are capable of working for themselves and their families after release. This is aimed to the individual offender as well as the society, as opposed to re-offending. More emphasis is on gaining practical knowledge for self-sufficiency in families’ subsistence farming. The technical courses are to prepare one for income generating
projects after release. Others will break through into Small to Medium Enterprises to fend for their families. Technical courses include welding motor mechanics, tailoring, panel beating, carpentry and bricklaying.

In addition, there are various land-based activities such as market garden operations, ground maintenance, landscaping and animal husbandry. There has recently been a shift from agricultural to horticultural work within prisons with the introduction of new methods of farming and commercial activities like mushroom and chicken farming. According to the Rehabilitation Policy Document (2005), some activities like cooking, laundry and other daily chores are done to keep the inmates busy as well as help them live a culture of normal working life. Some are employed in the prison kitchens, garden and laundry, just to mention a few.

2.5.2 Academic Education programmes

According to the Sunday Mail comment on Education (2014:B1), it is government policy in Zimbabwe that everyone should acquire some level of literacy - at least grade 7. Prisoners are given the opportunity to acquire at least the highest primary level education with the assistance of the government funding. There is the provision for secondary and tertiary education for those willing and can afford. The Education policy review (2013) states that academic education is compulsory to all young offenders in prison. Young prisoners are presumed youth in Zimbabwe between the age of 18 and 25 years are regarded as juveniles. These are highly recommended for academic and tertiary education.
According to the officer in charge of Hwahwa Young Offenders Prison, a purely Juvenile prison institution in Zimbabwe, young offenders are provided with education facilities from the lowest grade, that is, grade 1 to the advanced level while in prison. The programme is run by a church organisation, The Seventh Day Adventist church, in conjunction with the Zimbabwe Prison and Correctional Services and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. Cultural programmes are also provided in the manner in which they are provided in schools outside the prisons and in general and different ethical communities, as determined by the geographical location of the prison. The provision of education facilities include access to library, sporting activities and the right to sit for national examinations, as provided by the National Examinations board, which is The Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC).

In the same manner, adult illiterate prisoners are encouraged to participate in education programmes. This adds value to them as citizens, and it is a right for every Zimbabwean to have access to education regardless of their social status. Those who can afford and are willing to study can make best use of the time in prison by upgrading their education levels. There have been success stories of people who graduated in various levels of education in prison. This is viewed as a powerful tool to empower offenders for successful re-integration into society. Education generally makes a difference in peoples’ lives, and that has influenced in most prison institutions the idea that rehabilitation for young offenders includes compulsory academic programmes. According to Birgden (2008) cited in Crewe (2012), correctional educational programmes and activities such as literacy, vocational education and training of life skills courses assist offenders to adjust to prison life,
maintain or enhance knowledge that will contribute to their employability and re-integration. Principles of best practice in correctional education include the use of registered teachers, peer educators, accredited competency-based curriculum and the use of educational methods built on principles of adult learning.

McKean and Ransford (2004) cited in Crewe et al. (2012) suggest that education gives individuals basic skills to market themselves in the labour market. They go on to say education provides opportunities for development of self-esteem, efficacy and determination towards accomplishment of values and set goals in offenders. These attributes and benefits of education make it a fundamental tool for reducing re-offending. With their influence in total human emancipation, educational programmes are cherished as the most basic and common rehabilitation programmes that the prison can offer.

Veldhuis (2012) cited in the Mauritius Prison Service Magazine (2014:008) agrees with the notion that one of the vital elements of rehabilitation programmes is academic education. Educational programmes are believed to ignite a range of social changes. Not only does it improve the inmate’s educational capabilities and chances of employment, it is also believed to contribute to broaden their intellectual horizon, increase their self-esteem and competences, and develop their reasoning capacity to resist the temptation to criminal behaviour. Rehabilitation efforts also emphasise vocational skills acquisition. Indeed, lack of employment and employment skills is believed to be closely related to criminal conduct and re-offending. Vocational training is normally aligned and targeted towards a specific career and professional trade. It focuses on the practical application of skills acquired through different
learning. The common and generally presumed mechanism behind vocational skills training is that they improve chances of employment, thereby preparing the inmate to take on skilled jobs upon completion of the prison sentence.

Albertus (2010) cited in Gona et al. (2014:13) shares the same sentiments with Blake and Sackett (1975) by indicating that the factors that determine the success of prison education programmes are different but hinge on the societal values. The authors found that the success of a prison education programme is influenced mostly by the values and attitudes of persons in positions of authority. More specifically, the attitudes and values of prison officials determine whether or not the prison should be considered as a place of punishment or rehabilitation. Kerlea (1995) cited in Pollaschek (2012) maintained that in many prisons, there is a conflict among authorities regarding the beliefs on the goals and purposes of corrections security, control, punishment or rehabilitation.

There is general consensus in Prisons Management, according to United Nations Standard Minimum rules for the treatment of offenders (1948) that literacy skills are important to prisoners in many ways. Inmates need these skills to make written requests appeals and communicate with key stakeholders in their stay in prison. Furthermore the skills are required for reading and writing letters and keep communicating with the outside world. Thus, education programmes should initially stress practical application of literacy so that prisoners can effectively communicate using the acquired skills and insights. Research has shown that successful prison literacy programmes are learner-centred and should be tailored to the prison culture. The most valuable and effective educational programmes are believed to be those that
help prisoners with social skills, artist development, academic development, vocational and social education (Rupande & Ndoro 2014:12). Programme success depends and generally is hampered by poor living conditions and other challenges that include overcrowding, negative attitudes by prison officials, inadequate funding limited and insufficient instructional materials, personnel and supplies (Machingauta, 2014).

Vacca (2004) cited in Musonza and Hungwe (2011) points out and was supported in the study by Hulley et al (2012) that prisoners who attend educational programmes while they are incarcerated are less likely to return to prison. Several studies have empirically shown that re-offending rates have gone down where inmates have received appropriate and needs-specific education. Ripley (1993) cited in Coyle (2010: 10) stressed and emphasised the critical benefit of teaching moral and peer education as well as critical thinking and problem-solving skills. Gerber and Fritsch (1993) cited in Coyle (2010) evaluated the outcomes of the adult education programmes. They distinguished among academic, vocational skills training and social education and concluded that correctional education programmes lead to a reduction of criminal behaviour, conditional education after release from prison and fewer disciplinary problems in the prison setting.

2.5.3 Moral rehabilitation
This focuses on moral education which is mainly provided by prison chaplains ZPCS Rehabilitation policy document (2005). The prison general regulations (2009:19) on administration reaffirm the provisions of the Zimbabwean Constitution (2013) that every human being has a right to observe the tenets of a religion of their choice.
Given that background, religious and spiritual issues take centre stage in prisons in the same manner they do in the various communities across the country. With the guidance of prison chaplains and different ministers of religion from various denominations, religious orientation is allowed in prison to spiritually guide their followers. From the dominant Christian religion, moral values are reintroduced, especially to sex and drug offenders in prison as a way of rehabilitating them to transform into behaviour accepted which is Godly in preparation for both life on earth and the life to come after their death (ZACRO, 2014). The main aim is for one to become morally conscious.

The general belief is that a morally stable and conscious person will live a crime-free life; therefore, building ideal families and communities for a better society. It is the role of prison chaplains to give offenders information and prepare them for their future re-integration into society through moral rehabilitation. According to the international standards of good prison practice (2009:181), the prison administration is also mandated to ensure that offenders are given the various skills and moral information regarding available resources to maintain themselves in the period immediately after release from prison. This is the prison regime in Zimbabwe as a way of rehabilitation moral rehabilitation includes communication with families and the outside world. The inmates also are helped to network and are linked to people who can provide them with sponsorship in various programmes as well as aid for their families. Some can be linked with the corporate world for employment after release from prison (Prisons magazine, 2014:14).
2.5.4 Social rehabilitation

This involves the use of counselling and psychotherapy to address inmates’ offending behaviour. Some who would have committed crimes due to deeply rooted psychological problems can be assisted through social rehabilitation. Counselling is a delicate area, hence Milkman and Wanberg (2007) summarise the findings of various researchers with regard to the characteristics of the counsellor. It is maintained that the most successful counsellors are sensitive, honest, gentle and compassionate. The communication of genuine warmth and empathy by a therapist alone is regarded as sufficient to produce constructive changes in inmates. In correctional settings, these professionals must integrate their therapeutic and correctional roles in delivering effective services.

Social rehabilitation is one aspect that requires prison officers to know their clientele. For the programmes to be effective, the officer or instructor in these programmes needs to know not only the job, but their customers too (Chandhoo, 2015:29). In most circumstances, one might spend so much time and so many years operating in the prison setting but not really bother to understand and know the people they are dealing with. Chandhoo (2015) argues that if one is not knowledgeable in the moral values, the background, educational level, marital status, income level, family background social history, health status, ethnic group, religious attitudes and values as well as culture and interests, amongst other things, it is difficult to help the offender reform. This researcher agrees with the ideas raised by Chandhoo (2015:07) because for the officer to come up with a meaningful programme to morally change the offender, there has to be a relationship based on trust between them. Knowing each individual trait may be a bit of a challenge, but some basic appreciation of the cultural
values, background social and crime history may help the individual offender to reform.

Besides the general knowledge of age, gender, occupation and marital status, a deeper understanding of the values attitudes, family history and interests may equip both the officer and the offender under his/her care with knowledge and skill to conform with the moral requirements of prison life and more importantly, it keeps both of them in compatibility with human rights standards and principles. This helps in upholding the human dignity in individuals despite their social status, in this case being a prisoner or not. Moral rehabilitation calls for the development of a good professional relationship, and this begins when one is interested in understanding the offender from a broader perspective (Crewe et. al, 2014). Psychologists believe understanding a human being completely and comprehensively and from a broader perspective takes time. Some skill in social psychology may help in quick appreciation and identification of some character and moral traits to work on. This then gives a challenge to those in the prison system to acquire some knowledge and training the field of psychology, sociology and many more areas that study human behaviour.

Knowledge in those subjects helps officers to efficiently and effectively deliver in the management of prisoners and broaden their understanding of the causes of re-offending. Moral rehabilitation may be a delicate and complex area to implement in the local prisons where most of the staff is recruited with a general ordinary level certificate. This goes back to pose a negative impact on both the employer and individual offender since the responsibility of criminality is shared between society and the offender. It is up to the authorities to make sure the people responsible with
helping the offenders in behaviour change are well equipped with expertise and competences to deliver so that the objectives of the programmes are achieved. Human custody has also helped in social rehabilitation in South Africa (Dissel, 2012), and this has created a positive improvement, especially in drug offenders. This is beneficial to other programmes like educational and vocational training. A morally stable person can see light of equipping themselves with educational qualifications that can help them and improve the chances of employment after release from prison. Discipline in the prison may also be enhanced with moral training.

A disciplined prison population is easier to manage and create fertile ground for social and professional interaction with staff and makes offenders view the time spent in prison as both helpful and beneficial for his or her personal development. According to Australian prison expert William Cullen in an interview with Mauritius Prison Service Magazine (2014), “the time spend in prison should not be viewed as punishment by the offender but as an opportunity or self-development and better life orientation” The offenders undergo their sentences in a meaningful way and with a minimum level of stress because they feel morally secure. Offenders who view the prison regime efforts as targeted to benefit them will acknowledge their circumstances and develop a positive mindset followed by behavioural responses that minimise offending behaviour even against prison regulations and not tempt prison officials to get into criminal behaviour as well resulting in incidences of trafficking and passing of contrabands between inmates and staff, which is detrimental to both the prisoner and the prison officer; first, as human beings bound by law and secondly, as key partners in the upholding of prisons, communities and societal moral values. (Chundhoo, 2014:29). It is the moral obligation of communities and prison regimes to
make sure prisoners are protected from the outside and inside moral influences that hamper their moral behaviour change.

In light of the above assertions and arguments, the researcher feels that the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services should engage people who are educated in the development and structure and functioning of human societal moral and criminal behaviour to execute the programmes of moral rehabilitation of offenders effectively. In America, a larger percentage of offender rehabilitation programmes is successful because the responsible authorities engage highly qualified personnel to execute the programmes (Kurasha, 2015). A good example is at a prison in Central America where a Zimbabwean professor was hired to teach African Philosophy to prisoners.

Areas where human thoughts, feelings and behaviours are to be modified require a lot of commitment and resources to notice and achieve the intended results and benefits. The fundamentals of understanding how beings respond to crime and the factors that influence moral decadency may be costly to implement; however, this may be a tall order in developing economies but given the strengths of Zimbabwe, as a learned community voluntary and donor funding services may be acquired for a specific group of people especially young and female offenders. At Chikurubi female prison, some have benefited from volunteers who have a passion to work with detained mothers, and quite significant benefits have shown in terms of reducing the rate of re-offending amongst female prisoners. Providing counselling services to offenders can very challenging. The problem is that one being inducted into a prison life is stressful on its own. The fact that one has been in conflict with law and the shame and stigma associated with imprisonment, especially for females, has a negative impact on the reception of counselling services. The fact again that the counselling services are provided by people who have a routine duty of doing the same thing in the same
environment, with almost a group of people in the same circumstances everyday may make the techniques not very helpful.

Families and other stakeholders such as religious leaders and friends have also an obligation in making sure the environment is conducive for counselling services Machingauta (2014). On the part of offenders, developing endurance and patience for while being incarcerated may take time, and this may hamper prospects of getting into other helpful rehabilitation programmes. Support in psychosocial activities is key to the success of any moral rehabilitation. Religious programmes are also confirmed to be very helpful in Zimbabwe prisons. Just like the wave of Christianity and faith-building taking centre stage in the communities, prisoners have been given the chance to reform in the fulfilment of preparing themselves for a relationship with God from a Christian perspective. Prison chaplains go as far as baptizing inmates who testify that they have reformed and want repentance because of the Christian teachings they receive in prison. This also prepares them to fight stigma and discrimination that ex-convicts suffer in communities.

Due to experience of other prisoners who have opted towards re-offending because of the serious hate and trauma they experienced on release, they feel that joining church denominations will give them a safe haven on release. According to the Prison Chaplain General (2011), “The church has always been a vehicle for improved moral and societal values as well as improved standards of living in the communities therefore engaging them in prison offenders rehabilitation is of great value and help.”
2.5.5 Vocational training

The ZPCS Rehabilitation policy document (2005: 18) states that vocational training is when prisoners are involved in workshop activities where the primary function is to provide prisoners with the skills and qualifications needed for employment. This is however, somehow expensive since there is need, in some cases, to send trainees for trade tests (Musonza, 2011). According to the officer in charge of prison workshops at Harare central prison addressing members of the parliament (2011), “vocational training has been a useful instrument to rehabilitate offenders because they are equipped with skills needed for the industrial development and the job market in the various sections of the economy.” They said despite the fact that ex-prisoners acquire skills in prison, they are not really accorded equal opportunities with those without a criminal record when it comes to employment. This, however, seems to be a problem with laws of the country that inhibit employment of ex-convicts, especially in the public sector. Encouraging industry and communities to employ and support released offenders, the Commissioner-General of prisons, in an interview with the Zimbabwe television news (2015) said, “ex-prisoners might have the skills acquired in prisons but should be accorded an enabling environment to expose them to the benefit of society.” He continued to say the mere fact that a person under incarceration served his sentence and discharged with the due process of the law should be satisfactory evidence that such a person had reformed and therefore, should be given a chance to demonstrate their abilities in any sphere of life.

Prisons efforts to accord offenders with gainful skills have seen the adoption of concepts to develop prison workshops. In the three prisons under study, offenders are involved in various workshop activities which include: motor mechanics, book
binding, tailoring, carpentry and welding, to mention but a few. Female prisoners are involved in hair dressing with a salon running at Chikurubi female prison. The male adults are mostly in carpentry and tailoring projects at Harare central prison and Chikurubi farm. Wood-carving and stone-carving has, off late, come to be more beneficial in terms of creativity involved in coming up artefacts. In all these programmes, the whole idea is to equip the inmates with life skills that would facilitate and help them live a sustainable life fending for their families on release. Their successful re-integration into society has benefits to both the society and the society at large. Successful re-integration of ex-offenders has economic and social benefits to the country (Mujuru, 2011). Allowing prisoners to return to prison is costly to the taxpaying public and a drain to the economy. The country has limited resources; therefore, offenders should be prepared for successful release and be integrated into the community as productive persons who can contribute using the various skills acquired in prison for the development of the country.

The acquisition of the various life skills helps the offenders restore lost hope, dignity and self-esteem. The presumed repented ex-offenders are largely given opportunities by the private sector and non-governmental organisations, which has benefits for both the society and the government. The challenge with workshop skills training is that they are largely a talent inherent in a person. They take time to be acquired and in most cases, one goes through various assessments and tests to be certified. They are expensive to run and need to be well-resourced with machinery and material for practical and trade testing. Though it seems common in various jurisdictions, they may be abused and become sources of cheap labour for the industry and may not rally benefit the inmates. The type of skills one acquires in prison workshops can benefit
the prisons to get into partnerships; this is also good for building relations with industry so that upon release, the offender may be already linked to prospective employers. Some may get employment while some may be capacitated for self-employment (Parliamentary Report, 2011).

2.5.6 Offending behaviour (cognitive skills) programmes

According to ZPCS Rehabilitation Policy Document (2005:19), these aim to teach offenders the process of consequential thinking in order to avoid patterns of thinking which lead them to offend. The Prison Service offers a broad range of programmes designed to challenge behaviour which has contributed to a prisoner’s criminality or is a factor which may lead to further offending. These are targeted mainly for prisoners serving long sentences.

2.5.7 Sports and Recreational Rehabilitation

In an effort to keep inmates physically and psychologically fit, they engage in sporting activities. Sports and recreational activities offered to inmates at Harare Central Chikurubi Farm and Female prisons are generally the traditional ones. Prisoners are mainly involved in soccer, volleyball and netball. Different categories of prisoners engage in sporting activities depending on the length of sentence and prison classification. The United Nations standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners rule (22.1) stipulates that prisoners have a right to physical exercise as part of their health and psychological care. This is highly recommended as a form of moral and psychological rehabilitation.
In Zimbabwe, the prisons have gone an extra mile by providing entertainment programmes for offenders. The inmates are involved in entertainment programmes such as traditional and contemporary dance, drama, football and peer education groups. This component is considered as part of stress management and promotes harmony at the institutions. In most cases, the sporting and entertainment activities are carried out with prison officers taking part. For example, a soccer team may comprise both officers and inmates in one team or have teams of officers competing with teams of inmates. The same applies in dance groups, drama and music groups. At Chikurubi farm prison, there is a choral group called “Tahila”. This has proved to be a successful group with the main objective of rehabilitating inmates (Prisons report, 2013).

Harney (1993) cited in Ssebugwayo (2010:10) identified that prisoners in different jurisdictions that are around the globe are subjected to cheap labour and exploitation. However, Hulley et al. (2012) commented that labour is an accepted form of offender rehabilitation but proceeded to highlight abuse of authority by prison officials who exploit labour to their benefit. The British Columbia Criminal Justice Support (2014) agrees with Pemberton (2013), in supporting this position and commented that these programmes aim at restoring the positive attributes of people in challenging ways such that underlying criminal conduct is eliminated.

2.6 Implementation of offender rehabilitation programmes

The correctional system base their approach on a sound and well-founded philosophy that offenders come to prison as a punishment and to be accorded the support and chance to reform as well as correct offending behaviour (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2007). The researcher has not come upon
scholarly studies that looked at how well the Prison Rehabilitation policy has worked in Zimbabwe. Reports and statistics have shown that many prisoners who have gone through rehabilitation programmes, as spelt out in the rehabilitation policy, have been readmitted in prison on the same or similar offences, leading to recidivism. This is a problem that points at some gaps and challenges in the effectiveness of the rehabilitation programme to modify the behaviour of offenders. Rehabilitation policies have proved to have many gaps, as manifested by the numbers of offenders who fail to re-integrate into society and commit crimes to go through the same process of rehabilitation in prison.

2.6.1 Staff skills

Coyle (2009) points out that prison staff who work in institutions of rehabilitation need to be adequately trained. Many of the skills which they need to use are quite different from those required of staff in other sections of the criminal justice system. The researcher agrees with this assertion. Working in prisons requires a unique combination of skills, especially in the delivery of programmes that target behaviour change. Policy implementation requires a combination of technical skills and personal qualities by those involved. At the same time, it gives the government an obligation to carefully recruit and continuously help prison staff develop the required skills in order to match the requirements of their rehabilitation tasks.

In addition, staff members have to be able to combine the requirements of security and good order with the obligation to help the offenders’ reform, many of whom may be volatile and unpredictable. Coyle (2009) goes further to suggest that the staff should be specially selected and then given the appropriate skills to carry out their difficult work. They will also need support to deal with the physical and emotional
demands which working with offenders can bring.

2.6.2 Resources required for implementation of rehabilitation programmes
The United Nations International Standards of Good Prison Management (2009) states that governments have an obligation to adequately resource prison institutions if rehabilitation policies are to be meaningfully implemented. This can be in the form of budgetary allocations and donor funds to finance the running of the programmes. Additionally, Coyle (2009) emphasized that there is need to provide prisoners with adequate basic needs such as food, water, shelter clothing and facilities that are in tandem with humane treatment of offenders for the rehabilitation programmes to be well received. Availability of the mentioned and much more resources enhance effectiveness of offender behaviour transformation.

2.7 Challenges to effective rehabilitation of offenders
Zimbabwe has taken steps to improve their rehabilitation programmes (Machingauta, 2014). Media reports have shown they strive to adhere to the Policy requirements though the prison authorities have continually asked for support to deal with challenges in implementing their rehabilitation and re-integration programmes. Their programmes focus on educational and vocational training, psychological support, promotion of contact with outside world, family support and contact beyond prison, and access to religious services. Lately, there has been a call for integration of civil society in order to rehabilitate prisoners and re-integrate them successfully into the community.
Prison rehabilitation programmes have stigma associated with it even though it can produce positive results (Crewe, 2014:11). This has prompted review of the Prison Act of 1996 several times, with the latest edition becoming almost a replica of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of offenders. Therefore, from a practical stand point, the researcher of this study argues that given the available specific and precise legislation, the biggest handicap and challenge is on implementation of the policy. Due to the shortage of resources, there are not enough units of correctional processes other than punishment to help rehabilitate prisoners (Hungwe, 2009). The researcher would agree with the general notion of many prison authorities that their inefficiency in delivery of the main mandate is due to underfunding. Limited budgetary support has incapacitated prison institutions to keep pace with increased prison population demands in terms of providing rehabilitation and reform programmes (Makarawu, 2010). Policy issues become difficult to implement when resources are in short supply. In that case, Justice Makarau, a senior judicial officer confirms the reports by ZACRO (2011) that there is a direct violation of the set and adopted standards of offender management in Zimbabwe.

The report pointed out that overcrowding is having a hugely damaging impact on the delivery of rehabilitative programmes in our prisons, both in terms of quality and quantity of appropriate interventions. Furthermore the Commissioner of Prisons in charge of administration revealed to the parliamentary committee on Human Rights that “Our prison population reflects that we are already overcrowded, meaning inmates’ rights to proper shelter is already compromised,” The dire situation in prisons resulted in ZPCS’ care for special classes of offenders such as women in general, women with children, pregnant women, mentally retarded offenders as well
as juveniles being heavily compromised. This reflects a myriad of challenges in offender rehabilitation that can hamper effective prevention of re-offending.

Reading from those reports and testimonies, the researcher of this study is challenged through confirming that most of the rehabilitation policy requirements have not been met owing to inadequate human and various institutional support. Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights Report (2009) has identified various incapacities within prisons that require Zimbabwe government to provide consistent support and aid before talking of effective rehabilitation of offenders for successful re-integration into the society.

According to the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013), the mandate of ZPCS requires first and foremost to effectively incarcerate offenders for the period pronounced by the courts. This calls for safe, secure and humane custody of inmates which is, by and large, good care and order in prisons. This, according to the researcher, has been to some extent achieved basing such conclusions on the reports that there have been no prison riots and limited number of prison escapes in the last decade, as mentioned in the Prison Report of 2013. It is perceived that the prison order and security has been fairly maintained, but the real challenge is on the number of re-offenders. The 2013 prison report has mentioned that the authorities are more concerned with the situation that there has been a significant rise in the number of re-arrests of released offenders who are re-convicted and come to prison again on similar or even more serious offences. The researcher would want to add her voice to say that is a clear indication that even though the incarceration is successful and commendable, meaningful rehabilitation for successful re-integration, which is the vital part of the mandate, has
not been achieved. At the core of any correctional services is the issue of making sure the offenders’ behaviour is modified in prison so that when they finish their prison terms, the re-integrate in the community as committed law abiding citizens never to come back to prison again.

2.7.1 The Problem of Reoffending

Re-offending means the offender has failed to transform the criminal behaviour as expected. This, according to Dissel (2012), in many African States transcends into recidivism whereby one goes into a vicious cycle of committing crime, getting arrested, brought before the courts, imprisoned, serves a prison term, released and goes back to commit crime yet again. Key factors that influence re-offending include lack of education, unemployment, peer pressure leading to drug and alcohol abuse, mental and physical health, anger leading to lack of self-control, and family problems. These also pose a risk of recidivism or repeat offending if not well addressed.

