

8 Rehabilitation and reintegration in African prisons

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The little information that exists on prisons in Africa is dominated by descriptions of poor, overcrowded conditions, brutality and suffering. Given that many prisons on the continent do indeed suffer from these problems, it is not surprising that there is very little discussion on what these prisons can do to help facilitate change in the prisoners with a view to helping them lead crime-free lives upon their release. Yet, rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners is acknowledged as one of the key functions of the prison system, even in the countries of Africa. Regional instruments refer to it as one of the important aspects to consider in the treatment of offenders. It is, therefore, important to understand what rehabilitative efforts are occurring in the region and what impact they have on the successful reintegration of offenders. This chapter outlines some of these activities, but does so recognising that only limited information exists about rehabilitation in most parts of the region and that firm conclusions cannot be drawn about the impact of these interventions. The chapter also attempts to draw some lessons for good practice in rehabilitation. Finally, it poses the question of what would constitute appropriate rehabilitation and reintegration, given the constraints facing most prisons in Africa.

But first the chapter starts with an overview of rehabilitation, drawing on literature in the developed world to provide a common understanding of what is meant by rehabilitation and reintegration, as well as to outline what is understood as necessary for effective interventions.

Defining rehabilitation and reintegration

For society, the aim of punishment is not only to prevent offending and reoffending, even if viewed through the restrictive lens of incarceration, but also to send a strong message about society's public disapproval of an offence. A prison sentence, which deprives a person of liberty, is in most societies the ultimate penalty and represents the strongest mark of disapproval. In addition to this, there are several other functions that a sentence of imprisonment fulfils. These can broadly be grouped as follows:

- *Retribution*, or just deserts, imposes a symbolic punishment, in this case imprisonment, on the offender for a crime that has been committed. The term of imprisonment is meant to be proportionate to the crime or extent of harm inflicted.

- *Prevention or deterrence* aims to prevent the commission or recommission of crime through threat of the negative outcomes that may result from the commission of crime. However, research has not proven any significant impact of deterrence on crime levels.
- *Incapacitation* aims to prevent crime through rendering the offender incapable of committing further crime by his or her removal from society and incarceration in prison. However, this theory fails to take into account the possibility of committing further acts of crime within the prison community.
- *Rehabilitation* is a term that is broadly accepted to mean a planned intervention which aims to bring about change in some aspect of the offender that is thought to cause the offender's criminality, such as attitudes, cognitive processes, personality or mental health. A broad definition of rehabilitation refers to social relations with others, education and vocational skills, and employment. The intervention is intended to make the offender less likely to break the law in the future, or to reduce 'recidivism' (Cullen & Gendreau 2000).
- *Reintegration* is the process by which a person is reintroduced into the community with the aim of living in a law-abiding manner. Reintegration also refers to active and full community participation by ex-offenders. Preparation for reintegration can occur in prison. Rehabilitation and reintegration are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature.

These last two objectives speak to the potential of a prison sentence to change a person's behaviour or to have an impact on the factors that lead to crime or the recommission of crime.

Rehabilitation has been criticised for the moral implications associated with the term. It has often been associated with the belief that human behaviour is the product of antecedent causes that can be identified and that therapeutic measures can be employed to effect positive changes in the behaviour of the person subjected to treatment (Rabie & Maré 1994). In terms of this approach, a prisoner is regarded as having malfunctioned, or as being 'diseased', and capable of being 'treated' or 'cured', usually by a range of professionals within the criminal justice system. Rehabilitation treatment programmes can include educational and vocational training, individual and group counselling, and medical treatment. The rehabilitation ideal served as the basis for penal reform in the west until it was forced to re-evaluate the impact of this approach following Robert Martinson's startling conclusion to a study of 231 treatment programmes across the developed world. Martinson concluded that 'with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism' (2001: 270). Although Martinson hoped to provide evidence that imprisonment was an ineffective method of punishment and to promote non-custodial sentences instead, the 'nothing works' message was interpreted by conservatives in government as support for a more retributive approach.

Despite Martinson's criticisms, the rehabilitation ideal made somewhat of a comeback in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when studies using meta-analytical

techniques indicated that some treatment programmes may be effective under certain conditions (see Layton MacKenzie 2000; McGuire 2000). These studies reveal that the recidivism rate is on average 10 percentage points lower for prisoners going through treatment programmes, though sometimes the reduction in recidivism may be as high as 25 per cent (Cullen & Gendreau 2000: 110). Based on these studies, there is developing consensus that programmes and services that have the following features work best (McGuire 2000):

- *Theoretical soundness*: programmes are based on an explicit and well-articulated model of the causes of crime.
- *Risk assessment*: interventions should be targeted towards specific risk categories. Studies have also indicated that programmes provided for high-risk groups are most effective (Andrews et al. 2001).
- *Criminogenic needs*: the prisoners should be assessed to determine dynamic risk factors, such as attitudes, criminal associations, skills deficits, substance abuse, or self-control issues which are related to offending.
- *Responsivity*: more effective methods are those which are active and participatory.
- *Structure*: interventions should have clear objectives.
- *Methods*: the most effective methods are drawn from cognitive-behavioural approaches that focus on the interrelationship between thoughts, feelings and behaviour.
- *Programme integrity*: programmes should be delivered by appropriately trained staff who are able to deliver the intervention in its designed format.

However, research has also indicated which interventions appear to have no impact on recidivism rates, such as programmes emphasising structure, discipline and challenge, like boot camps. These studies have led to a more thoughtful, planned approach to rehabilitation, which acknowledges the difficulties of trying to bring about change in human behaviour and which is more sober about the prospects of bringing about lasting change in offending behaviour.

Martinson (2001) also argued that the theory of rehabilitation might be flawed as it overlooks the normality of crime in society, and that crime may be a very 'normal' response by people who are responding to the facts and conditions of our society. More recent approaches to rehabilitation view prisoners in relation to their families, communities and socio-economic backgrounds, and have a focus that is broader than the psychosocial. The Social Exclusion Unit in the office of the British prime minister has identified a number of risk factors prevalent in the offending population. These same risk factors contribute to the likelihood of a released prisoner reoffending, and these factors can be exacerbated by the imprisonment experience. The Social Exclusion Unit outlines how prison-based interventions can target these factors, ameliorate the impact of imprisonment, and deal with the problem through treatment and the creation of skills and awareness, and through facilitating contact in the community. These risk factors are mutually reinforcing and need to be addressed in an integrated manner. The risk factors identified are discussed briefly below (SEU 2002).

