

**CHALLENGES FACING REENTRY AND REINTEGRATION OF WOMEN EX-
OFFENDERS INTO THE COMMUNITY IN NYERI COUNTY, KENYA**

BY

JOHN MBAI MUTHEE

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY OF MOI UNIVERSITY**

2020

DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signature.....

Date.....

John Mbai Muthee

SAS/DS/SOC/02/2016

Declaration by the Supervisors

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors

Signature.....

Date.....

Dr. Francis O. Barasa

Department of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology

Moi University Eldoret, Kenya

Signature.....

Date.....

Dr. Scholastic Adeli

Department of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology

Moi University Eldoret, Kenya

COPYRIGHT

© 2020, John Mbai Muthee

All rights reserved. No part of this thesis may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by means of mechanical including photocopying, recording or any information storage, or retrieval system without permission in writing from the author or Moi University on that behalf

DEDICATION

To my nephews, nieces and grandchildren

ABSTRACT

The rate of women entering the formal correctional system and serving custodial sentences in prison and prison remand is on the increase. This is accompanied by an increasing number of women exiting prisons unless they have a life or death sentence or die during incarceration. This study examined the challenges influencing reentry and reintegration of women ex-offenders into the community in Nyeri County, Kenya. Specific objectives were; to find out the challenges facing women returning home from prisons; to analyze the effects of these challenges; to evaluate the coping mechanisms adopted by women returnees and to evaluate how the relevant bodies can address these challenges. Using labeling and the social bond theories the study adopted a phenomenological research design to assess the problems of women ex-offender's reentry and reintegration into the community. Purposive sampling procedure was used to select respondents through snowballing until saturation was attained with a sample size of 41 women ex-convicts. Key informants and Focused group discussants were also purposively selected. Data was collected using semi-structured interview schedule orally administered through face-to-face interviews and field sheets. Data collection was by reading questions and digital recording after which transcription was done, typed into Ms Word and eventually fed into NVivo software for processing and analysis based on themes. The study findings indicate that housing, employment and relationships are the main challenges faced by women returnees. The effects of these challenges include a stressful life, a life of poverty, stigma and discrimination, family break up and feelings of insecurity by communities. The findings also showed that coping mechanisms include relocating to areas where they are not known, renting houses or briefly staying with families or friends. The relevant bodies such as government and private agencies were not found to have addressed the challenges either through policy framework to mitigate these effects or coping process encountered by women returnees. The study concluded that; trials connected to housing, employment and relationships affects reentry and reintegration; unaddressed challenges affects not only the ex-convicts but their families and the communities; migrating to new places and concealing criminal history works as a coping mechanism and that no post prison care services exists and community corrections would work better for women offenders than incarceration. The study therefore recommends securing houses and property for offenders upon arrest and or conviction, special consideration for women with dependent children and reviewing minimum prison visitation. It also recommends expunging of criminal records upon release and making women ex-offenders beneficiaries of affirmative action funds. It further recommends adjustment of in-prison training and courses to suit individual and market needs, use of victim offender mediation and provision of after-care services to assist in coping after incarceration. The government should also involve other sectors such as the churches, the media, schools and Non- Governmental Organizations in educating the masses in order to ease re-entry of ex-convicts and reduce discrimination.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
COPYRIGHT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACCRONYMS.....	xiii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	xiv
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	13
1.4 Objectives of the Study	16
1.5 Research Questions	16
1.6 Justifications of the study	17
1.7 Significance of the study.....	18
1.8 Scope and limitations of the Study	18
1.9.1 Definition of terms and Operationalization of variables	20
1.9.2 Chapter Summary	21
CHAPTER TWO	23
LITERATURE REVIEW	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Prison facilities in Kenya.....	23
2.3 Women criminality	27
2.4 Prisoner Re-Entry	28
2.5 Reentry Challenges for Women Prisoner Returnees	30
2.6 Challenges to offender reentry	31
2.6.1 Employment Challenges.....	32

2.6.2	Employment and crime.....	33
2.6.3	Unemployment rates	34
2.6.4	Employment and reentry process	35
2.6.5	Challenges to ex-offender employment.....	36
2.7	Housing Challenges.....	37
2.7.1	Housing	38
2.7.2	Imprisonment and Homelessness	38
2.7.3	Criminal Label and Housing challenges.....	39
2.7.4	Housing needs and reentry	40
2.7.5	Kenyan Housing challenges and the Big Four Agenda	40
2.7.6	Women ex-offenders and Housing challenges.....	41
2.8	Relationship challenges	42
2.8.1	Family.....	42
2.8.2	Family dilemma and the offender returnee	43
2.8.3	Family support and reentry	44
2.8.4	Peer and intimate partner support for reentry	45
2.8.5	Neighbourhood communities' support and reentry	45
2.8.6	Women offenders and their children.....	46
2.9	Mental Health Challenges.....	46
2.9.1	Imprisonment and mental health	47
2.9.2	Female prisoners and mental health.....	48
2.9.3	Mental Health and reentry.....	48
2.10	Drug and Substance abuse challenges.....	49
2.10.1	Drug and substance abuse challenge.....	49
2.10.2	Common Types of drugs & substance abuse	50
2.10.3	Drug and Substance Abuse among Women Ex-Offender	51
2.10.4	Impact of drug and substance abuse on reentry	52
2.11	Effects of Reentry challenges for women prison returnees	52
2.11.1	Effects of the challenges on how women returnees view themselves.....	53
2.11.2	Effects of the challenges on how Families view the women returnees.....	55
2.11.3	Effects of the challenges on how Communities view the women returnees.....	56

2.11.4	Recidivism	57
2.12	Methods of addressing challenges of women prison returnees	60
2.12.1	Internal Remedies	61
2.12.2	Community corrections	61
2.12.3	Monetary Penalties: Fines and Restitution.....	63
2.12.4	Probation	65
2.12.5	Parole.....	65
2.12.6	Community Service or Unpaid work	66
2.12.7	Home Confinement, House Arrest and Electronic Monitoring	67
2.12.8	Day reporting centers.....	68
2.12.9	Halfway Houses or Community Correctional Centers	69
2.12.10	Temporary Release Programmes	69
2.12.11	Intensive Supervision Probation and Parole (Isp)	70
2.12.12	Shock Incarceration/Boot Camp Programs	71
2.13	Theoretical framework	71
2.13.1	Labeling Theory and Social Bond Theories.....	72
2.13.2	Labeling Theory	72
2.13.3	Social Bond Theory	75
2.14	Conceptual framework	78
2.15	Chapter Summary.....	81
	CHAPTER THREE.....	82
	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	82
3.1	Introduction.....	82
3.2	Site Selection and Description.....	82
3.3	Research Design.....	84
3.4	Unit of Analysis and Observation	85
3.5	Target Population	85
3.6	Sample Size and Sampling Procedure	86
3.7	Data collection instruments	88
3.7.1.	Collection of Qualitative Data	88
3.7.2	Focused Groups Discussions	89
3.7.3	Key Informants Interviews (KII).....	90

3.7.4	In-depth Interviews	90
3.8	Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments	91
3.9	Data Analysis	91
3.10	Ethical Considerations.....	92
3.11	Chapter Summary.....	93
	CHAPTER FOUR.....	94
	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	94
4.1.	Introduction.....	94
4.2.	Interviews Response Rate	94
4.3.	Biographical Overview of the Research Participants.....	95
4.4.	Age distribution.....	96
4.5.	Marital status.....	97
4.6.	Family Size of Ex-convicts	98
4.7	Education Levels of the Ex-Convicts	99
4.8	Categories of Crimes Committed by the Ex-convicts.....	101
4.9	Specific crimes committed	101
4.10	Years Spent in Prison/ Remand	104
4.11.	Years Since the Last Incarceration	105
4.12.	Feelings During Release.....	105
4.13.	Prisoners Training	107
4.14	Challenges facing women returnees in Nyeri County.....	110
4.15	Housing	110
4.16	Employment.....	114
4.17	Relationships	117
4.18	Drug and Substance abuse.....	122
4.19.	Mental Health and others	124
4.20.	Effects of the Challenges Encountered after Imprisonment.....	126
4.20.1	Effects on self	127
4.20.2	Effects on families	130
4.20.3	Effects on communities.....	132
4.20.4	Effects on Recidivism rates.....	133
4.21.	Coping Mechanisms.....	136

4.22. Solutions and Policy.....	139
4.23 Chapter Summary.....	147
CHAPTER FIVE:	148
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	148
5.1 Introduction.....	148
5.2 Summary of findings.....	148
5.2.1 Background Information of the Respondents	148
5.2.2 Challenges facing women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County	150
5.2.3 Effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison	154
5.2.4 Coping mechanisms by women returning home from prisons	156
5.2.5 Mechanisms of addressing the challenges faced by women returning from prisons.....	156
5.3 Conclusions.....	157
5.4.1 Policy recommendations of the study	159
5.4.2 Recommendations for Further research	162
REFERENCES.....	163
APPENDICES	180
APPENDIX I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS.....	180
APPENDIX II: BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE OF THE EX-CONVICTS	184
APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN EX-OFFENDERS	187
APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS	192
APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSION	196
APPENDIX VI: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION.....	199
APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH LICENSE	200
APPENDIX VIII: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FROM MINISTRY OF EDUCATION.....	201
APPENDIX IX: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FROM OFFICE OF PRESIDENCY	202

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Female prison population rate in Kenya	7
Table 1.2: Age of Female prison population in Kenya	8
Table 2.1: Prison facilities in Kenya.....	25
Table 2.2: Kenya Prison Population total	26
Table 4.1: Family size of ex-convicts	99
Table 4.2: Highest Education Level	100
Table 4.3: Categories of Crimes committed.....	101
Table 4.4: Years since last incarceration	105
Table 4.5: Housing arrangements before and after prison	111
Table 4.6: Monthly income	117

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Women reentry: A Conceptual Framework	80
Figure 2.1: Kenya Prison Population trends	26
Figure 4.1: Age distribution of Respondents	96
Figure 4.2: Marital status of Respondents	98
Figure 4.3: Crimes committed by Respondents.....	102
Figure 4.4: Years spent in prison by Respondents.....	104
Figure 4.5: Drug and Substance use	123

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACCRONYMS

CRB	Credit Referencing Bureau
DRC	Day Reporting Centres
EACC	Ethics and Anticorruption Commission
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
HELB	Higher Education Loans Board
ISP	Intensive Supervision Probation and Parole
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
KII	Key Interview Informants
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics'
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
M.C.A.	Member of County Assembly
MDAC	Mental Disability Advocacy Center
NACOSTI	National Commission for science, Technology and Innovation
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
UCR	Uniform Crime Reporting
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
VOM	Victim Offender Mediation
WHO	World Health Organization

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This Doctoral Thesis would not have been attained without the Grace of God and support of several people. I will remain indelibly thankful to my supervisors Dr. Francis O. Barasa and Dr. Scholastic Adeli of Moi University's department of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology for their indispensable guidance, encouragement and friendship in the writing process of this dissertation. When I nearly despaired of ever completing the PhD programme they gave me a motivating call. I wish as well to thank all members of the teaching faculty in the department of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology at Moi University.

My profound appreciation also goes to Archbishops Peter Kairo and Anthony Muheria for funding my studies as a Priest of the Archdiocese of Nyeri. To all my colleagues in the priesthood particularly Frs. Elvino Ortollan and Paul Thamaini, I say thank you. I also wish to acknowledge the emotional support received from my family beginning with my mother Jane Wamucii Muthee. I am thankful to my sister Ann Wangui and her Husband Joseph Mwangi who literally gave me a safe haven when I retreated into their house for my data transcribing and analysis. Unfortunately my dad Joseph Muthee Mbai passed on to be with the Lord during the infancy of my studies but I am certain that in the serene distance of heaven he must have supported me in prayers. I thank my students at Karatina University, my friends and Christians of Kamariki, Ngandu, Munyu and Giakaibeii Parishes.

Lastly I am grateful to everyone who facilitated my data collection, my research respondents for the confidence they had in sharing their experiences and Mary Wanjira Muchangi for proof reading my manuscript.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study looked at the challenges facing reentry and reintegration of women ex-offenders into the community in Nyeri County, Kenya. Specific objectives were; to find out the challenges facing women returning home from prisons; to analyze the effects of these challenges; to evaluate the coping mechanisms adopted by women returnees and to evaluate how the relevant bodies can address these challenges.

This chapter focuses on the background of the study, statement of the problem, the research questions, the objectives of the research, justification of the study, scope and limitations, conceptual and theoretical framework, definition of key terms and concepts as well as the chapter summary.

1.2 Background to the Study

There is a global increase in the number of offenders leaving prisons and back into communities and sometimes without any supervision or reintegration follow up (Stohr, Walsh & Hemmens, 2009). An estimated 600,000 American adults exit prisons annually from both state and federal prisons. This according to Petersilia and Petersilia (2003) translates to an average of 1,600 persons returning home into the communities daily. In fact about 93% of all prison inmates finally leave prison at the end of their sentences or through parole while only 7% never return home because of life or death sentences

(Holtfreter & Wattanaporn, 2013; Innes, 2015; Kerley, 2013; Petersilia & Petersilia, 2003; Stohr et al, 2009). Stohr et al. (2009) further states that the ultimate focus of the correctional system is reentry of offenders into their former communities, unless they die during incarceration or escape from prison.

The Criminal Justice System marks the formal entry into the punishment and treatment of offenders in countries governed by the rule of law. According to Wahidin (2013) criminal legislations, law enforcement agencies such as the police, court prosecution and trials, and the correctional systems; define the key pillars of the Criminal Justice System. Wahidin (2013) further opines that different social, political, legal and temporal environments influence the Criminal Justice System and practices of punishment. Incarceration and the different forms of community corrections characterize the modern penal system. The law enforcement agencies are tasked with crime prevention and control through responding to criminal reports, investigation and arrests. The courts on the other hand have the responsibility of decisions on criminal liability and imposing penalties whereas it's the duty of the corrections to implement the courts' penalties through control, custody and supervision of offenders (Caputo, 2004).

Incarceration is best practiced within a prison. Prison, interchangeably used with correctional facility, jail, penitentiary, detention center or remand centre is a building facility for lawfully and forcibly detaining a person pending trial or upon conviction (Kenya Prisons Service, 2004). On the other hand, corrections applies to 'policies,

programms, services, organizations, and facilities' which are intended for people who have been arrested and convicted of crimes through the judicial process (Caputo, 2004).