There are usually calls to deal with psychological issues of offending right before one is sentenced to prison, and in most cases, a call to use non-custodial sentences for effectively addressing this type of offending behaviour. Once an offender knows that they have been given as second chance and have been saved from prison, they usually do not re-offend. The counselling that they get whilst being assessed and also whilst they perform community service results in increased chances of rehabilitating the offender to acceptable social standards (Prison Report, 2014).
2.7.2 Challenges to Policy implementation

Parliamentary Reports (2014) revealed that the prison service lack the human capital, logistics and funding to satisfy the requirements in rehabilitation of offenders as provided for by the policies. The fact that prisoners undergo crash programmes in skills training and some fail to sit for their final examinations and trade test due to lack of financial support is a clear testimony to issues that impact negatively on the programme integrity. According to Dissel (2012), cognitive programmes, if not completely provided, will not help the offender since some will stop the programmes half way. Those who are lucky to have sponsors along the way will be given the opportunity to continue and follow their programmes to the end. This inconsistence will not help much in their re-integration as some of them will be released without benefiting much, and at times, left with no option but to re-offend and come back to prison.

There are also reports that there are limitations to proper segregation and selection of inmates for various rehabilitation programmes due to the disparities in the sentencing system (Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights Report on Prisons, 2009). The law in Zimbabwe allows one to appeal against a sentence and conviction within a stipulated time from the date of conviction and sentence. Prisoners are also put in different classes according to the length of sentence and nature of offence on admission to prison.

The ZPCS Rehabilitation Policy Document (2005:20) posits that there are some educational requirements in any given programme of skills training as well as medical conditions of the candidate, to mention but a few. Given all these considerations and
requirements, there are challenges associated with grouping the inmates for particular programmes and also given the high population of inmates as well as the time judicial processes take to finalise appeals. Rolling out meaningful programmes that will help individual offenders and at the same time, matching the goals of policy remain a challenge to the service providers. In most cases, the goals and objectives of policy are not achieved due to complications in implementation. The gaps also have ripple effects in the criminal justice delivery system. This is because of the gaps in the implementation to achieve positive outcomes in the process of offender reform, and many categories of offenders remain on the receiving end. The gaps result in inconsistent implementation of rehabilitation efforts and the whole process falls short of curbing recidivism.

In some recent media reports (2014), the prison authorities have pushed the blame to the judicial authorities accusing the system of thwarting the prison rehabilitation potential and efforts by delaying court processes and giving harsh long sentences. The office of the Commissioner General of the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services is, many a time, on record encouraging the courts to consider non-custodial sentences, especially in non-serious offences and to vulnerable groups of offenders like females and juveniles. The increase in crime rates due to various factors has seen an increase in numbers of people who are imprisoned, thereby translating into overcrowding in prisons. The living conditions in overcrowded prisons result in the spread of communicable diseases like diarrhoea, scabies, tuberculosis, thus instigating a number of deaths in prisons. This then defeats the whole purpose of imprisonment for rehabilitation and reform. However, human rights defenders expressed scepticism on the Commissioner’s sentiments and the government’s suggestions that the
maximum and remand prison population will stabilise after the presidential pardon and opening of satellite courts at the end of the present judicial year, exactly matching estimated capacity. They indicated that this projection depends on very large assumptions about the net effect of sentencing changes. However, this study strives to find out reasons why overcrowding is continuing to be a cause of concern in prisons within the country. It should not be used as an excuse for ignoring the issue of rehabilitation and failing to follow examples of good practice.

2.7.3 Impact of overcrowding and under-funding

Overcrowding in Zimbabwe’s prisons has exposed inmates to diseases such as Tuberculosis (Parliamentary Report, 2011). During the time of this research, the 46 main prisons and 23 satellite prisons, which have a holding capacity of 17 000, were accommodating 17 318. Further, from that figure, 14 462 are already convicted, and 2 866 are on remand while 80 are juveniles and 308 are females. The problem of overcrowding will translate into poor living conditions. According to Coyle, (2009) cited by Chinamasa (2010), isolation from society, poor prison conditions, overcrowding and lack of safety and privacy induce distress and anxiety in most prisoners, which may develop into more serious mental challenges that will impact negatively on their performance in rehabilitation activities.

Research done by a number of scholars has shown that rehabilitation of offenders in African prisons suffers under-funding and overcrowding. This confirms the plea by the Commissioner General of Prisons for donations from well-wishers, adding they were severely under-funded. He said while they were trying to ensure the safety and security of all prisoners and humane treatment, as enshrined in the United Nations
Minimum Standard Rules for the Treatment of Offenders, they were failing to satisfactorily provide these necessities mainly due to inadequate funding from the fiscus.

These problems, according to this researcher, have put pressure on prison staff. The staff members in the prison services are equally affected by the problems that offenders face in prison due to poor living conditions in overpopulated prisons. The inadequate budgetary support has seen the prisons, countrywide, failing in many cases to service the courts in respective provinces due to shortage of fuel and vehicles to transport prisoners for routine remand appearance or trials in courts. Compounded by the shortage of prison staff to deliver the required rehabilitation programmes and day-to-day duties in the management of prisons implementing the rehabilitation policies has become a tall order to Zimbabwe Prison and Correctional Services (Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association, 2013). Overcrowding in Harare Prisons has given rise to spread of infectious diseases due to poor sanitation, health care, and personal hygiene. An erratic water supply in Harare as a whole has devastated the conditions in prisons. There is high risk in prison work because the prison officers, by virtue of staying in prisons executing their day-to-day duties, pose a more threat to the society and their families. If one member becomes infected with a communicable disease, chances are high that the disease will be transported from the prison cells to the staff households, thus posing a risk to family members who can also spread the disease in various community settings like the churches and schools.

One prison official was quoted in the Daily News of 11 September 2011 saying the problem of under-funding the overcrowded prisons has a direct negative impact on the
lives of the prison community as well as the nation at large. The paper article was urging the government to take seriously issues of offender management and support by increasing resources and budgetary support for prisons. The officials bemoan the shortage of food, clothing, water and uniforms for prison officers.

According to the Parliamentary Report (2008), 30 000 inmates were held in Zimbabwe prisons against a holding capacity of 17000. This was against a background of under-funding due to the economic meltdown and high inflation rate in the country. This was reportedly the source of all the poor living conditions for inmates as well as other problems that demotivated prison staff like shortage of uniforms, staff accommodation, inadequate medical care and food rations as well as poor salaries. The continual increase on the prison population accompanied by inadequate resources translates into failure to deliver effective rehabilitation service in order to curb re-offending.

The researcher of this study argues that the time spent in prison is wasted on hardening the offender rather than assisting them to reform and recondition their thinking towards personal development and law abiding. In overcrowded prisons, the hygiene standards are very low, leaving prisoners with a high risk of various health problems that will result in illness. If one is not in good health, which also incapacitates them against participating in rehabilitation and reformation programmes. Poor health and physical incapacitation can result in a prisoner spending the larger part of his or her sentence idle (Parliamentary Report, 2011). In some cases, according to the thematic committee report, one is released in a worse situation of bad health to
face even more challenges in the society. At times, that will prompt them to commit crime again (ZACRO Report on Prisons rehabilitation, 2011).

Some prisons are overcrowded and the sleeping space in cell rooms is limited, thus forcing three or more people to share accommodation space designed for one person sharing bedding mats and blankets. This also creates a safe haven for homosexuality activities whereby the victims become even more traumatised by being sexually abused by senior inmates. This also fuels the spread of scabies and in some cases, HIV and AIDS. This is, however, a serious problem despite Zimbabwe having introduced an HIV control and management policy in its prisons (ZLHR report, 2011).

This has left the prison authorities with no option but to apply and propose for presidential pardon and clemency order, as provided in the Constitution of Zimbabwe. In the last presidential pardon was in 2014, offenders of various categories who were on various rehabilitation programmes benefited.

2.7.4 Challenges associated with Presidential pardon

According to comments in the state newspaper by Prisons authorities (2014), the clemency order usher its own problems in running rehabilitation programmes. The beneficiaries, at times, have their sentences reviewed and cut, and others are released without completing their programmes that are intended to help them upon release to successfully re-integrate and meet the demands of the society. Since others are not fully prepared for release, they face a lot of challenges getting back into the society and in many cases, find themselves re-offending. This brings in the researcher’s
argument that despite the effort to decongest the prisons by clemency order, this is not much help to the prison system as well as the offenders. Mainly, the process of presidential pardon itself is a long and cumbersome.

The administration records (2014) state that there is a long waiting periods, and at times, some of the intended or recommended beneficiaries die in prison due to various ailments related to overpopulation. Others get released without getting a chance to undergo any meaningful programme that encourages behaviour change, and that can be seen as a passport to re-offend by the offender. The authorities undergo long waiting periods; meanwhile, a lot of demand, in terms of upkeep of inmates and provision of basic needs, strain the prison budget. It takes and requires a lot of manpower in terms of reviewing the sentences especially the exercise of making calculations for remissions, a lot of resources are required to implement the programme, including transportation of inmates to various provinces of the country for release. Identifying the qualifying candidates and preparing them for impromptu release also requires a lot of efficiency on the prison staff and in many cases, there are mistakes that cost both the government and inmates. At times, there is miscalculation of sentences resulting in illegal detentions where one continues to be in prison when one qualifies for release benefit or they are mistakenly released when they do not qualify. Female inmates, at times, are more concerned with issues of reproduction health, reunion with their families as well as acceptance from the offended or victims of their offence.

In some instances, most of the minor crimes that qualify for presidential pardon do not qualify one to undergo any meaningful rehabilitation programmes because of the
length of the prison term. In cases where they qualify for rehabilitation programmes like skills training and academic programmes, the sentences are long, and the nature of offence, for example, sexual offences and stock theft do not normally benefit from the presidential pardon as they are classified as dangerous prisoners. The sentence itself is, in most cases, traumatic and it is difficult to prepare someone to undergo a programme with the intention of changing behaviour and getting re-integrated into the community a changed person. Machingauta (Daily News - 11 April, 2014) revealed that ex-prisoners suffered even after their release as society was not ready to accept them back. This resulted in ex-prisoners committing fresh offences even after rehabilitation, and that led them back into prison, further compounding the accommodation problem. Machingauta asks:

“How many people are comfortable to see a rapist or murderer back in society? If a person fails to get enough rehabilitation in prison, coupled with unwillingness of society to receive offenders, he will inevitably find himself back in prison and the cycle begins again,”

2.7.5 Addressing Overcrowding in Prisons

The most efficient route to address overcrowding in prisons is by putting rehabilitation at the core of the justice system (Griffiths et al., 2014). They go on to say that sentences by judicial officers should be a rehabilitative effort in the sense that it should provide the offender with a positive chance to reform than to punishment. This means everything is done with the intention to make the prisoner reform. Additionally, the judicial officers may use alternatives to imprisonment that include fines, bail, community service, corporal punishment as punishment as compared to a prison term.
2.8 Literature Gaps and Research Point of Entry

Although there is still debate and controversy about the effectiveness of rehabilitation, diverse literature reviews and meta-analyses demonstrate that correctional programmes can effectively change offenders. The researcher has identified that from the reviewed literature and in a comparative study commissioned in Europe, Redondo, Garrido and Scanhez-Meca (1997) reported a remarkable decrease in recidivism of up to 15% for those exposed to rehabilitation programmes. The study argued that, on average, offenders who attend correctional programmes are less likely to be rearrested or reconvicted.

Canadian researchers, Andrew et al. (1990) have presented evidence suggesting that appropriately designed services produce, on average, reduction in recidivism of between 30% and 50%. Mackenzie (1997) concludes that there is positive evidence of rehabilitation effectiveness in the range of 50% to 86%. These distinctions were identified in western world; those identified in Africa are generally pointing to some benefits in rehabilitating offenders in Africa though most similarities are in South Africa, Nigeria and Uganda, to mention but a few. Back home in Zimbabwe, there is not much of comparison by the studies and analysis done by Rupande and Ndoro (2014) and those of Gona et al. (2014). The researcher identified that they fell short of indicating what rehabilitation programmes in Zimbabwe contribute towards the successful reform of offenders. This is a gap that this study has uniquely unearthed and partly aims to fill.
Although rehabilitation has been an area of study in various regimes and jurisdictions of the world, there are few documented studies that examine the effectiveness of offender. According to the Mauritius Prison Service Magazine (2014:008), rehabilitation programmes provide opportunities for prisoners to change behaviour associated with crime and make them productive and useful upon release. Some offenders are admitted into prison with inherent criminal traits that make criminal behaviour inevitable (Hungwe, 2009). These are likely to be at risk of recidivism upon release if they do not receive rehabilitation service while in prison. Most of the identified studies are focused on the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation programmes, policies and correctional practice in the western countries, namely, Canada United States of America, Sweden, Australia, to mention but a few. Correctional services remain largely closed in African States despite many of them adopting the United Nations Standards for Prison Management.

The system of governance in most African countries has put much emphasis on security and protection of society from criminal elements, thereby adopting a Para-military system of prisons regime. Of late, the correctional aspect of prison management has been left hanging in Southern Africa with the exception of South Africa and recently, Mauritius. With Zimbabwe adopting measures to focus on offender rehabilitation, a lot still needs to be done. The questions raised by European researches are critical to their jurisdictions despite being the chief architects of most of United Nations interventions to prisoner reform. They are also critical to those African states that choose to go the correctional way which introduce various skill programmes in their quest to rehabilitate inmates. The critical questions raised are on the nature of prisons’ rehabilitation programmes trying to explore how they may add
value to the lives of convicts on release and end of prison term and how these may influence behaviour change in individual offenders on completion of their prison term. To a greater extent, the critical questions are answered when it comes to the objective to curb re-offending. In the European context and western standards of prisons and incarceration, rehabilitation basically focuses on particular offences and behaviour of individuals. The programmes target particular behaviour traits, for example, there are programmes specifically for drug addicts.

This is different in Zimbabwe whereby most of the programmes are just programmes for prisoners. The fact that one is in prison for a particular term is enough for them to be admitted in a programme to acquire skills. The general skills training programmes lack particular behaviour traits that they hope to address in a particular individual. At the end of the day, the offender is in a programme not to be rehabilitated but to keep them busy. One is left with questions such as: given the resources used in those programmes whose interests they are addressing, for whose benefit? Are the skills programmes beneficial to individual offenders? Are they beneficial to communities? These questions answer the success of the programmes to reform the inmates; the gap therefore, that this study endeavoured to fill. The most common point of departure for reviews of rehabilitation is the 1974 publication of Martinson which concludes that except for a few isolated exceptions, rehabilitative efforts have no appreciable effect on repeat offending. His study was ideally pessimistic and factually condemned rehabilitation as a formidable catalyst for change in offenders’ criminal behaviour for the better, citing the complexities to behaviour and criminal reformation. Gendreau (1991), Gendreau and Ross (1987), Greenwood et al. (1985), Palmer (1975), as critics cited in Gona et al. (2014) argue against this conclusion and added that this position
and observation is not very correct. In their counter-argument they emphasised the fact that psychological rehabilitation does have a positive effect on re-offending. On the whole, it is generally safe to conclude that rehabilitation, as a remedial intervention, does work to reform offenders. Whilst in the minority, there may be scholars who argue against it, and the majority of scholars are unanimous that in its various forms, rehabilitation is a necessary adjunct to correctional interventions.

2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed literature related to various components of offender rehabilitation policy. The theoretical framework, as espoused in the RNR model, was used in locating the various studies that were reviewed. Literature showed that different jurisdictions have their own peculiar ways of rehabilitating offenders, as guided by the prison mandates. There are several areas of convergence and other areas that differed in terms of how to rehabilitate offenders. Focus was put on the issues agreed by various scholars as best practices in offender rehabilitation. The next chapter is centred on methodology.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter identifies and explains the methodological issues underpinning the study. This chapter presents the research philosophy and the justification for its adoption. The chapter further outlines the research design, the sample and the data collection methods as used in the study. More importantly, the chapter presents the ethical and logistical requirements that were attended to in the study. The data analysis plan is also provided in the chapter.

3.1 Research Methodology

A constructivist epistemology was chosen for the study, together with constructivist ontology; defining reality to be a social construct. The researcher’s theoretical perspective was that knowledge was created through the interaction of social players and what that interaction constructed as knowledge was accepted as reality. The researcher chose the qualitative paradigm so that she could interact closely and in-depth with participants to access their perceptions, experiences and beliefs as they related to the correctional services in the country (O’ Leary, 2014). The researcher elected to employ the interpretivist approach to be able to interpret the data generated from participants and to give it meaning, which responded to the research questions. To this end, a qualitative paradigm was chosen. The study adopted the case study method because it allowed the researcher to interrogate each prison facility as a case and generate a lot of data from it until a point of saturation was reached.
MacCleod in Chindanya (2011:78) defined qualitative research as “a process of systematic inquiry into the meanings which people employ to make sense of their experience and guide their actions.” Qualitative methodology investigates human behaviour and seeks to establish the reasons that govern such behaviour. According to Tracy (2010:50), qualitative research has a strong basis in sociology and is normally used to understand government programmes. This assertion qualifies this methodology to study the behaviour of offenders in a prison setting, hence the choice of the paradigm in this thesis. Veirra and Pollock in Chindanya (2011:50) note that the qualitative methodology is intended to convey the flavour of real-life experience of “being there”. Qualitative research means any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of quantification (Castellan, 2010).

The advantages of qualitative research methodology include: understanding experiences, perspectives and attitudes of the people towards a particular behaviour or social aspect of life (Castellan, 2010). This made the qualitative methodology appropriate for this study which sought to evaluate and understand the attitudes of people towards re-offending behaviour and rehabilitation in prisons. It also answered the how and why of phenomena and contributes to highly rich insightful results Sanders et al (2011). The other advantage of qualitative research methodology, as compared to quantitative methodology, is that there is good synergy amongst participants. Precisely followed the questions and comments build from each other thus sharing ideas and getting to understand underlying reasons and motivations to criminal behaviour in this case. In quantitative research, the purpose is to quantify the data, and results are generalized.
According to Michael (2002), the limitation of a qualitative research methodology includes the fact that samples are usually small and may not be true representative of the broader population. This limitation was circumvented in this study by the fact that the prisons under study are the biggest prisons as graded in the classes of prisons available in Zimbabwe; they house all classes of convicted prisoners according to nature of offence and length of sentence. Every other inmate one finds in Zimbabwe Prisons is represented in these classes. The other limitation suggested by Sunders is that results may lack rigour. This was addressed by rigorous in-depth interviews that were conducted with authorities to ensure in-depth and wide perspective of data generated. The issue of the researcher bias towards was adequately addressed.

3.2 Research Paradigm

According to Yin (1989) cited in Tracy (2010:98), a popular design for qualitative research is the case study. The case study examines in-depth purposive samples to better understand a phenomenon. It is against this assertion that a multiple case study research method was adopted focusing on the three Prisons in Harare, the biggest administrative region of the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services. Furthermore, the choice of the three prisons was necessitated by the fact that Harare Central Prison accommodates all classes of prisoners that one may find in Zimbabwe Prisons. Every rehabilitation strategy implemented in Zimbabwe is done at the most largest scale at Harare Central whilst a replica of them is found in other small prisons dotted around the country. Chikurubi Farm Prison is the biggest and oldest in terms of agricultural activities done to rehabilitate prisoners. Most of the re-offenders are found in the “B” class category of male prisoners and the larger number is housed at Chikurubi Farm Prison. Chikurubi female prison is the largest female prison in the
country and houses all classes of female prisoners. According to the ZPCS rehabilitation statistics 2005-2014, 99% of the rehabilitation programmes for female prisoners are implemented at Chikurubi female, the other 1% is shared among Shurugwi and Mlondolozi prisons and all the other female prisons are satellite prisons under the administration of male prisons concentrate on prisoners awaiting trial. Given the above background the choice of the three prisons to represent the prisons in Zimbabwe is justified. Tracy (2010) cited in Chingono (2012) posits that a case study involves gathering detailed information about the unit of analysis often over a long period of time with a view of obtaining in-depth knowledge. Qualitative data generated in words was effectively used in the study as an assessment to the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation in controlling re-offending.

3.3 Population

A population is a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher (Best & Kahn, 1993 cited in Castellan, 2010). The target population may be all the individuals of a particular type or a more restricted part of that group (Yin, 2011). According to Patton (2009), there are multitudes of factors from both qualitative and quantitative research which determine the sample size. Ruttiend (1990) cited in Dissel (2012:162) defines population as the total of all members from which the sample is selected. This is borrowed from Sallice (2000) who also defines population as all individuals with specific characteristics from which the researcher would like of a study to be generalisable. In this study, adult female and male (18 years and above) recidivists at Chikurubi and Harare central prisons as well as ex-convicts who believe they were successfully rehabilitated were the targeted population. This was assumed to be an accessible population and constituted all individuals or members of particular concern. The population was
made up of all prison officers, offenders and re-offenders, ex-offenders at Harare Central Prison, Chikurubi Farm and Female Prisons.

### 3.4 Sampling procedure

Taking into consideration and borrowing from the recommendations and view by Michael et. al. (2002) cited in Loh (2013), the population sample was purposively selected. Participants were selected according to their credibility to generate useful data to this study, hence the need to adopt purposive sampling procedure. A small number of re-offenders, convicted inmates, and prison officers were selected from the three prisons to participate. These were representatives of a wide population of both prisoners and officers. Furthermore, a few individuals from the key criminal justice system players, prisoner’s reform agencies and civic groups who are involved in offender rehabilitation programmes management were consulted for their views depending on the level of participation in offender rehabilitation implementation. The researcher used the nominal register (a register kept specifically for re-offenders) to identify and pick accessible re-offenders, prison officers and convicted inmates. These, however, constituted a bigger percentage of participants.

For the purposes of this study, participants included prisoners convicted of twelve months and above, re-offenders of two times and above, church leaders in prisons and outside and prison officials, at the three prisons under study one from each of the four sections at the National Headquarters. Included also are rehabilitation officers at the administrative regional offices in the provinces of Zimbabwe. Three NGO executives helped in identifying the problems faced by ex-convicts resulting in their relapse into criminal behaviour as well as the possible causes of re-offending, in general. Police officials, members from the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers for Human
Rights Association, and one member from the prosecutor general’s office assisted in examining the negative economic impact of re-offending to development.

The researcher, however, deliberately picked a small sample of ten participants per group for focus group discussions with offenders. This was purposively done through identifying those participants who had the knowledge needed by the researcher. Thus, the objective was not to generalize the results. This was the most appropriate procedure in this instance with in-depth interviews and focus group discussions complemented with observation allowing dwelling on each interview and building a relationship with respondents. More importantly they get to understand each other and the circumstances of each offender. Were it not for purposive sampling and in-depth interviews, intricate details of the lives of offenders might have been missed out, and this might have distorted the findings. The quality time spent with the participants, building trust and respecting their personal zones of comfort was an instrument used to generate quality data by participants opening up.

Purposive sampling is also discussed in various literature sources as criterion-based sampling (Ritchie et. al, 2003) or strategic sampling (Mason, 2010). Ritchie et.al, (2003) identify three major features of purposive sampling as (i) the prescribed selection criteria, (ii) the sample size and (iii) the potential to add or supplement samples. Ritchie et.al. (2003) further argue that the criteria for choosing samples are dependent upon the research questions or the themes to be explored. The sample aimed at including participants from varied backgrounds so as to explore all possible structures or factors of the subject as well as to allow in-depth analysis of the generated data. It was ideal to interview the offenders as well as prisons staff, by
virtue of being key data generation participants. Hence, becoming useful for the
researcher to interview rehabilitation officers at Harare central Prison and Chikurubi
female and Farm prisons since they have more interaction and direct links with the
inmates. These gave accurate information on the effectiveness of rehabilitation
strategies being employed by the Zimbabwe Prison and Correctional Services. In
order to achieve purposive sampling rehabilitation, officers were identified for in-
depth interviews and focus group discussions.

To choose the participants from the staff members of each prison, the researcher drew
names from the duty roster guided by areas of posting and expertise. Thirty names
were drawn from the three shifts at Harare central Chikurubi Farm and Female
Prisons. From the thirty names, a register was systematically created for use in
different interviews and group discussions. The researcher then, on the day of the
interviews, first checked who, among the listed staff, was on duty and created a list.
The names on the list were called, and members sat down. There were fifteen
participants, but the researcher had to interview ten. Ten cards written ‘yes’ and five
cards inscribed ‘No’ were put in a box, and participants were asked to pick the cards
randomly. This lottery method helped to identify and select a group of participants,
thus giving the whole group an equal chance of participation. The process was
repeated with offenders and officers at Chikurubi Female and Farm prisons and
generated a lot of interest as evidenced by the cheers and rounds of applause the
members would give to each other during the card-picking exercise.
3.5 Sample Selected

Strandes (1998) cited in Mason (2010) defines a sample as a group of subjects from which information is obtained and is representative of the entire population under study. In this research, the sample comprised rehabilitation officers from the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services, current inmates and ex-inmates. The sample population was drawn from Chikurubi Farm, Female, and Harare Central prisons. In addition, participants were sought from voluntary organisations involved in offender rehabilitation. In this case, a few representatives from Christian organizations, humanitarian agencies and stakeholders in the criminal justice system also participated.