One factor recognised by the Social Exclusion Unit is the prevalence of low levels of education in the prison population. In prison, existing skills can be eroded or become outdated, and existing educational courses may be interrupted. Prison-based education and training programmes could give prisoners the skills needed to gain employment.

This emphasises a second risk factor, namely, employment. Many prisoners are unemployed at the time of arrest. In addition, imprisonment results in the loss or interruption of employment. Imprisonment could provide the opportunity to gain practical experience and set up contacts with potential employers.

A third risk factor is drugs and alcohol, as 60 to 70 per cent of offenders in the UK used drugs prior to their imprisonment. Drugs are often available in prison and habits may become entrenched. Prison could be an effective place to obtain drug treatment.

Mental and physical health is another risk factor, with over 70 per cent of prisoners suffering from mental health problems. These may be exacerbated by a lack of service provision, poor coordination and the prison environment. Prison could provide the opportunity for proper diagnosis and treatment.

Another risk factor is attitudes and self-control, because other prisoners may reinforce negative attitudes and behaviour. Prison programmes could help to improve prisoners' thinking skills and anger management to help mitigate this factor.

Imprisonment may also reinforce experiences of institutionalisation and heavily structured regimes, or a lack of activity, which can damage prisoners' ability to think or act for themselves. On the other hand, prison could provide a place to develop positive life skills.

Housing or accommodation can be lost on entry, and non-payment of rent could have knock-on effects for the prisoner's family. Appropriate support in prison could help prisoners to access housing subsidies and negotiate rent savings.

Debt can worsen during imprisonment, and prisoners are released without sufficient financial means to tide them over until they become re-established. Again, support in prison could help them to access financial support on their release.

The final risk factor is the impact on families, as imprisonment can damage positive links to families and contribute to financial instability among family members. On the other hand, prison could give families an opportunity to have input into the prisoner's rehabilitation needs, to deal with poor family relationships and to stabilise financial needs and concerns, as mentioned above.

Building on these ideas is the newly evolving notion of 'corrections of place'. This is a community-oriented approach which shifts the emphasis from the individual to the community to which the offender returns, with the aim of building capacity and enlisting community resources to assist in reintegration. This approach requires operational changes to facilitate the provision of a continuum of care from

imprisonment through to release and case management, balancing surveillance with support and building partnerships with all stakeholders (Borzycki 2005). Recognising the need for evidence-based correctional programming to deal with the aspects of an offender's life linked to crime, it also looks at factors in the broader social context which may have an impact on crime and on the offender's ability to reintegrate into society.

Most of these ideas have been developed and researched in the western world. In analysing their application and impact in the countries of Africa, it is useful to start off by looking at the regional instruments as an expression of intent on the continent.

Regional instruments

Several regional instruments deal with the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners. The Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa, adopted in 1996,¹ is the primary document outlining rights for prisoners in Africa. Instead of listing ambitious goals for prisoner rehabilitation, the Declaration set a more realistic agenda for African states facing the high levels of overcrowding and under-resourcing prevalent on the continent. The Kampala Declaration made several recommendations, which include the following: that the detrimental effects of imprisonment should be minimised so that prisoners do not lose their self-respect and sense of personal responsibility; that prisoners should be given the opportunity to maintain and develop links with their families and the outside world, and that prisoners should be given access to education and skills training in order to make it easier for them to reintegrate into society after their release.

Despite the fact that situations in prisons had seen little improvement by the time of the next pan-African seminar held in Burkina Faso, in 2002, the Ouagadougou Declaration on Accelerating Penal and Prison Reform in Africa² made more specific reference to rehabilitation in prisons. The Ouagadougou Declaration recommended promoting the reintegration of offenders into society. In doing so, it proposed that states should make greater efforts to use the period of imprisonment, or other sanctions, to develop the potential of offenders and to empower them to lead a crime-free life in the future. This, it stipulated, should include rehabilitative programmes focusing on the reintegration of offenders and contributing to their individual and social development.

The Plan of Action accompanying the Ouagadougou Declaration is addressed to governments and criminal justice agencies as well as to NGOs and associations, and it is meant to serve as an inspiration for concrete action. In particular, the Plan outlines the following strategies to promote rehabilitation:

- promoting rehabilitation and development programmes during the period of imprisonment or non-custodial sentence schemes;
- ensuring that unsentenced prisoners have access to these programmes;
- emphasising literacy and skills training linked to employment opportunities;

- promoting vocational training programmes certificated to national standards;
- emphasising the development of existing skills;
- providing civic and social education;
- providing social and psychological support with adequate professionals;
- promoting contact with the family and community;
- sensitising families and communities in preparation for the reintegration of the person into society and involving them in rehabilitation and development programmes;
- developing halfway houses and other pre-release schemes, and
- extending the use of open prisons under appropriate circumstances.

The Plan of Action refers to a broad range of approaches that can be used in reducing the criminality of released offenders and facilitating their entry into society. It places more emphasis on those skills that would assist with re-entry, such as the development of vocational and literacy skills. The Plan also recognises the important role that families and communities play not only in providing support to the prisoners while in prison, but also in accepting them back into their lives. The references to rehabilitation and development skills, as well as to social and psychological support from professionals, point to traditional notions of rehabilitation.

What is unusual is that the Plan of Action recommends that even unsentenced prisoners should have access to the programmes outlined, including rehabilitation and developmental programmes. This is contrary to convention, which holds that prisoners should only be engaged in 'rehabilitative' efforts once they have been found guilty of a crime. The Plan of Action promotes the use of less restrictive regimes for prisoners, particularly open prisons. As will be seen in later sections, some African states, such as Mozambique, do have open prisons. The establishment of halfway houses would be a new initiative in Africa.

The Central, Eastern, and South African Heads of Correctional Services (CESCA) have drafted an African Charter on Prisoners' Rights. This was to have been presented to the UN's African member states in 2002, and from there to the UN's bodies, but for unexplained reasons it did not make its way onto the agenda. The draft Charter sets out minimum standards for the treatment of prisoners.³

In a section dealing with the rehabilitation of prisoners (paragraph 14), the draft Charter provides that: programmes for physical and social rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners into the community shall be provided; rehabilitation programmes shall involve, as far as possible, NGOs to run schemes in prisons, in cooperation with the prison administration; and approved religious bodies shall have free access to prisoners to dispense spiritual welfare to them.