The Prison system has been used since the 13th century and 1790 in England and in the United States respectively. Predominating objectives of imprisonment include denial of freedom through the State imposing sanctions for harms made to others, incapacitation, retribution, deterrence, reformation and rehabilitation of offenders (Durrant, Russil & Ward, 2015; Innes, 2015; Stohr et al., 2009). In Africa, however, imprisonment was only introduced by the European colonialists (Mushanga, 2011).

Historically jails and prisons for women were rare before mid-1800s and would only find their presence later when crime rates amongst women rose. Women prisons are generally classified into minimum, medium and maximum prisons. Overcrowding, small cells, physical and sexual abuse such as strip searching and pregnancy, giving birth, separation from children, lack of appropriate clothing and health care programs define the life of women in prison (Gunnison, Bernat & Goodstein, 2016; Kilgore, 2015). There has progressively been awareness that female offenders and sometimes together with their children have unique needs and challenges when detained.

Wahidin (2013) opines that women are naturally non-criminals, conformists and passive, physically weaker and that they globally record low crime rates regardless of the crime and age groups compared to men. The author further states that while most mainstream criminological theories largely have been male dominated, some of them may be

explored as being gender neutral, such as Merton's anomie theory or Cohen's subcultural theory. Early studies and theorizing of women offenders viewed women and children not as intelligent as men, stoic to pain, primitive, passive, loyal and submissive by nature. Female offenders were deemed to manifest men-like biological characteristics and were deceitful in nature thus easily concealing their criminal behavior. This according to Wahidin (2013) dominated the works of Cesare Lombroso and Ferrero (1895), Freud (1933), Thomas (1907) and Pollock (1950) which is the position also supported by Williams (2012), Barlow and Decker (2010). This partly explains why studies on women offenders sometimes concentrated on sex specific parameters of their crimes especially prostitution or embezzlement to cater for food needs of their families or finance their drug addictions (Belknap, 2001; Snider, 2003). The hypothesis that women are non-criminals by nature is however increasingly being falsified as merely gendered socialization during the formative years (Williams, 2012).

Contemporary literature and statistics indicate that the rates of women entering the correctional system between 1980 and 2010 exceeded that of men (Holtfreter & Morash, 2013; Kilgore, 2015). According to Williams (2012) and Samaha (1994) the comparative percentage of incarcerated women to that of men is however low in the aggregate population of inmates. Low female criminality may partly explain why there were limited studies and information on women and crime before the 1970s. In the U.S. for example women constitute only a 10% of prison population, 2% in Australia, 1.9 % in Ethiopia and 2.2 % in Japan (Samaha, 1994). As on 17 August 2012 the number of women detained for a criminal offence both in England and Wales mounted to 4,132. Between

2000 and 2010 the women's prison population in both England and Wales increased by 27%. In 1995 the mid-year female prison population was 1,979. In 2000 it stood at 3,355 and in 2010 it was 4,267 (Prison Reform Trust, 2013).

Women offenders reveal unique characteristics which include; fewer chances of arrest and conviction, tendency to undergo shorter prison sentences, engaging in property and petty crimes or misdemeanors. Poor women spend more time in incarceration compared with those socio-economically advantaged and are likely to be aged between 25-35 years as well as having a child aged below 18 years of age (Gunnison et. al., 2016). Kilgore (2015) proposes that such women are also likely to be politically unconnected, unemployed and lowly educated. In a study done in Kenya by Kaguta (2014) majority of women serving imprisonment possess low levels of education, are house wives and casual workers, single and separated. Their family is composed of two children and usually they have no training at all.

The uniform crime reports (UCR) and self-report surveys indicate an increase in the number of women entering the penal system, both for violent and property crimes. Women generally engage in property crimes. Forgery, embezzlement, fraud, prostitution, adultery, lesbianism, extramarital and premarital sex, infanticide, abortion, shop lifting, arson, robberies and burglaries, theft, possession of stolen properties, drugs, minor traffic offences, extend the list of crimes for which women are arrested and convicted (Carey, 2014; Douries, 2007; Durston, 2013; Gunnison, Bernat & Goodstein, 2016). Women who engage in serious crimes such as homicide target relatives or an intimate partner and

commit burglary in the company of a male or female accomplice (Gunnison et al., 2016). For Lawston and Lucas (2011) women engage in non-violent crimes mainly because of duress, coercion, or perceived necessity and when arrested for drugs related offences they are usually as sellers or carriers or mules in their skirts, clothing or bodies. In Kenya, for example, the crimes leading to imprisonment of women include theft, handling of stolen goods, drug trafficking, assisting and concealing criminals and local brews. Other crimes include murder of intimate partners such as spouses or children, neglect of children, and assault leading to grievous bodily harm (Kaguta, 2014).

Few empirical researches have been carried out in regard to female offender reentry. This is despite a research done by Kilgore (2015) indicating that there is an increased rate of women getting incarcerated. Majority of these women finally exit prison while 40% recidivate. Criminology and related subjects consider successful ex-offender reentry and reintegration central to their subject matter (Immariogeon, 2011). This may explain the reasons as to why women prisoner reentry and re-integration has recently attracted the attention of scholars. The issues addressed include gender in crime and incarceration statistics, why women offend, annual releases, time spending in prison, prison-based release programs, and effective release programs. Other areas studied include corrections for women offenders and women prisoners as a special group, women prisons and life of incarcerated women, and limitations of correctional budgets for prison privileges and programmes. Implications of prisoner reentry to families and communities as well as community role in re-integration have not been investigated (Gunnison et al., 2016; Immariogeon, 2011; McIvor, 2004; Petersilia & Petersilia, 2003).

According to Williams (2012) and Samaha (1994) the percentage of incarcerated women is low in the aggregate population of inmates and this may partly explain why there were limited studies and information on women and crime before the 1970s. In Kenya as of 2016 the population of women in prison was 7.4% of the total prisoners according to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics' (KNBS) 2018 Statistical abstract. The figures in Table 1.1 indicate the fluctuating character of women prison offenders in Kenya.

Table 1.1: Female prison population rate in Kenya

Nature of conviction	Year				
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Imprisonment	7862	10370	12348	10644	8004
Probation	2021	2283	2401	2114	2294
Community service	4781	4905	6704	5652	3503
After Care	18	29	100	114	44
Total	14682	17587	21553	18524	13845

Source: KNBS, 2018

Women are among the adults exiting prisons and reentering communities. According to Williams (2012) and Samaha (1994) the number of women entering the correctional system, both for violent and property crimes mainly shoplifting and petty theft is increasing. According to Gunnison et al. (2016) forgery, embezzlement, fraud, prostitution, infanticide, abortion, robberies and burglaries are other crimes for which women are arrested and convicted of. Major motivation in women criminality include sexual and physical abuse, poverty, unemployment, poor mental health, absent or poor housing, illegal substance and drug use, and low levels of education. Other reasons include; singularly taking care of dependent children, divorce or separation, and

obligations to support others rather than themselves (Gunnison et. al., 2016; Haires, 2007; Holtfreter & Wattanaporn, 2013; McIvor, 2004).

In Kenya, as of 2012 majority of the female prisoners (84%) were aged above 21 years (KNBS, 2013). This is an indication that most of them had their own families and dependents. The age of female prisoners is presented in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Age of Female prison population in Kenya

Age of Female Prisoners	Frequency	2012	
			%
Under 18	121		2%
18-20	878		14%
21-25	2010		33%
26-50	2849		46%
Above 50	317		5%
TOTAL	6,175		100%

Source: KNBS, 2013

Reintegration is a necessary outcome of or reentry and are both used to refer to the movement of offenders back into community from incarceration (Gunnison & Helfott, 2013). Reentry is commonly used in the American system while the same is called resettlement in the United Kingdom (Innes, 2015). Maruna and Immerigeon (2004) define re-entry in both short term and long term perspectives. They further use reintegration and re-entry interchangeably and consider it as an event and a process. Reintegration in the long term begins on the first day an offender is incarcerated and continues long after prison. In the short term it begins on the day the offender is released from prison. This study adopted a hybrid of the two approaches.

Retribution, deterrence, expiation, rejection, incapacitation, community safety, reform and rehabilitation define the historical methodologies to the treatment of offenders (Carlen & Worrall, 2004; Durrant & Ward, 2015; Innes, 2015). Punishment or the deliberate infliction of pain on offenders by the State however has been one of the two main running themes of corrections and rehabilitation of offenders. The punitive theme or trend is however shifting from retributive ideology and emphasis is moving towards reformation and re-integration or re-socialization of offenders (Durrant & Ward, 2015). Of importance in the formations of various approaches or schools of thought to corrections are the prevailing economic and political circumstances of the time (Tierney, 2009). The retributivist model is based on classicism while the friendlier rehabilitative model adopted in this study is pillared on the positivist school.

Expanding on the dominating themes of rationality and free will born in the age of enlightenment, the classical school of penology was characterized by the free will theory, equality and fairness in the treatment of offenders, proportionate punishment to the offence and outweighing the pleasure of crime, denial of mitigation. This produced a retributive model of punishment. Punishment was supported by the adherents of the classical school such as Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham as necessary for those who violated the law but not for revenge or retribution (Tierney, 2009).

The rehabilitative model which supports reentry and subsequent reintegration of offenders into society is born of the positivist school of penology. The positivist school

emerged in early 19th century in Europe by Auguste Comte and developed in the United States (US) from early 1920s. The defining pillar of the positivist perspective is that criminal behaviour is born of deterministic factors such as the social environment, biological and psychological surroundings for which the offender does not enjoy absolute immunity from. Until the 1960s positivism had dominated the approach of punishment within criminology. The major characteristics of the school include reliance on non-punitive response to crime, supporting segregation only for those who cannot be reformed, argues for modification of conditions which precipitate crime, allows mitigation or defense, punishment appropriate to the criminal rather than the offence and advocates treatment or rehabilitation of offender. Rehabilitation was considered the best model in 1950s and 1960s America where reformation of offenders was considered doable through counseling, education and training for jobs. This was however abandoned in favour of a policy advocating for punishment as a goal in itself following the Martinson's research findings that rehabilitation never works (Tierney, 2009).

According to Cook and Olivier (2013), from the 1970s there was a resurgence of a retributive model based on the principle that nothing works in the Criminal Justice System generally and specifically in prisons. This opinion led to massive incarceration of offenders. The 20th century is again back to a rehabilitative model where prison sentences have become shorter and use of probation increased.

In African countries such as Kenya existing prisoner reentry-rehabilitation programs are restricted to the period of incarceration (Ndung'u, 2016). These include programs in

education and vocational training, substance abuse and counseling, and prison industry and work. In other instances, ex-offenders are assisted to acquire housing, employment, restore family relations and mental health (Kaguta, 2014; Losel, 2012; Stohr et al, 2009). Research by Kaguta (2014) in Kenyan prisons indicate the presence of guidance and counseling, spiritual development, vocational training and education as the main prison and pre-release programs.

According to the Kenya Prisons and Borstal Acts Caps 90 and 92 respectively by the Republic of Kenya (1963) the key functions of the Kenya prisons service includes securing all prisoners in her custody, rehabilitation and reformation of prisoners for social re-integration and providing care to children aged four years and below in company of their mothers to prison among others. A clear legislation on after care services for women exiting prison is however non-existent. Basically reintegration or re-entry upon leaving prison remains unattended.

Reintegration for Ex-offenders is faced by a myriad of challenges depending on variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, financial standing or even state policies. For example, women commit petty crimes, experience shorter sentences and hence return to society far much faster (Holtfreter & Wattanaporn, 2013). Women returning home or reentering back into the communities from prison or jail encounter both neutral and gender specific challenges. Women specific challenges include relationships such as the care for children, mental health, cultural prejudice and bias, and an abusive past, sexual harassment, poor clothing and absence of women specific health interventions (Holtfreter

& Wattanaporn, 2013; Petersilia, & Petersilia, 2003). These issues are of central importance to this study given that its main focus is on reentry and reintegration of women ex-convicts.

General or neutral challenges encountered by women ex-offenders include lack of employment, lack of employment skills, education, housing, shaky family and social support, social stigma, and infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Gunnison et. al., 2016; Holtfreter, 2013; Kilgore, 2015; McIvor, 2004; Petersilia, & Petersilia, 2003). Holtfreter and Wattanaporn, 2013 further hold that addressing the aforementioned challenges to reentry is important in aiding desistance from crime and preventing recidivism.

Adequate literature on the causes of female crimes, their victimization, victims and offences, crime methods, prison experiences and recidivism has been made. According to Knepper (2004) resources and studies have been advanced in regard to entrance of women offenders into the penal system, but little has been done for those exiting the system and re-entering back to the communities. Studies dealing with the circumstances, problems or challenges encountered by offenders going home from prison and reentering communities have been male dominated and the role of gender widely ignored (Barlow & Decker, 2010).

No criminal justice agency is specifically mandated with the task of providing assistance to reentry and reintegration. Many agencies partly shoulder this responsibility despite the fact that annually many women released from prison have issues of employment,

housing, relationship and health care to address amongst others. The studies similarly have not explored in depth the issues of women offender reentry, the studies have a male bias, emphasize prison based and supervised reentry programmes and are predominantly European and American based. Women reentry without any form of supervision appears to have been largely ignored by scholars. Direct women reentry occurs when women are released from prison gates by themselves at the end of their sentence terms or otherwise. Inmates leaving prison have to wait at the prison gate for public transport, experience feelings of time wasted especially for the elderly offenders, a sense of unworthiness and must think about their needs for new clothes and housing (Heinlein, 2013).

This study sought to explore the challenges influencing reentry of women ex-offenders into their communities in Nyeri County, their effects and how they can be addressed. The outcomes of the study are considered significant in informing policy makers and correctional providers about how women returning home from prison navigate these challenges of reentry and what can be done to lessen the burden. The study will also benefit scholarly research and literature in the field of women criminality, offender rehabilitation, improve the reentry process, community safety and reduce recidivism as well as make the ex-offenders more productive (Creswell, 2014; Immariogeon, 2011).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The rate of women engaging in crime, convicted and serving custodial sentences in prison for at least a year has globally been increasing (Lawston & Lucas, 2011). Statistics

indicate that the rate of women entering the correctional system between 1980 and 2010 increased significantly (Kilgore, 2015).