3.6 Data generation procedure

The researcher is the main instrument for data generation. The researcher moved around the area of research carrying out guided interviews. Furthermore, participants discussed up to point of saturation in focus group discussions. Visits were made to relevant offices for document analysis and observation.

According to Chingono (2012), data collection instruments are mainly centred on the question: how will the data be collected? This question asks about the instruments and procedures to be used in data collection. In this study, the researcher adopted a systematic method whereby participants grouped and sat down and reflected on key issues and generated data. The aim was to hear participants’ views of the subject and the reasons for their opinion. The interviews and focus group discussions utilised semi-structured guiding questions to help maintain the study focus. The guiding questions were developed from the research questions, key highlights in the
background and related literature reviews. A number of relevant documents were analysed and documented against objectives and research questions. Probing sought to clarify or give deep understanding to issues under study.

3.6.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth Interviews were conducted in this study. This was chosen in order to generate in-depth information through follow up questions, which is not possible with questionnaires. Generally, these were semi-structured and unstructured. The former refers to questions that are written down in advance whilst the latter refers to questions that are open and allows the interviewee to open up freely on the issues posed as the interviewer is carrying out the research. For gathering reliable data, in-depth interviews were conducted with interviewees from the selected prisons. These included face-to-face or telephone unstructured interviews to get deeper information. In some cases, a topic guide was provided to make sure the participant is kept focused to the relevant subject.

A comprehensive recording of the interviews was done with a minimum time of 15 minutes per participant. The researcher chose in-depth interviewing and focus group discussion, which enabled a follow-up set of guiding questions. The process provides for flexibility in probing in order to get in-depth information (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This is in line with the argument by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:1) who posit that “the qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ point of view, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation”. In addition, the choice of data generation tools, particularly in-depth interviews was influenced by inclusion of prison inmates as participants. The researcher, by interviewing women
and men who had been in prison for more than once and on various charges, felt that the matter was very sensitive and personal, and therefore, needed trust-building.

Furthermore, by using in-depth interviewing and focus group discussion, the researcher successfully generated data that was rich on experiences and real life situations than she anticipated. The researcher visited the prisons identified and recorded notes during the interviews. Equally important, the researcher recorded oral and telephone interviews from selected participants as well as compiled information on face-to-face interviews. Additionally, data was collated from available records. The visits were made 3 times a week for two hours at male prisons and one hour once a week at the female prison, depending on the number of participants identified. On arrival at the prison, the researcher was able to identify participants for interviews amongst prisoners because of prior arrangements made through the administration and rehabilitation offices.

On identifying the participant, the researcher first went through the admission register and identified a group of ten re-offenders of different offences and social backgrounds. The names were called out, and the offenders confirmed. A small meeting was conducted with the group where the purpose and objectives of the visit were explained. The identified participants were met one by one, and their consent to participate in the interview sought. Those who agreed to participate were given the choice to decide whether to participate in focus group discussions or one-to-one interviews. Later, those who agreed to interviews were met one by one in a secluded place, and the interview was carried out using guiding questions as well as follow-up questions, depending on the responses and explanations, views and perceptions of the
participants. The participants’ responses were recorded, and after about 15 minutes, the participant would be released.

The process was continued until all the 10 participants were interviewed. The researcher then proceeded to play the tapes recorded as well as reconcile the notes taken during interviews and came up with a transcript that was given to the participants to confirm their views and authorise use of the information in the study. In some cases, the researcher reconvened the interview with the participants in order to clarify issues before the participants confirmed use of the data in the study. This process was repeated in all the three prisons and also with prison officials. It took a number of days to complete the process with each participant engaged in one to one interview until they approved the use of the data. In some instances, individual participants appended their signature as confirmation that the transcripts are a record of their views and perceptions to the subject of offender rehabilitation.

The semi-structured interviews were intended to answer the research questions of the study because of the emphasis put on subjective meanings and interpretation of social reality by research participants. A semi-structured interview, according to Legard et. al (2003) permits interviewer and interviewee interaction that has greater potential to generate new and revealing data on a subject. In this context, as Robson (2002) argues that semi-structured interviews offer the possibility of modifying one’s line of enquiry, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives.

However, semi-structured interviews, as a data collection technique, have disadvantages which are also shared by other types of interviews. For instance, small
sampling caused by a biased selection of informants may distort the objectivity of a wider population. The researcher may also misinterpret data given by informants due to his or her preconceived viewpoint about the subject of research (Mikkelsen, 1995). As Hay (2002) argues, researchers ‘are all socially and politically embedded within a complex and densely structured institutional and cultural landscape which cannot simply escape by climbing the ivory tower of academe to look down with scientific dispassion and disinterest on all they survey.’ In addition, face-to-face interviews are often criticised for unmaking the ‘natural setting’ necessary for the interviewee to give unbiased or self-censored responses to questions. There is also the risk of the researcher asking leading questions hence compromising the validity and quality of the research (Creswell, 2003:186; Legard et al., 2003). The solution to the above drawbacks of the interview technique might, as Robson (2002) argues, just as well depend on the professionalism of the researcher and the training on interviewing techniques or research methods in general.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions

A focus group is a type of qualitative research whereby a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a product, service, concept, advertisement, idea, or packaging (Kauffman, 2003) cited in Hugh et al. (2010). It is against this background that the researcher saw it appropriate to use focus group discussions instead of questionnaires. The focus group discussions were conducted at the three prisons with the assistance from station rehabilitation officers. The participants and the researcher converged in a back office and sat down in a horse-shoe format. The researcher would introduce herself and explain the objectives
of the session as well as assure participants how the information from the discussion will be used and their personal integrity protected “the Chatham house rule”

Rupande and Ndoro (2014: 18) further suggest that questions are asked in an interactive group setting where participants are free to talk with other group members. A focus group is a group of people who are asked their attitudes and opinions about a service, issue, concept, idea or product. Members in the group are free to talk with other members in the group. The role of the researcher was that of a moderator who listens, observes, asks questions and keeps the group on track.

The focus group is typically 7-10 people who are unfamiliar with each other and are selected because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic of the research question. Focus groups provide valuable information or insights when the memories, ideas and experiences of individual members are stimulated when listening to others verbalising their experiences. However, in a focus group, the researcher has less control over the group than a one-on-one interview and thus time can be wasted on irrelevant issues. The data collected is difficult to analyse because members talk in reaction to the comments of other group members. Hence, moderators or observers need to be highly trained to handle the varying behaviours of group members. Additionally, the data obtained from the group may not necessarily be representative of the population. To mitigate on the raised disadvantages, the researcher used and took advantage of group members who volunteered information as well as control the discussion using the respect endowed in her as a senior Prison official.
3.6.3 Observation

According to Rubin and Rubin (2011) cited in Ruponde and Ndoro (2014:16), direct observation is ideal in a case study. Observation is the technique of obtaining data through direct contact with a person or group of persons. Since, the main focus of qualitative research is naturalism, the researcher has to observe a person or people in their natural state as undisturbed as possible. According to Chingono (2012), the role of the researcher may be viewed as a continuum. On one extreme, the researcher is a passive observer and on the other extreme, the researcher is a participant observer. Given the adopted background and because of the many activities the researcher needed to observe in the daily operations of the rehabilitation programmes of which she selectively did.

In a sense, therefore, the implementation of rehabilitation strategies towards reformation and re-integration in Zimbabwean Prisons and Correctional Service is the lived experience of the researcher. Naturally, there are dangers of a subjective or biased-approach to a subject that one is part. To allay these fears, the researcher adhered to the dictates of academic research. Thus, direct observation in this first usage did not entail that the researcher should be literally present at all activities involving prison life.

During the process of interviewing for data generation at Harare central Prison, Chikurubi farm and Female Prisons, the researcher was able to ‘observe’ the interaction between prison officers and convicted inmates and document the observations, especially issues to do with responsibility, respect, relations between the various groups and how various activities were being carried out at a given prison
section. In particular, the researcher participated in the implementation of some of the rehabilitation activities through escorting prisoners to work parties and attending lectures during academic sessions. The researcher had an opportunity to participate in marking some essays for academic programmes as well as watch prisoners engage in their sporting and farming activities.

3.6.4 Document Analysis

Information on rehabilitation of offenders was elicited from documents available at the prisons administration offices. Existing programme reports, statistics on admission and discharge of inmates as well as other documented information on prisoner rehabilitation and recidivism was consulted in a bid to evaluate the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation programmes in Zimbabwe. Extracts of comments were sought from officers in charge. The researcher had an opportunity to go through briefing reports and took notes. In this study, the researcher used the topic guide approach during the interviewing process to overcome some of the problems identified above. Arthur and Nazroo (2003) define an interview topic guide as a framework that identifies broad topics or themes to be explored. It helps to ensure that relevant issues are covered systematically and with some uniformity, while still allowing for flexibility to pursue the detail that is salient to each individual participant (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003). For this research and in broad terms, the guiding topics and questions focused on the effectiveness of strategies used by rehabilitation officers towards reformation and re-integration.

The researcher also made use of published and unpublished documents. The use of documents, also known as documentary analysis, provided a source for secondary
data. The Prison Policy Document, newspapers and the internet were analysed to explore their positions on rehabilitation of offenders. The documents were accessed during field work whilst others were accessed during the initial preparatory phases of the study through the internet. Secondary sources of data were particularly important for identifying explicit or implicit rehabilitation documented activities or strategies for offender rehabilitation. Most of the documents acknowledged that prison services are for reformation of offenders and highlighted on the issues of correcting offensive behaviour. They do not, however, indicate whether the strategies employed for offenders are effective or not. Hence, the analysis of these documents allowed the researcher to better understand the concepts of rehabilitation.

The other advantage of documentary sources of data for this thesis was that they allowed access to subjects in the past and present that are usually impossible to reach through one-to-one interviews. However, using written documents as source of evidence has its own disadvantages, the principal being that there is a process of ‘selective survival’ (Johnson & Joslyn, 1995) that determines what material to keep and what to exclude and why. In other words, documents that survive to be consulted by outside researchers, more often, would have gone through a process of conscious authoring, collection and preservation. This means that issues of incompleteness and/or bias of the contents of documents cannot be ruled out (Creswell, 2003; Hay, 2002). In relation to this thesis, this called upon the researcher to be critical of information contained in documents. The use of semi-structured interviews was used as a form of methodology triangulation to compensate for the limitations of document sources.
3.7 Data presentation, analysis and interpretation procedures

The data generated during in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation was compiled and presented in its raw form. The researcher used the descriptive approach to data presentation. During analysis, data was presented in themes and in line with important aspects to consider which arose from the research questions. Oliver (2000) highlights that recurring themes are the main issues in the study. According to Taylor and Gibbs (2005) as cited in Mafume (2014), qualitative data analysis is the range of processes and procedures whereby we move from the qualitative data that have been collected into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations we are investigating. Data analysis, as a process of making meaning from the data, was done using themes and concepts for making generalizations. In this study, a thematic analysis was employed to make meaning from the generated data. This further entails a three-pronged analytic hierarchy process (King & Harrocks, 2010) involving, first, the immersion stage where the researcher re-read all the transcribed interviews in order to identify emergent and/or generate themes and concepts. Logically, some of the themes and concepts were derived from the research questions. Second, the researcher indexed or flagged out relevant or interesting parts of the interviews and tagged these for easier locating during the writing up stage. Third, the researcher used the themes generated at stage one to design the chapter outlines and then assigned the indexed data under the different sections of the chapters.
3.8 Trustworthiness of Qualitative Data

The trustworthiness of qualitative research data is assured in several ways that differ from the quantitative perspective where concepts of validity and reliability are emphasized. According to Silverman (1998), trustworthiness of qualitative data can be achieved through two criteria which are: credibility and transferability. The techniques herewith adopted, as recommended by Loh (2013) to establish credibility were: prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation of sources.

Transferability in trustworthiness criteria required the researcher to adopt thick description technique to establish trustworthiness in line with Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) guidelines to ensure rigour and quality.

3.8.1 Credibility

According to Merriam (1998:56) cited in King and Harrocks (2010), credibility deals with the question: “How congruent are the findings with reality?” Lincoln and Guba (1995) argue that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in establishing trustworthiness. In this study, to enhance data credibility, the researcher adopted research methods well established both in qualitative investigation, in general, and in social science, in particular. Thus, the specific procedures employed, such as the line of questioning pursued in the data gathering sessions and the methods of data analysis, were derived from those that have been successfully utilised in previous comparable research projects.

Furthermore, the development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating organisations before the first data collection dialogues takes place, as done in this study, was meant to ensure that credibility of the data collected is not questioned. This was achieved through analysing appropriate documents and preliminary visits to the
organisation’s main participating points where the researcher had “prolonged engagement” with the participants in order for her to gain an adequate understanding of an organisation and to establish a relationship of trust between the parties (Merriam, 1998:89) cited in Tracy (2010).

According to Brewer and Hunter (2009) cited in Mason (2010), the use of different methods in the same study compensates for the individual limitations and exploits their respective benefits. This is also called triangulation. This process is part of enhancing the credibility of the data collected. Triangulation may involve the use of different methods, especially observation, focus group discussions and individual interviews, which form the major data collection strategies for much qualitative research. Whilst focus group discussions and individual interviews suffer from some common methodological shortcomings, since both are interviews of a kind, their distinct characteristics also result in individual strengths. Supporting data was obtained from documents to provide a background to and help explain the attitudes and behaviour of those in the group under scrutiny, as well as to verify particular details that participants have supplied. Opportunities were also seized to examine any documents referred to by informants during the actual interviews where these were able to shed more light on the behaviour of the people in question. More importantly, the use of a wide range of informants, as used in this study, was meant to ensure that viewpoints and experiences were verified against others and, ultimately, a rich picture of attitudes, needs or behaviour of those under scrutiny could be constructed based on the contributions of a range of people. Van Maanen (2005:43) urges the exploitation of opportunities “to check out bits of information across informants”.
A thick description of the phenomenon under scrutiny was also employed. A detailed description in this area was an important provision for promoting credibility as it helped to convey the actual situations investigated and, to an extent, the contexts that surround them. Without this insight, it is difficult for the reader of the final account to determine the extent to which the overall findings “ring true” (Clarkson, 2009:23). Thus, thick descriptions of phenomenon were done so as to allow the reader to assess how far the defined issues truly embrace the actual situations, as opined in Tracy (2010).

Member checks are considered as the single most important provisions that can be made to bolster a study’s credibility (Guba & Lincoln, 1995). Member checks relating to the accuracy of the data took place “on the spot” in the course, and at the end of the data collection dialogues. Informants were also asked to read transcripts of dialogues in which they had participated. Here the emphasis was on whether the informants consider that their words match what they actually intended had been accurately captured. Another element of member checking in this study involved verification of the investigator’s emerging theories and inferences as these were formed during the dialogues. This strategy was employed by Pitts (1997) and is recommended by Brewer and Hunter (2007), cited in O’Reilly and Parker (2013). Participants were also asked if they could offer reasons for particular patterns observed by the researcher. The importance of developing such a formative understanding is recognised by Van Maanen (1995:88) who writes that “analysis and verification ... is something one brings forth with them from the field, not something which can be attended to later, after the data are collected. When making sense of field data, one cannot simply
accumulate information without regard to what each bit of information represents in terms of its possible contextual meanings”

Lastly, to enhance credibility, tactics to help ensure honesty in informants when contributing data were devised. In particular, each person who was approached was given an opportunity to refuse to participate in the project to ensure that the data collection sessions involve only those who were genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely. Participants were encouraged to be frank from the outset of each session, with the researcher aiming to establish a rapport in the opening moments and indicating that there are no right answers to the questions that were asked. The independent status of the researcher was emphasized. Participants, therefore, contributed ideas and shared their experiences without fear of losing credibility in the eyes of the gatekeepers.

3.8.2 Transferability

Merriam (2009:103) writes that transferability is “concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations”. The researcher was aware that since the findings of a qualitative project are specific to a small number of particular environments and individuals, it may be impossible to demonstrate that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations. However, Lincoln and Guba (1995) and Firestone (1990) cited in King and Harrocks (2010) suggest that it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that sufficient contextual information about the field work sites is provided to enable the reader to make such a transfer. In this study, “a full description of all the contextual factors was impinging on the inquiry”, as recommended by Guba (1990), were supplied.
The work of Loh (2013) and Yin (2011), as adopted in this study, highlights the importance of the researchers conveying to the reader the boundaries of the study. Thus, the following information was given at the outset in this study:

a) The name of the organisation and department taking part in the study;
b) Any restrictions (this is a security organisation) in the type of people who contributed data and areas to be accessed;
c) The number of participants involved in the fieldwork;
d) The data collection methods that were employed;
e) The number and length of the data collection sessions; and
f) The time and period over which the data was collected.

### 3.9 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis is the process in which we move from the raw data that have been collected as part of the research study and use it to provide explanations, understanding and interpretation of the phenomena, people and situations which we are studying (Loh, 2013). Qualitative data analysis involves such processes as coding, categorising and making sense of the essential meanings of the phenomenon. As the researcher works with the rich descriptive data, common themes or essences begin to emerge. This stage of analysis in this study basically involved total immersion to ensure both a pure and a thorough description of the phenomenon. The total immersion in the process, also called “going native”, was meant to allow the researcher gain complete understanding, confidence and trust of the community. In this study, data from interviews and observations was analysed thematically while data from documents was analysed using content analysis.
3.9.1 **Thematic analysis**

Lessler (1992) cited in Loh (2013) described thematic analysis as a historically conventional practice in qualitative research which involves searching through data to identify any current patterns. Thematic analysis attempts to represent a view of reality by systematically working through text to identify topics that are progressively integrated into higher order themes, through processes of de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation.

For the purposes of this study, thematic analysis was meant for data gathered through interviews. The researcher made use of the interview guide. The rationale behind using this technique is that it does not require expertise on the part of the researcher. Only some conceptual understanding to guide the insight process is necessary.

3.9.2 **Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a procedure for the categorisation of verbal or behavioural data for purposes of classification, summarisation and tabulation (Tracy, 2010). Content analysis involves coding and classifying data, also referred to as categorising and indexing, and the aim of content analysis is to make sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages, features or findings. The strength of content analysis is that it provides objective analysis of written material and helps to identify meaning from text data.

3.10 **Ethical and Legal Considerations**

Ethical and legal considerations are vital in any research study. The researcher took into consideration the following ethical considerations. Autonomy and consent of the
participants is necessary for researcher to be aware of what is considered proper and improper in the conduct of research inquiry. It is important to be cognizant of the ethical expectations of the targeted area of research, as Carlson (1967) cited in Tracy (2010) articulates: “Let’s face it, we are able to collect our research data only because the general public continues to be willing to submit to our interviews.” Ethical considerations built confidence amongst the targeted participants so that they unpacked their experiences without fear of harm that may occur; hence the dignity of the participants was preserved.

Names of the participants were not published, but names of organizations were mentioned as these are public entities. In addition, Correctional or Rehabilitation institutions were not informed of the names of the subjects for fear of victimization. The right to privacy and dignity is also an issue to be considered and therefore, the participants’ privacy and dignity was observed. All the information gathered from the participants was kept confidential so that the prisoners or offenders would not be at risk.

The researcher took into cognisance the fact that offenders and all participants should have the freedom to choose whether or not to participate in the study. The researcher made the participants aware of their rights. In the same vein, the participants were given enough information so that they could decide whether to participate or not. The prisoners were notified of final findings of the study through ZPCS who happens to be the regulatory authority. However, other stakeholders were given soft copies of the report which were forwarded through email.
The participants’ anonymity as well as protection from psychological harm was respected. The researcher conducted debriefing sessions so as to reassure informants and allay any misgivings they might have had as this is individual freedom. Presentation of research findings was done honestly without distortion. There was no omission of data from a research report which might have significantly modified the interpretation of findings. The people who assisted in this study were acknowledged.

3.11 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the methodology used to bring out issues and factors that bring the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation programmes in Zimbabwe to the fore were discussed. This also includes research design, and methods used to generate data. The data collection for this research was carried out at Harare Central Prison, Chikurubi Farm and Female Prisons. For practical appreciation of rehabilitation, focus group discussions were held with prison officers, inmates and ex-inmates while information was recorded when officers were explaining the concept of rehabilitation of offenders. The data from the written documents augmented the information that was collected through interviews, observation and focus group discussions well. The next chapter focuses on data presentation analysis and interpretation.
CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the generated data, makes an analysis of the major issues raised and presents the findings of the research. Primary data was generated from the face-to-face interviews which were personally conducted with various participants. Focus group discussions were also used to generate data and were purposefully conducted at Chikurubi farm, Female and Harare Central prisons. Furthermore, some data were generated through participant observation. This was inevitable because the researcher was the chief administrator of instruments for data collection. Secondary data was sourced from the prisons’ records and statistics office and the rehabilitation department. To a lesser extent, more secondary data was elicited from various sections of the organization inclusive of the public relations section and research and development. Most of the documents acknowledged that the prison services are for reformation of offenders as well as highlighting the issues of correcting offensive behaviour. They did not, however, indicate whether the strategies employed for offenders are effective or not. Hence the analyses of these documents enabled the researcher to understand the concept of rehabilitation of offenders.

Perspectives on Rehabilitation Policy

The Commissioner General of Prisons and Correctional Service introduced the rehabilitation policy in 2004 for the purpose of implementing rehabilitation activities
within the Prison Service. Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services recruits qualified personnel in the field of social sciences such as Social work, Counselling, Psychology and Sociology to work as rehabilitation officers. The Rehabilitation Directorate is headed by the National Coordinator, and the National Rehabilitation Coordinator is at the middle management level. According to the structure of the organization, the office that is highest in command is at the national headquarters of the ZPCS. There are four regional Rehabilitation Coordinators who report to the National Coordinator, and they are also responsible to the Officer Commanding in their respective regions. At the bottom level of the structure, there are Station Rehabilitation Officers who report to the Regional Coordinator.

Reintegration constitutes key issues to be addressed by the ZPCS Rehabilitation Policy. However, statistics kept by the Administration Section of ZPCS at its Headquarters show high recidivism by offenders. There is concern within Government, Society and ZPCS Management as to what could be the gaps in the rehabilitation and reintegration processes which could contribute to high recidivism rates.

The research assessed the attitudes of respondents towards people who repeatedly get incarcerated for similar or various different offences. This was necessitated by the need to find out if re-offenders were received well in the communities. Mostly, the respondents agreed that re-offenders are a menace to communities, that they put pressure on the nation’s resources and that there was need for the government to ensure that the country’s prisons were not congested with people with uncontrolled behaviour traits that favour prison life than working for themselves. It was, therefore,
noted that most of the respondents were against the influx of offenders into the country’s Correctional Centres and Institutions. This, to some extent, suggested that in a bid to solve the problem of crime in various communities, the relations between people in the society, families and communities strain, thus resulting in correctional institutions being overwhelmed. Due to negative and shameful acts of criminal behaviour, one cannot rule out the chances of some kind of friction between the offender and the victim as well as close relatives, which is not healthy in terms of nation-building and by so doing, the government intervenes to restore order and hope for harmony in the country.

Table 4.1    Breakdown of repeat offenders and summary of the sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRIME</th>
<th>Number of inmates</th>
<th>SENTENCE</th>
<th>Number of convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Over 5 years imprisonment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock theft</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18 months and above</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Murder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Over 12 months and suspended sentence</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>Over 2 years imprisonment</td>
<td>Many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent Assault</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1 month and Corporal punishment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Over 3 months imprisonment</td>
<td>Several</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of the inmates, as shown in Table 4.1 above, are visibly, well disciplined. Most of them show genuine desire to reform and are eager to learn. They admittedly acknowledged that counselling services they get from senior staff restore their lost hope and confidence.

### 4.1 Data from Interviews

The data presented herein emerges from the responses of the participants during the interviews. The responses are arranged in themes. The way the themes are arranged does not, in any way, signify the importance of the theme but was generated in accordance with the research questions.

#### 4.1.1 Theme 1 Background of Participants

Participants for this study comprised 10 serving prisoners, 10 repeat and first time offenders, 5 inmates support groups, members of the religious community or church organizations, 2 representatives of humanitarian organizations, non-governmental organizations, and players in the criminal justice system and prison officers. The respondents belong to blanket groups, yet they have various background issues relating to their lives which make them unique to this study. Most offenders were of different backgrounds; some were not employed at the time of arrest, some were farmers, some were in various professions in the government and private sector, some were in tertiary and different levels of university studies and different small to
medium entrepreneurial fields. The varying backgrounds are related to their understanding of the rehabilitation concept and the rehabilitation strategies at their disposal. Prison officers of different ranks, period in employment and different professional qualifications were used as respondents. It came to the fore that these officers have different conceptions on what entails rehabilitation, hence different attitudes towards its implementation.