While it does not have the depth of the Ouagadougou Declaration, the Charter elevates the role of religious workers and spiritual services to a central place in the vision for rehabilitation services.

Legislation and policy frameworks

Pinpointing particular influences of these instruments on any policy process of any country is always difficult. However, a survey of prison services in Africa compiled in preparation for the second Pan African Conference on Penal and Prison Reform, held in Ouagadougou in 2002, found that of the 27 countries responding to the survey, 11 had introduced new legislation since 1996, and some had presumably been influenced by the Kampala Declaration. Others indicated that they were in the process of reviewing legislation (PRI 2003). Given the dire prison conditions in many African countries, it is perhaps not surprising or inappropriate that only eight countries listed the improvement or introduction of rehabilitation and developmental programmes as best practices since 1996.⁴ Most of the focus has been targeted towards introducing human rights standards, appropriate training for prison officials, and the improvement of prison conditions by various mechanisms.

There appears, however, to have been no impact on the legislative or policy framework of countries such as Benin, which still operates according to a decree of 1975, under which no explicit rehabilitative aim is provided (pers. comm., Penal Reform International representative, September 2005). Nevertheless, it does have a Centre for the Welfare of Juveniles and Adolescents in Aglanbanda; one of the Centre's responsibilities is to rehabilitate young offenders (ACHPR 2000c). Cameroon is another country without an apparent policy concerning rehabilitation (RODI 2004).

Most countries in the region have emerged from a colonial history in the past half-century, and some of them are still acting in terms of the colonial legislation and policies. Even while under the colonial regimes in some countries, one of the express aims of imprisonment was rehabilitation, and the prison systems were often used to procure labour for the growing industries.⁵ The influence of the west continues in the current legislation in Africa, which often reflects European legislation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Information about rehabilitation is not very accessible for most countries in the region, and there is even less readily available information on legislation and policy frameworks. However, there is some information that indicates that many countries have included rehabilitation explicitly in the objectives for the prison service. The Botswana Prisons Service outlines that one of the purposes of the prison system is:

the training and rehabilitation of all classes of sentenced prisoners in such skill and social behaviour as may be necessary to effect change in their social resettlement into the community on their release as law-abiding members of the community. (quoted in Frompong 2001: 83)

Uganda has also recently reconceptualised its prison services. According to the Uganda Prison Service Policy Document, *2000 and Beyond*, their mission is to encourage and assist prisoners in their rehabilitation, reformation and social reintegration as law-abiding citizens (pers. comm., Foundation for Human Rights Initiative, Kampala, Uganda, August 2005).

In 1998, South Africa revised its legislation to bring it in line with international human rights principles and correctional norms. The Correctional Services Act No. 111 of 1998, which was properly brought into effect only in 2004, identifies that the purpose of the correctional system is to contribute to maintaining and protecting a just, peaceful and safe society, and instrumental in this is ‘promoting the social responsibility and human development of all prisoners and persons subject to community corrections’ (Section 2).

While the Act was careful to avoid the term ‘rehabilitation’ and to frame the objectives in terms of minimum responsibilities, in 2005 the correctional services ushered in a more expansive set of objectives as set out in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (DCS 2005). This document outlines a 20-year vision in which rehabilitation forms the basis of all activities in correctional services. In terms of this document, the responsibility of the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) is first and foremost to correct offending behaviour in a secure, safe and humane environment, in order to *facilitate the achievement of rehabilitation, and avoidance of repeat offending* (my emphasis). This creates a greater responsibility on the correctional services to ensure that prisoners do not offend after being released.

On the other hand, while acknowledging that the purpose of penal legislation is to punish and to rehabilitate offenders, one senior official from Tanzania felt that the emphasis was more on the punitive side.⁶ This is, perhaps, a reflection that whilst there are policy discussions about reframing imprisonment and transforming prisons, the day-to-day reality remains firmly locked into a punitive approach. It is also a reflection of the constraints faced in operating in severely overcrowded and under-resourced facilities.

The practice of rehabilitation and reintegration in African prisons

Even when countries aspire to bring about the rehabilitation or development of prisoners, the realities facing the prison system often make any attempt extremely difficult. Most countries researched for the purposes of this chapter are subject to high levels of overcrowding and inadequate resources and facilities. Extreme conditions of overcrowding, resulting in inadequate sleeping space, a lack of proper sleeping mats or beds, a lack of ventilation and lighting, and limited time out of the cell, were some of the factors mentioned in many of the reports of the African Commission’s Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa. Concerns were also raised about excessive and inappropriate discipline and punishment, forced and hard labour, and paltry access to medical treatment. Another problem often mentioned is that the prison systems fail to separate prisoners sentenced for serious crimes from those convicted of less serious offences.⁷ These factors have an impact on the mental and physical health of a prisoner and fail to create an environment conducive to rehabilitation.

Overcrowding also has a negative impact on the staffing and management of a prison. The UK's Chief Inspector of Prisons noted in his *2001/02 Annual Report*:

Prison overcrowding is, however, undoubtedly making it more difficult to build and sustain progress [with assessing prisoners and placing them in appropriate programmes]. It is more difficult to get prisoners out of cell [sic] and into activities. Frequent prisoner movement makes the completion of courses and skilled-based qualifications much more difficult. (cited in Steinberg 2005: 15)

These concerns are more starkly illustrated on the African continent. The Special Rapporteur noted that in one prison in the Central African Republic inmates were not allowed out of the congested and poorly ventilated cell at all for fear that they would escape (ACHPR 2000b). In many countries, the prisons are understaffed and few personnel have received training that helps them to understand their role in terms of facilitating offender development and reintegration. Commenting on the calibre of correctional staff, the Commissioner of Correctional Services in South Africa was recently quoted as stating: 'Correcting inmates is an extraordinary responsibility [that] needs extraordinary citizens. I don't have extraordinary citizens as yet, at the moment we have got people that have got a matric and have got no criminal record.' He added that his staff had no respect for prisoners and still believed that they 'must lock them up and throw away the key' (*Pretoria News* 29 September 2005⁸).

In addition, most countries in Africa have no, or inadequate, numbers of professional staff, such as social workers, psychologists, educators and vocational trainers. In addition, the rehabilitation or reformation of prisoners is often viewed very narrowly, so that the provision of schooling, training or work opportunities is often seen as the full extent of rehabilitation, even when no other psychosocial aspects are catered for.