Majority of female returnees in Kenya (93%) are of reproductive age (18-50 years) implying they have families that depend on them economically (KNBS, 2013). According to Stohr et al (2009) the ultimate focus of the correctional system is reentry of offenders into their former communities. Adequate literature on the causes of female crimes, their victimization, victims and offences, crime methods, prison experiences and recidivism has been made. According to Knepper (2004) resources and studies have been advanced in regard to entrance of women offenders into the penal system, but little has been done for those exiting the system and re-entering back to the communities. Studies dealing with the circumstances, problems or challenges encountered by offenders going home from prison and reentering communities have been male dominated and the role of gender widely ignored. The reentry process faces several challenges for women ex-offenders which include relationships such as the care for children, mental health, cultural prejudice and bias, and an abusive past, sexual harassment, poor clothing and absence of women specific health interventions among others (Holtfreter & Morash, 2013)

The challenges afore mentioned which characterize the original entry into prisons remain unmet within the prison system and become harder to satisfy on departure from prison (Gunnison et. al., 2016). Vocational training, educational programmes, professional programs, guidance and Counseling, and spiritual rehabilitation or moral formation is intended to lower this burden but this is not always the case (Ndung'u, 2016). Indeed

Kerley (2013) and Carlen (2004) criticize the prison skills programme for concentrating on traditional women work skills and occupations unlikely to be used by inmates after release. This is worsened by lack of start-up capital. Families, communities and a few social service agencies are tasked to meet the needs of prison returnees

This burden is heavier for poor families and communities in Kenya who have to live hand-to-mouth (51%), yet it is them who must receive and offer support immediately after release Amadala (2019). Challenges women returning home from prisons face in Nyeri County has been identified as a peculiar problem by the Catholic Chaplaincy in King'ong'o Women prison, Nyeri Caritas (the charitable arm of Nyeri Catholic Archdiocese) and the researcher. The problem of women reentry not only affects the returnees themselves but also communities and families.

According to Knepper (2007) few studies have been done for women exiting the prison system and re-entering back to the communities. This is supported by the general negligence of criminological research on female offending until recently when feminist criminologists have taken over the matter (Lawston & Lucas, 2011; Warner, 2012). This is a generally neglected topic in the treatment of offenders. No written policies and practices exist in Kenya that addresses the difficulties faced by ex-offenders, particularly women. No known qualitative studies focusing on challenges women returning home from prison face has been conducted in Kenya or Nyeri County. Existing studies in Kenya such as by Mutabari and Wanjohi (2017) and Kaguta (2014) are prison based and anticipatory of release while that by Oruta (2016) is quantitative and only focuses on

identifying the challenges faced by ex-convicts only. The current study fills this knowledge gap and creates new knowledge as far as reentry of women ex-prisoners back to the community.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the challenges women returning home from prisons face in Nyeri County. It was guided by the following specific objectives;

1. To find out the challenges facing women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County
2. To establish and analyze the effects of the challenges on women returning from prison in Nyeri County.
3. To evaluate the coping mechanisms adopted by women returnees in Nyeri County
4. To evaluate how the relevant and responsible bodies can address the challenges facing women returning from prisons in Nyeri County

1.5 Research Questions

The research sought to answer four general questions.

1. What challenges do women returning home from prisons face in Nyeri County?
2. What are the effects of the challenges on women returning from prison in Nyeri County?
3. How do women returnees in Nyeri County cope with the challenges affecting them?

4. How can the relevant bodies address the challenges facing women returning from prisons in Nyeri County?

1.6 Justifications of the study

The study focused on female offenders as their comparative rate of engaging in criminal activities in the recent years exceeds that of their male counterparts (Holtfreter & Morash, 2013; Kilgore, 2015). Women similarly play the unique role of being care givers and mothers (Davies, 2011) and are far more likely than men to be the primary care givers to young children leading to a very different prison experience (Petrillo, 2007; Lawston & Lucas, 2011).

Detention of Nyerian women in prisons has roots in colonial periods during the *Mau Mau* liberation insurgency for independence as a number of them actively engaged in the war while others were left *de facto* bread winners when their husbands either abandoned them for the battle fronts in the forests, killed or detained. It has also been noted that female headed households account for 33% of the household in rural Kenya such as in Nyeri County (KNBS, 2011). The destruction of masculine economy in Nyeri county in the late 1990's and early 2000's has been linked to alcoholism among men resulting to abdicating of their family roles leading to frustration among the females in the region who are tasked to raise their children on their own.. This has escalated cases of domestic violence, bitter relationships, child neglect, possession of dangerous drugs and theft of stock in search for income in order to support their families. As a result, Nyeri woman have been socially profiled, both in mainstream and social media as independent, violent

and more predisposed to engage in domestic and property crimes (Mose, 2016; Wambugu, 2016).

Unfortunately the aforementioned difficulties faced by women leading to their engagement in criminal activities, arrest, trial and imprisonment by and large remain unaddressed during and after their prison experiences.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study is expected to benefit correctional and academic knowledge on women offender reentry as well as improving reintegration and rehabilitative theoretical models. The findings will support advocacy and influence reentry policy frameworks. The study findings are hoped to be significant to non-criminologists associated with the reentry process such as prison chaplains, religious leaders, gender activists and other women facing similar challenges. Other benefits of the study include adding on existing literature in the area of rehabilitation of offenders.

1.8. Scope and limitations of the Study

The scope of the study covered women who had served imprisonment and released to return home in Nyeri County. The study looked at the challenges women returning home from prisons face in Nyeri County, the effects of the challenges, coping mechanism and how the challenges can be addressed. Women returnees, prison staff, prison chaplain(s) and counselors, probation and government officers, family and community leaders, and

social welfare agencies were interviewed. The study did not look at recidivism and evaluation of prison or reentry programmes.

The narratives by the ex-convicts concerning their reentry and reintegration experiences may be shaped by extraneous factors such as their temperament, memory recollection, family and community settings or by emerging meanings constructed during the interview process.

1.9. Problems Encountered

The study experienced a few limitations which included language barrier as some of the ex-convicts were semi-literate and the instruments had to be clarified in vernacular. This was addressed by use of the predominantly Kikuyu language in the area or Kiswahili to interpret the interview schedule. Difficulties in locating respondents who had changed their phone contacts and residence as wells as fears that they were being tracked by authorities in relation to their offending past was overcome through relatives after conviction that the purpose of the intended interviews was singly for academic intents.

1.9.1. Definition of terms and Operationalization of variables

Challenges: Difficulties experienced after release from prison and going back home to resume normal activities of life

Chaplain: A religious leaders entrusted with the spiritual care of prisoners and prison staff. In this study, he served as a key informant

Coping mechanisms: Strategies of solving personal and interpersonal problems connected to going back home after release from remand prison or prison

County Commissioner: Administrative representative of the national government in charge of a County In this study he served as a key informant

County: An administrative and political unit created in Kenya's constitution since August of 2010 whose political administration is entrusted to a governor. In this study Nyeri county was the site of the research study.

Effects: The outcomes flowing from failure to address the difficulties associated to going back home after release from remand prison or prison

Home: Last residence where the last conviction for the ex-offender occurred and has been so identified by the respondents.

Incarceration: Formal detention through the courts in a prison or remand facility after arrest for criminal activities.

Prison: Any building, enclosure or place where a person is lawfully detained waiting or upon conviction. In this study women prisons were considered.

Reentry: The process of incarcerated individuals going back home after release from remand prison or prison to resume normal activities of life, with or without any supervision.

Reintegration: The process of going back in the community after incarceration, resumption of freedoms and normal community life.

Remand prison: Building within prison housing offenders awaiting trial.

Respondents: Individual persons from whom data and pertinent information was collected for the research included the women ex-convicts, key informants and members of the community.

Returnee: Person going back into the community from prison or remand prison after some period of absence.

Women ex-offender, women ex-convict or ex-prisoner: A woman who has left prison and has joined the community after spending some time in incarceration.

1.9.2. Chapter Summary

This chapter has dealt with the introductory aspect of the study where the background of the study demonstrated there is increasing number of offenders exiting prisons, the contextualization of the prison system, the rates of women entering the correctional system, and their unique characteristics. The background also found out that few empirical researches have been carried out in regard to female offender reentry and that no criminal justice agency in Kenya is specifically mandated with the task of providing assistance to reentry and reintegration. The statement of the problem indicated that women reentry, just as in general criminological research on female offending, is a generally neglected topic in Kenya both policies and practices and that most of existing studies in Kenya are prison based and anticipatory of release. The chapter also addressed specific objectives and research questions generated from the objective of the research

which was to explore the challenges affecting reentry and reintegration of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County. Disruption of family and community life, implications for dependent children, risk of recidivism and the national profiling of Nyeri woman informed the justification of the study. The study is significant to building of correctional knowledge, advocacy and reentry policy framework and advantageous to non-criminologists engaged in the reentry process. The scope of the study was limited to women in Nyeri County and may have been limited by language barriers, locating of respondents and anxiety. The labeling and social bond theories were used to develop a pathway for either successful or failed reentry or reintegration.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The goal of literature review according to Bryman (2016) is to discover existing knowledge on the topic, applied theories and concepts, research methodologies, controversies generated, discussed areas and who the main proponents in the subject matter are.

This chapter reviews previous literature on reentry (interchangeably used with reintegration) challenges faced by women prisoner returnees, the effects of these challenges, the coping mechanisms to the challenges and solutions to enable successful reentry. The literature review is anchored on the research topic, the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, themes and areas within the general area of criminology and specifically the area of corrections. The review is also guided by the labeling and social bond theories as well as the conceptual framework. Literature review is generated from relevant text books, E-books, internet sources, journals and academic thesis.

2.2 Prison facilities in Kenya

According to Innes (2015) the journey into prison and home normally starts with an offender engaging in a criminal activity. This is then followed by an encounter with law enforcement officers (such as the chief or a police officer in Kenya), prosecution, the courts, prison, prison programs, eventual release and returning home. In Kenya the initial

encounter with the law enforcement agencies is critical in determining whether one eventually ends in court or not.

Kenya Prison system has four categories of penal institutions. These are; closed prisons or maximum security prisons; semi-closed prisons or medium security prisons, borstal institutions which hold those below fifteen years of age and youth corrective training centers for offenders aged between sixteen and twenty-one years upon conviction. In a Kenya Gazette notice No.32, no. 2368 of 17th March 2017 the cabinet Secretary for Interior and Co-ordination of National Government upgraded 7 stations into maximum Security prisons with enhanced security and surveillance. These are Nyeri, Kibos, Shimo la Tewa, Naivasha, Kamiti, Kisumu and Nairobi remand prisons (Republic of Kenya, 2017).

Women offenders are mainly found in semi-closed District prisons which detain ordinary class prisoners of low security risk and serving a sentence of up to three years. Semi-closed District prisons are spread across the prison areas in the country. Prisons precisely dedicated to hosting women convicts and remandees include Lang'ata, Thika, Nyeri, Embu, Meru, Shimo la Tewa, Nakuru, Kitale, Eldoret, Kakamega, Kisumu and Kisii Women prisons (Kenya Prisons Service, 2004). Table 2.1 below indicates the distribution of prison facilities in Kenya.

Table 2.1: Prison facilities in Kenya

Region	Closed prisons	Semi-closed Prisons	Borstal Institutions & youth corrective Training
1. Nairobi Area	Kamiti Main, Nairobi Remand, Lang'ata Women	Kamiti Medium, Nairobi West,	Kamiti
2. Central	Nyeri Main	Nyeri medium, Nyahururu, Mwea, Kiambu, Maranjau, Thika main, Murang'a, Kerugoya, Thika Women, Nyeri women	
3. North-Eastern/Eastern		Machakos, Embu, Embu Annexe, Meru, Kitui, Isiolo, Mandera, Wajir, Garisa, Uruku, Marsabit, Moyale, Embu women, Meru women	
4. Coast	Shimo la Tewa	Manyani, Malindi, Hola, Malindi annexe, Wundanyi, Lamu, Shimo la Tewa Annexe, Kwale, Kilifi, Hindi, Kaloleni Remand, Taveta Remand, Voi Remand, Shimo la Tewa Women	Shimo la Tewa
5. Rift Valley	Naivasha	Nakuru, Eldoret, Athi River, Naivasha Annexe, Kitale Annexe, Kitale Remand, Kitale, Ngeria, Kericho Annexe, Lodwar, Kapenguria, Maralal, Kericho, Kapsabet, Narok, Kajiado Remand, Nanyuki, Nakuru women, Kitale women, Eldoret women	
6. Western		Kakamega, Shikusa, Bungoma, Kakamega women	Shikusa
7. Nyanza	Kisumu, Kibos	Kisii, Homa Bay, Kisumu Annexe, Kibos Annexe, Kisumu women, Kisii women	

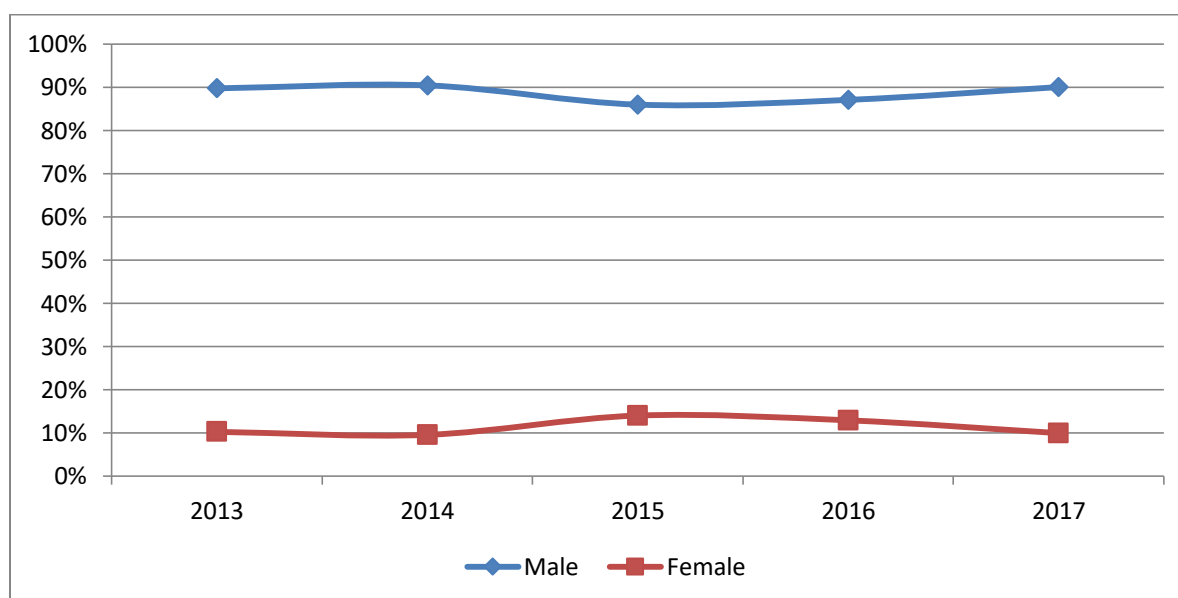
Source: Kenya Prisons service (2004)

Table 2.2: Kenya Prison Population total

Year	Prison population	Conviction				
		Total	Male	%	Female	%
2013	227918	76736	68874	90%	7862	10%
2014	248390	108485	98115	90%	10370	10%
2015	221974	88115	75767	86%	12348	14%
2016	210227	82433	71789	87%	10644	13%
2017	209870	80404	72400	90%	8004	10%

Source: World Prison Brief (2018)

Table 2.2. above indicates Kenya prison population trends based on both male and female convictions for a span of five years, while Figure 2.1 below represents a line graph of the same trends. The trends depicts a fluctuating pattern where an increase in female convictions is accompanied by a decrease in male convictions and the vice versa.