4.1.2 Re-offending

While economic factors contribute the highest percentage in the causes of re-offending in Zimbabwe, poverty linked to political and personal factors has a significant contribution. Other factors such as family genes, greed and the desire to change one’s environment are contributory to re-offending. The comprehensive data gathered shows that people with a higher propensity to re-offend are those who have limited education and of poor upbringing in the ghetto suburbs. Also clear is that school dropouts between 20 and 35 years, with little educational qualifications, repeat offending behaviour.

The largest percentages of factors contributing to the re-offending of people are economic in nature. Deriving from theories of dependency and globalisation, activities in the prisons signify the nature of events taking place in the larger communities. Resources tend to shrink and become scarce when there is poor performance of the industry. Resources also tend to be concentrated in the hands of few individuals, thereby further enriching the already rich. Corruption and criminal behaviour becomes rife when people compete for scarce resources and when there is worsening poverty.
Responses from the 10 purposively selected re-offenders from each of the two groups of 5 male prisoners selected from the 10 provinces of Zimbabwe echoed similar justifications to the causes of their re-offending behaviour. The reasons proffered included persecution, frequent abuse, bullying, oppression, ethnic cleansing, political motives traditional practices. For instance, sex offenders would argue that their act was a traditional practice. After release from prison, the persecution and stigma continues, and they are compelled to go back to prison for the sake of peace. Cultural differences were some of the factors highlighted to be motivating the idea to engage in criminal activities. The justification was that what constitutes crime in one cultural and ethnic setting may not necessarily be the same in other cultures.

4.1.3 Theme 2: Rehabilitation Strategies

It was central for this research to identify the strategies which are used to rehabilitate offenders. Typical responses during interviews included:

**Excerpt 1** “We have an education department where inmates are enrolled from grade one up to ‘Advanced level. There are also professional courses such as accounting and business management among others.” (Officer 1)

**Excerpt 2** “Here at Harare Central prison, there are quite a number of vocational disciplines we teach inmates. These include carpentry, motor mechanics, horticulture and tailoring, among others.” (Officer 2)

**Excerpt 3** “We have activities such as drama, sports, music and traditional dance which are done by inmates.” (Officer 3)
**Excerpt 4** “We work with organisations like ZACRO who complement our efforts in all rehabilitation activities.” (Officer 4)

**Excerpt 5** “A lot of rehabilitation programmes are available but the results are not very pleasing because implementation is marred by a whole lot of challenges. At the end of the day, it is as good as nothing is happening. It is just life as usual.” (Officer 5)

From the above statements by officers involved in various aspects of offender management and rehabilitation activities implementation, the common idea is that rehabilitation efforts are in place at the various prisons in Zimbabwe. The activities, strategies, objectives and results are, generally, the same.

4.1.4 Responses from professional officers in charge of the rehabilitation

The professional officers in charge of rehabilitation were interviewed, and below are their responses:

**Excerpt 1**: “I am responsible for identifying psycho-social, moral and educational needs of all inmates in general including juveniles from the outset on admission and regularly, during incarceration. I also organise and facilitate social support network for all inmates through contact with their families as well as community.”

*(Rehabilitation Officer 1)*

**Excerpt 2**: “Yes, besides what has been said by my colleagues, I also identify and advise the officer in charge on the importance of segregation of prisoners into...
appropriate categories. I also advocate and advise inmates and officers of inmates rights where infringement surfaces.” (Rehabilitation Officer 2)

**Excerpt 3:** “As rehabilitation officers, we do a great job in the system. The rehabilitation officer should also ensure that rehabilitation programmes at station are productive and can generate self-sufficiency and relevant training. However, our objective to rehabilitate re-offenders as well as the general populace of our inmates can only be realised if rehabilitation officers as well as other supporting staff continue to be given appropriate in-service training courses.” (Rehabilitation Officer 3)

The above responses from the officers in charge reveal that all players in rehabilitation know the importance of the concept. There is evident commitment to assist offenders’ reform. The issue remains in the way the programmes are implemented and the targeted individual beneficiaries. The mentioned challenges are also an obstacle to the achievement of set objectives by both the offender and the administration. This is in line with Ruponde and Ndoro (2015) who found that most rehabilitation officers understand their roles and responsibilities.

4.1.5 Theme 3: How does prison rehabilitation assist offenders to reform?
This theme mainly sought to elicit information from the offenders who participated and underwent different rehabilitation processes. The idea was for them to elaborate and bring out how the programmes are practically benefiting them. The following were the common responses and issues raised in the focus group discussions.
Prisoners/ Offenders/ Inmates

**Excerpt 1** “We are learning a lot from the skills we are exposed to, although rehabilitation is voluntary. It is up to an inmate to participate or not”.

**Excerpt 2** “We are selected to go to the workshop if you have prior technical or vocational skill.”

**Excerpt 3** “I never participated in any rehabilitation programme when I served my first sentence. There is nothing that I learnt during the time I was here”. (Re-offender)

From the above responses, there is generally an agreement to the idea of rehabilitation being a strategy used by officers to assist prisoners towards reforming. This confirms the idea by Australian scholars, Willison et. al. (2011) who pointed out that faith-based correctional services, including religion, do work with a large number of offenders. Religious counselling is increasingly recognised as an instrument for offender rehabilitation. Religion has always played an important role in the prison context, and studies have shown that religious counselling can exert positive effects on inmate adjustment. The underlying mechanism behind religious counselling is that it can induce positive attitude and motivational change.

This falls under spiritual and moral rehabilitation. To make sure there is adequate provision of the required services, the chaplain General of the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services had the following comment to explain how the prison officials assist inmates in their reform process: “The Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional
Services run a vibrant chaplaincy department staffed with competent and well-trained clergy, whose chief aim, collectively, is to minister reformation, social decency, moral dignity and piety to the prison population.” He further explained that “this is complemented by psychological rehabilitation which is an arm of psycho-social reconfiguration and is superintended over by officers from the Prison Rehabilitation department. Their duties include counselling inmates with family and personal problems, facilitating communication with the outside world and assisting with re-integration into mainstream society.”

4.1.5 Theme 4: Effectiveness of the strategies

After establishing the rehabilitation-oriented strategies at the disposal of inmates at Harare Central and Chikurubi Prisons, it became incumbent upon the research, for the officers and recipients of the strategies to rate their effectiveness in reforming offenders. The following responses were highlighted:

**Excerpt 1** “Most offenders are responding well to rehabilitation. We read and hear of some offenders doing marvellous things. An outstanding example is that of ZACRO Director who is an ex-inmate”. (Officer)

**Excerpt 2** “We are learning a lot from the skills we are exposed to, although rehabilitation is voluntary. It is up to an inmate to participate or not”. (Inmate)

**Excerpt 3** “The procedure is, we are selected to go to the workshop if one has prior technical or vocational skill” (Inmate)
Excerpt 4 “We were always insulted, harassed and made to feel unimportant by some prison officers and as such, we became indifferent to the positive things that we were exposed to in prison.” (Ex-inmate)

Excerpt 5 “We carry out our activities in prison routinely without altering any aspects. Prison programmes are rarely changed; we are just expected to stick to the same timelines every day.” (Inmate)

Excerpt 6 “It is difficult to evaluate programmes because even if you make recommendations, it takes a very long time, sometimes even years for recommendations to be appreciated and put into effect.” (Officer)

Excerpt 7 “There was no way that the education I received whilst in prison could be of much help because when I left, I had not obtained any certificate to show my level of education. My sentence ran out before I could finish”. (Ex-inmate)

The above excerpts indicate that some offenders feel short-changed by some of the rehabilitation programmes, especially academic programmes. In a nutshell, the interpretation is that the programmes may not be very helpful, and ex-offenders feel they are not well equipped for life outside prison.

4.1.6 Theme 5: Weaknesses of rehabilitation policies in place
The research elicited the views of respondents on factors that they thought are against the full realisation of rehabilitation objectives, with varying distributions.
Respondents were unanimous on aspects that defeat rehabilitation. These distinct categories came to the forefront: overcrowding, ill-treatment by prison staff, scarcity of provisions and officers’ lack of rehabilitation training. The following excerpts are instructive of the above:

**Excerpt 1** “Our main thrust is to ensure security of communities by keeping those incarcerated in prison. We prevent escapes. This issue of rehabilitation is a new thing, and there are rehabilitation officers responsible for that”. (Officer 1)

**Excerpt 2** “There are very bad relations between officers and inmates. Most of the prison officers fear for their lives because these people are dangerous. We know they will never reform, most of them are pretenders”. (Officer 2)

**Excerpt 3** “Prisoners must feel the pain of their misbehaviour such that when they are released, the prison experience will deter them from re-offending.” (Officer 3)

**Excerpt 4** “We live under very overcrowded conditions in which the risk of communicating diseases is very high. At times, there are over fifty of us in a cell designed for twenty people”. (Offender 1)

**Excerpt 5** “We are not able to pay for the fees and other material for education programmes; I ended up repeating Ordinary level because there is nobody to pay for my exam fees and books. (Offender 2)
In the above excerpts, the living conditions in prison may be a stumbling block for successful rehabilitation.

4.1.7 Theme 6: Implementation of rehabilitation policies

The success of a programme depends, to a larger extent, on its ability to renew itself, to adapt to dynamic and changing environment. It is against this background that the researcher saw it important to elicit information on how rehabilitation is implemented at the stations under study, Chikurubi Female, Farm and Harare Central Prisons.

Excerpt 1: Comment from the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services rehabilitation national coordinator

“Rehabilitation is a wide and complex phenomenon. However, in the Zimbabwean context, we view rehabilitation from a positive perspective though it is seen as a borrowed idea.

Historically, rehabilitation was mooted as a concept by Reverend H. Carter in 1933 when he proposed industrial training for convicts in Zimbabwe prisons. This provided the basis of a structural platform from which to develop a complete rehabilitation paradigm as espoused in the Prison Policy Document. The rehabilitation components specifically enunciated in the document encompassing Skills Training, Academic education and moral programmes. For a long time now, the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional services employs qualified artisans to train and supervise inmates in technical disciplines such as carpentry, tailoring, motor mechanics, panel beating and horticulture, among others.
Rehabilitation as understood and practiced in Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Service objectively aims at the restoration of offenders’ lives to normal life or near normal capacity through treatment and training. Rehabilitation officers in all prison stations under study and in the various responsible regions, as stated in the ZPCS policy document (2005), are responsible for:

- Identifying psycho-social, moral and educational needs of all inmates in general including juveniles from the outset on admission and regularly during incarceration;
- Organising and facilitating social support network for all inmates through contact with their families as well as community;
- Identifying and advising the officer in-charge on the importance of segregation of prisoners into appropriate categories. The Objectives of Rehabilitation include, among other things, ensuring that inmates benefit from the organisations’ programmes, taking into account one’s background and psychological needs. The objective also sought to ensure involvement of the local community, local leadership and families of inmates in the rehabilitation process, so as to remove the stigma attached to imprisonment. This includes incorporating and working closely with after-care groups in the provision of social support networks that may be needed by the prisoner upon release. These are some of the programmes in place currently:

  a) **Vocational Skills Training and Academic Education**

This involves imparting the individual with various academic, agricultural and technical skills training that will enable one to find employment or to engage in activities that are necessary for their life after prison. Training is provided by qualified
personnel where inmates are involved in theory and practical lessons. The main aim is to equip inmates with relevant skills so that upon release, they could work for their families, community and the country at large as opposed to re-offending. It is generally agreed that at Harare central prison, the rate of recidivism has decreased significantly due to various vocational skills that the organisation offers through its projects such as carpentry, building, welding, motor mechanics as well as tailoring; most released inmates are finding their way in the informal sector, thereby earning a living outside prison. This scenario is in agreement with Vacca (2004) supported by Rupande and Ndoro (2013) who agree in that prisoners who attend educational programmes in prison are less likely to return.

This is evidenced by the Divine Touch Choir, a group of prisoners who started their music at Harare Central Prison in 2006 who have become part of the Divine Touch Trust, an organization that is working with ex-convicts in supporting their sustainable re-integration back into society. The DTT has collaborated with the Harare Institute of Technology through their environment department (EMRECRC) to promote life skills development by facilitating training in environmental management, renewable energy and climate change. Similar to the programme of Chikurubi Farm is the choral group called ‘Tahila’. This group worked with various renowned artists and were assisted to record their music whilst in prison. They have been hired to provide entertainment at various private and public functions in the communities. Chikurubi also have a female choral group called “Women of Substance”. This group has received support from leading female gospel musicians such as Fungisai Zvakavapano Mashavave, Primrose Simeti and others. Renowned world female evangelist, Joyce Meyer, has also been at the female prison to help and assist in encouraging behaviour change among inmates.
through various religious teachings.

Other activities at the two male prisons include, among others, Metal Work, Fabrication, Panel Beating, Spray Painting, Tailoring, Radio and Television repairing, Plumbing, Carpentry, Bricklaying, Painting, Wood and stone carving and Shoe making. Regarding academic education at Chikurubi Female, inmates are afforded the opportunity to undergo basic to tertiary education, for example, grade 1-7, Ordinary and Advanced Levels. There are quite a number of institutions that offer long distance courses, and arrangements are made with these to enable inmates to sit for examinations. This programme was designed to provide academic education to inmates who showed some academic deficiency. There are trained teachers who have various expertise who oversee the implementation of the education programme. They work with the Ministry of Education for supervision of lessons and examinations at the end of year.

Last year (2014), fourteen inmates sat for their grade seven examinations and almost twenty sat for Ordinary Level examinations. The programme still faces lack of appropriate facilities or learning science subjects such as laboratories and a proper learning environment despite its fundamental significance. If all the above setbacks can be met, the academic programme can enable the organisation to produce highly academic inmates who can actively contribute towards the economy of Zimbabwe. The programme came after a realisation that inmates who can read and write reintegrate much quicker than those who are illiterate. More so, the programme is intended to equip inmates with academic skills that would enable them to live crime-free lives outside prison as they will now be able to read and write.
The programme, despite its fundamental significance, still faces lack of appropriate facilities for learning science subjects such as laboratories and a proper learning environment. Since the main goal of rehabilitation is that successful re-integration of all inmates back into society, there is a strong need by the organisation to avail appropriate and relevant rehabilitation programmes to all inmates. These include academic and vocational courses as these are significant in skills acquisitions which are necessary for life outside prison. More so, there is need to support the rehabilitation section with more financial resources so as to be able to make all educational and vocational projects viable and functional. If all the above setbacks can be met, the academic programmes can enable the organisation to produce highly academic inmates who can actively contribute towards the economy of Zimbabwe.

b) Psychosocial Rehabilitation

Psychosocial Rehabilitation involves the use of counselling and psychotherapy to address inmates’ offending behaviour. Some offenders commit crime due to their deeply rooted psychological problems such as poor upbringing, growing up without parental care, or being raised in a violent set up. Social Rehabilitation is provided by qualified personnel in Social Sciences for example Social Workers, Psychologists, Sociologists and Counsellors.

The chaplaincy sections coordinate all the religious activities that happen in the prisons. At every station, there is a resident chaplain who is kept in liaison and coordinates with all church and charity organisations that have an interest in participating in rehabilitation of offenders through sports and recreation. Inmates undergo various sporting and recreational activities as part of stress management and
improvement of their physical health. Inmates are involved in the following programmes: Traditional Dance, Drama, Poetry, Contemporary Music, Soccer, Netball, Chess and Volleyball.

4.1.8 Theme 7: Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation of programmes is not only an institutional goal, but there are other actors who partake in it. In this study, prisoners, ex-mates, repeat offenders and officers shared their views of the programmes. The following excerpts shed light on how various participants interviewed evaluate the policies and programmes in terms of their impact to influence behaviour change.

**Excerpt 1** “We carry out our activities in prison routinely without altering any aspects. Prison programmes are rarely changed, we are just expected to stick to the same timelines every day.” (Prisoners)

**Excerpt 2** “It is difficult to evaluate programmes because even if you make recommendations, it takes a very long time, sometimes even years for recommendations to be appreciated and put into effect.” (Officer)

**Excerpt 3** “Because of the economic challenges that we are facing as a country, majority of recommendations that are likely to come out of monitoring and evaluation processes will be difficult to implement.” (Supervisor)

**Excerpt 4** “Some officers go beyond the call of their duties to assist inmates with their personal resources. There is a brotherly atmosphere most of the time between us
and the officers, though this is not to say we don’t have misguided elements.” (Female offender)

**Excerpt 5** “I never benefited much from any rehabilitation programmes because of my dislike of the whole system which was caused by the way we were ill-treated by officers” (repeat offender)

**Excerpt 6** “We were always insulted, harassed and made to feel unimportant by some prison officers and as such, we became indifferent to the positive things that we were exposed to in prison.” (Ex-inmate)

**Excerpt 7** “The responsible authorities do not bother to monitor the implementation of these policies probably because of the economic challenges. Also, prison work as I see it from my long service experience, is not a government priority. Recommendations are done by stakeholders, but nobody bothers to review even the policies concentration is on feeding the prisoners and tightening security”.

In short, the participants were of the view that evaluation of programmes was only done as a routine duty. The results are not taken seriously. The prisoners felt they are not benefiting from the process. This is in sharp contrast to Cullen (2014) who argues that evaluations of programmes should be taken seriously, and any issues raised should be implemented if such programmes are to be sustainable.
4.1.9 Theme 8: Communities participation and policy input

It is a fact in the body of knowledge that there are stakeholders in the criminal justice system and civic societies who have roles to play in the rehabilitation of offenders. The researcher deemed it noble to find out the level of their participation and the impact these have on successful offender reform and reduction of numbers of recidivists in Zimbabwe Prisons. Representatives of organizations involved in the rehabilitation of offenders that includes humanitarian organizations, the courts, non-governmental organizations and individual church leaders responded.

**Excerpt 1** “It is difficult to influence government policy review. The maximum we can do is cooperating and supporting the inmates while they are in custody. At times, it takes time to get authority to be in regular touch with prisoners. Suggestions to improve the systems take time to be appreciated and put into effect.” (Stakeholder)

**Excerpt 2** “As of today, we have a programme on national television called Another Chance where we visit relatives of prisoners towards the expiry of their sentences and explain the benefits of welcoming a perceived reformed inmate.” (Officer)

**Excerpt 3** “Most ex-inmates are denied moral support by their relatives. There is no one to follow them up from prison, and after expiry of sentence, there is no home to go to. Others become destitute hence reintegration becomes a challenge.” (officers and re-offenders)

**Excerpt 4** “We are committed to go back and contribute towards a far better society, and this calls for honesty, self-discipline and developing some friendship as well as
solidarity during the period of imprisonment. Orientation at prisons should include induction courses for all new admission” (inmate).

**Excerpt 5** “We opine that it is high time for our government to establish a prisons training college for the enhancement of adequate training to staff. The selection and entry point for staff responsible for facilitating behaviour change is critical to successful policy implementation.” (Stakeholder)

**Excerpt 6** “Selection and training of inmates for enrolment and support in different programmes at different levels should not be left to prison officers alone” (Community member).

**Excerpt 7** “The job of a prison officer is a noble one and requires support from all spheres of life. Where we have human beings just like in schools and universities moulding behaviour is one thing that requires total support” (Religious leader).

**Excerpt 8** “The primary responsibility is to help protect society by always keeping the prisoners in safe and secure custody and making sure all do their best in the social reintegration back into society” (Prison leader).

From the shared excerpts above, one can safely say the input of various stakeholders like the community, in policy formulation, policy implementation, policy monitoring and evaluation is highly valuable and required. The involvement of other stakeholders in offender rehabilitation is critical for the reduction of repeat offending behaviour, thereby reducing the number of people who are admitted into prisons. Communities
have a role to play in order to complement the efforts of government in the fight against recidivism. The community effort needs to be complemented and supported by those who can offer financial assistance. The immediate area of recommendation to effective policy implementation from civic society is the need for a strong and highly professional and meticulous workforce in the prisons. The civil society and humanitarian organizations may act as watchdogs for policies to be effective. For example, South Africa has commendable rehabilitation and Correctional policies. Learning from their principles and borrowing their effective practices, notwithstanding the shortcomings, will probably add to what the excerpts above seek to drive and suggest as points to consider.

In South Africa, the principles, as suggested and explained in the White Paper, their blueprint for Correctional Services are that:

In line with the approach to rehabilitation as a societal responsibility, and in line also with the approach that the correctional system is an integral part of the integrated justice system, the Minister responsible for Correctional Services should ensure that there is a forum in which expertise from these sectors is brought to bear in the policy and legislation development, and approval processes. The National Council for Correctional Services, which should consist of judges, lawyers, professionals, and a number of eminent citizens, should also serve the function of advising the Minister of Correctional Services from outside of the Departmental environment.
In a study by Muntingh (2008) cited in Gona et. al. (2014), the above has shown that Zimbabwe’s rehabilitation, just like the White Paper, falls short in substantive ways of the requirements of modern policy-making. “The White Paper, five years after its adoption, has results in respect of the rehabilitation vision not clearly achieved”. The JICS estimates that only 15% of sentenced prisoners are involved in some form of treatment programmes and labour. For the overwhelming majority of sentenced prisoners, the White Paper has not lived up to expectations. While it may be argued that to re-invent the Southern African regional prison systems is a goal to be achieved within the years to come, it should also be asked if the benchmarking blueprint, the White Paper, provides the correct response to the rehabilitation challenges faced by the prison systems.

With this in mind, critics of the organisations whose members emphasise on treatment quality have always emphasised that governments should increase and widen consultations with other stakeholders to achieve meaningful rehabilitation. The need to display organisational commitment, equity and equal participation of various concerned organisations cannot be over emphasized. The perceived, “better” approach used in South Africa has paid dividends despite having its challenges. For example the implementation of the White Paper may not work in poorly performing economies like Zimbabwe. With a background of a fast growing economy, the amount of resources required in developing correctional policies may be afforded, compared to other regional counterparts.

From the background of consulting with stakeholders in coming up with a holistic approach to implementation and formulation of the offender rehabilitation policy,
organizations actions are often determined by a lot of factors. The most known and agreed upon social circles are the organizational structure and culture. While studies of organizational change highlight organisational culture as a key contingency for change, this researcher agrees to the same. The complex contextual nature of organisational culture within correctional services makes it difficult for recommendations and ideas from the outside world and those viewed as Human Rights activists to be fully incorporated. To gain an understanding of Zimbabwean Prisons and Correctional systems’ organisational culture, stakeholders need to understand the operations and nature of government operations.

An arm of the State security structures normally will not accommodate influence from civic organizations. To some extent, it is also important to consider the interests of individual offenders and staff perceptions and their influence and impact to success of the rehabilitation policies and the inherent organisational culture. While these perceptions may be of little value to offender rehabilitation policy formulation, it is apparent to note that in Zimbabwe, reform efforts are based and guided by the policy in place. The confluence of all the foregoing themes in correctional discourse is captured in the Zimbabwean Prison Policy Document developed in 2004.

In this operational blueprint, rehabilitation is presented as the core of successful correctional services. The success of the policy is measured by the impact and influence of the policy activities to discourage offending behaviour. Despite the fact that offenders are different in many ways, the nature of crime, the causes of criminal behaviour, the skills, and the needs, the way they expect to be done for their successful reintegration into society is the same. All this uniqueness, plus the unique
nature of policies and the people who direct the activities of the policies, the perceptions and expectations of organizations involved, their mandates and visions cause policies’ difficulty in influencing change in particular environments.

4.2 Data generated from Observations

The researcher made her own observations during the course of the study. From the observations, the conditions of living at Harare Central Prison, Chikurubi Female and Farm Prisons are in a deplorable state. During the period of study, the researcher observed that the two male prisons were populated beyond their structural capacity. The state in which the cells and the ablution facilities were in was very bad, and some of them were not working properly. Bedding in and linen were deplorable if what the researcher observed was a true state of affairs. The clothing that the inmates wore was not only torn but also in short supply. The diet was poor as most were given just boiled mealie meal. The workshops were not properly equipped.

The Female Prison was not overpopulated but even with a manageable size of population, the physical structures were well below the standard to accommodate female beings, some with children accompanying them in prison. Furthermore, quite a big number of staff showed negative attitudes towards the female offenders as they are believed to be more demanding, especially those who come to prison pregnant and nursing mothers. Such members of staff do not work towards the achievement of the goal to reform offenders. The observation was that their actions are mainly retrogressive and are driven by the belief that prisoners are in custody for being not fit for society and should be exposed to undignified treatment. The other observation at
the Female Prison was that daily provisions for prisoners were at their barest minimum, and scarcities are the order of the day.

It was revealing that the prisoners were living under very overcrowded conditions in which the risk of communicating diseases is very high. At times, there were over fifty in a cell designed for twenty people. One could observe that there were very bad relations between officers and inmates. At times, inmates were beaten up, being punished for flimsy reasons, and there was even a general observation that officers were not caring. No attention was given to the prisoners who needed their issues attended to.

However, there were a few officers who showed signs of caring. In fact, the researcher actually observed that some officers go beyond the call of duty to assist inmates. There was a brotherly atmosphere most of the time between the prisoners and the caring officers.