When programmes and facilities are available in prisons, they are most often targeted towards juvenile offenders and female offenders, which may be as a result of donor agendas in respect of these marginalised groupings.

The following section looks at how issues of rehabilitation and reintegration are interpreted and applied in Africa. The structure of the section loosely follows the outline of the Plan of Action to the Ouagadougou Declaration.

Promoting rehabilitation and development during imprisonment

It is interesting to note that most African countries focus on vocational training, education and spiritual development rather than on the psychosocial aspects and behavioural aspects of rehabilitation, which may be linked to the lack of professional staff in many of these countries. Even in cases such as Tanzania, where rehabilitation is understood to include the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibilities and values, opportunities are limited

to vocational and occupational training, with limited educational opportunities for young prisoners (pers. comm., Assistant Commissioner of Prisons [ACP], Tanzanian Prison Service, 6 November 2006). The degree of emphasis on rehabilitation also varies according to country but may, perhaps, be measured according to prisoner involvement in relevant activities. According to the Zimbabwean Commissioner of Prisons, 70 per cent of convicted prisoners are engaged in rehabilitation activities that include only literacy classes, skills training, and church services and counselling (pers. comm., 12 October 2005).

Access to development programmes for unsentenced prisoners

Rehabilitation and development programmes traditionally target only sentenced prisoners who are deemed to have acknowledged responsibility for their crimes. Yet in Africa many prisoners spend long periods awaiting trial. At the very extreme end, the Special Rapporteur found one woman in a Benin prison who had been awaiting trial for 18 years (ACHPR 2000c). Pre-trial prisoners also represent a large proportion of the imprisoned population. Prisoners awaiting trial constitute over 50 per cent of the prison population in 39 per cent of countries of the region. In Mozambique, 79 per cent of all inmates are awaiting trial prisoners (International Centre for Prison Studies 2006d).

The pre-trial period could be used for the development and skills training of prisoners. There are few countries, however, that make services and developmental or work opportunities available to pre-trial or unsentenced prisoners. In South Africa, Section 16 of the Correctional Services Act No. 111 of 1998 provides that the Department of Correctional Services *may* provide development and support services to unsentenced prisoners or, when it does not, should inform prisoners of services available from other agencies and put them in touch with such agencies. In its 2005 White Paper, however, the department excluded any mention of unsentenced prisoners, let alone including them in its mission to provide rehabilitation services. The department is advocating the removal of awaiting trial prisoners from its departmental and ministerial authority completely. Very few, if any, civil society organisations provide developmental services for these prisoners due to the instability of the population as well as the lack of facilities available in which to work. Prisoners are entitled, however, to register in externally provided educational programmes, in which they can learn and write examinations through correspondence.

Determining whether pre-trial prisoners have access to services is extremely difficult, as they are not distinguished from other prisoners in this regard in the reports of the Special Rapporteur. It would seem likely, however, given the appalling conditions in which many remand prisoners are held in police lock-ups and awaiting trial sections of prisons, that they are seldom afforded this access. It was mentioned that remand prisoners are required to work in Ugandan prisons, either in the fields or *shambas* or in keeping the prisons clean. Prisoners complained about the excessive harshness of the work and the long hours, indicating that the work was not of a rehabilitative nature (ACHPR 2001e).

Literacy training and education

The majority of prisoners throughout the world come from the most disenfranchised sectors of the community, where they often have a low level of educational attainment and access, and low levels of literacy. This is particularly pronounced in many countries in Africa which have very low education and literacy figures in the general population.⁹ Prison-based education and literacy programmes, however, are limited in most countries or are available only to a small percentage of the sentenced prisoner population.

Schooling is available in some Ugandan prisons, but prisoners complained that access to higher education was lacking. No school or educational programmes existed at Masindi Prison, despite the fact that it was cited as a model prison. The country also experienced problems with low school attendance in the general prison population due to short terms of imprisonment.

Education classes are available only at a juvenile facility in Benin, while Maputo Central Prison in Mozambique provides academic and vocational training to prisoners. In the latter case, education is made available to students up to grade seven, but young adults are given preference in access to classes (ACHPR 1997c). Schooling, to a limited grade, is available in many Ethiopian prisons, although classes are often taught by prisoners (ACHPR 2004b).

Primary school education is provided at one facility for young prisoners in Tanzania who have not yet completed this education, and those who successfully graduate from the school may be released by presidential pardon so that they can complete their secondary education at schools in the community (pers. comm., ACP of Tanzanian Prison Service, 6 November 2006). In some rare cases, long-term prisoners may be helped to receive distance education at secondary or tertiary level.

In South Africa, Section 19 of the Correctional Services Act No. 111 of 1998 makes it a legal requirement for prison services to provide education programmes to all child prisoners who are the age at which they would be subject to compulsory education, and older children should be given access to educational programmes. Section 41(2) of the Act states that sentenced adults who are illiterate may also be compelled to undergo literacy training and may also have the right to participate in other available training programmes. The DCS emphasises the educational needs of prisoners so that they have the basic skills needed when they are released from prison. As in other countries in Africa, however, the provision of these services to prisoners falls short of the objectives. Only 5 per cent of the prison population was involved in adult basic education and training programmes and another 7 per cent in mainstream and correspondence education during 2003 (DCS 2006c: 35). Non-governmental organisations are often brought in by the department to assist with the delivery of training and educational programmes (DCS 2004).

In contrast, 13 per cent of prisoners participate in educational classes in Namibia. Here, most prisons provide literacy classes and primary- and secondary-level classes

recognised by the Ministry of Education. In Namibia, education is not free; prisoners are thus obliged to pay for their education and very few can afford higher-level education (ACHPR 2001d: 30).

Vocational skills training

The UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (SMR)¹⁰ provide that vocational training should be provided to prisoners and that this should prepare prisoners for life after release, so that skills taught should be similar to those that are applicable outside of prison. The Rules also caution against vocational training for the primary purpose of making a profit for the prison out of prison labour. Although there are few opportunities for vocational training for prisoners in Africa, more prisoners are involved in this kind of training than in academic or literacy training. This is possibly due to vocational training's close relationship to useful prison labour. In some countries, work is a compulsory part of the sentence, and sometimes inmates are sentenced to hard labour. In these circumstances, the rehabilitative objectives are not always clear.¹¹

Most of the countries referred to in this chapter offered some form of vocational training in various skills. In Kenya, for instance, training was available in carpentry, masonry, tailoring and agriculture (RODI 2004). In The Gambia, some prisoners were sentenced to hard labour on farms, which generates revenue for the prison (ACHPR 1999b).