Source: World Prison Brief (2018)

Figure 2.1: Kenya Prison Population trends

2.3 Women criminality

The motivation or explanations to women offending has historically been overlooked. This is despite recorded increasing rates for women offending and prosecution. According to Carrabine, Cox, Lee, Plummer and South (2009) the years between 1500 and 1800 experienced high rates of women prosecutions, a decline between 1800 and 1945 and an upward increase from 1945 hence forth. The male bias and comparatively low rates of women offending disinterested early criminologists from expanding their theorizing to women offending. Implicit references to female offending may however be implied in differential associations theory by Sutherland, Merton's strain theory, labeling, social control and feminist perspectives (Hale et al., 2013; Williams, 2012; Winfree & Abadinsky (2003).

Women and men differ in regard to their crime types, offences, situational of criminal engagement, sentences, lengths of stay and rate of return into prison (Stathopoulos & Quadara, 2014). In most of the cases, women are imprisoned for a period less than a year though some may spend longer times waiting for trial and sentencing (Lawston & Lucas, 2011). Previous sexual and physical abuse in childhood, domestic violence, poverty, unemployment, poor mental health, absent or poor housing, illegal substance and drug use, low levels of education, singularly taking care of dependent children, social-economic marginalization, divorce or separation drive women to engage in crime (Haires, 2007). Supporting others rather than themselves is equally a major motivation in girls and women criminality distinct from boys and men (Gunnison et. al., 2016). Women also find getting back at a resented employer as a motivation to commit crime (Durstun, 2013).

Having identified the reasons as to why women engage themselves in crime leading to their incarceration, the study now turns into the reentry and reintegration back into the communities guided by the study objectives.

2.4 Prisoner Re-Entry

Stohr et al. (2009) clarifies that the ultimate focus of the correctional system is successful reentry of offenders, not unless they die during incarceration or escape from prison. The other goals are deterrence, incapacitation, retribution and rehabilitation. Maruna and Immarigeon (2004) suggest that preparation for reentry should commence immediately after imprisonment. The reentry process includes all activities related to planning for movement from incarceration to release back into the community and entails the period of incarceration, the release process and post-release supervision (Petersilia, & Petersilia, 2003). The number of people exiting prison and requiring successful reentry has been on the increase globally and relates directly to the high numbers being arrested and imprisoned (Stohr et.al, 2009).

Ending sentence terms or parole with its inherent terms is the commonest ways of exiting prison in North America and Western Europe. Parole is non-existent in the Kenyan correctional system. Haley (1997) sees parole as a conditional release of inmates mainly by a parole board or other authority before the expiry of their prison sentencing. Caputo (2004) and Community and National (2007) state that parole terms varies from board to board but generally includes regular reporting to a parole officer through phone calls or face-to-face visits, not to commit any crime and not possessing a firearm or illicit drugs.

Other terms may include not associating with persons with a criminal history, attending drug counseling sessions, testing for drugs and attending job training programs. Unfortunately, many ex-offenders exit prison gates without any requirements for supervision or parole and have to face the possibility of limited social support systems, families and communities unwilling to receive them back, and harsh economic environments.

Prisoners' reentry in Kenya begins upon formal clearance from the prison system, return of personal items to the inmate such as clothing and escorting of the prisoner to the prison gate by the prison wardens. From the prison gate it is the returnee's business to find their way home or to wherever. Release from prison or remand prison ordinarily happens when the sentence's time comes to an end, through the power of mercy, pardon, through community service orders, or through the courts by payment of a fine or dismissal of the case. In Kenya the president is mandated to grant free or conditional release to offenders upon the advice of the Advisory committee on the Power of Mercy in article 133 paragraph 1 of the Constitution (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

Prior to release probation officers are normally required to investigate family and community willingness to receive the returnees (Republic of Kenya, 1981). However after release the returnees are left unto themselves. In spite of these challenges ex-offenders and in this case, women returnees, have to go back home to their families; renew ties with them and friends, find a job and housing, and avoid recidivating (Stohr

et.al., 2009). Challenges to offender reentry are therefore extended to their families (The Urban Institute, 2008).

2.5 Reentry Challenges for Women Prisoner Returnees

The number of offenders, men and women, leaving prisons and going back into communities is increasing (Stohr et al., 2009). About 93% of all prison inmates finally leave prison at the end of the sentences or through parole while only 7% never return home because of life or death sentences (Holtfreter & Wattanaporn (2013). About four in ten inmates leave prison within a year of imprisonment mainly through community based correctional supervision agencies especially parole (Gunnison et. al., 2016). No matter the length of time spent in incarceration, even if it just be a month, the time spent away from family and friends, children or work has its own challenges and anxieties (The Urban Institute, 2008).

Gunnison et. al. (2016) further states that since 2000 the number of studies addressing prisoner reentry has been increasing. The studies focus on three areas namely; advocacy information, reentry programme models and transitional challenges into the community.

For Holtfreter and Wattanaporn (2013), Grommon (2013) and Gunnison et. al. (2016) getting employment and housing, access to higher education, treatment for mental health, drug and alcohol addiction as well as getting help for social and other clinical problems have been massive obstacles to successful offender reintegration. Women returning home from prison or jail further encounter the disadvantages associated to patriarchal, cultural

and religious bias (Kenyatta, 1965; Petersilia, & Petersilia, (2003). Challenges related to relationships (e.g. parenting) and past abuses have also been highlighted as major concerns that women must endure upon release amongst others. These are worsened by the stigma associated to a criminal record and associated fear and trust problems. Other related challenges include low education level, lack of employable skills, poor family support, recidivism and infectious diseases (Holtfreter & Wattanaporn, 2013);_Larner, 2017; Petersilia, & Petersilia, (2003). These challenges which characterize the initial contributing factors to prison entry are often unmet within the prison system and are even harder to meet after leaving prison (Gunnison et. al. (2016). Harris (2015) further observes that women returning home are particularly uneasy in returning home to live with family members, find it more difficult than men to talk about their relationships, have more mental health issues and that often they experience strained relationships with their children on account of their criminal history. The afore mentioned practical challenges for women who had left prison in Nyeri County is studied within the background of existing literature.

2.6 Challenges to offender reentry

Offenders returning home from prison face numerous challenges. This section however only addresses worries linked to employment, housing, relationships, mental health and drug and substance abuse in relationship to the reentry discourse.

2.6.1 Employment Challenges

Employment involves a contractual relationship between two parties where one party is employed and the other is the employer in exchange for payment or job done. To be employed implies being in paid employment for salary whether in money or kind as well as being in self-employment such as private business or farm where profit in cash or kind is generated (Acocelle, 2007). According to ILO resolution of 1982 unemployment have tripartite indicators which include having no work with a formal or informal pay, availability for work, and searching for a job. The causes of unemployment include economic recessions, lack of necessary skills, experiences and education (International Labour Organization (ILO), 1982).

Giddens (2009) sees employment as a significant social issue which shapes the socio-economic development and stability of societies. For him Joblessness or increased unemployment (as happened in many African Countries following the introduction of structural adjustment programs of the late 1980s and early 1990s by the Bretton Wood institutions) has insurmountable implications for people particularly the poor. Indeed, socio-economic issues affect women differently from men as was seen with the collapse of masculine jobs such as in the coffee industry during the late 1980s and 1990s in Kenya. Actually, 60% of women actually don't have a fulltime job at the time of arrest contrasted to 40% for men (Susan, 2005). In Kenya, the situation may be worse as women are grossly under-represented in all sectors of formal employment and only dominate the informal sector employment (KNBS, 2017). Lack of unemployment and

stable source of income create a propensity to criminality as women seek to fend for themselves and their families.

2.6.2 Employment and crime

Early childhood is reminiscent of memories and reminders by care givers such as teachers, parents and preachers on the dangers associated to an idle mind. Gainful employment for Hirschi (1969) denies individuals opportunities to engage in crime as they are busy servicing their job requirements. Time spent in a job or employment denies persons' criminal time as they are indirectly detained at the work place. Employment also shapes how individuals spend their leisure activities, directs routine activities, and behaviour thus deviating persons from environmental criminal pathways. Employment lessens both economic and social pressures which are related to more crime opportunities within the context of environmental criminology (Piquero, 2015).

Men and women Ex-convicts also find it difficult to find well-paying jobs due to their low education, poor work skills and requisite job experiences especially when and where unemployment rates are high (Crow & Semmens, 2007). Actually employment problems pre-date incarceration and are only worsened by incarceration as prison programs hardly prepare inmates for the formal sector employment market. Incarceration similarly creates negative job histories, interrupts social and family capital support to job finding (Pager, 2007). This negative history hinders recruitment into gainful sources of income making crime a tempting way of earning a living.

2.6.3 Unemployment rates

In 2013 approximately 202 million people in the world majority of them youth and women had no employment. Similarly, inequalities exist in employment practices in the labour market as women experience occupational segregation, part-time employment and a massive wage gap for same job done in comparison to men as formal training does not necessarily result in higher pay or lucrative employment (Giddens, 2011; Gunnison et. al., 2016; Mclvor, 2004). In Kenya, the 2015/2016 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS)-Labour Force Basic Report (KNBS, 2018) indicated that unemployment rate is 7.4%. The majority of the unemployed population is aged below 35 years and 64.5 % of them are women (KNBS, 2018). Not only are women less likely than men to participate in the labour force, but those who do are also less likely to find employment. According to the ILO website unemployment rate is calculated as the number of unemployed people as a percentage of all those in employment. The projections for May 2018 indicate a 5.1 and 6 % unemployment rates respectively for men and women in the world. In Kenya the figures are more worrisome as they stand at 7.9% for men and 15.3 % for women. By 2021, this ratio is expected to increase in developing and emerging countries. Though women would prefer paid up jobs, socio-economic and cultural variables hinder this endeavour (ILO, 2018). The inequality in accessing formal jobs as well as the increasing unemployment rate amongst women in Kenya potentially lures more women into crime especially those who have to take care of their families by themselves.

2.6.4 Employment and reentry process

In a study by Aaltonen et. al. (2017) for employment trajectories before and after imprisonment in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden it was discovered that employment has an important role in the re-entry process and reduction of recidivism. This is supported by Heinlein (2013) who sees acquiring a job through vocational training as the primary goal of rehabilitation model of correction. Employment is therefore key to improving ex-offenders' productivity, their caring for families, development of life skills, boosting their self-image, enhancing social capital, smoothening their reentry and reducing propensity for recidivism (Nathan, 2015; Susan, 2005; Wodahl, 2006). The challenges to getting employment include loss of human and social capital during incarceration, reluctance by employers to give jobs to persons with a criminal history and the thinking by employers that criminal peers and crime competency were acquired while in prison. Further challenges include individual problems relating to social issues, health, drug abuse, social relationships, and lack of necessary job skills. In special instances however, the study by Aaltonen et al. (2017) established that prison rehabilitation programs may increase the chances of getting employment for some ex-prisoners.

Getting and maintaining a job has also been demonstrated to offer psychological benefits related to successful reentry (Wodahl, 2006). However a conviction record makes it difficult to find well-paid jobs leading to wage reductions in future job prospective.

2.6.5. Challenges to ex-offender employment

According to Mclvor (2004) and Petersilia & Petersilia (2003) gaining, maintaining and receiving high wages employment has been identified as the primary concern facing smooth reintegration for ex-offenders. Ex-offenders generally find it difficult to find employment; whether male or female as many employers routinely require employee background checks and are reluctant to offer jobs to ex-offenders whom they profile as unreliable and risky (Harris, 2015; Simmon Staff, 2016; Wendy et al, 2005). Even where jobs are available for ex-offenders they are characterized by low pay, job instability, few working hours, or disqualification from social security benefits such as health insurance. This means ex-offenders have to work on multiple jobs or depend on family support for upkeep (Clear, Rose & Ryder, 2001).

The challenge of employment for ex-offenders is compounded by several factors which however should be considered within the context of general national unemployment rates and offenders' poor formal education rates (Larner, 2017). Unemployment is linked to stigma, likely erosion of job skills and social connections, preparation for mainly low-skills and market unattractive jobs through the in-prison programs, low education and vocational training levels, limited work experiences, early dropping out of school and general illiteracy. Lack of technological skills and access to internet or newspapers where jobs are advertised, low work enrollment in the periods preceding arrest and incarceration, age of arrest and release, and previous connection to substance abuse extend the list (Harris, 2015; Losel, 2012; Marble & Furguson, 2005; Stohr et al, 2009; The Urban Institute, 2008). Other factors that may limit employment opportunities

include marital status, and presence of minor children (Kilgore, 2015). The strain associated with failure to get a job is graver for women as they are likely to have had low educational level and joblessness prior to arrest and incarceration. Even when they get and keep a job, women are not well remunerated as to meet their day-to-day needs and this makes them turn to illegitimate means such as drugs or prostitution to economically survive (Kerley, 2013). This situation is worse in a poor economy such as Kenya and where a sizeable number of women must raise and support families alone.