From the above observations, what quickly drew the concern of this researcher were issues pertaining to staff and prisoners’ relationships. These concerns confirm the views of Coyle (2009) who noted the centrality of the officers and prisoners’ relationship within the rehabilitation framework. He further argues and advanced the notion that in correctional settings, professionals are enjoined to integrate their behaviour change and correctional roles. This idea was aptly supported by members of the parole board that were on their routine sitting at Harare Central Prison during the time of the research. Media reports on criminal and offending behaviour also repeatedly recommend that the success of a rehabilitation programme is influenced, to
a very large extent, by the attitudes and values of the persons participating in that programme.

It was established from the observation that some officers are not keen to cultivate good relations with their colleagues in the work as well as the prison inmates. This attitude is revealed in the way they execute their duties as well as the way they treat offenders. Prison is inherently and characteristically a regimented society which focuses on strict observance of discipline and places several constraints on individual liberties. With this state of affairs as a backdrop, it is not difficult to understand that prisoners are already in a stressful and traumatic position. The psychologists working in prisons have remarkably emphasised that this situation need not be exacerbated by cruel conduct by officers towards prisoners. If allowed to happen, then that would work as an impediment to successful rehabilitation of offenders (Dissel, 2012). This view corroborates Makarawu’s (2011) assertion that the moment officers work to defeat the objectives of rehabilitation, then efficiency of the policies is stalled. Where inmates feel that they are not being treated with respect by officers, there is, naturally, bound to be resistance to any efforts to rehabilitate them (Crewe, 2012).

The above analysis does not, however, take away the good relations that have been fostered between the majority of officers and inmates. There is a remarkable behavioural shift in recent times in the attitude of officers towards inmates and vice-versa. Other constraints aside, the cordial relations create a platform for the conception, implementation and evaluation of rehabilitation programmes. The researcher, however, joined other scholars in the conclusion that in correctional settings, officers who are empathetic and compassionate have a better likelihood of
delivering successful programmes. Accepting that scarcity of provisions, in itself, causes general depression and a sense of despondency amongst prisoners. The researcher observed that their meal schedules were erratic and lack consistency. The majority of prisoners did not enjoy external support and depended entirely on prison rations. Mafume (2014) argues that such a scenario negatively affects the whole prison environment and makes it negative and not conducive for implementation of policies and programmes as well as activities that target and encourage good behaviour.

On the whole, the relationship between officers and other groups of offenders, especially those involved in dance, music, and sporting activities at Harare Central Prison, those engaged in farming and gardening activities at Chikurubi farm and those involved in secretarial and tailoring training, hair dressing and cosmetology at Chikurubi female appears to be taking a positive trajectory, and this is a laudable development. The researcher is certain that there are areas of rehabilitation in which relations are also cordial that may not have been noticed. Equally, there are different disciplines at the prisons under study that may have bad relations, as shown in some sections. All the same, there could be individual offenders and officers who generally have incompatible behaviour traits, and this has a negative impact on rehabilitation efforts of the whole organisation.

It was the researcher’s observation that the rate of recidivism has decreased significantly due to various vocational skills that the organisation offers. Mainly noticed was that through its projects such as carpentry, building, welding, and motor mechanics as well as tailoring, amongst most re-offenders, there were very few
numbers of those who went through those programmes. This means that released inmates are finding their way into the informal sector, thereby earning a living outside prison. With a clear vision that “The organisation is moving towards becoming the best correctional service provider in the whole of Southern Africa” currently working on a rehabilitation strategic plan that would ensure that all inmates contribute meaningfully and benefit fully from all the rehabilitation programmes offered.

Chikurubi female prison is the biggest female prison in Zimbabwe and is located in the central region of the capital city, Harare, where business and trade thrives. It accommodates all classes of female prisoners and therefore makes working towards behaviour change of the female gender for societal development very critical. As part of the rehabilitation programmes, female inmates were involved in various income-generating projects. The reason to train them in skills that will make them better persons when they are released is that females are the backbone of families. It is clear and generally agreed in Zimbabwean society that mothers play a pivotal role in shaping the behaviour of the children.

The researcher observed that there was a poultry project with a 500 point of laying chicken. The feed and all the resources needed were being supplied by the Child Protection Society. The beneficiaries of the project were the pregnant mothers and inmates with children, and they were involved in the day to day activities of the project. The eggs were sold to officers and the community surrounding Chikurubi complex. The money was used to purchase children’s food and all the needs of pregnant women and for the bus fare of discharged mothers. Three officers and five mothers were directly involved in the project.
The researcher observed that the project was failing to sustain itself, and the results on the ground were not very good because the officers in the project were not the ones who started the project. The prisoners involved were also new admissions. The officers were using a rotation system of duty, and the ones in charge were not knowledgeable of the project. All things being equal, the project was supposed to be supervised by officers who have knowledge of the project for transfer of knowledge and skill. The whole idea had shifted from the objective of imparting skills to offenders, to a project to fundraise for the people in charge of the project as well as the children in prison. This defeated the whole objective of the programme. The researcher discovered that many programmes may be running in the prisons, but they are not serving the purpose of facilitating behaviour change. Rather, offenders are used as cheap labour in the projects. Therefore, there was need to continuously monitor and evaluate the programmes in order to put them back on track to achieve reduced levels of re-offending.

The situation has made the researcher to conclude that the prisoners, at times, interact with officers who are not sincere to delivery of the policy. The information gathered, to some level, confirmed some participants’ observations and concerns that there are unscrupulous activities that take place in some projects. The offenders involved and the officers who manage the projects form a racket and benefit from the proceeds of the projects. When an offender is released from prison, he/she commits another crime and comes back to prison. He/she is, within a very short space of time, chosen to re-join the project by the same officials involved in the project, and the cycle continues
as a vicious cycle. The results are that the offender is not being prepared for a crime-free life after release but is enticed to continue with prison life, hence their continued return to prison. To curb the offending pattern of a lifestyle that has actually been transferred even to the prison official becomes a challenge on its own. This makes the whole system flawed with challenges that work against achieving policy goals.

4.3 Data generated from Prison Documents

The researcher analysed the Prison Policy document of 2005, the prison register with statistics of re-offenders and some attendance registers used in schools of rehabilitation. The analysis from the documents painted an interesting picture that the researcher reports on below:

4.3.1 Root causes of criminal behaviour

There is not much of agreement on the causes of offending behaviour from the documents. There is no consensus as to the extent to which prison rehabilitation helps ex-offenders to desist from criminal behaviour. As the study progressed, there was evidence that there are brilliant policy initiatives in place to reduce offending behaviour. What is not very clear is to what extent they help offenders live a crime-free life, given the general causes of criminal behaviour as explained by sociologists and psychologists. The general reason that came to the fore was poverty. A larger percentage of the re-offenders interviewed gave poverty as their main reason for coming to prison again. However, this reaffirms the notion, according to a study by Gona et al. (2014) cited in Alcock (2004:4), that “poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods, hunger, malnutrition and ill-health”. The Copenhagen Declaration United Nations
(1995) posits that poverty is generally synonymous with limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, increased morbidity and mortality from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments, social discrimination and exclusion.

During the data collection process, it was confirmed that the other causes of crime were economic factors as poor performing economies leave people in dire poverty. What came out from the re-offenders’ responses was that the developments in the industry have made them resort to criminal lives. It was revealed from the documents with information pertaining to individual offenders that most of them cited poor economy and the difficulty to provide for families as the causes of their criminal behaviour.

This is evident from the data generated from documents and confirms that poverty can result from unemployment - as unemployment rises, so does the rate of crime. Many people generally share the view that antisocial and criminal behaviour is highly attributed to the restricted conditions under which so many are underprivileged, deprived, discriminated against and disadvantaged groups have to live (Permberton, 2013). Amongst the claims in documented and recorded profiles were some who blamed lack of education for their situations. This lack of education becomes a factor that may close doors to job opportunities and self-help projects.

During admission interviews at various prisons, the records show that many re-offenders are charged with robbery and theft. This is confirmed in the body of knowledge by Morris and Hawkins (1970) cited in Crewe (2012) who add that one class of economic needs may provide the incentive that leads people into crime. When people, for instance, compare their lives of deprivation with the affluence and priviledges enjoyed by other sections of the community, their frustrations lead to
resentment which finds expression in criminal activities.

However, there are personal traits in human beings agreed and proven by research as causes of criminal behaviour. These, among other things, may be assumed as causes of the repeat offending behaviour by ex-prisoners. Some researchers also agree with behavioural theorists that there are personal factors that influence human behaviour, and behaviour can be equally negative or positive. They continue to explain that the causes of human behaviour are the causes of crime. They understand their motives and are fully responsible for their own violation. If a person is genuinely unable to prevent herself from criminal and antisocial behaviour, he or she may be perceived as mentally not well. Therefore, instead of skills training and vocational rehabilitation, the person needs psychological principles of behaviour management. The study revealed that generally, human behaviour is determined by inner or external forces over which people have little, if any control. Criminal behaviour is a result of unresolved issues that cut across individual thinking. Every offender is unique in his/her own way and generally needs help that targets individually identified causes of criminal behaviour.

Zimbabwe has experienced noticeable changes pertaining to the flow of offenders into prisons. Desk research revealed that traditionally, the country has been experiencing few cases of re-offenders probably due to the nature of punishment one would get for repeat offenders. Pre-independence, Zimbabwe prisons were regarded as places of punishment and hard labour. There were stringent rules as to prisoners’ contact with the outside world and visits. Records have shown that re-offenders were treated as dangerous class prisoners despite the length of stay or sentence. For easy
identification, they would wear different texture and colours in uniforms and prison garb from those of first offenders. It is from this background, therefore, that management of re-offenders cannot be overlooked.

According to the prison diary of 20 May 2015, the results from the prisons’ national statistics office show that of the total number of prisoners in Zimbabwe, the highest percentage (45%) are charged with theft. This is followed by robbery (22%) and domestic violence (15%). In addition, 57% of the male prisoners are repeat offenders; the rest are long-term prisoners. According to the report, 82% are unskilled, 7% semi-skilled while only 6% are skilled offenders. The majority of the short sentence offenders are employed in the agricultural and workshop sectors. Some of them provide supervisory support while a few are technicians and teachers; others are in the health sector providing support services and general work.

Documentary research established that the causes of such influx include the desire for economic prosperity, political issues, family and domestic disputes, and greed. Documents from Harare Central Prison Complex revealed that the highest percentage of incarcerated offenders are in male prisons, and these were charged with the theft, pick-pocketing and smoking of dagga. The documents show that their reason for committing of crimes is poor economy and unemployment.

Documents showed that other prisoners engaged in criminal behaviour while trying to solve bread and butter issues. Some reasons for engaging in crime, as shown by the records, point to the fact that some were not getting salaries; even though they were
employed, they would go for half a year without getting paid. They would either steal company funds or engage in corruption in an effort to cushion them from poverty.

Documents also show politics as a reason for incarceration. Some are active political figures and activists. The new political dispensation and arrangements for the past decade in Zimbabwe has left them repeatedly imprisoned. They deny being re-offenders and allege the offences were committed before being imprisoned for the first time. The moment they were released from prison, they were re-arrested and brought to prison for the same alleged offences, as per the research documents.

However, it is important to take these estimations with caution. Prison statistics often lack precision due to a number of factors, including the absence of computerised systems to record the history of the prisoners. Record-keeping is very poor in the prisons under study since the researcher noted some torn files and registers used to collate information about prisoners manually. Prisoners themselves also lie about their backgrounds and history. There are no measures in place to verify the information supplied by the prisoners on arrest and on admission to prison. Others give false names and conditions surrounding the committing of their crimes. For these reasons, the prison records may not be very accurate and can be misleading in terms of the numbers and status of prisoners.

4.4 Impact of criminal behaviour on National Security

Documentary research reveals that offending behaviour often results in imprisonment. This has drastic economic consequences in the government expenditure to provide for the large numbers of prisoners. The statistics in the admission diary at national level
established that Zimbabwe has to grapple with the large numbers of inmates in the
prisons in terms of budgetary support. Government expenditure on prisons is very
high; no wonder why they are failing to sustain some of the rehabilitation
programmes.

This researcher further established that the economy of Zimbabwe is highly drained,
especially with the salaries of the public sector and the prisons staff. The country’s
infrastructural development noticeably is in a deplorable state because there are
several challenges in raising funds for maintenance or building new prisons. Based
on these challenges, one of the Prison Officers at Chikurubi Farm bemoaned the
financial burden that is in the hands of government in terms of feeding and clothing
prisoners with money he said could be used for other meaningful developmental
activities instead of feeding offenders.

One report from the administration department concretised the notion of resource
drain from government suggesting that prisons should be capacitated to be self-
sufficient. The other idea brought out was the issue of disintegrated families. A family
unit is a vital component of societal development and growth. Therefore, when
breadwinners in the family are incapacitated to provide for the family, especially with
imprisonment, there is a ripple effect in the family. The children will drop out of
school due to failure to raise the required fees and other materials. There is also low
productivity in the industry because those who provide labour are incarcerated.

Poverty that has been cited as a cause for re-offending will increase, then the issue is
kept in a vicious cycle. However, an assessment report (2012:16) from a non-
governmental organisation, the International Committee of the Red Cross (I.C.R.C)
noted that “when offenders become so numerous and poor, they pose strong economic
threat to the state”. According to the findings in their report, human beings do not
only commit crime; there are some reasons for that. The fact that employment opportunities in Zimbabwe are scarce and the economy is not performing well implies that the citizens’ social benefits are threatened. For example, housing, education, health, transportation and sanitation facilities are hardly available in communities. That poses a serious threat to social security. Society is supposed to be protected by incarcerating criminals but at the end of the day, those meant to be protected will be asked and pushed to protect the offenders. The situation in communities will be replicated in the prisons.

The rations procurement register at the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Service National Headquarters established that the organisation requires a daily estimate of USD 44 000, 00 to feed a total of 18 102 prisoners incarcerated in Zimbabwe’s prisons. One can therefore, argue that it is better to adopt policies to keep offenders outside the prison considering those exorbitant costs that further strain the economy. When people live under such conditions, provisions are limited, and the danger of disease outbreaks is very high. Taking into consideration the aggregate costs in the event of such outbreaks further strains the economy as such costs will be incurred by the government.

Furthermore, a close analysis of the documents denotes that prisons are viewed as bottomless pits which illegitimately exploit the welfare system of the State. This, however, confirms the suggestion that offenders are a threat to the economic security of the country (Machingauta, 2014). In other countries, the challenges vary and often change over time due to government policies and priorities available.

One question that still goes unanswered is: why do people continue to re-offend and what can be done with offenders for government to serve the interests of its people? The offenders seem not to be deterred by prison conditions, long sentences as well as
benefitting from the rehabilitation interventions in place. There were reports of a gruesome attack of a young man who had his eyes plucked in an act of robbery by ex-prisoners. The violent attacks on innocent citizens by the criminals make it very difficult for members of the public to buy into the idea of rehabilitating offenders. The first thing that comes into one's mind after publicity of such cases is to have those people sent to prison as punishment. It then becomes an unacceptable idea when prisons advocate for support in their taking good care of the offenders. To justify and win the hearts and minds of many in the communities towards the idea of supporting successful reintegration and acceptance back into communities becomes a tall order.

4.5 Effectiveness of Measures Designed to Control Re-offending

Effectiveness and efficiency deal with the activities and performance of individual policies. For the prisons authorities to measure the effectiveness of policies in place and activities designed to control relapse of offending behaviour, there is need to measure staff efficiency in delivering the programmes. Efficiency means doing the task correctly and refers to the relationship between inputs and outputs. Management scholars reveal that effectiveness means doing the right task towards goal attainment, and employees, alike, should try to attain organisational goals as efficiently as possible.

The success of an organisation policy depends on how effective the programme is to influence change from the usual and how efficient it is to influence achievement of desired results. Everything about effectiveness is centred on the people involved. In people operations, the critical issues are motivation, communication and coordination. The people directing are generally regarded as key to efficiency. The planning,
organising leading and controlling are regarded as the primary measures to effectiveness of programmes to control re-offending. In this case, it was critical to find out the policy measures designed to control the influx of offenders back into prison. The first identified from the document analysis were the policy instruments enshrined in the Prisons Act as a mission of prisons and Correctional services of Zimbabwe. Documentary search clarified that rehabilitation in Zimbabwe is largely governed by the provisions enshrined in the Prisons Act that was amended in 1996. The provisions of the Act are further specified by the Prisons Regulations of 1997. According to the Article 15 of the Prisons Regulations of 1997, any person admitted in the prisons in Zimbabwe for a period of three months and above must benefit from a sentence remission of one third of the total sentence. This is meant to discourage long stay in prisons and motivate the prisoner to behave well and go back to stay with their families; the condition is that one should be a first offender to benefit, meaning repeat offenders do not enjoy the privilege.

It was further established that the benefits of being a first offender include a progressive stage system where inmates are classified and chosen to supervise others. These systems, however, because of the status of other prisoners in society before being arrested, may qualify them to be considered for parole and admission into the open prison. Some issues considered are: diagnosis of infectious diseases, past criminal conviction, arguments based on national security, prior violation of prison or police detention regulations and escaping from lawful custody. However, with the widespread reports of corruption, some of the said regulations are somehow ineffective. Offenders are reportedly paying the different relevant authorities inclusive of players in the criminal justice system, police officers, judicial officers or even
complainants in the cases for some information about their criminal history not to be revealed.

Judicial Reports on Prisons management with the prisons administration revealed that most repeat offenders’ records do not reveal the correct information about them. Therefore, some benefit from interventions such as community service where others commit other offences before they even finish serving their sentenced offences. Repeat offenders are viewed more as threats to other prisoners because often, they come back to prison with added cost for their upkeep. Some transmit diseases to other prisoners, some bring information and techniques for committing new crimes and some incite others to perpetrate crimes. Government policies, therefore, tend to focus on control and exclusion of the movement of these people in and out of prisons. It is unfortunate that of the adopted control policies, none of them are pro-active to prevent or work against the strategies of criminals. More so, the majority of the policies just concentrate in making prison life easier for offenders and trying to make peace between the offender and the offended not really taking into consideration that repeat offending may be a strategy by offenders to further their criminal activities.

The detainees’ records amongst the analysed documents revealed that political and civil prisoners are one group that can render the policies and measure not very effective because there is too much interference from outside of the criminal justice system. The prisoners of the above category also will have much influence in the way the programmes to rehabilitate inmates are run. Notably the resources availed by government may be channelled towards their upkeep at the expense of strengthening measures to control prisoners in the general category reoffending tendencies
The main policy tool employed to fight reoffending in Zimbabwe is prolonged detention and stiffer sentences. The admission register established that half of the prisoners detained at the country’s Central prisons in Harare comprise of second time offenders awaiting trial and finalization of their second or more cases by the courts. Furthermore, it revealed that it often takes a long period of time before the re-offenders have their cases finalised. This, therefore, shows that the judicial system in Zimbabwe may not be as effective as is expected at international level to assist in the rehabilitation of offenders to curb recidivism. In most jurisdictions, it is highly discouraged to keep criminals for a long time awaiting finalisation of their cases because it is perceived as severe punishment, and that will harden the offender to become a habitual criminal. The prison environment, according to social theorists, can change a person to be more negative. More so, for the low skilled workers in the prisons countrywide without enough resources to take care of the needs of the prisoners, the harsh conditions and situations will frustrate the efforts of staff to work towards discouraging offending behaviour.

In neighbouring countries like Mozambique, South Africa and Botswana, measures are taken strongly to discourage prolonged court appearances by second time offenders. The prisons regulations and policies in Zimbabwe, to some extent, make prison life a deterrent measure to control reoffending but somewhere in the cycle, some poor coordination become loopholes that people utilize to circumvent the system. Given the low average schooling among most re-offenders, the majority do not qualify for employment in the current environment of a low developed industry based on the skills they learn in prison; hence they resort to criminal activities that end up rendering prison efforts to control recidivism seemingly not effective and
misdirected. Most of the unemployed people in Zimbabwe have resorted to survival through illegal means.

Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Service security department records revealed offenders who participate well in rehabilitation programmes that allow them to go outside prisons and participate in church organizations are more likely to come back to prison. Since security control measures are relaxed against them, they live in prison like they are in their own homes outside the prisons. They enjoy prison life because of the sympathy they get from people outside prisons, that is, the people they mingle with during their performances and activities. In the process, they make friends, get goodies and are paid some money when they leave prisons or at their release, they are viewed as free people. The sympathy and prison privileges are no longer there, and they then go to commit crime again so that they may continue with the activities in prison and get the same support they used to enjoy. It is, however, pathetic to realise that despite such efforts by government to control re-offending by offering the prisoners a chance to reform through sympathy and relaxed prison conditions, one takes it as a way of survival.

There is lack of complementary efforts as well as consistence in the implementation of measures designed to control re-offending in Zimbabwe. This is evidenced by the continued incidences where resources that come to assist in rehabilitation programmes, at times, are not accounted for. In other departments in the criminal justice system, at times, people are paid not to investigate cases of corruption and abuse of office within the circles of policy implementation. The study noted that there is general evidence that lack of political will and differences in interests, both political and economic, between and amongst policy formulators and implementers have posed a bruising threat to the success of designed policies. Some policies are only clear and
smart on paper but are soiled on reaching the implementation stage. Corruption is arguably one ugly factor that has ruined the effectiveness of designed policies to arrest the escalating levels of recidivism.

4.6 Analysis and Discussion

Following the presentation of data generated from in-depth interviews, face-to-face and telephone interviews, documentary statistics and excerpts from various responses as well as observed progression of activities in the phenomena, a detailed analysis of the views and discussion is important to lead into conclusions and findings of the research.

4.6.1 Rehabilitation programmes strategies and activities

It was central for this research to identify the rehabilitation-oriented strategies at the disposal of stakeholders that may assist in facilitating reduced criminality and offending acts by ex-convicts. In a focus group discussion, inmates collectively agreed that although there are some reservations on the implementation of several rehabilitation components, on the whole, these programmes are indeed at their disposal. The above data confirms and justifies the observations by the other participants of this research that participatory programmes do catalyse positive social behaviour and achieve positive results of rehabilitation. An interview with an official in the Tanzanian Prison Service revealed that activities such as literacy, vocational training and education assist in enhancing knowledge and skills that will contribute to chances of employment by the ex-offenders. He, however, further qualifies that employability upon release is not really guaranteed to most inmates because these skills are already available in the society, and competition may be stiff given that
there is lack experience by those beneficiaries upon re-integration. An ex-offender who experienced the scenario weighed in with the fact that education is a fundamental tool for reducing recidivism and as such, it works in other situation but in others, it does not really help. Identification of a particular factor and needs of individual offenders sit at the epicentre of an effective rehabilitation programme.

It was noted that although the intensity of implementation of rehabilitation programmes at Chikurubi farm, Chikurubi female and Harare Central Prisons may lack consistency, modest achievements are, indeed, being realised. The inmates themselves are aware of the constraints to the execution of such a wide array of activities, but the overarching observation is that they are appreciative of the mere presence of those interventions in the system. Whilst it is true that majority of officers may not have a definitive grasp of the contemporary rehabilitation paradigm, effort is still exerted on the routine programmes that are in place.

Reluctant and limited follow up mechanisms on offenders’ activities after sentence completion and release from prison render some rehabilitation efforts irrelevant. It would have been ideal if those released offenders who attended various programmes whilst in prison are supported to continue and sit for examinations even outside prisons so that their efforts can be measured and become relatively useful in their lives. Other rehabilitation components like religious counselling and psycho-social counselling have been positively received by participating offenders. With the rise of religious denominations and an appreciation of Christian values and life in Zimbabwe, building of these values in offenders is viewed as most useful and matches the current communities’ environment.
This supports various scholars’ research findings on the effectiveness of religious and psychosocial programmes in helping offenders reform and cope with life both in and outside prisons. The proven fact that religious counselling works effectively in transforming thought patterns of offenders has made these traditional approaches survive the test of time in Zimbabwe. Specifically, religious counselling instructs moral decency and discipline. These virtues are believed to supplant thoughts of offending and generally, produce a good citizen. Many scholars though still in debate, agree that psycho-social rehabilitation facilitates offender reformation. Notably in agreement is Palmer (1975) cited in a recent research by Gona et al. (2014) who advanced the view that rehabilitation is incomplete without psycho-social counselling. This holds true in the case of offenders in Zimbabwean prisons. Notable and commendable good behaviour has resulted from counselling efforts, both religious and psycho-social.

The world over, sport is viewed as a unifying social event. In addition to helping people relieve stress, it is a proven act for improving the physical well-being of people taking part in it. The offender rehabilitation policies have, therefore, embraced sports as a major rehabilitation strategy. At Harare Central Prison, inmates participate in a soccer league, drama groups and volleyball, similarly to Chikurubi and other prisons countrywide. Prisoners come together and compete in various sporting disciplines every year, and the grand competition is in September when Zimbabwe celebrates its National Prisons Day together with other correctional jurisdictions the world over. On another platform, these activities provide entertainment to the prisoners and give them an opportunity to meet members of the public as well as other
inmates for exchange of ideas and networking. It also builds relations and companionship as well as togetherness between the prisons’ staff officers and inmates. In a way, this improves interpersonal relationships and creates a good environment or launch pad for other rehabilitation strategies.