In South Africa, where skills development is a national priority, the Department of Labour provided R13 million for occupational skills training, benefiting approximately 9 per cent of the prison population during the 2003 academic year. Vocational skills training was also made available to prisoners in terms of which prisoners are assessed and issued with qualifications by the Sector Education and Training Authority. Such skills training includes the building, metal and electrical trades. Twenty-five per cent of the sentenced prisoners were also involved in production workshops and agricultural activities aimed at supporting the development of their employment-related skills (DCS 2004: 32–33).

In Tanzania, prisoners serving long-term sentences may receive vocational training at a prison training college. The country boasts that over 6 000 prisoners took various trade tests in a 25-year period. On return to prison they can practise their building skills as part of the Prisons Building Brigade, which carries out building contracts. In addition, approximately 52 per cent of convicted prisoners participate in agricultural training and 24 per cent in industrial works. However, these programmes exclude female prisoners, those convicted of life sentences, and those awaiting the execution of the death penalty (pers. comm., ACP of Tanzanian Prison Service, 6 November 2006).

Prisoners often receive financial benefits from their work in prison, though this is not always directly from the prison services. In Benin, NGOs have helped some inmates

to establish tailoring shops or barber shops in the prison, where they can ply their trade to other prisoners. Other prisoners run market gardens, do basket weaving or set up small stalls to sell commodities in prison. These activities are encouraged by the authorities in the hope that the prisoners may learn a useful trade. They also reflect the recognition by the authorities that they are unable to provide for the basic subsistence needs of the prison community. In Ethiopia, prisoner-run committees allocate plots to prisoners so that they can run profitable small businesses. The committees also run a cooperative shop whose profits are used to buy basic necessities for the prison. Prisoners are paid for their work on prison farms, though the bulk of their earnings are paid to them on release (ACHPR 2004b).

Social and psychological support with adequate professionals

Rehabilitation programmes which are targeted at criminogenic causes of offending often require the services of properly trained professionals. These include programmes which target cognitive-behavioural functioning, substance abuse, psychosocial dysfunction, and the development of new attitudes. Social workers are also needed to facilitate reintegration into the community, particularly through re-establishing contact with the family and dealing with family difficulties. Many African prison regimes have recognised the importance of qualified social workers and other professional staff but all are still understaffed.

Mauritian professionals have recognised the need for a more holistic approach to dealing with offending that goes beyond the cognitive-behavioural approach. This holistic approach involves integrated collaboration across a number of different agencies and includes aspects such as substance abuse and mental health. In relation to young offenders, it focuses on developing a family- and community-centred approach to reintegration (Koodoruth n.d.). Four welfare officers are employed to assist with the process across the country.

With its small numbers of prisoners, the country has pioneered various approaches to rehabilitation and treatment in the region. Its Lotus Centre, situated within a high-security prison, offers treatment and rehabilitation of prisoners who are drug addicts. The centre uses a combination of treatment methods, including chemical treatment, relaxation, counselling, yoga and occupational therapy. Headed by a medical officer and staffed by 11 officials and a nurse, it accommodates a maximum of 25 prisoners. Building on the success of the project, the prison administration has plans to create other treatment centres for other categories of inmate.¹²

Botswana has a rehabilitation officer who heads the rehabilitation division. This includes adult education, chaplaincy, industries, and social work. The social work unit addresses the social, emotional and behavioural problems of prisoners, including counselling services and home visits for those experiencing problems in their homes (Frompong 2001).

South Africa also has a commitment to providing needs-based psychological services to prisoners in order to improve their mental health and emotional well-

being and to promote their rehabilitation and reintegration. In 2006, however, there were only 37 fully qualified psychologists employed in the prisons, with a ratio of one psychologist to 4 062 prisoners. There were more social workers, at the ratio of 1:342, who provided a range of programmes to prisoners, including programmes for drug and alcohol dependence, trauma, sexual problems, aggression management and life skills (DCS 2006c: 123). However, unless the numbers of staff are increased, South Africa will experience difficulties in implementing its plan to assess all sentenced prisoners and develop a needs-based sentence plan that deals with all their educational, skills development, psychosocial and reintegration needs, as set out in the 2005 White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (DCS 2005).

In addition, prisons often accommodate a substantial number of prisoners suffering from mental health disorders, ranging from stress disorders to serious personality or conduct disorders.¹³ In the absence of sufficient institutions providing for the mentally ill, prisons are often responsible for their treatment and well-being. This was raised as a particular problem in Namibia, where there is a shortage of psychiatric staff in hospitals in the country. According to the Special Rapporteur, mentally ill prisoners, especially in the interior, had seen a psychiatrist only once or twice and sometimes it had been five years since the last visit. There were also delays in conducting legal assessments of accused persons to determine their status for trial, resulting in many mentally ill patients languishing in police stations for long periods of time (ACHPR 2001d).

Contact with the outside world

Since most prisoners will be released into the community from which they came, it is essential that their community and family ties are maintained and encouraged while they are in prison. The family and the community each has an important role in welcoming the prisoner back into the community, normalising him or her after the institutionalising experience of imprisonment, providing shelter and food, and offering support while the ex-offender attempts to procure gainful employment. Incarceration, however, often serves to break or damage these important relationships. Although the prisons in most countries researched did provide for regular visits to prisoners, the duration of these visits was often too short and visits were arbitrarily permitted. In many places, it was apparent that prisoners could not receive visits unless a bribe was paid to correctional officials. Many prisoners do not receive visits because relatives live some distance from the prisons, and travel is costly and time consuming. In order to facilitate visits by distant relatives, the Namibian authorities have relaxed the regulations to allow for longer visits which may occur less frequently. Despite this, prisoners complained that this relaxation was not always fairly applied. In one prison, staff shortages were cited as a reason why visits were sometimes restricted (ACHPR 2001d).

Prisoners are mostly allowed to write and receive letters. This right of access, however, is greatly prejudiced by the poor literacy rates among prisoners. Officers at one

police station in Namibia indicated that, due to staff shortages, they were not always able to allow prisoners to make or receive phone calls. Access to radio, television and newspapers is another form of maintaining contact with society. Prisoners in many countries, however, complained of a lack of access to these resources.