The burden of looking for a job is worse in countries, such as the USA, which impose legal restrictions pertaining to job acquisition list for ex-offenders (Cook & Olivier, 2013; Kerley, 2013; Melissa, 2012; Susan, 2005). In Kenya for example; the requirements for chapter six of the Constitution concerning integrity for job seekers has been interpreted to include police clearance, Higher Education Loans Board (HELB), Credit Referencing Bureau (CRB), Ethics and Anticorruption Commission (EACC) and Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) tax compliance certificates for job applicants. This shuts many ex-convicts from genuine job enrolment regardless of their other qualifications as the request is intended to raise any criminal history.

2.7 Housing Challenges

Reentry of ex-convicts is confronted by an immediate need for shelter upon release and exit from the prison gates. The following paragraphs explore the burden faced by ex-convicts in trying to find housing after some period of absence from home.

2.7.1 Housing

The concept of housing is used by Sidełska (2014) in reference to a real estate or part in a building which is used for dwelling purposes. The type of building is not important in defining a dwelling but rather that the building is used for human residence (Swason, 2008).

Housing is one of the most basic human needs and carries implications for health, social welfare and individual productivity regardless of socio-economic class, race or ideological affiliations (Okafar, 2016). The practical nature of the housing challenge in the US is extended to include problems associated with quality and affordability of decent housing (Freeman, 2003). Harris (2015) observes that women constitute the highest number of returnees who are flatly homeless and living in temporary shelter. This is because there is no chance for prior housing arrangements before release nor do they find family members to stay with after release (Kerley, 2013).

2.7.2 Imprisonment and Homelessness

Imprisonment and homelessness have a strong connection. This is because those in prison and those experiencing housing insecurities belong to poor minorities in urban places. Finding a permanent housing is essential to successful reentry. This is however an uphill task because of a criminal record, mental health challenges, drug and alcohol use and shaky family relationships. For Melissa (2012) incarceration sometimes leads to loss of previous housing arrangements due to failure for rental and mortgage payments.

Herbert (2014) further observes that spending a sizeable budget of one's income in housing, overcrowding and lack of decent housing define housing insecurity. The correlation between homelessness and offending behaviour can become an ongoing cycle. In this cycle of events spending time in prison increases the risk of homelessness, while a lack of stable accommodation increases the likelihood of offending and reoffending.

2.7.3 Criminal Label and Housing challenges

Ex-offenders face difficulties in accessing housing and its stability because of prejudice and discrimination on account of a criminal label as well as the legal barriers which limit access to public funded housing (Clow, Ricciardelli, & Cain (2012). In some jurisdictions, blanket screening policies and rules discriminate against public housing entitlement for those with a criminal history for fear it would affect other tenants (Melissa, 2012).

For Baer et al (2006) and Lerner (2017) as well as Stohr et al (2009) prisoners are known to experience housing problems upon release from Prison. Living with immediate members of the family such as parents or siblings characterizes the multiple residences where they seek residence after release. Herbert (2014) observe that Ex-offenders often have little or no income on release to rent a house, land lords discriminate them, and release supervision terms sometimes restrict the choice of who to live with after returning home. They further state that leaving with a spouse or another intimate partner however is reduced following imprisonment compared to the periods before incarceration.

2.7.4 Housing needs and reentry

Hattery and Smith (2010), Herbert (2014) and Nathan (2015) indicate that secure or stable housing is considered as the single most pressing and immediate need upon release and an indispensable pillar for successful community reentry. Studies that interrogate housing challenges for former prisoners are however few. According to Gunnison et. al. (2016) the housing challenge is experienced differently and deeply by women leaving prison and going home. Women, unlike men, require housing not only for themselves but their dependent children. Sadly, even when women find housing more often than not it is in poor neighborhoods where chances of getting employment are limited.

2.7.5 Kenyan Housing challenges and the Big Four Agenda

Kenya faces a big challenge in regard to housing. Lately, housing has been identified among the big four agenda of the Kenyan government namely manufacturing, food security, universal health coverage and housing (Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC), 2018). In order to address the shortage of affordable housing , the government intends build about 500,000 housing units by the year 2022 in order to mitigate against ill health among the poor and the inherent implications for insecurity in the country (Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC), 2018)..

The housing challenge for women is compounded when considered that an estimated third of households (32%) or 2.8 million households in Kenya are women headed (KNBS, 2014. A household is considered female headed if all members of households acknowledge the female head authority and that the female head undertakes key day-to-

day household decisions (KNBS, 2014). According to the 2015/2016 Kenya Integrated Household budget survey; Kenyan households further face challenges related to accessing improved water, particular toilets for households, and connection to electricity. Other challenges include lack of adequate sleeping space and the use of wood as main source of cooking fuel (KNBS, 2018). Despite the government intent to provide affordable housing the cost implications still remain high and inaccessible to the women returnees as they are poor.

2.7.6 Women ex-offenders and Housing challenges

Compared to their male counterparts' women ex-offenders suffer more from the impacts of criminal labeling and stigmatization with its inherent implications for housing amongst others (Melissa, 2012). According to Kalabamu (2006) in Africa, Women's rights to land (and subsequently where to build own housing) is compounded by government policies and lopsided discriminating customary laws. Land acquisition is predominantly a preserve of the male household heads and the ownership to land by women is only by proxy through husbands, fathers, uncles, brothers, and sometimes sons. Kenyatta (1965) opines that the Kikuyu people of central Kenya women of the old generation did inherit land but only enjoyed cultivation rights. The same case happened in Botswana where land was inherited and owned only by men (World Bank, 2017).

Women would likely face greater challenges acquiring decent housing following a criminal record. Patriarchal cultural structures and stereotypes still limit property ownership such as land and houses to men especially in the rural settings. Women

leaving prisons therefore have challenges getting place to call home upon release from prison.

2.8 Relationship challenges

McIvor (2004) notes that how women relate to their families, friends and partners, neighbourhood, community and society is important to reentry, desistance from crime and successful reintegration. Successful marital and family relationships provide emotional support after release from prison, the motivation to succeed, economic help, finding work, desistance from drug use and reduced recidivism. According to Visser (2004) families play a significant role in the reentry and reintegration process. Further, it is observed that strategies and resources which enhance the contribution played by families both in prison and after prison experiences be supported. Women encounter diverse family structures and friendship relationships on reentry. Women returning home find greatest support in their own mothers while men have both their mothers and intimate female partners for support (Hattery & Smith, 2010).

2.8.1 Family

A family is considered to be a group of persons directly linked by kin connections and where some play the role of parents and others are children. Kinship ties are connections between persons established through marriage or blood ancestry lines such as mothers, fathers, siblings, or offspring (Phillip, 2011). Adoption, sharing the primary responsibility for reproduction and caring for members of the society extend this definition of the family (Shaefer, 2010). Unfortunately, according to Coll and Duff (2011), a significant

number of incarcerated women are likely to have lost family members and have a history of abuse in the family or other relationships. This abuse may be verbal, physical or sexual. The women under custodial sentence further risk losing guardianship of their children during their incarceration.

2.8.2 Family dilemma and the offender returnee

The family is the smallest and basic social unit that may provide women ex-offenders returning home with friendship and acceptance. Family support is nevertheless not guaranteed when women leave prison and return home. Family members remaining behind may still find it extremely difficult to relate well with relatives who have been physically absent for a long period despite retaining some residual relationship. This is called ambiguous loss (Bocknek, Sanderson and Britner, 2009). Ambiguous loss may explain why families may face challenges in re-establishing relationships with ex-offenders and in reallocating them familial roles during the reentry period (Few-Demo & Ardith, 2004).

Following a period of incarceration women ex-offenders actively strive to recreate their social identities. The identity paradigms include the labels of being an ex-offender, prisoner, or drug user on top of their identities as mothers, sisters, daughters, girlfriends or wives, and friends. For these women, the people, places, and things related to their offending and drug use often involve other family members. Financially, socially, and emotionally it becomes difficult and costly to delink themselves from these relationships despite connection to their offending past (Maruna & Roy 2007).

Ex-offenders also discover that their families have had significant changes while they were away in prison. For example, studies have indicated increased personal and social vulnerabilities that may include unhealed familial ties such as between spouses and ex-offenders, and familial ties between children, spouses and ex-offenders, and un-mended family conflicts (Mowen & Visher, 2015; Dolwick, Crawford, Fields, Smith, Harris & Matson (2014).

2.8.3 Family support and reentry

Families usually have a role in offenders' involvement in crime especially if criminal and substance abuse or alcohol presented a problem before conviction. The family also plays a corresponding positive role in successful reentry for people leaving prison and coming back into the society. Prisoners' expectation in the period immediately after release is that their families would provide emotional, financial, problem solving advice, social and psychological assistance, social capital to exit criminal activities and accommodation support (Larner, 2017; McIvor, 2004; Pager, 2007; Visher, 2004). Reintegration and resumption of normal relationships with families is however impeded by the lengthy absence from home, broken ties with family and friends, court termination or denial of parental rights (Pager, 2007; Petersilia, & Petersilia, J. (2003). In the absence of any significant family support, government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) provide indispensable support to ex-convicts (Larner, 2017).

2.8.4 Peer and intimate partner support for reentry

Violent crimes against intimate partners have been reported (White, 2002). Studies show that women are at greater risk of being harmed by an intimate partner than by a stranger (National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), 2013). Harris (2015) argued that failure to sufficiently deal with intimate partner violence during prisoner reentry could place victims of domestic violence in continued danger and increase the formerly incarcerated individuals' risk of returning back to prison. Women returning home normally have broken relationships with the partners they had prior to imprisonment and creating new intimate relationships is impeded by the criminal tag.

2.8.5 Neighbourhood communities' support and reentry

Women returning home from prisons back into communities require a lot of societal support for successful reentry and reintegration. For example, women returnees have probation or parole terms to comply with, struggles for financial stability, health care needs, locating housing and reuniting with their family's struggles. Similarly, the women returnees must obtain employment (often with few skills and a sporadic work history), find safe and drug-free housing, and, in many cases, maintain recovery from addiction (Bloom & Covington, 2000).

Many women ex-offenders unfortunately find themselves either homeless or in unsupportive environments and fall back into a life of substance abuse and criminal activity. Communities require to increase their caring capacity and create a community response to address the needs of women leaving prison including housing, physical and psychological safety, education, job training and opportunities, community-based

substance-abuse treatment, economic support, positive female role models and a community response strategy to violence against women (Bloom & Covington, 2000).

2.8.6 Women offenders and their children

One unique characteristic for women offenders compared to men concerns to their status as care givers and mothers (Davies, 2011). In majority of the cases, women are far more likely than men to be the primary care givers to young children leading to a very different prison experience (Petrillo, 2007; Lawston & Lucas, 2011).

Figures for Western Australia in 2005 indicated that nearly three quarters of women in prison were mothers (WADCS, 2008). Imprisoned women according to Goulding (2004) and McGrath (2000) rely heavily on temporary care providers to look after their children during their incarceration. Those women incarcerated but lacking anyone such as family and supportive relationships to take care of their children find their children taken into local authorities or foster care facilities (Caddle & Crisp, 1997). Furthermore, children of incarcerated mothers are extremely vulnerable, traumatized by the mother's absence and re-establishing child-mother relationship after release is often difficult (The Urban Institute, 2008).

2.9 Mental Health Challenges

The World health organization (WHO) defines health broadly as “a state of complete physical, mental, social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (World Health Organization, 1946.). This definition was adopted by the International health conference in 1947 and 61 member states were signatories. Health was recognized

as a social and personal resource for every daily life by the Ottawa Charter for health promotion in 1986 (World Health Organization, 1986). The World Health Organization (2001) defines mental health as follows;

A state of wellbeing in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community. It is related to the promotion of overall health, the prevention of disease, and the treatment and rehabilitation of people negatively affected by illness (WHO, 2001, p 1)

Common mental disorders are characterized by a complex web involving abnormal thoughts, perceptions, emotions and relationships with others. They include depression, bipolar affective disorder, being schizophrenic, psychosis, dementia or memory loss, intellectual inabilities and autism (World Health Organization, 2018).

2.9.1 Imprisonment and mental health

The number of inmates, both in prisons and jails, suffering from mental health related problems exceeds 1.2 million (James & Glaze, 2006). Unfortunately, the Criminal Justice System in nearly all the areas appear ill equipped to offer meaningful help to those with mental illness (Lurigio & Harris, 2007; Human Right Watch, 2003). Offenders lack access to mental health treatment when incarcerated or, even when provided they do, the quality is of questionable standards (Beck, 2000).

Incarceration may actually worsen mental health issues and when left unattended could lead to harm for self or others (Melissa, 2012; Davies, 2011). Interestingly however, is that whereas persons suffering from mental illness have a propensity to engage in violent behaviour, those actually incarcerated while suffering from psychiatric illness had not

committed violent crimes (Schug & Fradella, 2015). Clear, Cole, Reisig and Petrosino (2015) state that the prevalence of severe mental health illnesses, chronic and infectious diseases is higher amongst inmates than in the general population. The National Governors Association Center for the best practices report (2004) further specifically states that prisoners are more likely to be schizophrenic, depressed, bipolar, or suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder than the general population by between two or four times.

2.9.2 Female prisoners and mental health

According to Petrillo (2007), James and Glaze (2006) and Byrne and Howells (2000) female prisoners manifest more serious mental health issues when placed in a comparative scale with their male counterparts or other women in the general community. The complex impacts of mental illness can be significant motivation in women offending and may frustrate rehabilitation efforts. Mental health challenges may also impede women ex-offenders from accessing programs, services and other supports necessary to successful reintegration after release from custody. Mental health issues have a gendered differential. Histories of physical and sexual abuse together with separation from family and children worsen the case of mental health in women prisoners (Pogorzelski, Wolff & Blitz, 2005; Bonta , Rugge, Scott, Bourgon, & Yessine, 2008).