The research elicited the opinions of participants on factors that they thought are against the full realisation of rehabilitation objectives, with varying distributions. Participants, especially those in the prisons, including the officers who spend most of their time with the offenders, were unanimous on aspects that defeat rehabilitation. These distinct categories were repeatedly identified, that is, overcrowding and congestion in the cells, long sentences and ill-treatment by prison staff, scarcity of provisions, limited understanding of the concept of rehabilitation by the policy implementers, among other things. Officers’ lack of rehabilitation training was identified as not illiteracy in the programmes but ignorance to the objectives of the programmes. The researcher’s first-hand observation found credibility in the various responses to this effect. It is the general situation that many prison jurisdictions offer skills training and various activities to offenders in prison. These common programmes are being implemented in Zimbabwe with the view of reducing the recidivism rates. The main challenge is the effectiveness of these programmes to address offending behaviour in inmates.

Most of the responses show that offenders are in the programmes to kill time and also as a way to comply with prison requirements and routines. Programmes are often run without proper resources, and the way administration is done is not systematic. There is no proper procedure, organisation of the programmes and follow up to the
outcomes of the programmes. The prisoners choose which projects they want to be involved, and there are no admission criteria into the programmes, which make most of them irrelevant to behaviour change. Despite non-availability of adequate resources, in some programmes, the few availed resources are hardly accounted for. There is no proper structure of funding the projects at Harare Central Workshops, for example. Some prisoners get resources and material to use from their relatives, and some officers bring their raw materials to prison workshops for particular projects with offenders. Some individuals who may be well connected may bring resources which government provides from the prisons’ mainstream administration. At the end, one cannot get the administrative order of the programmes but notably, offenders are engaged in some activities.

4.6.2 Effectiveness of Strategies on behaviour change

After establishing the rehabilitation-oriented strategies at the disposal of inmates, it became imperative for the officers and recipients of the programmes to rate their effectiveness in reforming offenders. The responses below were highlighted.

Whilst the researcher agrees that prison terms for convicted criminals are, in themselves, deterrent as brought in the long debate on offender treatment and rehabilitation, the fact remains that rehabilitation remains the catalyst that brings about in the offender, the very transformation that is sought by imprisonment. This view is supported by Martin (2001) cited in Gona et al. (2014) whose argument places emphasis on equipping offenders with life skills so that they may deter from re-offending. This is only achievable by means of constructive rehabilitation. “Our justice system has taken the tacit policy that offenders should be isolated from the
society to protect it from harmful association. This position disregards the two-dimensional role played by rehabilitation, of primarily awakening offenders to their criminal behaviour and reconditioning them to enter society as responsible citizens.”

The effectiveness of the programmes to address the factors that push offenders into crime is also central to the realisation of constructive results. In Zimbabwe, this could be a lacking area and requires review of the policies to be corrected.

4.6.3  Monitoring and Evaluation of the rehabilitation programmes

The success of a programme rests, to a large extent, on its ability to renew and regenerate itself and to adapt to dynamic and changing environment. This is where effective monitoring and evaluation comes in. Put simply, a project must be monitored and evaluated periodically so as to take stock of challenges, achievements and aspirations. This is in keeping with the findings of Steler and Davis et al. (1987). Likewise, a rehabilitation programme must be evaluated at intervals by means of effective and objective mechanisms to determine stated objectives.

In a group discussion with both inmates and officers, the lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms was highlighted. Any existing efforts on this aspect have been interpreted as mere window-dressing and are not employed to restructure the redundant programmes or to reconfigure the ones that have the potential to achieve better results. Andrews et al. (1990) discussed programme integrity at length. According to them, it is essential that processes which include monitoring and evaluation be integrated into the system as a whole to ensure that rehabilitation programmes are being delivered as planned and are achieving their intended purposes. In this way, it becomes easier to identify which programmes are being successful and those which are counterproductive.
At the prisons, various farming projects are in place, for example, poultry and rabbit projects as well as horticultural production. Project managers at Chikurubi farm agree with the monitoring and evaluation argument and go further to propose that monitoring and evaluation are processes that constitute a very huge part of any programme. In farming projects, their absence would mean that even before the person goes to the field or begins a project, that programme faces minimal chances of success. It is pathetic that most of time, these projects run without tracking of the project. Various agencies that have their projects to assist inmates, at times, send their staff outside the prisons to be monitoring the running of the programmes and evaluate the achievements against set goals and objectives. This is normally viewed as interference by those who manage and supervise the projects. The researcher, considering all the views given by participants against this theme, safely concluded that there is need to train all the management personnel on the projects, the participants of the projects and all who are involved on how to monitor and evaluate the projects for successful realization of intended results. There could be deliberate ignorance on the rating of the projects but also chances of ignorance to the importance of the process cannot be ruled out.

**4.6.4 Effective Rehabilitation Policy implementation**

This part of the analysis shall confine itself to the Prison Policy Document, which is the reference document of the Zimbabwe Prison and Correctional Service. Chapter two of this research cited, in part, provisions relating to the issue of rehabilitation as exposed in this policy document. Regrettably, it is the researcher’s observation that this document contains glaring omissions on several matters critical to the
achievement of rehabilitation objectives. For instance, it is silent on the modalities of execution of rehabilitation programmes. This policy deficiency is a structural disability to the rehabilitation framework.

It is further noted that the all important aspects of human rights observance are missing from the Prison Policy Document. It is not a secret that the prison takes away certain constitutionally protected human rights. It is also not a secret that the prison environment infringes upon several other rights. Therefore, it would be logical to assume that prison officers do have a hand, however inadvertent, in the infraction of the said rights. It then becomes necessary, at policy level, to integrate a human rights component as part of prison officers’ code of conduct. This, it is suggested, will not only be in keeping with international best practices, but will also inculcate a culture of human rights observance and thus create good interpersonal relationships that promote the spirit of rehabilitation.

Contemporary jurisdictions are gravitating more towards rehabilitation models that are premised on a human rights framework. This research has noted that the success of such a scenario would depend on the seriousness with which the whole human rights issue is handled at policy level.

The foregoing issue is intricately interwoven with the aspect of good governance. All modern organisational structures, prisons included, cannot thrive without a good and well-articulated governance structure. Governance structures promote accountability and help to steer an organisation towards its vision. The Prison Policy Document is also silent on this issue. Whilst it may make cursory reference to a governance
structure, the Prison Policy Document does not provide in detail the several modalities that would consummate its implementation.

4.6.5 Roles of the Community in Rehabilitation of offenders

The community plays a significant role in the rehabilitation of offenders in a number of ways such as funding for inmates’ education as well as providing after-care facilities. Rehabilitation requires team work and a multi sectional approach. The family and community are major players in the rehabilitation of prisoners and should be allowed to play an active role. The government is still having challenges in enabling the society to appreciate the good and professional work that the organisations is doing in as far as rehabilitation is concerned. Therefore, programmes such as “Another Chance” and “Kwaziso Dzomumajert”, meaning Prisons Greetings from friends, which the organisation is running in conjunction with Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation National Television and National FM Radio respectively are helping a lot towards bridging the gap between prison and the society. The negative mentality of society towards prison is gradually dying off.

Rehabilitation activities in the four prisons’ administrative regions, for example: in Matabeleland Region organisations such as “Second Chance”, have engaged inmates to undergo training in various courses such as tailoring and carpentry. Likewise, the Lutheran Church has provided after-care services to amnesty inmates. In the Manicaland Region, rehabilitation programmes are assisted by a non-governmental and community organisation named “Gogo Olive Foundation”.

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The Gogo Olive Foundation has transformed female offenders at Mutare Prison. Female inmates have been awarded life skills training as they engage in puppet knitting, and the products are exported to Austria. On completion of their prison term, female ex-members are then employed on temporary and permanent bases by the Gogo Olive Foundation. It is against this backdrop that inmates are re-integrated back into society. There is also community involvement in the rehabilitation of offenders through a company called Chibuku breweries. The Chibuku neshamwari concert is a well-known entertainment event where inmates participate in music and dance alongside well known music legends. This is a way of rehabilitating the inmates physically and psychologically as music and dance entertain and relieve stress associated with incarceration. However, this is a day’s event in the whole year, and it may not make much of a difference. The community support is evidenced by the participation of inmates at Chibuku neshamwari concert.

4.7 Programmes for Women in prison

The female inmates are involved in various income-generating projects as part of the rehabilitation programme which is meant to train female prisoners in skills that will make them better persons when they are released. The sewing, gardening, programmes keep them busy so that they enjoy life.

This also relieves stress inherent of prison life, as suggested by Permberton (2013) citing Coyle (2009). Permberton (2013) states that depriving a human being of liberty, especially the female gender, is a very severe punishment. Of itself, imprisonment is a severe deprivation of rights and thus it is only to be imposed by a judicial authority in clearly defined circumstances and when there is no other reasonable alternative. In the same vein, the prison authorities should not seek to increase the punishment of the
court by treating prisoners inhumanely or with unjustified severity. On the contrary, they should do all that they can to prevent the physical and mental deterioration of those in their care. This duty of prisons requires support from all stakeholders in societies. It is a fact that prisoners stem from society and go back to society after completion of their sentences, so their time in prison should be less and valuable. Most of their time should be spent with families in various communities for the development of the country (Coyle, 2009).

4.6.6 Equipping Prisoners for life after release

As stated prior in this study, rehabilitation of offenders in Zimbabwe is not a prerogative of the government alone. Whilst it is imperative for ZPCS to actively pursue programmes meant for the successful rehabilitation of offenders, the organization's objectives can best be achieved if the society becomes part and parcel of the initiatives. Involvement of church organizations in prison rehabilitation programmes that is currently obtaining in the country is a noble idea. These organisations play a crucial role in linking and providing networks for offenders in preparation for their release.

It has been agreed in various rehabilitation debates by scholars in different fields of offender management and noted that a rehabilitated prisoner is not one who learns to survive well in prison but one who succeeds in the world outside prison on release. If prison authorities are to give priority within their programmes of activities in prison to what the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights describes as the “reformation and social rehabilitation” of prisoners, they will need to base the activities in the prison on giving prisoners the resources and skills they need to live well outside prison. This means, for example, linking the work that prisoners do in
prison to the work possibilities outside. They should be helped to get the skills and capacity to earn a living and support a family, bearing in mind the discrimination that ex-prisoners are likely to face when trying to find work. During the time that men and women are in prison, arrangements should be put in place to help them find somewhere to settle after they are released and to create some form of social structure which will help them to be re-accepted into society. These notions compel and drive the point that every rehabilitation effort should focus towards building a person who will go and fit back into society. It, ideally, confirms the need to have the families and communities involved in developing the ideal person they require in the society.

Reading and taking heed of the above, the involvement of the ZPCS external partners such as the family of inmate, community, Prisoner Aid Societies such as Prison Fellowship Zimbabwe (PFZ) and Zimbabwe Association for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of the Offenders (ZACRO), Churches, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOS) such as Justice for Children Trust (JCT), Local leadership and other Government departments is of paramount importance. This should be continued and is very much hailed. However, their efforts need to be properly coordinated and supported by the Zimbabwean government. There has to be mechanisms to support and oversee the activities of all these links in order to achieve the objectives of offender rehabilitation. Going by media reports, remarkable progress has been made so far in the involvement of other stakeholders to help offenders re-integrate into society through assistance from organizations mentioned above. What is required now is coming up with polices that support and direct the integration of all the efforts for easier checks and balances and accountability of resources and efforts from various stakeholders.
Borrowing from other jurisdictions like South Africa and Botswana in Southern African states may help the Zimbabwean government come up with policies that support communities’ participation in the rehabilitation of offenders.

4.7 Establishing a policy framework for community participation

It has been established through review of related literature to this study and through issues and suggestions raised during interviews and other forums used to generate and gather data that the rehabilitation of offenders can only be truly successful when they can effectively re-integrate back into society. For their re-integration into society to be meaningful and beneficial, all stakeholders should be allowed to participate in the process. To this effect, participation of the community in strengthening and enhancing rehabilitation is crucial. Policies should be in place to provide a holistic approach to offender rehabilitation. Specific roles of partners in the rehabilitation of offenders should be clearly spelt out in the policy. Zimbabwe’s prisons and Correctional services should carry out the needs assessment of organisations and bring in other stakeholders to come up with a policy framework that addresses the needs in the provision of offender rehabilitation. There is need to disseminate information outside prisons regarding the expertise, support, resources and other areas that might help in the implementation of such a policy as well as the overall government policy on offender rehabilitation. An environment that encourages and promotes the participation of community-based service providers must be created.

The policy should also address and relax some of the conditions and processes required to gain access to be working with the prisons. This has been an issue raised
by those who want to assist but were shut out by the nature of prisons being security entities. People fear visiting prisoners because prisons have been associated with murderers and criminals. For that stigma to be demystified there is need for prisons to be involved in community initiatives and projects. This can be done through the utilisation of offenders and visible involvement of personnel in community projects. The forging of closer links and cooperation between the state organizations involved, community and other state departments is crucial for the fight against crime, reparation of relationships and the rehabilitation of offenders. In this regard, it will be very important for the government to develop the necessary policy and practice framework in relation to community participation. In South Africa, there are similar provisions in the White Paper policy document of 2003. Zimbabwe may borrow some of the provisions, especially the objectives that it seeks to achieve.

4.7.1 Objectives of the Community Participation Policy

The Department of Justice in South Africa requires the Community Participation policy to achieve particular objectives.

These objectives are to:

- Create an environment that would allow for the effective involvement of the community in the rehabilitation of the offenders;
- Create opportunities for establishment and maintenance of partnerships between the department and the community;
- Formalise collaborative partnerships and networking relationships with the community;
- Integrate and coordinate services rendered by community-based service providers to offenders;
• Ensure effective reintegration of offenders into the community
• Involve ex-offenders in rehabilitation efforts; and
• Market the organization, its needs and services to the community.

The Principles of the Community Participation Policy, as stated in the White Paper are

The Community Participation Policy is guided by the following principles:

• Offenders shall have the freedom to participate voluntarily in processes and services offered by the community-based service providers;
• An offender may not be forced to participate in processes or be deprived his/her rights and privileges because of non-participation; and
• This principle shall be subject to stipulations of the court, which may require such participation to be compulsory.

The Department of Correctional Services shall provide access to community-based service provision into its institutions for the rendering of programmes and services to offenders aimed to foster rehabilitation. Such programmes and services shall be:

• Non-discriminatory and sensitive to culture, religion, gender and linguistic diversity; and
• Responsive to the needs of offenders and other intended recipients.

4.8 Weaknesses of the current rehabilitation policy.

From the data generated, there is evidence that there are some weaknesses peculiar to the rehabilitation policies in place that render them ineffective to facilitate re-integration of offenders into society. A reflection of the challenges being faced on
rehabilitating and re-integrating offenders is management support. Management in the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Service have their shortcomings in giving the support required by staff in implementing the rehabilitation policy. There was an indication by participants that the current policies are silent on reintegration issues and therefore, the services of prisons end at expiry of sentence. The moment the person leaves the gate of the prison, the rehabilitation officers from prisons are done with him.

Interview results also revealed that rehabilitation officers’ roles and functions were not appreciated, and this varies from one station to the other. The other noted issue was that the rehabilitation department in the prisons service does not have budgetary allocation for the day-to-day operations of the sections in the various stations. Without funding, most of the proposed projects die natural deaths, and some never see the light of the day. The rehabilitation coordinator, according to the structure of the organisation, is at a supervisory level. For him or her to influence policy change and review, it is also difficult in terms of command and control. The policies are also not clear on how to deal with repeat offenders. All the offenders are in one category when it comes to rehabilitation programmes. In light of the research problems, Zimbabwe Prisons Correctional Service should come up with strategies which enhance the relevancy of the re-integration policy.

The current training of officers focuses more on security issues and how to prevent escape of prisoners from lawful custody. An officer who comes through that process would be only knowledgeable of security and prison administration issues. It would be difficult for them to treat offenders in a friendly manner. There is need to change
the organisational culture which was inherited from the colonial era type of punitive prison management which was based on the oppression of the black African. For the current methods to be effective, management should commit resources to change management style and introduce a training curriculum which will focus on rehabilitation of offenders. Therefore, if ZPCS could address these highlighted issues, the rehabilitation process will become effective.

4.8.1 Suggestions for the successful rehabilitation and re-integration

It was suggested, through interviews, that Zimbabwe Prison and Correctional Services, as an organisation, should focus on change management. This is also a requirement for any organisation to survive the changing times of human development. This helps towards an organisational culture of being focused on the organisational mission. Further suggestions to meet the requirement of the above were that the organisations revisit the recruitment policy and recruit more qualified personnel for the purpose of rehabilitation. Furthermore, there should be an introduction of a new training curriculum in line with the transformation process from prisons to Correctional format which focuses on rehabilitation of offenders.

There is need to adopt a new culture, as supported by Management scholars, who maintain that “culture impacts most aspects of organizational life such as how decisions are made, who is promoted, how people are treated, how the organization responds to its environment, and so on. Social commentators suggest that every company has a culture - good or bad. However, in order to aid long term-performance, there are three main criteria needed to develop a suitable culture; it must be strategically relevant, it needs to be strong in order for people to care about what is
important; the culture must have an intrinsic ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Interview results show that great care is needed when dealing with the prison population because most of their crimes are not serious, but they need proper counselling, survival skills and close monitoring in prison and out of prison because some juveniles view imprisonment as the end of their life.

This study agrees with the suggestion by Coyle (2009) that rehabilitation programmes should be supported with adequate resources, and rehabilitation officers should follow up discharged inmates. Home visits should be supported as a follow up strategy as these may reduce recidivism because inmates will be monitored before they engage in criminal activities.

4.8.2 Rehabilitation activities at Harare Central Prison

Figure 3: Prisoners attending lecture sessions - Source: Prisons photographic section 2014
The above picture portrays the conditions in which the academic programmes are implemented at Harare Central Prison. The lessons are conducted in very crowded classrooms, and the furniture is not comfortable for learning purposes. As depicted in the picture, there a lot of challenges.

4.8.3 Challenges experienced by inmates in education programmes

There are not enough text books, and the classroom setup is not conducive for learning because everyone is in the same hall and crowded together. The noise from different groups and classes make it difficult for learning, and there are challenges to pay examination fees. At times, one is forced to register one or two subjects because of lack of money to register for a minimum of five subjects for Ordinary level certificate. Several sittings are also a disadvantage if one has more than one certificate owing to the number of sittings it reduces their chances of getting employment. The number of sittings is used to measure one’s level of intelligence.

Figure 4: Baptism at Chikurubi - Source: prisons photographic section (2014)
Baptism at Chikurubi prison, as depicted in figure 4, is an effort to transform the mind-sets of offenders so that they are purified by the Holy Spirit. The belief is that when an offender receives salvation through baptism and giving themselves to Jesus, they surrender all their bad behaviour and become a new creation who abides by societal values and laws.

Bible studies and religious programmes have recorded quite a number of successful stories amongst repeat offenders. Prison chaplains in partnership with the outside religious groups work together to influence reform in prisoners through education in Christian values. However, the challenges noted through the data gathered during interviews are that this works when one is still in prison. Upon their release, most of these “born again” inmates go back to substance abuse, drinking alcohol and smoking “dagga”, which is the common and available traditional drug in the country’s rural and urban areas. Due to the fact that Christian ethics and values do not require policing of an individual, when it comes to faithfulness to the commandments and dictates of the word, some of the offenders take advantage and relapse into their previous behaviour despite being baptised and confirmed.
Figure 5: Farming activities at Chikurubi Farm Prison. *Source ZPCS photographic section 2015.*

Figure 5 above shows offenders engaged in farming activities as rehabilitation training at Chikurubi farm prison. Farming and agricultural practice has been at the epicentre of most Zimbabwean’s lives. This is mainly because Zimbabwe’s economy is agro-based, and the majority of families rely on subsistence farming as a way of generating income as well as feeding their families. The situation is almost the same in Zimbabwean prisons where agricultural projects have become both a way of skills training on inmates and a way to produce food for the prisoners. Chikurubi Farm Prison is one of the most productive farms where a variety of crops for feeding inmates in the Harare and Mashonaland region is done. Various farming activities take place at the prison, and most of the inmates are employed in the same fields as work parties as well as a form of preparing them for life outside prison.
In the above picture, offenders are trained in horticulture farming as a form of rehabilitation. Horticulture has, since time immemorial, become a way of generating income for Zimbabwean communities. As they work in the garden producing vegetables, the prisoners acquire skills that they may use to engage in businesses of horticulture farming and be able to fend for their families after their imprisonment. The ideas behind all these concepts are super. However, the biggest challenge is the changing environment in terms of the effects of global warming and industrial development in the country. Most of the things that used to work are no longer working that way. The farming seasons are shifting, and people are more into commercial crop farming. All these and other factors impact negatively on the released offender’s idea to make a living out of the skills acquired in prison.
Music and dance are both therapeutic and entertaining as indicated on figure 7 above. Most inmates take it as a way of relieving stress. In the Chikurubi Female Prison, nursing mothers and the mentally ill inmates have a privilege of being visited by renowned gospel artists who meet them to encourage and try to restore hope in them through gospel music and hand outs. Several church women groups visit the female prison to assist because females are regarded as more vulnerable to various social mischief. The women are more appreciative to such gestures and use these opportunities to reform. However, there are some who continue to backslide into criminal activities besides being beneficiaries of the various programmes to change their behaviour. The majority of female repeat offenders cite anger and bitterness as causes of re-offending. They are provoked in marriages and, therefore, end up in domestic violence. Some like the visits by the artists because they do not have anyone to visit them in prison. They also get assistance in terms of networking and legal aid through the artists.
Figure 8: Female prisoners sewing rehabilitation project. *Source ZPCS photographic section*

Figure 9: Moral rehabilitation at Chikurubi Female and Farm Prisons. *Source ZPCS Photographic section 2015*
In figures 8 and 9, inmates at Chikurubi female prison are involved in dance and music as a form of moral rehabilitation. It is also a form of skills training since some make a living out of it on release if they break through in the industry.

**Figure 10 Prisoners participate in star bright competitions in Harare**

Participation in competitions above helps inmates to acquire skills. Some get sponsorship to start projects, and all this is done to give them exposure and help them reform.

*Figure 10: Prisoners participate in star bright competitions in Harare. Archive pictures Harare Central prison records office 2014*
There are a variety of activities in the prisons. Offenders do participate in these programmes in fulfilment of the requirements of rehabilitation and offender behaviour-changing interventions. The number of offenders who participate in skills training programmes up to the examination and trade test level is very small. This is
because of lack of sponsorship and in some cases, failed assessment levels; the person is discontinued from the programme.

An evaluation of the Christian orientation programme reveals noticeable improvement in behaviour of those who were baptised. Quite a big number of them gave testimony deciding to stop criminal activities. A person’s decision matters in human behaviour. According to Ssebugwayo (2010:16), the re-occurrence of crime after punishment is a serious problem and a “hurtful” act that needs to be discouraged. It is perceived that in the process of behaviour change, a personal decision to stop makes a great difference. There are factors that influence criminal behaviour that are linked to person self-awareness. This is a disposition whereby an individual is aware that he or she is too emotional such that they cannot control their temper. One only needs a personal decision to do something; in this case, only exhortation will work to influence a personal decision to stop criminal behaviour.

There are other causes of criminal behaviour independent from the individual decision. These influence the way one reacts to situations. Social biases can influence behaviour in that they shape one’s thinking. Human beings usually think in a certain way because of societies and friendship. These do influence one to behave in the same way with the people around him. Some people act in some way because they fear to be ostracised from the group. This can apply both in prison and outside communities. Some offenders may be influenced to stop criminal behaviour because their peers have stopped. Others may decide to join criminal behaviour because the peers are doing so. Therefore, they need to conform to the behaviour of the group and
association. In the same way, offenders may testify Christian values and show commitment to them.

Some people engage in criminal activities as a way of revenge. There are some people who feel that if offended, they should also offend in revenge to demonstrate their strength and worthiness. There are people in prison who had perpetuated some killings and charged with murder in revenge to what was done to their family member. This could be beatings, domestic violence or murder of a loved one. Others lack self-control and proper skills for anger management. Some are pushed by poor living conditions in prison. As way to express their discomfort, they engage in acts of violence. A case in reference is the Chikurubi maximum uprising of February 2015.

Other offenders pointed out ignorance as the reason for them committing crime. Reference is given to traditional practices like “Chiramu and barika” polygamy. One can be arrested for indecent assault for making sexual advances to a nephew or niece. In the Shona Cultural practice, this used to be a non-criminal act but recently, there is legislation criminalising this practice. In the traditional practice, one would get married in church, and then remarry; however, there is new legislation that church weddings are bound by a legal act of one man one woman. Any marriage after that is criminal, and one is charged with bigamy.

4.9 Causes of Influx of ex-convicts back into prison

Adult human beings have no tendency of just doing things around hopelessly without purpose like animals. They plan their moves carefully and in most cases, they do not just decide to commit crime without specific perceived benefits. Criminal activities
are risky and extremely life threatening because everyone, even robbers, also fears for their own security. As such, there should be reasons and causes for their participation in criminal acts. Normal human beings weigh between the benefits of risky behaviour and chances of getting arrested and punished and where the risks are deemed to be outweighed by the chances of succeeding, offenders would embark on re-offending. Over and above their expectations of improving their income and conditions of living, offenders also look forward to having a better societal status which in most cases, is the opposite. Gleissner (2012) claims that “people commit crime out of individual decision-making while others stress broader structural forces as stimulants for offending behaviour”. This shows that there is a versatility of factors that stimulate people to commit crimes or offend against one another. Such a wide range of stimulants of criminal behaviour can only be arrested by adopting a holistic approach to controlling crime and curb recidivism.