Here again, the role of social workers is important to help facilitate contact with the community and to reintegrate prisoners after their release.

Access to religious services

Rules 41 and 42 of the UN SMR provide that prisoners shall have access to religious practitioners of their choice, that they should be able to attend services of that person, and that they should be able to satisfy the needs of religious life. Religious workers also play an important role in the spiritual and moral development of prisoners, as well as in providing ongoing guidance and support.

In some countries, religious organisations provide support and materials for education, training and work opportunities. They may also provide an important link between the family and the prisoner. The role of meditation and yoga, as spiritual practices, has been found to be beneficial in countries such as Mauritius (Ragobur n.d.) and Senegal.¹⁴

Religious ministries and bodies are prolific in Africa, as they are elsewhere in the world.¹⁵ They are often more visible in the prisons and have greater access than non-faith-based service providers. While they do provide badly needed contact with the outside world, as well as a range of services, supplies and support, they come with a particular religious agenda. Their acceptance by the prison authorities indicates greater faith in rehabilitation as measured through religious conversion rather than through dealing with the many other risk factors associated with offending.

Open prisons

The Ouagadougou Declaration encourages the use of open prisons in appropriate circumstances. These are institutions with a less restrictive regime, where the aim is to facilitate re-entry into the community. The literature revealed that open prisons were operating in Namibia, Mozambique and Mauritius.

Richelieu open prison in Mauritius accommodates 7 per cent of the prison population and has only a thin metallic boundary fence for security. It operates under a system of rehabilitation that is based on self-discipline and the development of the prisoner's sense of responsibility. Prisoners also have the opportunity to learn and be engaged in different jobs, as well as to work on the farm and learn skills in cattle and pig breeding.¹⁶

In Mozambique, the open prisons were developed in fulfilment of the colonial understanding that 'work and religious education are deemed the main instruments applicable to native convicts' (quoted in Mondlane 2001: 467–477).¹⁷ Public work,

intended for rehabilitative purposes, was in reality a practice used to procure forced labour. The correctional camps were used to provide manpower for agricultural and manufacturing industries. Post-independence, in 1975, the prison system was reorganised to transform prisons into productive units and institutions where social and political reintegration of detainees could take place. Re-education centres, as they were now called, were established in almost every province. They generally accommodated a small number of prisoners who were engaged in farming activities and in providing food and income for the prisons, with a view to their re-socialisation. According to Mondlane, 'Most inmates entered the centre with no qualifications, but were released as skilled artisans in farming, plumbing, carpentry and painting' (2001: 467–477).¹⁸ Prisoners who behaved well and those who had served one-third of their sentences in closed prisons were sent to the open prisons. Owing to the beneficial conditions and treatment, many prisoners refused to leave the camps once their sentences were completed, preferring to stay at the re-education centre.

The Mozambican civil war, however, destroyed this system, as the camps were difficult to access and the proliferation of landmines made farming hazardous. The floods of 2000 also destroyed many of the prisons in Mozambique, and a decision was made to rebuild more open prisons as opposed to closed prisons. By 2001, 40 open prisons were operating in the country.

The Mabelane Penitentiary Prison in Xai-Xai province in Mozambique, an open prison established in 1976 and rebuilt after the war, accommodates long-term prisoners sent there for good behaviour. Prisoners can work on the land or in workshops; part of the produce provides the prison's food while another part is sold on the open market. Prisoners are not paid directly but the prison does pay their bail when they are eligible for conditional release. At Chingozi Open Centre in Tete province, families of prisoners can stay at the centre, although they are not accommodated with the prisoners. The Special Rapporteur was satisfied with the prison conditions at both open prisons visited and, even more telling, prisoners themselves had no complaints. Prisoners often settle in the area after their release. Despite minimal supervision, escapes are rare and very few ex-prisoners who remain in the area reoffend (ACHPR 1997c).

Mozambique has also creatively responded to alternative systems of control. When many of the prisons were destroyed in the floods, some prisoners had to be released and were allowed to go home at night. They were still under the control of the prisons services and had to spend the day at a designated place where they were required to participate in services and work. The social control in the community was sufficient to ensure that they fulfilled their obligations (ACHPR 1997c).

These experiences indicate that a more relaxed prison regime is possible. When prisons provide services that prisoners recognise as valuable and conditions that are comfortable, as well as encourage substantial contact with families, prisoners are not

only more willing to abide by prison rules and regulations, but are apparently also less likely to offend on release.

Role of civil society

The Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action encourage civil society groups to visit prisons, to work with offenders, and to assist with pre-release and reintegration programmes. In many African countries, it is civil society groupings that take up some of the slack in the prison service and provide services to prisoners that the system does not have the capacity or resources to fulfil. It is also often these groupings that develop, test and run the innovative approaches to rehabilitation in the prisons which sometimes find their way into mainstream practice.

The ability of NGOs and other civil society groupings to render services, however, is dependent on whether the prison services are prepared to grant them access to prisons. A survey of NGOs providing services in African prisons revealed that most NGOs' access was heavily restricted. Permission was sometimes granted by the heads of prisons while, in other cases, permission had to be obtained from a higher authority, such as the responsible minister. In some countries it was particularly difficult to obtain permission which, even if granted, was often arbitrarily withdrawn (Dissel 2002).

Some countries recognise the importance of civil society involvement in prison. In South Africa, the DCS sees corrections as a societal responsibility, in which the involvement of other government departments, social institutions, civil society organisations and private individuals is deemed essential (DCS 2005). Even here, however, NGOs still complain about the difficulty of gaining access to prisons.

Some organisations form a partnership with one particular prison, while others have more extensive provincial or national programmes. Many of the civil society interventions are run by religious organisations. Some organisations are involved in human rights work – monitoring, educating and giving direct assistance or legal advice to prisoners. Others are involved in work directed at the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. However, there are still few organisations in Africa which provide services to prisoners. Zimbabwe, for instance, lists only two civil society organisations providing prison-related services (pers. comm., Commissioner of Prisons, Zimbabwe Prison Services, 12 October 2005).

Rehabilitation services provided by NGOs include the education and training of prisoners, counselling, social services, religious care and services, awareness programmes, craft making, life skills, and sports, art and cultural activities, as well as assistance with the resettlement of offenders after release. Services are often targeted at one sector of the prison population – often women or children and young prisoners.