2.9.3 Mental Health and reentry

Mental health issues pose serious challenge in the reentry and reintegration process back into communities for many ex-offenders, with 16% of the populations having a

diagnosable mental disorder (Travis, 2001). For Visher (2004) nearly 50% of the returnees require access to counseling services upon release from prison, 30% need mental health treatment while 25% face serious anxiety and depression problems. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) such as feeling upset with prison related memories, thoughts, talks, and images is also reported by approximately 20% of the ex-convicts. For Gunnison et. al. (2016) anxiety and worry for families especially children, depression, suicidal thoughts and attempts leading to abuse of drug and alcohol are also common. Psychosis has also been reported in the prison population (Petrillo, 2007). Discussion is however ongoing as to whether imprisonment is also cause of mental illness amongst ex-prisoners (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2009). Unfortunately, there is little follow up on health needs of convicts upon release by correctional agencies (The Urban Institute, 2008)

2.10 Drug and Substance abuse challenges

Drug and substance abuse have been found to be directly related to criminal indulgence. This challenge leads to arrest and imprisonment of women and influences the reentry and reintegration process.

2.10.1 Drug and substance abuse challenge

Drug refers to substances or chemical compounds that are ordinarily taken for healing or medicinal purposes. Medicinal uses include pain and anxiety relief, prevention, diagnosis, treatment or cure of disease. Drugs are equally used to control or improve any physiological or pathological disorder in humans or animals. The word is also used to refer to other chemicals that might be taken for non-therapeutic reasons but purely for

recreational purposes e.g. heroin, morphine, codeine, cocaine, cannabis, hallucinogenic mushrooms, khat and inorganic substance like amphetamines (Boister, 2014). Cannabis has however lately been incorporated for clinical purposes.

In 2009 about 172-250 million people were using illicit drugs 18 – 38 million people in this group of drug users were actually women (UNODC, 2009). In 2013 at least 15.8 million (or 12.9% of all women) women used illicit drug or prescribed drugs for recreational purposes (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 2015; Karberg & James, 2005).

2.10.2 Common Types of drugs & substance abuse

Drugs can be categorized in various ways but normally according to the pharmacological method which is based on the nature of the effects of the drug on the user. One common version of this classification is the division of drugs into stimulants, depressants, analgesics and hallucinogens. The population incarcerated because of substance abuse in US jails and prisons is on the increase (CASA, 2010). According to Richard (2018) marijuana, methamphetamine, cocaine, hallucinogens, ecstasy, and heroin are the routinely abused illegal drugs in the USA. The current use of tobacco is rated as 2.1% among females in Kenya and the consumption rate of bhangis stands at 1.2% (NACADA, 2017.).

In Kenya alcohol is the most commonly abused substance. Alcohol consumption rate is at 16.6% and 11.4% for the urban and rural populations respectively. Central Kenya, where

Nyeri County is located, is second to Nairobi County in regard to high alcohol use i.e. Nairobi at 15.7% and Central at 9.2% (NACADA, 2017.).

2.10.3 Drug and Substance Abuse among Women Ex-Offender

Men especially husbands, father or brothers, drug traffickers and police agents are the main collaborators for women engaging in illicit drug trade. The role of women in illegal drug trade is usually restricted to that of acting as sexy lovers, wives or companions (Carey, 2014). The relationship between use of drug and crime amongst women is however very high (Merlo & Pollock, 1995). Indeed the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2002) and CSAT (1994) indicated that about 50% of women in the USA state prisons had used alcohol, drugs, or both at the time of their arrest for criminal offense.

Committing a crime in order to obtain money to support a drug need was reported in nearly one in three women serving time in state prisons. Substance abuse was a common problem, with daily drug use reported by more than 40% of all convicted female jail inmates (Jinnah, 1994).

Indeed for Jinnah (1994), property and drug offenses were the main reasons for which women were arrested and incarcerated. Drug offenses accelerated the number of female offenders more than those of their male counterparts.

2.10.4 Impact of drug and substance abuse on reentry

The consequences of drug and substance abuse which include depression, anxiety and other mood disorders are more serious among women returnees than men ex-offenders. This holds women back against successful recovery and subsequent reentry (Daly, Moss & Campbell, 1993; Blume, 1990). Female offenders are also more likely to have intravenously and more frequently used serious drugs such as cocaine and heroin prior to their arrest. Women offenders are also more likely to have had a co-existing psychiatric disorder and low self-esteem before imprisonment (Bloom & Covington, 2000).

Lastly, communities allocate a negative label to drug and substance users especially when they are women. This labeling and its criminal undertones are ineffective in dealing with the challenge of illicit drug uses and slow down the recovery (UNODC, 2009).

2.11 Effects of Reentry challenges for women prison returnees

As discussed in the previous paragraphs women returning home back into their communities encounter several challenges. The effects of these challenges are not only felt by the returnees themselves but it also disturbs their families and communities if not addressed. Failure to address these challenges is actually akin to a silent extension of imprisonment. This section looks at how the women returnees view themselves as well as how their families and communities view them amidst the challenges connected to employment, housing, relationships, mental health, drug and substance abuse upon release and reentry back in society.

2.11.1 Effects of the challenges on how women returnees view themselves

The immediate recipients of the effects related to the challenges faced after incarceration and on reentry are the women ex-convicts themselves. Failure to address the reentry challenges for individuals is manifested in continued social stigmatization, likelihood of recidivism, increased poverty, deplorable living conditions, poor mental health conditions and broken relationships such as divorce or separation.

2.11.1.1 Renewing relationships

Renewing relationships with family members and friends sometimes faces problems (especially when employment and housing challenges are not addressed) and leads to isolation of ex-offenders (Olphen, Eliason, Freudenberg & Barnes, 2009). The effect is more pronounced in women as more often than not they have dependent children, majority are single mothers caring for two children on average and are perceived as incompetent mothers unable to provide basic needs to their children (Mumola, 2000). This leads to a feeling of grief, loss, shame and guilt in regard to their roles as mothers. Reconnection is worsened if the children were unable to make personal visits during incarceration especially due to physical distance, absence of transportation, children's care givers to take them along or due to a forced separation between child and mother (Warner, 2012). Unfortunately, lack of suitable housing also makes it difficult for returning women to accommodate their children (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). In other instances, women experience rebellion and bad behaviour from their teenage children as they sort to re-exert authority in their household (Leverentz, 2014).

2.11.1.2 Unemployment

Unemployment has serious effects for all of us and worse so for anyone with a criminal history. According to Fournier and Mercier (2009) unemployment creates negative consequences for health and wellbeing leading to pessimism, low self-esteem, anxiety and fatalism resulting to crime. Dooley and Prause (2003) add depression and anxiety to the list of woes of not getting a job. Poverty rates have also been demonstrated to be high amongst the household with an unemployed head, the self-employed and those on short-term employment contracts compared to fulltime employees (ILO, 2015).

2.11.1.3 Housing

Failure to acquire stable housing affects other reentry experiences such as employment due to lack of continuity in contact address and phone numbers by potential employers. Stability of family relationships, physical and mental health and desistance from substance abuse are also affected by the housing arrangements. This may present great likelihood of recidivism as ex-offenders sometimes may engage in alcohol abuse, theft of money and food for survival. This is worsened if the absence of stable housing persists for a long period of time (Herbert, Morenoff & Harding, 2015; Wodahl, 2006).

2.11.1.4 Mental health, drugs and substance abuse

According to Miller (2009) people with mental health issues face stigma, are treated with demeanor and face discrimination. From early socialization a negative attitude towards a mental patient is formed and beliefs developed on how others would actually perceive

and treat a mental patient. This mental label weighs heavily on how mental patients view themselves.

Common mental disorders are characterized by a complex web involving abnormal thoughts, perceptions, emotions and relationships with others. They include depression, bipolar affective disorder, being schizophrenic, psychosis, dementia or memory loss, intellectual inabilities and autism Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) such as feeling upset with prison related memories, thoughts, talks, and images is also reported by approximately 20% of the ex-convicts (WHO, n.d.). For Gunnison (2017) anxiety and worry for families especially children, depression, suicidal thoughts and attempts leading to abuse of drug and alcohol are also common. Women may however be sensitive to the effects of some drugs because of their sex hormones leading to change in their brain and other physical effects compared to men after drug use (SAMHSA, 2014).

2.11.2 Effects of the challenges on how Families view the women returnees

Family members are the secondary carriers to the effects of the challenges encountered by ex-offenders re-entering back into societies. Ex-offenders look into their family networks for housing, employment and financial support on the period immediately after their release (Larner, 2017; McIvor, 2004; Pager, 2007; Visher, 2004). The burden is worsened if the returnees have issues with mental health, drugs and substance abuse. Families similarly may experience the extended stigma and other prison related stressors associated with hosting and accommodating offender returnees into their kinsfolk (Farkas & Miller, 2007). This may occasion adaptation of withdrawal or secrecy tactics by family

members as a coping mechanism to avoid stigma born of associating with the ex-offenders (Winnick and Bodkin, 2008).

According to Mental Disability Advocacy Center (2003) families (especially those receiving prisoner returnees with mental health challenges) carry the task of providing them with primary care. This involves provision of emotional, physical support, and financial costs connected to treatment and care of mental health. In addition, families carry the indirect and direct burden of stigmatization linked to people with mental disorders. Indicators for this stigmatization include stereotyping, fear, embarrassment, anger, and rejection or avoidance. This negatively affects daily routines of sufferers, may lead to discrimination and denial of basic human rights, denial of employment, educational opportunities and housing discrimination

2.11.3 Effects of the challenges on how Communities view the women returnees

According to Wehrman (2010) communities that produce offenders and receive them back from prison are usually characterized by high rates of poverty, unemployment, low educational achievement, low home ownership, and high rates of single-parent households. These conditions of disadvantaged neighborhoods are a big hindrance to successful offender reentry and when not addressed the ex-offender may engage in a cycle of incarceration (Travis, 2005).

The worst effect of unaddressed challenges on how communities view the women returnees is stigmatization. This is because women are affected more by labeling,

stigmatization associated to imprisonment and the subsequent feeling of shame (Dodge & Progrebin, 2001). This shameful image of self leads to embarrassment or guilt. The negative perception of ex-convicts by the community actually becomes an informal extension of punishment to many women offenders beyond the period of imprisonment. This can lead to a situation of social isolation, reduced self-confidence and may contribute to recidivism (Goulding, 2004).

2.11.4 Recidivism

Another risk subsequent to the challenges faced on reentry is heightened probability of recidivism. The etymology of the word recidivism for Cook & Olivier (2013) is in Latin *recidere* which refers to falling back. In general the term recidivism means a relapse into crime and criminal lifestyle or activities by an offender who had at some time or severally been arrested and punished through the formal criminal justice system (Tenibiaje; 2013). Abrifor, Atere & Moughalu (2012) acknowledge that the rate at which released inmates return to prison shortly after release has made criminologists, sociologists and other scholars doubt the utility or efficacy of imprisonment system in the rehabilitation of offenders. Recidivism rates for example in Nigeria stand at over 60% and that the prison system is like a hub for training and graduating criminals (Chukwumerije, 2012; Giddens, 2006).

2.11.4.1 Causes of Recidivism

There are several factors which contribute to the possibilities of ex-offenders relapsing back to a life of crime. These factors are both internal and external to the individual

offenders and the prison institution. On leaving prisons, ex-offenders usually face the societal wrath of discrimination, isolation, labeling and stigmatization and a generally negative attitude which makes reentry and reintegration difficult. Ideological formation during the period of imprisonment is also a predictor of recidivism. This is because the meeting of prisoners from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds, persons of varied personality traits and behavioural patterns produce a criminal subculture. Indeed, petty or undergraduate criminals more often than not graduate to postgraduate criminals (Chukwudi, 2012).

For Gendreau, Little and Goggin (1996) recidivism is connected also to certain demographic variables such as gender, age at initial conviction, presence of a parent with a criminal record, present age, and types of offences committed among others. Other factors include presence of criminal peers, history of involvement in crime and or antisocial behaviour, social achievements, and family factors. According to Brown (2002), McKean and Ransford (2004), Skeem and Peterson, (2010) and Tenibiaje (2013) having criminal companions and criminal neighbourhoods, family and marital problems, drugs and substance abuse, antisocial attitudes, lack of employment, poor education and social stigma highly expose and ex-offender to the likelihood of recidivism.

2.11.4.2 Preventing Recidivism

The focus of the prison system is not only sheltering of offenders but also their rehabilitation for eventual reintegration back into societies as law abiding citizens while guarding against recidivism. Fhooblall et al (2011), McKean and Ransford (2004), Shadd

and Russ (2004) and The Urban Institute (2008) identify treatment for substance abuse or mental illness, betrayal by criminal accomplices, hardships associated with imprisonment, traumatic criminal experience, getting a family (as well as finding life partnerships) and parenthood, education and meaningful employment as the major contributors to crime desistance and avoidance of recidivism. This is because the trio pillars combined help remove obstacles to employment and integration, provides necessary skills to obtain jobs, provides income and increases stability and self-confidence, takes away the economic rationale in crime, creates better social networks, cultivates better daily routines. Contacts between convicts and their families during imprisonment also help in reducing rates of recidivism (Naser & Visher, 2006).

2.11.4.3 Coping Mechanisms Adopted by Women Returnees

Upon leaving prisons and faced with myriad of challenges ex-offenders adopt three main challenges. Either they look upon their family networks and non-government agencies such as religious communities for support in getting housing, employment and financial capital (Larner, 2017; Pager, 2007). The Catholic prison chaplaincies for example in Kenya have been very pivotal in providing informal assistance such as family reconciliations, fare, sewing machines and sanitary requirements to women leaving prison. At times ex-convicts also move, through networks of friends, to far distance places away from home where they are unknown specially to escape the pangs of stigmatization (Harris, 2015).

2.12 Methods of addressing challenges of women prison returnees

The current focus for prison programs are shifting from punitive discipline and tight security to nurturing of the rights and rehabilitation of offenders (Stohr et. al., 2009). According to Innes (2015) an all involving dialogue process is required to address what the future holds for imprisonment. This initiative ought to involve correctional experts, politicians, the media, the convicts, their families, friends, neighbours and communities, the victims and all cadres in the correctional work force. Others who should be involved include the law enforcement agencies, the prosecutors, the courts, social service agencies and community organizations amongst others.

This section addresses key initiatives which suggest policies and practices relevant to smooth reentry. To be discouraged however are policies which through retention of criminal records hinder access to secure housing, employment, health care, public assistance, and custody of their children (Henry & Jacobs, 2007; Olphen et al, 2005; Pogorzelski et al, 2005). In Kenya for example the demand for certificate of good conduct from the Police for job seekers should be abrogated. Two major approaches are suggested and which include reentry programs and community corrections.