Crewe et al. (2009) highlight that most scholars who looked at the issue of criminology during the early days of its study realised that there were both push and pull factors to the issue. The thematic Senate committee on Human Rights and Prisons (2012: 33) points out that the decision to relapse into criminal behaviour by ex-convicts after experiencing harsh living conditions as well as receiving rehabilitation treatment is abnormal. One’s decision to go back into prison is usually influenced by unacceptable conditions in the home when compared to those benefits of crime and humane living conditions in the prisons. However, some scholars who looked at the subject at the later stages argue that the decision to continue in crime is influenced by a host of things which include the individual, the family and the structural-institutional (Ibid).
Burungi (2008) purports that there is the issue of the individual wherein the individual element focuses on the advantages that are perceived by the individual, which in most cases, include the economic gains and a change for the better in the living standards or simply running away from some kind of instabilities. More so, men in the productive age category may view the idea of white collar crime as another quick way to fend for their families. The temptation is, at the time of commission crime, is seen as a noble idea that shows responsibility and concern for the family, which is a perception they could have borrowed from their peers as they grew up. Competition and prestige may influence one to view crime as a vehicle to better life. The truth is ignorance and social gratifications are both enemies of progressive life.

It can be noted that a number of factors stimulate re-offending, and these range from purpose, social gratification, temptation, improper living conditions, conflict competition and greed. Some scholars cite improvements in infrastructural development, that is, improvements in communication networks and differences in economic development between and amongst societies, as causes of crimes. People tend to flow from the less developed areas to the developed ones, therefore straining the resources. The competition for resources will also push people into crime. An example is that of the infrastructural and industrial development in Zimbabwe compared to South Africa. This has resulted in high numbers of youth moving to South Africa in search of employment, and in their failure to get jobs, they engage in crime.
A lot of the people end up in prison and deported back in Zimbabwe, but the criminal mind will always be with them. Factors that discourage re-offending and criminal behaviour include stringent sentencing and justice laws that inhibit the people from knowingly and intentionally committing crime. The judges and courts should pass deterrent sentences for crime. Another practice that can help deter would-be criminals is engaging citizens in building community policing structures where individuals contribute to crime prevention by policing themselves. This, according to the police report in 2012, has significantly helped reduced the crime rates in other countries in Southern African Region (Whiten, 2012:23).

Scholars in human behavioural sciences suggest that criminal behaviour can be as a result of factors beyond human control. They call this “moment of weakness”, and Bareebe (2008:103) argues that as human beings, we normally behave in a certain way because of influences and factors not known to us. One can go to commit an offence with no motivation to that effect, one of the inmates said. For example, one offender admitted at Chikurubi farm prison that he committed the crime in Karoi. He admitted that he had no motivation whatsoever for the offence. The offender narrated his ordeal saying he picked a police road block sign, and police followed him flashing lights to stop him, but he continued speeding. When he eventually stopped after some distance, they arrested him and asked him why he did that; he explained he was doing it for fun. Issues such as these and other incidences suggest that sometimes, the human mind is weakened by problems and the defence mechanism distorts cognitive skills, thus inhibiting one to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong. This means normal thinking is, at times, weakened involuntarily, and sometimes instabilities such as wars and violence push people into crime.
There are psychological positions to committing crimes. According to psychiatrists, thematic head injuries are a form of a state of mind that can drive people into repeatedly committing crime. One can be in prison guilty of crimes committed whilst insane. Thematic Head Injuries patients commit crimes because they have poor cognitive skills, impulsivity and increased aggression as well as low tolerance for frustration and poor judgement. There is another cognitive condition called “Borderline Personality Disorder.” Doctors explain it in the case of one inmate serving at Chikurubi prison referring to him as a person is found in two continentals. At one time, they are good, and at another, they exhibit signs of mental illness and mental disorders. These people can deceive as they can commit very serious offences due to the nature of their mental disorder. They give the impression that they are normal and good people. As a result, people treat them normally without suspicion. An example of a border line person is the inmate who was about to be released at Hurungwe prison; three days before release, he killed a female officer and then raped her. The offender later stole a vehicle from the garage of the same house, some money and a prison officer’s uniform and left. He was arrested the following day selling the car at a nearby shopping centre. Currently, the offender is serving in prison again and shows moments of wellness. These types of people are repeat offenders believed to be hereditary. Their instability is caused by genetic and environmental factors, and no form of rehabilitation programme offered in the local prisons may be very helpful to them. The person has biological traits of criminality; therefore, they find it difficult not to commit crime, and the temptation of crime is also associated to what one is exposed to, for example, if one is exposed to large sums of money that are not well secured. Some people commit sex offences because they are put in a tempting
environment by the other parties then fail to control themselves, and rape is very common in these circumstances.

4.10 Challenges most faced by prisoners in their reform process

Major constraints about prison life highlighted to this researcher by offenders interviewed repeatedly points to the operations of the Zimbabwe prison Service rehabilitation department. These operational challenges show that there is lack of a strategic plan that guides the operations of the prisons under study, especially on issues to do with offender rehabilitation. If it is there, it is not communicated to the majority of officers in the field and has not been put into practice. Offenders noted with concern that though the programmes are meant to rehabilitate them; the main thrust is on raising funds to subsidize the meagre resources from government in the daily administration of prisons. The majority of the staff concentrates more on generating income to be banked in the Zimbabwe Prison and Correctional Service Mashonaland administrative Regional account. The account has its accountability and managing officer as the Officer Commanding in charge of the Region. Offenders and junior staff are involved in the projects, and it is not clear how they benefit from the funds raised, which has become a demotivating factor for them to perform.

Another challenge that came up as a factor inhibiting successful implementation of the rehabilitation programmes in practice is the issue of overpopulation. The inmates were very much concerned about the way they sleep in the provided cell accommodation. At Harare Central Prison, the researcher confirmed the prisoners’ concerns with the records and statistics office. Most noted was the issue of transfer from other prisons. Mainly, small prisons around the country transfer inmates who are
of ill health to Harare Central prison. The nature of overcrowding at the prison is not the common overcrowding per physical space that is experienced in other prisons. It is a fact that over two thousand people are housed together and need to be attended to by one administration. The number of people housed together is just too big. The condition is worsened by the inadequacy of budgetary support. The administration is overwhelmed and, therefore, ends up not attending to prisoners’ issues. This is interpreted by prisoners as lack of care and respect for them and feels neglected and not valued.

On the part of the inmates, the notable major challenge pertaining to their participation in reform programmes is that most of the repeatedly convicted inmates are serving a sentence of six months and below. The length of sentence disqualifies them from being engaged in comprehensive rehabilitation programmes which normally last for twelve months from the time of admission. Further, there is also some prison regulation that requires one to be admitted into workshop projects only after serving in the outside or farming gangs for three months. The records indicate that most of these inmates are the ones who re-offend and come back to prison after release.

The relapse into criminal behaviour makes them habitual criminals who find themselves admitted in prison after serving their sentence (on release) and relapse into criminal behaviour. They are arrested again on other charges and convicted to serve their short sentences and finally get discharged. Those who commit crime get sentenced and after serving their sentence, are discharged; however, in no time, they are re-arrested and continue in the vicious cycle. Others fail to pay fines, serve part of
the sentence, pay for the remainder of days on release, then come back again under almost similar circumstances.

Another group which constitutes about thirty percent of the respondents who viewed challenges of living conditions as barriers to effective programme implementation from the side of inmates were inmates with various health conditions. Their health conditions restrict them from being competitive and suitable candidates for rehabilitation activities, for example, life skills training.

4.10.1 Challenges faced by female offenders

The female offenders who were interviewed indicated that the rehabilitation programmes, in practice, were mostly beneficial to them. However, they indicated that there were problems that were peculiar to them as women and which, in many ways, impacted negatively to their reform process. They bemoaned the lack of induction training of women by the relevant authorities as to how they should manage prison life. That was in contrast with the assertion of their male counterparts who established that education was one of the factors that impacted positively on reform process. They also went further to say that they also viewed entrepreneur skills they get in prison as good but needed support with money for capital investment and education to manage the finances. The other challenge mentioned was the constantly changing business environment. The challenge, therefore, was how to cope with that environment as female re-convicts when they go to join society. In most programmes, they learnt some old systems of doing business compared to the environment outside prison.
Interviews with the female re-offenders indicated that there was lack of information on how to access loans and other financial support for running and starting their own businesses and projects on release from prison. They also revealed too much social challenges as part of their reasons to re-offend. This was in support with the general view by women parliamentarian, Priscilla Misihairambwi Mushonga, who argued that women in society are generally more affected by societal challenges more than men. The social demands and needs affect their performance and concentration on rehabilitation programmes.

The re-offenders who were interviewed also pointed out that there were more challenges if one is incarcerated with a child or when pregnant. The stay in prison in those conditions with children makes them fail to concentrate in programmes because of the demands of taking care of the babies. Some indicated that they are employed in work parties in which they are forced to leave their babies inside the prison. Some of the aged ladies are given the duty to take care of the children while their mothers are working in the fields or outside prison projects, and there are mixed reactions to this arrangement. Some mothers feel it is a challenging arrangement because it is not easy to trust a fellow convict with custody and care of the child, alleging some eat the food they are given to feed the children. Some hail the arrangement as they see it as a way of training the children and themselves to prepare for life outside prison.

The current practice reveals that there is lack of a clear system or procedure to admit inmates in particular programmes of rehabilitation. Also lacking are techniques and measures to evaluate and monitor the impact of particular programmes to individual repeat offenders. There is no confidential or fair system of addressing grievances
between inmates and staff. There are limited mechanisms to assess the impact, educational and security needs of inmates before admission into various rehabilitation programmes. There are some structural barriers to effectively reduce re-offending. There are also other interventions such as “Home Leave” that can be put into current legislation to facilitate effective reform of inmates.

4.10.2 Factors contributing to increase in repeat offenders

The study revealed that numbers of repeat offenders are on the high side because of various factors. Amongst the reasons repeatedly mentioned were the economic hardships in the country. People are left with no choice but to commit offences, but this cannot be tolerated since the offenders have some opportunity to venture in other legal ways of earning a living without committing criminal offences. Others mentioned behaviour traits in individual offenders.

4.10.3 The weaknesses of rehabilitation strategies implemented

Mentioned weaknesses of the offender rehabilitation strategies in place were the unavailability of measures to establish efficiency. Lack of monitoring and evaluation plans was considered another major weakness of rehabilitation facing Zimbabwean prisons. The leadership and structures of actors highly politically polarised with every sensationalised media was also highlighted as a weakness. Prison staff members are key players in offender rehabilitation and reform in that they implement all the policy-defined interventions intended to assist offenders’ reform. They are the responsible authority in offender-management hence the need for monitoring and evaluation.
4.10.4 The impact of community rehabilitation towards minimizing criminal behaviour

The problem of re-offending threatens societal ethics and integrity (Ssebugwayo, 2010:17). As such, society has the duty to prescribe punishments to avoid criminality. At the same time, they have to prescribe measures to assist its members refrain from offending behaviour. The assertion by Ssebugwayo (2010) moves the notion and belief that rehabilitation, deterrence, and retribution should complement one another as community efforts to minimize criminal behaviour.

4.10.5 The impact of challenges faced by prison officers

Challenges in implementing rehabilitation programmes faced by prison officials do affect the achievement of intended objectives in the sense that the officers are incapacitated to fully deliver the programmes. There is inefficiency on the part of the officers caused by the challenges.

4.11 Interpretation of the findings

A wider variety of participants revealed that the most impediments to successful reintegration of offenders back into society are ignorance, negative attitudes and societal challenges that include poverty and social class structures. Some people fail to accept who they are and live a life of competition with colleagues and peers. Given the above different factors, the programmes may not be very successful because they are too general “it’s a one size fit all”. In other jurisdictions, there are rehabilitation programmes that are crime-specific. The prisoner has to undergo a needs analysis process that focuses on the unique traits of the person. This kind of administration is lacking in Zimbabwe. They first assess the reasons and establish the factors that could
have contributed to the person engaging into criminal activities and aligning the interventions to address those.

Furthermore and positively, some inmates have benefitted from programmes and were released from prisons better people than the time of their arrest. This included graduating in various levels of academic education from primary (Grade 7 up to advanced level. However, the programmes may not be very helpful to other offenders, thus resulting in them getting into a vicious cycle whereby on release, they relapse into offending behaviour and find themselves in prison again.

Evaluation is central to the success of programmes. It is a critical step in the policy chain. To begin with, rigorous evaluation analysis promotes accountability and legitimacy and proves that policies are working effectively. Evaluation also contributes to the accumulation of knowledge. Monitoring and evaluation serves to advise policy-makers on outcomes, effects and cost-benefit analyses. As such, evaluation promotes improvement of polices through increased understanding of how they function under different circumstances. A wholesome evaluation would include an analysis of the plan, process, and impact of a given programme. It informs whether the programme works and, even more important, why it works and how it can be improved. This then informs corrections or, if necessary, replication or termination of programmes, as the case may be.

Rehabilitation of prisoners is recognised as a major and critical weapon to discourage and curb re-offending behaviour. This is equally important in the development and transformation of societies. Given this insight, as stated by Fili (2013:24), one would
expect that rehabilitation policies would focus on the demands and attainment of reduced crime in the country for sustainable economic development. The situation that currently exists in Zimbabwe does not give emphasis on assisting the offender to change his or her mind-set and transform them into a better person.

It emerged during interviews at the female prison that most of the offender rehabilitation programmes, in practice, are taken as hobbies, entertainment and time-killer projects by the inmates. One participant revealed that some of the offenders lie about their educational background and, therefore, embark on higher grade levels of education where the pass rate is repeatedly at zero. They take the programmes as a way of keeping themselves busy while in prison; as an example, the education and skills training programmes are, at most, solely designed to prepare offenders for college certificates rather than prepare them for life after imprisonment. Normally, the acquired skills are not sufficient for the society they will enter after completion of the studies. As a result of these limitations, many offenders leave prison not well equipped in terms of knowledge and competences for the world ahead of them.

According to studies done by Gona et al. (2015) and Mafume (2014), the Zimbabwean offender rehabilitation system provides offenders with information about reform, but the knowledge is not tailored to the prevailing economic demands. Most of the programmes were designed and adopted from the pre-independence colonial era; therefore, they lack the creativity demands of the modern society. Similarly, the offenders observe and have confirmed that the job opportunities and demands in the modern employment market do not match the knowledge they get in prison. The gaps provided by the fast growing technological industry are proof that
The preparation for employment is not adequate. What they learn is not competently preparing them to enter the workforce market. The researcher also shares the same sentiments and agrees that the rehabilitation policies, in practice, may not be very proactive enough to meet the demands of the dynamic industrial development of the country as well as the socio, economic and political human needs of the world today. The industrial situation in Zimbabwe is demanding of critical thinking, creativity and psychomotor skills, short of which leave the ex-convict prone to criminal behaviour for survival than the expected law abiding life.

These demands seem largely unmet by the prison rehabilitation strategies which, according to the data acquired through interviews, failed to instil good work habits and behaviour to the offenders for their successful re-integration into the society. Mafume (2014) aptly put it that the current rehabilitation system does not adequately prepare the female ex-convict for the job market. The market world today is increasingly changing, thus there is critical need to align rehabilitation policies accordingly. Preparing the offender for the world outside the prison, according to American Author David Chura (2009), requires provision of a variety of skills and specific knowledge that will effectively assist them fit back into the ever-changing society without the criminal mind. The society also needs to be educated on how to truly forgive, give support to their members and assist reunite ex-offenders with their families.
4.11.1 Interpretation of Challenges faced by prison

Some of the challenges experienced by the prison officers in policy implementation are as outlined below:

i. Resistance to change by both officers and offenders;

ii. Organizational culture with evident lack dynamism;

iii. Poor lines of communication to disseminate information;

iv. Poor policy resourcing and implementation strategy;

v. Lack of required skills and motivation; and

vi. Bad image and stigmatization of the prison concept.

4.11.2 Mitigating factors and way forward

i. Take advantage of the inmates who are well disciplined and help them to genuinely reform;

ii. Need mind-set transformation;

iii. Training and recruitment of qualified staff;

iv. Policy implementation needs to re-focus on core business;

v. Partnerships with communities; and

vi. Ability to strategize and educate people to generally forgive their relatives and help them to move forward.

4.12 Chapter Summary

In view of the above, the probe into prison officers, inmates and ex-inmates’ views led this study to maintain that although rehabilitation strategies are in place in Zimbabwe, a lot still needs to be done to improve their implementation. The researcher brought to the fore the strategies in place in the rehabilitation of offenders,
how they are implemented, and their contribution to effectiveness of offender rehabilitation in Zimbabwe. In addition, the significance of the entire aspect of offender rehabilitation and why it is viewed negative as well as the positive impact it brings in the lives and development of society was discussed. In a nutshell, the study revealed that repeat offending is a threat to national security. The next chapter focuses on the findings and conclusions.
CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the summary, findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The chapter preceding this covered data presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion. This chapter provides a consolidated summation of the entire study. The establishments and major findings from the study are summarised in this chapter. The research findings have revealed a myriad of socio-economic effects of repeat offending, and as such, this chapter provides strategic recommendations as a way forward. Given such background, convinced that this case study has revealed the factual and true issues and ideas underpinning the management of offenders in the country’s prisons in their actual and true environment, this gives the researcher the confidence that the issues raised by representatives of various stakeholders may find amicable home-grown solutions to assist the Zimbabwean Communities reduce the scourge of re-offending.

5.1 Summary

The study evaluated the effectiveness of rehabilitation policies employed to reform and curb re-offending in Zimbabwe. Benchmarking the rate of re-offending with the overall objective to reform and successfully re-integrating offenders back into society is an important aspect of this study. It is against this background that resources and efforts are channelled to achieve this objective in prisons systems worldwide. The
main is being focused on restoring the functional ability of offenders and deterring them from relapse into criminal behaviour.

The study, evidently and on a broader perspective, established that there is a gap and lack of distinct connection between rehabilitation strategies and offenders. The policies are well crafted but lack properly defined mechanism of implementation. This transcends into a system that is weak and has more functional challenges to achieve intended results compared to the overall objective and purpose of rehabilitation in correctional systems. The deficiency in the regime is attributed to limited resources and inadequate budgetary support in the programmes available to help offenders reform, mainly the absence of qualified personnel in criminal behaviour management and measures to identify required intervention on individual offenders. However, of those inmates who have been positively identified and consistently involved in the appropriate rehabilitation programmes with concerted effort of the outside world and aid agencies, the responses and effects have been positively encouraging. The challenges, however, are the increasing numbers of the negatives than those issues positively benefiting. Most inmates are not employed at the time of committing the crime, hence, the need to develop skills for self-employment to address the need of employment.

Research reveals the need to re-align the rehabilitation efforts with the interests and unique needs of offenders for behavioural change. It reveals, more importantly, the necessity to address the critical issues in the current rehabilitation programmes which are not effective. The general limitation pointed on the way the prison officials responsible for implementing the policies are being recruited, trained and capacitated to carry out their roles in reforming offenders. The general lack of funding and other
resources to implement the policy activities and individual tasks cannot be over-emphasised. The poor physical and administrative structures compounded by low morale leaves the policies merely good ideas without corresponding input to deliver the change intended. On a larger perspective, the staff training programmes focus on the prison security, which is part to the core business. The security focus, to some extent, contradicts the overall objectives of reforming the offenders as it has more to do with punishment than reform, and the inmates are left more hardened than reformed. The type of training that has much focus on security and protection of society produces officers who are hostile to offenders, and that transcends into communities. The lack of requisite skills to implement rehabilitation programmes is also a stumbling block to the efficacy of the programmes in place and implementation of the rehabilitation policy.

The study reveals that some prison officers mandated to supervise offenders did not understand the concept. The increase in recidivism is influenced by ineffective rehabilitation strategies, and prisoner rehabilitation needs are, in most cases, not well identified; therefore, misplaced efforts are misdirected towards other aspects of prisoners’ lives. The adopted rehabilitation programmes may not be very appropriate for the Zimbabwean economy, and the approaches used in implementing rehabilitation strategies may not be well comprehended by the officers. In addition to what is being done, there is need for a more participatory approach that will inspire the inmates to take part and be sustainably resourced.

It was clear from the perspectives of the re-offenders that programme identity is a challenge at the prisons under study. The inmates are enrolled into programmes
without proper consultation with authorities and the relevant authorities. There is no chance to identify programmes of choice. While in the programme, there is limited orientation; one just gets into the process while not clear on how it works, let alone the programme outcomes and intended benefits. Therefore, individual offenders felt they should be adequately inducted into the programme and be given time to make an informed decision to participate or not.

Several factors revealed by the study point at low faith and confidence in the systems and administration of the programmes by the staff. Most of them felt that the programmes are the responsibility of individual officers appointed in charge of the activities. The programme is then viewed as an individual project contradicting the whole idea. This brings limited support from other critical stakeholders, thereby failing to address the intended challenges; this also becomes an obstacle to participation. There should be a particular assessment that requires one to pass a certain criteria. Those who are admitted voluntarily should show interests in the particular programmes.

There are consistent findings from other studies assessments, investigations and evaluations such as the problem of finding technical expertise and motivation among staff. Data generated suggests counselling programmes and spiritual development of religious activities are gaining more support to varying degrees consistent with the conclusions of other researchers. Commitment by church organisations to volunteer and the transformational exposure of individual offenders are relevant to programme success and in the process to restore hope in families. This suggests the positive impact of religious principles to behaviour reform change and reform of individuals.
Examination and measurement of levels of outcomes of these principles may be a challenge because of the human nature which can change at any time. Some individual offenders had religious orientation before arrest and continued during incarceration but still get re-arrested under the same circumstances. Notably, they may be very active participants who inspire others to reform while they, themselves, continue in the vicious cycle.

The need to facilitate family links for successful re-integration came to the attention of this study. The other reason that was brought out as an impediment of successful re-integration and a vehicle that propels re-offending was the denial of inmates by their families. In many countries, a significant proportion of young prisoners may have lost contact with their families before or as a result of their period of imprisonment. Prison administrations will need to ensure that they give particular attention to identifying those young people who may need additional support in re-establishing links with their families or for whom family links have irrevocably broken down. The main purpose should be to avoid exposing the young people to the social circumstances which contributed to their original offence. It is important to enlist the help of the relevant governmental and non-governmental agencies in designing and delivering appropriate re-settlement programmes. The Tehran Juvenile Correctional and Rehabilitation Centre has a scheme called ‘My Home’ under which children are released from the Centre into homes run by individuals who act as foster parents to the children (Coyle, 2009).
5.2 **Common challenges to effective rehabilitation of offenders**

It was established that the challenges to do with successful re-integration of offenders and those which may influence re-offending are common in many jurisdictions in Africa. This is common and renders policies irrelevant to achieving the goals of re-integration. In their quest to improve the standard of living of prison staff and prisoners, the government has established that there are more challenges that they are failing to address. The main ones that the Prisons Service Commission and Parliament of Zimbabwe have realised and admitted to are:

- There is clear evidence of high levels of poverty and unemployment which hamper effective delivery of policies to address human behaviour;
- There is lack of adequate equipment to carry out the rehabilitation programmes that are in place adopted by the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services;
- It is difficult to access prison facilities by the humanitarian and other agencies that deal with prisoners since the procedure to get clearance from security institutions takes time;
- There is lack of management skills by prison officials to run the rehabilitation programmes efficiently;
- Employment opportunities for those who are released from prison are very scarce since the prevailing situation is that the government is, currently, the biggest employer in Zimbabwe, and the government does not employ people with a criminal record;
- There is increased competition in the arts and entrepreneur industry, and ex-prisoners find it very difficult to break through into the industry despite
learning the skills in prison. This renders the empowerment given in prison useless;

- There is lack of marketing skills amongst the ex-offenders so that they may market their businesses and themselves upon release from prison. There is no training on financial management skills in prison to ensure strength in the private business of offenders;
- The legal framework is not favourable for ex-convicts to get loans and capital;
- There is increased competition in the small to medium and vending market;
- The dynamics of the arts industry have become more challenging due to increased number of people taking up arts as a source of income or livelihood; and
- There are limited techniques to entrepreneurial capacity and sustainability.

According to the United Nations Department Of Peace Keeping Operations, the main objectives of prison support recommend that “all governments should capacitate the departments of correctional service to play their role as a security institution responsible for promotion of public safety through breaking the cycle of crime. It is against the same background that the Heads of Correctional Services in Africa agreed to take the provisions of the White Paper Correctional Blue print of South Africa as a benchmark for their efforts to improve effectiveness of offender management policies. The South African White Paper regulates:

- That the government of South Africa should capacitate and develop prisons into rehabilitation and social re-integration institutions;
- Promoting corrections as a societal responsibility;
- Overcrowding management;
• Reduction of length of detention of remands;
• Community services and conversion of custodial sentences;
• The ministry responsible for Correctional services being responsible for ensuring effective fundraising of parole systems;
• Halfway houses for parolees;
• Building of new facilities;
• Putting more people on rehabilitation programmes, in particular educational programmes;
• Skills development in production workshops and agriculture;
• Ensuring that offenders are rehabilitated and monitored;
• Improving offender literacy so that offending behaviour is corrected;
• Ensuring that offenders are held in safe secure humane conditions; and
• Lobbying communities to accept rehabilitation.