Increasingly, NGOs are trying to strengthen the impact and effectiveness of their interventions. A recent conference attended by prison administrations and NGOs

in Africa held in Nairobi, Kenya, identified good practices in offender reintegration. These practices included:

- better coordinating of activities between civil society service providers to avoid duplication and to encourage sharing of information;
- providing vocational training to industry standard and issuing certificates that are independent of the prison administration;
- encouraging restorative justice practices, including victim compensation;
- preparing prisoners for release;
- involving local organisations (churches, traditional leaders) in the reception of prisoners on release and so helping alleviate the stigma of imprisonment;
- assisting offenders with work opportunities and finding housing; and
- civil society organisations working to promote alternatives to imprisonment to reduce levels of overcrowding (RODI 2004).

Reintegration into the community

Perhaps the greatest challenge for offenders lies in the period immediately after release when they attempt to reintegrate into the community and re-establish their lives. Inevitably, when people are released from prison, the socio-economic circumstances that existed prior to their arrest continue to exist, as do their lack of job-related skills and work opportunities in the community. They are also burdened with the stigma of their incarceration, and thus often find it even more difficult to find employment. Therefore, the work of rehabilitation and reintegration needs to continue after their release. There are several NGOs which offer support to released prisoners through training, finding employment, and offering interim financial support. Others offer counselling and education, particularly about HIV and AIDS.

The impact of rehabilitation and reintegration services on prisoners

Prisons are not the best institutions in which rehabilitation may take place, and they do not produce the best results. The available information tends to suggest that African countries are, on the whole, not succeeding in contributing to the reduction of repeat offending through the use of imprisonment. Although only 7 per cent of those of the Namibian prison population sentenced in one year are recidivists (ACHPR 2001d: 11),¹⁹ in Mauritius there is a recidivism rate of between 61 per cent and 74 per cent among male prisoners and between 47 per cent and 67 per cent for females.²⁰ While there is no empirical evidence of the extent of recidivism in South Africa, estimates put the recidivism rate at between 66 per cent and 94 per cent (Muntingh 2001: 54). While these figures are high, they are also an indication that rehabilitation has not been a focus in these countries nor has it been achieved. Even when states have accepted the vision of rehabilitation, they have, perhaps, been consumed by more urgent concerns, such as daily living conditions in prisons. Given these enormous odds, the project of rehabilitation is an ambitious one for the continent.

Although the ultimate aim of rehabilitation is to make offenders less likely to reoffend on their release from prison, the intervention also aims to have an impact on offenders' attitudes and behaviours that impact on reoffending and on their social interaction with others. As researchers Mathews and Pitts have noted:

[I]t is necessary to move away from a zero-sum conception of rehabilitation and from the notion that the aim of rehabilitative programmes is to turn bad people into good people or committed criminals into law abiding citizens. The aims of rehabilitative programmes must be more diverse and more modest. They need to be designed to achieve a number of different objectives at a number of different levels, since even gains at the margins are gains. (quoted in Lomofsky & Smith 2003: xiv)

Even in terms of this modest framework, not much information on how success is understood, how it is measured, and what contributes to successful interventions is available on the continent.

Most of our knowledge about the impact of rehabilitation programmes comes from studies in the developed world – the US, the UK, western Europe and Australia. Only more recently have some regional organisations begun to write up their interventions with offenders, with most of this taking place in South Africa. These programmes have been informed by the international theory but adapted to the realities experienced by prisoners in South Africa, as well as influenced by the policy environment. These few studies have begun to show promising results. Two examples of work with young offenders are illustrated below.

One example was the evaluation of the Tough Enough Programme implemented by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders. This reintegration programme for young offenders focuses on developing skills, building and improving relationships, and developing potential and motivation for action.

The programme runs for three to six months in prisons and continues for up to nine months after release. It encourages participants to take responsibility for those factors that lead them to engage in crime in their lives. An evaluation consisting of interviews and surveys with released prisoners, their families and service providers found that the programme was effective in addressing three key factors related to the risk of recidivism: improved personal empowerment, increased ability to deal with the experience of stigmatisation and, to a lesser extent, improved economic empowerment (Lomofsky & Smith 2003).

Another example is provided by a Johannesburg consortium of seven organisations, which piloted what they see as an integrated approach to dealing with young offenders. The Integrated Young Offender Programme targets prisoners convicted of serious violent offences. The programme was built on the theory of risk and resilience and incorporates an understanding of the socio-economic dynamics that affect a young person and influence offending behaviour. In acknowledging that a

complex coexistence of risk factors impinges on a young person, the programme aims to target these through a number of different interventions that build on each other and that help participants understand their engagement in crime and make informed choices in the future. The specific objectives of the programme are to:

- address an individual's attitudes and responses towards education, development and employment, and assist in opening up opportunities to access employment and other opportunities;
- develop conflict management and problem-solving skills to support successful interpersonal relationships;
- reintegrate into the family and rebuild family relationships and networks while in prison and after release;
- enable participants to make informed decisions about healthy living in relation to drug and alcohol use, HIV/AIDS and sexual relationships;
- address issues of taking personal responsibility and recognising the impact of their actions, through restorative justice processes and other interventions; and
- develop the social, behavioural and socio-economic skills to enable the young person to resist risk factors and develop internal resilience to face up to the difficulties that life throws their way.

An evaluation of the programme indicated that it had a positive impact on the participants in meeting the expected outcomes. It was found that there was a change in attitude towards the key factors the programme aimed to address, namely, education, employment, personal responsibility for their lives, improved life and coping skills, and internal resilience to confront the difficulties they may face (Roper 2005a). Programme evaluations have also indicated a positive impact on the ways prisoners conduct themselves while in prison, which in turn has a larger impact on the prison population where these prisoners are accommodated (Roper 2004, 2005a).

Based on these and other evaluations (Roper 2005b), some common themes emerge as to what contributes to a programme's success, such as:

- flexibility to cater to individually identified needs;
- careful maintenance of the balance between quality and quantity;
- greater focus on addressing employment-related skills;
- the need for ongoing monitoring and follow-up;
- the need for integrated and multidimensional services that address a range of factors associated with offending;
- the importance of working with families, improving relationships, establishing support networks and facilitating reintegration after release;
- the need for a restorative justice component focusing on acknowledgement of responsibility for the crime and possibly victim-offender-mediated processes; and
- programmes of medium-term duration of nine months to a year.