Two major suggestions to the problems hindering smooth reentry of ex-offenders back into the society are made. In the first instance there are remedies inherent or internal to the returnees and secondly others external to them or community corrections.

2.12.1 Internal Remedies

Internal remedies include community involvement, social isolation and stigma, educational and vocational training, personal conditions, parenting and child rearing (Melissa, 2012). Tailor made personal support to the ex-convicts within their communities is important for reentry and reintegration.

2.12.2 Community corrections

For Haley (1997) and Caputo (2004) community corrections, community penalties or non-institutional corrections are seen as a subfield of corrections consisting of offender programs that are implemented outside the confines of jail or prison setting. This definition is further supported by Raynor (2012). For him;

Community penalties are usually not purely punitive, neither are they based on coercive restriction of liberty, like a prison; instead they rely on the cooperation of offenders in accepting the requirements of a court order, and often the capacity of supervisors to negotiate, motivate and persuade (p. 929).

Hale et al (2013) offers three classifications of community sentences. These include self-regulatory penalties which are based on the assumption that detection, arrest or being taken to court is shaming enough for criminal deterrence and reformation. This may be attained through caution, reprimand and warnings by the police. This makes further sanctions unnecessary. Secondly are financial penalties which include fines and compensation. Thirdly are supervisory sentences aimed at rehabilitation, reparation and incapacitation of offenders through support and surveillance.

Community corrections have a rehabilitative and reintegrative emphasis in their orientation especially for non-violent offenders and not punishment. The system includes supervising, controlling offenders and making sure they adhere to the rules of their sentences. Community corrections provide offenders with assistance to resolve personal problems and needs e.g. counseling; establishing stronger ties between offenders and their living environment e.g. employment. To attain their objectives community corrections often seek the services of other agencies in their neighbourhood such as health Centers and the mass media for advocacy and vocational training.

Community corrections programs are considered cost effective and reduce the exorbitant costs of institutional corrections. They also insulate institutional corrections from being overwhelmed with overcrowding; they promote normal social and community relationships, and are sometimes as effective as institution-based corrections (Haley, 1997). Further to these, Hale et al (2013) state that they permit non disruption of offenders family, work and social connections, create opportunities for reparation of harm(s) committed to the community and doesn't lead to stigma connected to imprisonment.

According to Hale et al (2013) and Raynor (2012) specific community penalties include fines, probation, community service orders or punitive unpaid work and electronic monitoring orders. There are however some post-custodial supervision with a resemblance to community penalties. These intermediate sanctions are also referred to as intermediate penalties or intermediate punishments. The sanctions are forms of

punishments that lie in the middle between community corrections and incarceration in terms of severity of supervision and control. The major forms of intermediate punishments include day reporting centers, home confinement (with or without electronic monitoring), half way houses, Intensive supervision programs and shock incarceration/boot camps (Caputo, 2004; Haley, 1997).

2.12.3. Monetary Penalties: Fines and Restitution

Financial or monetary penalties are of two types namely; fines and compensation. This is based on the principal as to whom the payment is due.

2.12.3.1 Fines

Fines refer to monetary sanctions where the offender is required to make money payments to the court as full or partial punishment for committing a crime. Fines exclude court costs and supervision fees. The history of fines for criminal punishment is pre-biblical where it was used for criminal and moral offences. The practice of imposing fines had attained wide use by the 13th and 14th centuries in Europe (Caputo, 2004; Hale et al (2013).

The use of fines is presently used in many countries of the world such as Germany in Europe, China, India and Philippines in Asia and the Pacific region, Australia, Arab Countries, Canada and the United states. Fines are either used singularly for punishment or to supplement other sanctions such as probation for serious and petty offences as an alternative to incarceration e.g. violation of traffic rules, assault, drunkenness in public, shop lifting and burglary. Fines are predominantly used for those offenders who present

no major risk to the community and for petty offences. Fines are also an appropriate method of punishment for corporate crimes like those that may be perpetrated by businesses. Crimes involving use of Violence and drugs however may find fines a sole method of punishment inaccessible (Caputo, 2004).

Fines vary depending on whether the offense committed is a misdemeanor or a felony. Felonies are serious crimes which include offences such as murder, manslaughter, rape, and robbery with violence and receive severe penalties. Misdemeanors on the other hand are less serious crimes whose punishment is one year or less or a fine e.g. speeding, brewing of illegal brews and perjury. One of the unfortunate outcomes of basing fines on the offense rather than on the offender is that both the poor and the rich end up receiving the same form of punishment or fine for similar crime. This inequality is however addressed through the day fines system where by the fine is proportional to both the gravity of the crime and financial wellbeing of the offender calculated on the basis of the offender's daily earning. Day Fines are considered to have a retributive benefit, deterrence, fairness, cheap to administer and is source of revenue (Hale et al, 2013; Caputo, 2004).

2.12.3.2 Restitution or compensation

Restitution is a system of punishment where offenders pay their victim's family or their victims or organizations of victim's choice for the harm(s) resulting from their crimes. The goals of restitution include deterrence, rehabilitation, retribution and restoration. The system of restitution is mainly used in property crimes where victims are financially

compensated. Restitution is carried out in combination with other penalties such as probation (Caputo, 2004; Hale et al, 2013).

2.12.4 Probation

Probation refers to a sentencing in which offenders upon pleading guilty or being convicted are allowed to serve their sentences within their communities rather than in imprisonment. They are however required to be under supervision of a probation agency and are required to fulfill certain conditions imposed by the court violation of which may lead to imprisonment (Caputo, 2004; Haley, 1997). According to Raynor (2012) some of these conditions include “unpaid work, specified activities, prohibited activities, curfews, residence in specified places, mental health treatment, drug rehabilitation, alcohol treatment and attendance centres for younger offenders” (p. 930).

Probation is sometimes variedly combined with incarceration such as split sentence i.e. spending a short time in incarceration before probation and interminnet sentencing where offenders are required to spend nights or weekends in jail (Caputo, 2004).

2.12.5 Parole

Parole is a conditional release of inmates mainly by a parole board or other authority before the expiry of their prison sentencing. It is also called community or supervised release. Parole normally involves conditions imposed by the parole board violation of which leads to imprisonment again. Offenders find themselves into parole release through two ways namely; at the discretion of the parole board and through legal based

mandatory supervised release upon completion of about 85% of their sentences. The time spent under parole is usually that remaining to the original sentence. Parole supervision is not given to those who have served their full sentence in prison (Caputo, 2004; Haley, 1997).

2.12.6 Community Service or Unpaid work

This involves a requirement that offenders work in the community for a period extending between 60 to 240 hours without pay. This has been considered as a fine due to time (Hale et al., 2013). Community Service dates back to late 1960s in the United States and refers to “compulsory, free, or donated labour performed by an offender as punishment for a crime” (Caputo, 2004, Chapter 8, p. 154) through a community service order and for a defined period. The labour is usually done in not-for-profit organizations and government offices depending on skills and site requirements. The goals of community service include punishment and holding the offender accountable, restoration and reparation, restitution, rehabilitation. Community service came as people failed to raise fines such as sometimes for women with families (Caputo, 2004; Hale et al., 2013).

Community service targets different types of offenders, adults and juveniles, men and women, serious and petty offences, probationers and offenders imprisoned. It is used as a single penalty normally for minor offences and first-time offenders and usually as an alternative to probation or to fines. The time spent in community service is determined by several factors which include the offence characteristics, prior criminal history and extra-legal elements like family or work related responsibilities (Caputo, 2004). He further states that community service is administered and supervised by different Criminal

Justice Agencies like the law enforcement officers, the courts, jail and prisons, probation department and private agencies (Caputo, 2004).

2.12.7 Home Confinement, House Arrest and Electronic Monitoring

According to Caputo (2004), Hale et al (2013) and Haley (1997), home confinement is also referred to as home incarceration, home detention and house arrest. It is a court based programme that requires offenders to remain in their homes unless with prior permission. It is commonly used together with electronic monitoring and Intensive Supervision Probation and Parole (ISP). Electronic monitoring has been used since the 1980s and involves the use of computer based technologies to know the where-about of offenders both continually or periodically e.g. through phone lines, radio signals and wearing of a micro-transmitter on the ankles.

House arrest is considered more punitive than intensive supervision. It essentially involves confinement and supervision to ensure the offender stays confined at home. During the period of house arrest offenders' movement outside their homes is restricted to employment, medical visits, religious activities or other sanctions such as community service. Home confinement has three distinct approaches namely; curfew, home detention, and home incarceration (MacKenzie, 2006). My own suggestion is that incarcerating senior political figures with huge tribal and or political following risks immortalizing them as martyrs. To avoid this, house arrest supported with electronic monitoring such as CCTV cameras would be a cost effective and deterrent intervention for political and socio-economic crimes.

2.12.8 Day reporting centers

Day Reporting Centers (DRC) originated in Great Britain in the 1970s and in the US in 1986. DRC can be administered publicly or privately and predominantly target offenders who otherwise should be imprisoned in jail or prison. While offenders are permitted to live at home they are generally required to physically report to the center on a regular basis to discuss about their supervision and treatment matters with the center staff. This may include, providing a schedule of their routine activities, and participate in designated programs, services, and activities. Sometimes they may be required to report by phone to the center at different times of the day, to expect random phone checks by center staff during the day and at home following curfew. DRC programme mainly focuses on work or employment programs, education or cognitive skill building programs, counseling especially on domestic violence, alcohol detection and suppression methods, testing of drugs and alcohol programs and other community service programs (Caputo, 2004; Haley, 1997).

My thinking is that given the wide resemblance of this system to our day-school and working systems, there would be easy acceptability of the day reporting centers in Kenya. This would afford family re-unions in the evening; reduce stigmatization of offenders as well as allowing them to take their family roles. The centers would be outsourced to non-governmental organizations especially the religious institutions but funded by the county or national governments.

2.12.9 Halfway Houses or Community Correctional Centers

Halfway houses or community correctional centers are community based residential facilities which provide both offenders and inmates after release with housing, treatment services and resources for employment and education (Caputo, 2004). These are public or private administered Community based residential facilities that provide 24-hour supervision of non-violent offenders beginning in the 1800s in the US. These houses sometimes serve non-offenders like the mentally handicapped or drug addicts and may be homo-or heterogenic in composition. They are mainly used for offenders coming out of prisons and moving back into the community. They provide more structured and controlled community correctional programs but are not as secure as prisons or jails. The offenders find themselves in midway condition between jail or prison and the free community. The groups targeted by this programme include parolees, pre-releases, probationers, pre-trial detainees and individuals on furlough from prison. Halfway houses rely on the local community for health care, substance abuse treatment, counseling services, education facilities, job skills training, and employment placements (Haley, 1997). Halfway houses are recommended as a matter of obligation for prisoners who have spent many years in incarceration rather than directly releasing them into communities as is the case in Kenya today.

2.12.10 Temporary Release Programmes

According to (Haley, 1997) these are programs in which jail or prison inmates get permission on a regular or irregular basis to be absent from their facilities for some short periods in order to engage in approved activities in the community. Temporary release

programs include work release, self-funded or judicial study release and furloughs and targets prison inmates, jail inmates or those in halfway houses.

There are some very emotive African rituals whose absence may cause irreparable damage to the nuclear family members. These include circumcision rituals, wedding and marriage rituals as well as burial ceremonies. Offenders (within the nuclear family) who are not under capital punishment or life sentence should be temporarily released to allow them attendance to such functions.

2.12.11 Intensive Supervision Probation and Parole (Isp)

Intensive supervision Probation and Intensive supervision parole is an alternative to incarceration but which whoever demands stricter conditions and more treatment services than traditional probation or parole for higher risk offenders. Its goal is to increase control over offenders in the community and thereby reduce risk. It's characterized by elaborate and intensive training of supervision officers who also handle small case-loads. Offenders equally receive very restricted supervision such as through several weekly reporting to officers and random testing for drug use, not taking alcohol, mandatory curfews for offenders, requirement that offenders be employed and or retribute their victims or both, mandatory or voluntary enrollment in treatment programs and sometime that offenders meet the costs of their supervision (Caputo, 2004; Haley, 1997; MacKenzie, 2006).

2.12.12 Shock Incarceration/Boot Camp Programs

According to Caputo (2004) shock Incarceration programs, popularly known as "boot camps," are a form of intermediate sanction programs. Programs vary in size, duration, location, control of entry (whether by judiciary or department of corrections), the level of post-program supervision and in the level of training, education, or treatment programming provided. Changing inmate behaviour through non-punitive methods and avoidance of hard labour is the primary goal of all boot camp programs. Other programme goals include securing employment within a week of release, registration in academic or vocational programme in two weeks' time upon release; submitting oneself to mandatory substance abuse counseling; and attending a community network program.

Caputo (2004) further states that boot Camp programs are usually brief extending from three to four months and target offenders who have not yet served time in a state prison. The programs draw on the model of a military boot camp. Strict discipline, obedience, team work, self-discipline, self-respect, regimentation, drill and ceremony, and physical conditioning, and manual labor characterize this program. Program participants are housed separately from the general prison population but sometimes proximate to the neighbourhood of general population inmates. Monitoring includes random urinalysis tests, curfew checks, and home visits among others.

2.13 Theoretical framework

According to Lerner (2017) women practice multiple roles such as taking care for children, family chores e.g. farming, housekeeping, taking care of the sick and the

elderly. Successfully reintegrating women back into their societies is therefore a great advantage to families and cost saving when recidivism is reduced. An appropriate theoretical orientation can inform improvement of both prison based and community corrections. A theory assists to explain and observe regularities and relationships between variables as well suggesting potential problems, predicting facts, assisting in narrowing down the facts and helping to point out knowledge gaps in a study (Abraham, 1982).

2.13.1 Labeling Theory and Social Bond Theories

Labeling and the social bond theories were selected to provide a theoretical framework for this study as they have a symbiotic relationship which supports either unsuccessful or successful reentry of women ex-offenders. The two theories selected are micro-sociological theories and fit well with the general qualitative method adopted in the case design study of this research (Jupp, & Jupp, 1989). The theories capture the reentry process to periods predating their incarceration, during imprisonment and periods after imprisonment thus a holistic theoretical underpinning.