This study noted and suggests that these provisions of policy in South Africa, if borrowed in Zimbabwe and fully supported, will help to reduce the rate of re-offending. More importantly, they address the common challenges that prisons in Africa face in an effort to help offenders reform. From the analysis, it is generally clear that offenders in this sample face the same obstacles encountered by many prisoners, notably finding the nature of programmes, prison conditions, the status before arrest and the status after serving a prison term. The challenges overwhelm the individuals. Therefore, they find it very difficult to get back into society.

Some dimensions key to behaviour change may not be compatible within the economic and community situations at that particular time, for instance, from 2008 to
the current situation in Zimbabwe. The dollarization regime and the pressure to maintain acquired societal status and probably fulfilling the gender roles expected of one may give pressure to individual.

During the study, it was noted that the programmes consider life skills development; and these may not be very effective in the current economic environment where everyone is using these skills for survival. Breakthrough into a market dominated with big names of renowned legends can be a challenge, for example, to the music industry. The competition for market may be limiting for someone with a criminal record, and a positive image may take time to build. Some of the programmes are mandatory and others optional, and to balance the two, most would go to those that are mandatory and leave those that are optional.

An individual is critical to the effectiveness of the outcomes. For example, skills transfer and acquisition can be more of an art than learned philosophy to others. Motivation of both the trainer and learner is central. Conviction and commitment may be emphasised, as opposed to professional ability and objective-driven attitudes. There are obstacles to reform inherent in individuals, and in some cases, these can affect programme operations. There are some elements borne of the programme that have nothing to do with funding and other noted challenges. The same can equally affect the reform process. In some cases, transfers of both inmates and supervisory staff have emerged as an obstacle for programme implementation. In some cases, the participants drop from the programme, and the intended benefit is, therefore, not realised.
5.2.1 Nature of the programmes in place

The rehabilitation programmes put in place for the social re-integration of offenders are not clear, if there are, from the information on the ground there is nothing targeted for social transformation. There are, however, good programmes which can be modified and improved to target individual offenders’ social reintegration. The academic and tertiary education programmes are excellent and if targeted and well resourced, they can achieve substantial results. These were recognised as and are among the best practices for young offenders’ rehabilitation the world over.

According to the Prisons Statistics Office Report (2015), an average of 200 prisoners is released from the Harare Central, Chikurubi Farm and Female prisons every month into various communities across the country. More than 50% of these people lack shelter, accommodation, food and basic employment to be able to sustain them. They eventually decide to go back into prison where they can get settled despite the trauma. Furthermore, because of poverty, families normally turn to government for help. Some individual volunteers and church organisations may decide to assist in capacitating the ex-convicts with basic human components require for everyday life. Care for released prisoners or incarcerated individuals is mostly associated with support and aid by church organisations, voluntary associations and particular religious denominations in Zimbabwe.

The Government and various stakeholders in the Criminal Justice System agree with prisons and Correctional Services community that rehabilitation programmes are vital and are core to offenders’ reform. Not much has been done to evaluate the extent to which these programmes help the process of offender reform. Prisons should be
places where there is a full programme of constructive activities which will help prisoners to improve their situation. At the very least, the experience of prison should not leave prisoners in a worse condition than when they started the sentence, but should help them to maintain and improve their health, intellectual and social functioning.

The greatest strength of the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services is, arguably, the educated staff. The staff is generally aware of the objectives of offender rehabilitation and the provisions of the policies. Much value is placed in human rights, the religion and cultural beliefs that build a person. This is evident in the way the offenders, that is, first time and repeat offenders are treated. Relations are generally good, and there is trust in the respect of the person, regardless of the social status. The civil society and humanitarian organisations are involved in the rehabilitation of offenders, and mainly, funding and material resources are provided by ICRC and church organisations at the three prisons used as a case study in this research. Joining of hands between civil society and the prison administration is a positive move. The work and care towards a professional, safe and secure prison system which aims to achieve and execute the mandate is evident. The issue of security and protection of both the staff and other offenders is significantly well managed. Though escapes are experienced here and there, mostly at Chikurubi Farm the situation is well under control.

The last escape was experienced in 20 September 2014 when three inmates attacked an officer while on a work party outside the prison fence where they had gone to fetch firewood. The incident was regrettable because the inmates involved were almost due
for release, and one wonders why they would want a fresh charge that will send them to prison again after almost completing their sentences. From the incident, the general conclusion is that the efforts by the prison administration supported by the stakeholders did not work towards reforming these particular inmates. It is almost a trend that prisoners commit offences when closer to discharge, and one wonders whether it is due to ignorance or it is a well-crafted strategy to secure their place in the prisons again. What then makes the offenders shun normal life and freedom in the communities? Concluding from the answers given by the interviewed repeat offenders, the general assertion is that some of them re-commit crimes because there is poverty outside prisons. Some get into crime because of bad influence and others because they are generally lazy. Actually, the view is that prison life, despite the congestion, inconsistent food supplies, lack of freedom and routine lifestyle, is far better than the challenges in the communities outside.

There are evident concerted efforts to reduce re-offending at the female prison, while the conditions at male prisons are not anywhere near the required and internationally recommend standards. Harare Central prison has recently been under some renovations, but most of the infrastructure is too old for repairs. The prison administration at Harare Central is overwhelmingly security-focused. This is, however, in line with the grade of the prison. There is a maximum security section that houses Prisoners under Sentence of Death. These are high security prisoners and this requires a high standard of security. The other wing is for medium security inmates “C” Class. These are also offenders of a high security, and the trends in modern correctional standards may not really apply to their class. The observation was that they are not involved in rehabilitation programmes outside the prison fence.
They are not employed in the fields, but the majority of them are involved in education programmes. Some are studying degree programmes; others are in primary and secondary school level. Others are teachers and supervise day-to-day classes in the prison school. Some are involved in Health sections at the prison hospital, while some get engaged in indoor games like sports and entertainment activities, music and traditional dance.

Prison officers facilitate their participation in various programmes, and there is a closer and professional and respectful relationship amongst the different groups. The greatest obstacle and weaknesses concluded from the opinions is resistance to change from both the administration and the offenders. Some people still cling to the old way of doing things because they are known and easier to implement; there are some oppressive institutional practices still evident within some members of staff, the administration and management staff and the prisoners.

Generally, it is concluded that the members of staff, with the right training and motivation, material and financial resources, commensurate with their type of work can achieve the overarching objective of facilitating offender reform. The rates of offenders and the requirements in the rehabilitation process continue to change with the trends and nature of crimes committed. This also has been arrived at after reading from the documentary research. There is also change in the judicial pronouncements and sentencing patterns and regimes. The continuous change in all spheres of human live has to be considered when coming up with rehabilitation policies. The economic as well as the social order are factors that should be considered when implementing a reform process. The demands of the objectives of correctional services, in achieving
successful reformation of inmates, remain high. The discouraged re-imprisonment and re-offending lifestyle demands the responsible authorities to keep initiating dynamic approaches to prisoners’ reform, management and correctional institutions. This is concluded in this study that dealing with people’s attitude behaviour and character requires greater skill on management of behavioural sciences. Total support and clear polices can assist in management of the rehabilitation programmes and implementation of the policies. People management skill is essential to realise the benefits of the various programmes on offer.

5.3 Conclusions
This study set to evaluate the rehabilitation strategies used by the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services in offenders’ rehabilitation. However, it suffices to conclude that there is rehabilitation occurring in the prisons, but it is not adequately programmed. Scholarly opinion converges on the deduction that rehabilitation is effective for offenders, but the way it is being implemented in the Zimbabwean Prisons and Correctional Services leaves a lot to be desired. The study bolstered the notion that rehabilitation acts as the link between society and the convict, hence it is important for the prison services to partner with other stakeholders to formulate and improve existing strategies to correct prisoners and promote law-abiding behaviour.

The Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services is a government organisation in Zimbabwe. The current public sector efficiency is, generally, at low levels owing to inadequate budgetary support countrywide. Inspection and good performance measurement can only be effective when the regime is operating under effective contract. In Zimbabwe, currently, it is difficult to measure policies’ performance.
because outcomes and inputs are not aligned. The provisions are specified, but the means to the outcomes are challenged. In this case, evaluation of the effectiveness of the operations of an under-resourced administration may not be very fair. The researcher would recommend studies which carry out an assessment of policies and processes to identify the areas that need improvement and upgrading. A review of the policies in place is recommended to match the demands of the prevailing economic and social sphere.

Studies of this nature are highly recommended because they are helpful to the society at large. Generally, these studies will bring the prisons’ agenda to the fore because for many people, prisons are “out of sight out of mind” phenomena. Some just think of the prisons when there are incidences that threaten national and public security, for example, the 1997 “Chidhumo’ incident, The February 2015 “Prison riot” at Chikurubi Maximum. Where the system of governance and law is shaken, people are reminded of the importance of prisons to the very existence of society. Prisons must never be taken for granted, and by their nature of being human beings, prisoners should get the attention they require. They have the inherent power to influence or frustrate the whole societal system and disturb peace if not well managed. However, prisons should not be a “Holiday Resort” but should be places where people are given the chance for behaviour change in a safe and secure environment. The need to constructively, efficiently and professionally resource the institutions cannot be over-emphasised. Human beings in those institutions must be valued and their dignity maintained.
Prisoners must be encouraged and be given an opportunity to make good some of the harm done by their offending and prepare for their eventual release while treated with dignity and respect. The current prisons’ conditions are not fair for both staff and prisoners. From the officers’ side, it is good for government to support and value the job of officers, acknowledging that it is a fascinating career. The officers should bear in mind that prisons’ work can provides great satisfaction. The work is both rewarding and frustrating (it is demanding). Meaning the successes in changing human behaviour are not something one can go and point (not tangible) but the failures will keep returning to them (reoffending). It is these failures that continue to haunt even the successes of individuals. Prisoners’ integrity and human dignity are virtues of life. To some point and level, the value and contribution that an individual makes to society is quick to forget the positive contribution over the negative impact of crime.

People commit crime out of failure to adjust to certain circumstances beyond their control, others just feel good when they commit crimes, and others feel they need to kill just for the satisfaction of self. Others feel they should do things because it is a cultural practice despite knowing it against the law. Some are pushed by the intention of conforming to a group; they do not want to be perceived as outsiders, others want to greedily acquire wealth, whereas some people are naturally violent and believe arguments must be won by violence other than facts. These are common in the repeat offenders. They are always back in prison because of fighting, beating others and in some cases, commit cases of that nature in prison.

It is very important for the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services to improve the implementation of strategies in order to realize its objective of rehabilitating
offenders and their successful reformation and re-integration into mainstream society. The study also showed the importance of good governance. Good governance promotes accountability and helps an organization towards its vision. It is then important for the prison service, at policy level, to integrate a human rights component as part of prison officers’ code of conduct.

5.4 Recommendations of the study

It is recommended that management and the stakeholders of the organisation get together to consider the following suggestions for implementation as the way forward.

5.4.1 Training of Officers

The following recommendations are made concerning the raining of officers:

i. Awareness and knowledge of human rights standards is vital to officers and the prisoners. The human rights activists and oversight groups are always advocating for protection of prisoners’ rights. Staff Training on human rights should be prioritised.

ii. There should be greater emphasis through training of staff in different aspects of social behaviour management, counselling communication and moral uprightness, personal hygiene, cultural values and security restraints and reactions should be part of the daily verbal interactions between officers and prisoners during training and interactions in various rehabilitation activities. Drill and physical training is taking a large percentage of the officers’ time, and training should be revised if emphasis is to be put on human rights training and people management skills.
iii. With the current high levels of literacy in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services are well placed for required efficiency. Selection and recruitment should target people skilled in human behaviour management as leaders in the institutions where offender rehabilitation is core business.

iv. Training manuals for Correctional Services and human management programmes administration should be developed. The manuals will then be used for continuous in-service training. The continuous in-service correctional training should target the prison leaders and specialists in various prison workshops. Basic prison officers’ course alone should not be regarded as a certificate for deployment at big institutions such as Harare Central Prison, Chikurubi Maximum Security and Farm Complex. Staff in these high grade prisons needs some more specialised skills. They should be able to handle the calibre of offenders detained in these special grade institutions, hence the requirement to be trained for work and specific prison institutions for effective implementation of various policy and the demands of office management. Policies are complex to deliver; therefore, there is need for continuous training of implementers.

v. Rehabilitation can be effective where there is motivation among the actors in the programme. It is vital that the organisational culture is correctly articulated to the officers. Management should organize a number of interactive seminars with all stakeholders to address issues of rehabilitation.
5.4.2 Offender management

Prisoners should be managed in a way that benefits society. To this end, the following recommendations are made:

i. There are a number of useful courses that offenders can be involved in to prepare them for useful life after imprisonment and to be able to interact with officers and colleagues in the prison community. Effective channels of communication should be set up in the prison administration as well as amongst the prisoners. Procedures for selection and admission into various rehabilitation programmes should be adhered to.

ii. Legislation should be put in place to guide operations in various rehabilitation activities supported by policies, resources and appropriate staff skills. Polices should be clear of the intended objectives and goals so as to manage offenders successfully.

iii. The Prison Act of 1996 should be reviewed to suit the current correctional approach of offender management. Supporting policy guidelines and procedures should be in place for easy police implementation. Budgetary support should be available for, specifically, the rehabilitation projects. Policies should provide for mechanisms to monitor and evaluate programme success.

iv. There is need for policy makers to ensure follow up to the formulated policies during implementation. Continuous evaluation of the activities should be done to bring about change and identify challenges. The management of Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services should come up with a functional and all inclusive rehabilitation and re-integration policy that should be reviewed in line with world trends.
5.4.3 Repeat offenders

Repeat offenders should be treated as such. Appropriate strategies should be put in place to deal with this category of prisoners. Here are some of the recommendations:

i. There should be support on discharge for successful entry into the communities.

ii. There should be a review of criminal record policy.

iii. Policies that deter government departments from employing former prisoners should be repealed. Criminal sentences should be valid for a particular period and expire in order to facilitate employability opportunities for re-offenders.

iv. The family should get information on why it is important to be supportive. Broken families should get support for reunion.

v. Government should consider conjugal leave for those with long sentences as therapy for rehabilitation. First offenders and second offenders should, at most, be considered for Open prison system.

vi. After care programmes should give provision for constant supervision of activities of re-integrated offenders by peers and family members to avoid going back into criminal behaviour.

vii. Rehabilitation requires accurate individual assessment of offenders on admission to prison, as opposed to the current situation where Offender assessment is done during admission and mainly for security classification.

viii. The Prison Service has put much focus in basic skills educational for prisoners in a concerted effort to reduce re-offending. Prisoners should be encouraged to obtain marketable skills in order to break through in various industry and job market on release.
ix. Government should devise ways to support rehabilitation through assessment of the offender’s risk. Programmes should be adopted to suit the risk factors of an offender.

x. Those with static family background of poverty should be adopted into after-care programmes. Prisoners from a cycle of poverty families should be noted and provided with assistance. There should be alternatives to prison rehabilitation where interventions can do little to change. Repeat offender programmes should focus on addressing employment related skills.

xi. In order to gain community participation, management must engage the community through sensitization on the rationale of imprisonment and their role. In cases where offenders have been sentenced to imprisonment, government should avail sufficient funds for the prison authorities to enable them develop and operate programmes that would target the rehabilitation of offenders.

xii. ZPCS should also engage and cooperate with the relevant NGOs. Civil society groups should be encouraged to visit prisons to work with offenders and assist them with pre-released and re-integration programmes.

5.4.4 Involving communities in supporting offenders to reform.

There is need to demystify the human fears, vulnerabilities, and insecurities inherent in offenders in preparation for their release from prison. Rehabilitation is called for at this moment in time. These equip them with knowledge of the realities of the “new” society they are going to integrate into and move forward. Communities should also be sensitised of the human peculiarities, distinctions and moral vulnerability of ex-
offenders so that they give them the time to match the standard and agreed norms of the normal communities outside crime. Re-offending should be viewed as a mental relationship between the demands of society and human conscience; therefore, there is need for society to help those vulnerable to rebuild and get to acknowledge the reality and true nature of societies to fit in. For one to get up again and connect behaviour to any organ of society might be a challenge despite acquisition of life skills and other skills offered in prison. Every human being is unique in his/her own way and requires special treatment and acceptance to be able to sustain a life free of crime and live as a law abiding citizen, as expected by society.

A well natured life is an end state everyone expects of all offenders the world over, but it calls for acknowledging and building support and human capacity to affirmation of moral values. This calls for prison communities to be innovative and bring about ideas that circumvent the criminal ideas inherent and dominating the mind of the offender to uphold human dignity and worth. The human being has power to live a law abiding life and can work against any standard of rules and regulations equally well; the same human being can innovatively and creatively work within the dictates of the rules and regulations and has power and moral capacity to stop offending behaviour if psychologically conditioned to do so. Everything lies within the mind and decisions made thereafter. Offending is a human construct, and life cannot be lived in absolute terms. Communities should not be hostile to an indifferent to re-offending person but rather, they should exhibit moral acceptance and accord the human value worth to re-offenders and extend a helping hand to rescue them out of the vicious cycle.
Families should not invalidate the humanity of those of unapproved behaviour and perspective to hunhuism, but rather accept the fact that we all exist for a common good. However, they need re-capitalisation and be available to a bigger number of inmates, especially those from remote regions of the country as opposed to the centralisation of the workshop in Harare. The researcher believes that is the greatest area of need for development and curbing re-offending in rural areas. Unfortunately, it is not currently relevant to most offenders due to the industrial developments in the country. Prison workshops must become a major activity to boost production towards self- sufficiency of the prison institutions as well as prepare inmates for productive lives outside prisons.

5.4.5 Identification of Appropriate programmes for reform

Academic programmes for young offenders should go beyond donor funding. Government must avail funding for youth development in prisons in the same way it does in communities. The suggestion is that this should be available full time and compulsory to all institutions where juveniles are housed despite their length of stay in prison and the crime status. The education centres in prison should provide incentives to study in order to keep the young offenders constructively engaged in education in order to develop and acquire work ethic lifestyles. Ultimately, behaviour change is achieved because the young offenders, as they grow, see that it is in their best interest to change and integrate into communities, thereby building well-natured families.

Punishment has proved in many jurisdictions to be an ineffective way of changing people, especially young offenders. In most cases, it has proved to be a vehicle for hardening youths in prison and to some level, as they grow under harsh conditions,
they become rebellious to societal norms. Research has shown that educational programmes are more effective if well managed and can produce positive changes to behaviour. The community will have confidence in the organization if it can deliver best on its mission. The organisation should be able to facilitate reformation attitudes in the people they are entrusted with. This will make the public to have confidence in the correctional system and render their maximum support and resources.

The society at large can reduce re-offending rates by initiating programmes that help their members without the assistance of the government. The persistent high levels of crime can be reduced by developing post-release support networks for ex-offenders to ensure a better re-integration platform for settling back into the communities. Ideally, there should be maximum effort to create and develop programmes that absorb the inmates’ release period. These can be for a particular period joining the prison life and community life for easy transition. Alternatively, they may continue with programmes they were engaged in during imprisonment but in a different environment outside prison. The environment and arrangement will assist them to get settled and established for job opportunities. This may be ideal in the current economic situation in Zimbabwe.

### 5.4.6 Alternative means of punishment for offenders

The current economic and social context, owing to the considerable rise in the cost of basic needs of sustaining a human being, imprisonment has become a high cost to the government. Therefore, it is recommended that a proactive arrangement be put in place to sentence the offenders. Long prison sentences do not help the government. Some cases should be considered for other alternatives to imprisonment. Government,
as the biggest stakeholder in the criminal justice system, should consider privatisation of some prison projects. This will help in generating income for upkeep and provisions in the prisons. Some offenders may be considered for getting employment in the projects as a way of serving their sentences without government expenses on their upkeep. This can reduce the prison population and address the problem of poor living conditions in the prisons. Many of the job skills taught in prison may not be relevant in the current economic situation. This leaves individual offenders in a very difficult situation; therefore, absorbing them in prison industries will help them not to venture into crime again.
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Harare Zimbabwe


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STAFF

1. What role do you play in the inmates’ re-integration process?
2. Does every member of the organization understand the importance of successful re-integration of inmates?
3. How is the importance of successful reintegration communicated?
4. Do you have relevant resources to facilitate a successful implementation of reintegration process?
5. Do you have systems in place which monitor the current rehabilitation and reintegration process?
6. What are the weaknesses of the current rehabilitation and reintegration policies?
7. What is the impact of ZPCS’ rehabilitation and reintegration policy in reducing recidivism?
8. What are the challenges that you face when it comes to implementation of the policies.
9. When was the last time that the rehabilitation and reintegration policies reviewed?
10. What can be done to enhance and realign this current policy to organizational goals?
APPENDIX 2

Focus Discussion Guide

1. Is the objective and purpose of the rehabilitation policies and programmes clearly defined?
2. Is there a need and purpose of achieving change in offender behaviour though the prison rehabilitation policy and practice?
3. Do the offenders themselves understand the need for behaviour change?
4. If not, how can this be improved?
5. What can be done to make the programme more effective?
   6. Are programme activities relevant to achieving the desired goals and objectives?
7. What are the most favoured programmes?
8. Is the programme relevant to addressing the capacity, accountability and responsiveness of the offender?
9. Are the programme results, indicators and tools relevant to achieve and measure the purpose and objective of the programme? If not, how could they be improved?
10. Are the programmes relevant to the priorities of the beneficiaries?
11. What has gone well? What has not? Why?
12. What results have been achieved in regard to partnerships with community actors to addressing major factors influencing the achievement or non-achievement of the objectives?
APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STAKEHOLDERS

1. Does the current prison system allow you to be involved in the rehabilitation process?
2. To what extent are you involved in the rehabilitation process?
3. What role do you play when it comes to successful reintegration of offenders?
4. How prepared is the community to accept ex-offenders?
APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OFFENDERS

1. What are the programmes in place for offenders at this prison?

2. Which programmes do inmates like and why?

3. How are offenders admitted in rehabilitation programmes offered by prisons service?

4. In which programme are you participating?

5. What are the benefits of participating in these programmes?

6. What is your general view on the effectiveness of the programmes to assist offenders’ reform process?

7. What challenges do offenders face in prison?

8. What are your suggestions for addressing them?
Out today, in tomorrow.

HARARE, ZIMBABWE, 16 – 22 MARCH 2014

They say freedom joined

Are correctional systems falling?
APPENDIX 6: Newspaper extract 2
APPENDIX 7: ZOU letter

ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Ref: HDD/21

20 January 2015

To whom it may concern

MRS GRANISIA MUSANGO (P1377199F), DIRECTORATE REFERENCE
(D/MAR/13/16/03)

The bearer, Granisia Musango, P1377199F, Directorate Reference Number D/MAR/13/16/03 is a bona fide Higher Degrees candidate registered for the Doctor of Philosophy programme with this University. She is conducting research under the theme: “An analysis of the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation policies in Zimbabwe.”

Any assistance offered to her to facilitate her study will be most appreciated.

Dr. A.S. Chikasha
Director, Higher Degrees Directorate
APPENDIX 8: Clearance letter

ZIMBABWE PRISONS AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICE

Telephone: 706301/2, 734197, 710095
Telegrams: "PENAL", HARARE
Fax: 754157
Email: zip@zpa.gov.zw

17 February 2014

912350 Supt. (w) G. Musango.
PCSHQ

HARARE,
APPLICATION FOR CLEARANCE AND AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH
AT HARARE CENTRAL PRISON, CHIKURUBI PRISON FARM AND CHIKURUBI
FEMALE PRISON.

1. The above subject refers.

2. You are hereby informed that your application for clearance and authority to conduct a
research entitled "An analysis of the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation policies in
Zimbabwe" was approved.

3. You can now make arrangements to visit Harare Central Prison, Chikurubi Prison Farm
and Chikurubi Female Prison at your convenient time during working hours and at your own
expense for data collection purposes.

4. On completion of your research findings, you are required to submit a hard copy and a
soft copy of your research findings to the Research and Development office for the
Commissioner General’s information. During your data collection exercise you are required to
observe all the necessary rules and regulations including ethics appertaining to your study and
you shall not be allowed to divulge to any unauthorized person/s information regarding the
operations of the ZPCS.

5. By copy of this letter, the O/C – Mashonaland Region and OICs of Harare Central Prison,
Chikurubi Prison Farm and Chikurubi Female Prison are advised of this approval.

D. Garauzive (SUPERINTENDENT)
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

Action:
SO - Security
Info.
Commandant - NTS
OIC - Rusape Prison
SO - Admin.
SO – Personnel.
File.

[Signature]
17 FEB 2013