It should be noted that inmates' experiences in prison and opinions of the criminal justice system will also impact on their ability to participate meaningfully and to reintegrate successfully into the community. When the prison experiences are

particularly negative, for instance in badly overcrowded prisons, when there is prison violence and brutalisation, inadequate medical treatment or food, and a number of other problems, the impact of any programmatic intervention is likely to be lessened. Therefore, any prison wanting to introduce meaningful rehabilitation initiatives for prisoners will also have to attend to some of these fundamental problems in the prison.

Conclusion

Prisons are one of the inheritances of colonialism in Africa but their continued existence is entrenched in our present and is likely to stretch a good way into our future as well. And here, the prison ideology continues to be influenced by the ideas of the developed western world. The rehabilitation ideal, imported from the west, has, over the last five years, become entrenched in regional instruments and legislation and is making itself felt in practice. The conditions, culture and resources available in African prisons, however, are vastly different from those where these ideas have been developed and tested. A key challenge, then, is to develop an approach to rehabilitation that is realistic and appropriate to the circumstances of the country and the prisons, recognising that, even within Africa, vast differences exist between countries.

We need to learn from and build on some of the interesting and positive initiatives that have emerged from the continent, such as the open prisons of Mozambique and the interventions with young prisoners in South Africa. Specifically, we need to encourage the many existing small initiatives that go a long way to helping prisoners, which serve to undo some of the damage done to prisoners through the experience of institutionalisation, and which teach them some of the basic skills needed to survive when they are released from prison.

In order to strengthen the impact of interventions, a number of recommendations are made. First, imprisonment is not effective as a form of rehabilitation and, therefore, should not be looked to by the criminal justice system to fulfil this particular role. Imprisonment should be used sparingly and only for those offenders that are deemed to be the highest risk to society.

Second, rehabilitation and reintegration interventions should be informed by relevant and appropriate theoretical frameworks and supported by institutional arrangements in the prison.

Third, prison staff should be trained to understand their role and duties within a human rights perspective, and they should facilitate prisoners' involvement in reintegration initiatives.

Finally, civil society initiatives tend to focus on the psychosocial aspects of rehabilitation, while state initiatives are more rooted in vocational and educational development. It is time that government and civil society joined hands in developing an effective and sustainable solution to the problem of reoffending.

Greater collaboration between the two sectors can bring about a more cohesive and integrated approach to rehabilitation that tackles all the risk factors of offending.

Notes

- 1 Available at <http://penalreform.org/English/pana_declarationkampala.htm>, accessed on 7 April 2004. It was adopted by ECOSOC Resolution 1997/36.
- 2 Available at <http://www.penalreform.org/english/frset_pre_en.htm>, accessed on 7 April 2004. The Declaration and Plan of Action of the conference were adopted by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in its thirty-fourth session.
- 3 Adopted at the fifth CESCO Conference, September 2001.
- 4 Chad, Ivory Coast, Guinea Conakry, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, South Africa and Uganda, in their individual country responses to the survey conducted in preparation for the Ouagadougou conference. See PRI (2003).
- 5 See Mondlane (2001: 467–477); see also van Zyl Smit (1992: 10), concerning the relationship between labour and imprisonment in South Africa.
- 6 The Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, quoted in RODI (2004: 7).
- 7 See the reports of the Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa for Benin, The Gambia, Mali, Mozambique, Central African Republic, Uganda, Malawi, Cameroon, Namibia, South Africa and Ethiopia, available at <<http://www.penalreform.org/>>.
- 8 Moshoeshe Monare, Our prisons are in a mess. Available at <http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=vn20050929061036528C729375&set_id=1&click_id=13&sf=>>, accessed on 10 October 2005.
- 9 There are large differences between and within countries, but in sub-Saharan Africa about 70 per cent of adult men and 50 per cent of women are literate. There are marked disparities in access to primary education within countries by income, urban/rural location and gender. See the World Bank Group, available at <<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/0,,contentMDK:20264715~menuPK:535759~pagePK:146736~piPK:226340~theSitePK:258644,00.html>>, accessed on 9 October 2005.
- 10 High Commissioner for Human Rights, Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, adopted by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held at Geneva in 1955, and approved by the Economic and Social Council by its Resolution 663 C (XXIV) of 31 July 1957 and 2076 (LXII) of 13 May 1977, Rules 71 and 72.
- 11 For example, the Zambian Penal Code and Constitution allow for prisoners to be sentenced with or without hard labour. They may also be placed out with a public or private company or state corporation for work purposes. In this case it provided that prisoners should be paid for their labour, but state resources do not allow for it. See the initial report of the Republic of Zambia to the ACHPR, available at <http://www.achpr.org/english/state_reports/40_Zambia%20initial%20report_Eng.pdf>, accessed on 18 October 2006.
- 12 Mauritius Prison Services, available at <<http://www.gov.mu/portal/site/prisons/menuitem.c9a355ecf9be5d2ff4a9e75b0bb521ca/>>, accessed on 18 October 2006.

- 13 A comparative study conducted in the UK suggests that the prevalence rates of mental health issues among young prisoners range from 25 per cent to 81 per cent, compared with 13 per cent in the general population (Hagell 2002).
- 14 Between 1987 and 1989, more than 11 000 inmates and 900 correctional officers and prison administrators in 31 of the 34 prisons in Senegal were instructed in the transcendental meditation programme. Rule infractions decreased, medical expenses went down 70 per cent, and recidivism dropped from 90 per cent in the pre-meditation period to less than 3 per cent after the programme was established. See the transcendental meditation programme in the Senegalese penitentiary system, available at <<http://www.istpp.org/rehabilitation/14.html>>, accessed on 10 October 2005.
- 15 See for example the website of the International Network of Prison Ministries, available at <<http://prisonministry.net/directory/categories/africanpm/index.htm>>, accessed on 18 October 2005.
- 16 Mauritius Prison Service website, available at <<http://www.gov.mu/portal/site/prisons/menuitem.afd6bdec4142042ff4a9e75b0bb521ca/#Richelieu%20Open%20Prison>>, accessed on 18 October 2006.
- 17 Decree No. 39.997 of 29/12/54.
- 18 Decree No. 39.997 of 29/12/54.
- 19 Among those sentenced during 2000, 11.8 per cent of the population were termed second offenders, while 7.0 per cent were said to be recidivists.
- 20 Statistics for the period 1999 to 2001. See Koodoruth (n.d.).