2.13.2 Labeling Theory

Labeling theory by Howard Saul Becker (1963) addresses the societal reaction to outlawed behaviour rather than the causes of crime and how this reaction affects the rule-breaker and why they occur (Miller, 2009; Triplet and Upton, 2015). According to Tierney (2009) the origin of the labeling theory is traced to the interests of sociologists in the United States and Britain in the 1960s. American sociologist Howard Becker is its

main proponent. The sociologists had interest in crime and deviance. Labeling theory has been impacted by symbolic interactionism (such as Cooley 1902 and Mead 1934 and Blumer 1969), phenomenology and Marxism theoretical influences. The impact of symbolic interactionism contribution to the labeling theory has however been mediated by the works of Tannenbaum (1938) in his concept of dramatization of evil which was the first to apply the concepts of symbolic interactionism to criminal behaviour. This was later supported by Lemert (1967) who saw primary deviance as an outcome of social, psychological, cultural and physiological processes (Miller, 2009). Miller (2009) further sees the works of Becker (1963) as providing the key pillars of the labeling theory. The label and stigma for Becker vary from individual offenders and the victim. Later the labeling theory was developed by Shur (1971) and Cohen (1995) in their concepts of stereotyping and amplification respectively. The theory acknowledges the existences of many cultures or subcultures and moral relativism. In regard to criminality Becker's (the chief proponent of labeling theory) argument is that "the deviant is one whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label....there are differences between one society and another regarding what is considered to be deviant" (Tierney, 2009, p. 90).

The implication of this perception is that deviance is a social construct which has both social and psychological outcomes for those defined as offenders and for their subsequent behaviour. Sometimes offenders opt to behave as so labeled thus recidivating.

The labeling theory or the societal reactions approach acknowledges the place of power, both formal as in the Criminal Justice System and informal power such as by families and

communities in the definition of crime and criminals (Winfree & Abadinsky, 2003; Siegel, 2010). The criminal is actually one who has been successfully labeled by the social group (Barlow & Kauzlarich, 2010). According to Winfree and Abadinsky (2003) and Siegel (2010) labeling theory situates the role of power in definition of crime and criminals and captures the societal responses to each of them. Labeling theory also relates to conflict, symbolic interactionism and feminist theories which have tacit implication to the study of women returning home from prison.

For Winfree and Abadinsky (2003), Barlow et. al. (2010), Triplet and Upton (2015) and Williams (2012) labeling theory explains the role of social institutions in allocating people, their actions, beliefs and values some negative reactions such as criminalization. An allocation of a criminal identity status is actually one that is difficult to social-psychologically shed. Unfortunately, the labeled person(s) occasionally reshape their behaviour based on societal reactions and react to society on account of this negative label leading to secondary deviation. Securing a job or housing, stigmatization by families and communities for example, is for many ex-offenders compounded on account of a criminal labeling.

Labeling is a byproduct of a four-step process which involves stereotyping or biased and negative generalization about a group or individuals; retrospective interpretation or looking into the history of a person for hidden indicators explaining the present behaviour particularly the negative; negotiations between the labeled and the labelers on the label through the charge, plea and sentencing and lastly role engulfment which is the way

societies react to individual considered criminal. It is also the apex of the other three processes namely stereotyping, retrospective interpretations and negotiation (Winfrey & Abadinsky (2003).

According to Miller (2009) the Socio-psychological effects of a label is key to the labeling theory. Indeed even a formal label may deny lawful opportunities such as education, employment and marriage. It may be for this reason that the adherents of the labeling theory propose a public policy which strives to reduce stigma connected to being labeled a criminal through decriminalization, diversion, deinstitutionalization, and due process guarantees (Winfrey & Abadinsky ,2003). This is the direction taken by this study if successful reentry is intended. Sensitizing formal and informal social institutions such as families, churches, communities, government and political leadership to drop the negative status symbol of ex-convicts and accepting ex-convicts back into society is the single most important request that was proposed by majority of respondents and FGDs in the study to help them in successful reentry and reintegration. This is only attainable through strengthened bonds to the society and its acceptable norms as discussed in the social bond theory.

2.13.3 Social Bond Theory

Bost (2010) explicitly clarifies that the original intent of Hirsch's Social bond theory (1969) was to explain serious and violent crime among the youth. Bost (2010) further finds that classical criminology and sociology, Durkheimian concept of power and the impact of social governance on social conformity, Hobbles' conviction that creating

community and conforming to social norms has a social origin, have contributed to Hirsch's theoretical ideas.

Travis Hirsch's social bond theory is a social process theory which emphasizes that deterrence to crime is a major dependent of the totality of the social and physical environment forces that connects a person to the society and its moral constraint (Barlow et al., 2010; Siegel, 2010; Winfree & Abadinsky, 2003). For Bost (2010) and Winfree and Abadinsky (2003) man's propensity to crime is markedly reduced through bonds of affectionate to social institutions such as the family and religious formations. The social bond involves attachment to conventional others (like parents, peers, teachers, friends), commitment, involvement and belief or value system and is nurtured in early childhood, extends to early life and adolescence and is affected both by the strength and the stability of the bond. Crime happens when any of these bonds is weakened. The theory permits exploration of differences in rates of crime between men and women and also the criminal rate differentials amongst ethnic and racial groups.

According to Bost (2010) the social bond theory is anchored in four interconnected key elements namely attachment to significant others; commitment to conventional behaviour; involvement in conventional activities and belief in the societal normative system. Attachment in the social bond theory refers to affection and sensitivity to members of the social group especially parents, peers and teachers. Absence of attachment leads to lack of internalization of both norms and values and subsequently a sentence of freedom to deviate. The second element is commitment which entails

investing in conventional norms and rules for example by not engaging in adult activities like smoking, drinking and sex but rather having positive educational and occupational dreams. Indeed personal achievement positioning, academic and career expectations and entry into adult status are the three key pillars which define commitment. Involvement is the third element and basically involves the level of active membership in conventional activity such as time spent with friends or recreation and avoidance of idleness. Fourth and last element is belief in socially approved values and a rejection of unconventional values as engaging in crime requires one to disregard their moral beliefs (Bost, 2010; Siegel, 2010; Winfree & Abadinsky, 2003).

Building pro-social bonds, participating in crime prevention conventional activities and repairing of earlier social bonds or even creating new social bonds has implications for reentry. Furthermore needs assessment and identification of specific strengths and weaknesses for construction of intervention is made with part placed on the individual and partly on others. The individual's external environment such as one's social ties, networks and institutions actually become the principal focus of intervention for crime desistance (Grommon, 2013).

This theory best captures the reentry and reintegration process indirectly from the ex-offenders perspective but more extensively on their external environment. This is consistent with the labeling theory's key principle that others, more than the individual ex-convict, contain the power to laying structures for successful reentry and reintegration.

In summary avoiding labeling others as criminals and creating intimate ties with ex-offenders is the best pathway to reentry, crime desistance and re-integration. If the criminal label is dropped and social bonds strengthened the challenges, the effects of the challenges, the coping mechanism, practices and policies will be friendlier and supportive to reentry. Anything to the contrary makes reentry an uphill task.

2.14 Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework according to Mugenda (2008) provides an overview, structure or skeleton of the study; it is a specific description of the phenomenon under study usually in a graphic or visual presentation of the key research concepts. The study investigated reentry challenges for women offenders in Nyeri County based on five key areas namely employment, housing, relationships, health and drug and substance abuse. The effects of the challenges, coping mechanism and societal response were similarly studied. These formed the independent variables of the study while reentry and reintegration are the dependent variable.

The Pathway to successful reentry and reintegration as captured in the conceptual framework (Fig 1.1.) is dependent on how the challenges, the effects, coping mechanisms and societal reaction in terms of practices and policies are addressed. If societal reaction for example to the women returning home is moderated the label and stigma by families and communities would be reduced and the social bond enhanced leading to improved relationships as well as access to legitimate opportunities such as education, employment, housing and marriage. Indeed Travis Hirsch's social bond theory emphasizes that

deterrence and desistance to crime is a major dependent of the totality of the social and physical environment forces that connects a person to the society and its moral constraint (Barlow et al., 2010; Siegel, 2010; Winfree & Abadinsky, 2003). This would positively impact on other social and psychological outcomes for the returnees and their subsequent behaviour such as desistance from drug and substance abuse and improved mental health. This pathway thus offers a public policy proposal which desires to reduce stigma connected to being labeled a criminal through decriminalization, diversion, deinstitutionalization, and due process guarantees (Winfree & Abadinsky, 2003).

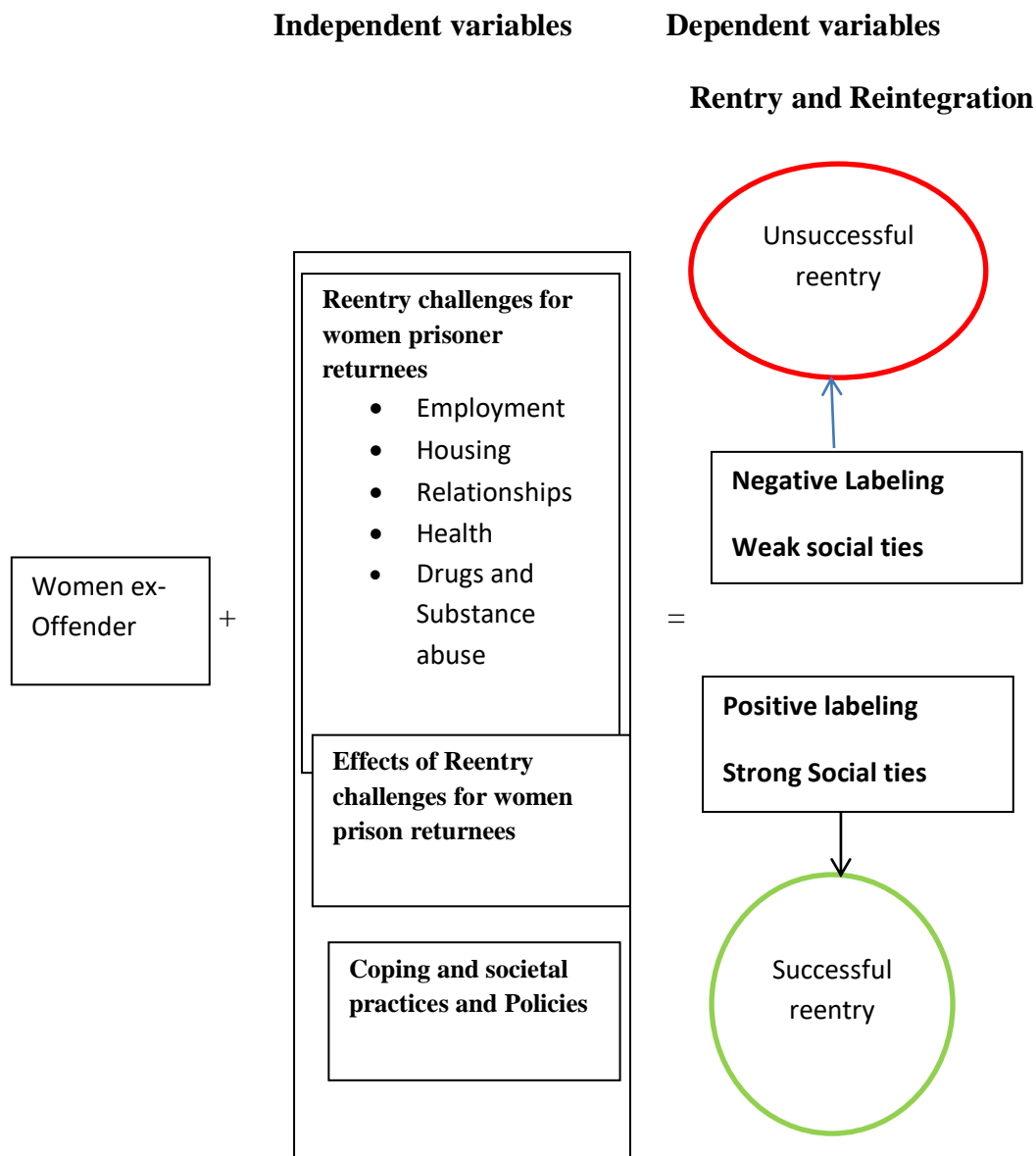


Figure 1.1: Women reentry: A Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher

Qualitative study concerns itself with how the variables interact with each other. In this study for example, the challenges of reentry such as housing, employment and relationships, their effects to the returnees, how they cope and the societal practices and policies may produce two pathways. If they are rejected, discriminated, stigmatized and unsupported by the society (labeling theory), reentry and reintegration becomes nearly

impossible. If on the other hand they rejuvenate their relationships (social bond theory) especially with the family reentry and reintegration becomes smooth. The background characteristics of the respondents would however acts as intervening variables.

2.15 Chapter Summary

The challenges ex-convicts, particularly women, returning home from prisons face; the effects of these challenges when not addressed, the coping mechanisms to the challenges and how the challenges can be addressed was the main subject of the literature review. The issues raised by Western European and North American based researchers were discovered not to have been directly addressed for women ex-offenders returning home in Kenya. Except for offenders leaving prison on probation upon an appeal the country has no reentry programs. The presumption is that in-prison programs are adequately preparatory for successful or good life post-release experiences, crime desistance and reintegration for women returning home.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter gives highlights of the practical steps and techniques which were followed in the process of conducting the field study. The chapter makes discussions on site selection, research design, target population, unit of analysis and observation, sample and sampling procedures. The research instruments, data collection and data analysis and ethical considerations in the research are also discussed.

3.2. Site Selection and Description

Kenya is divided into forty-seven counties (Republic of Kenya, 2010). Nyeri County was purposively selected as the site of the research study. Nyeri County is located between Mt. Kenya and the Aberdare ranges in Central Kenya. According to the 2009 national census by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2010) the County covers an area of about 3,337.1 square kilometers and a population of 693,558 persons. The population density was 208 against the national average density of 66. According to The National Police Service (2017) statistics on crime for 2016 indicate that Nyeri recorded a 7% increase in crime compared to the previous year, 2015. The crime index per 100,000 of her 693, 558 was 258 calculated on the 1,792 incidences of crime reported. These crime figures placed Nyeri County 11th in rank nationally amongst the 47 Counties.

Nyeri County is home to King'ong'o Prison which houses the Maximum and Medium prisons for men as well as the Nyeri women's prison. The women prison holds offenders

from courts and those transferred from other female facilities after conviction or under remand. The women prison accommodates women on death row and murder suspects especially from Lang'ata women prison while attending court sessions in Nyeri. Inmates with children below four years of age are allowed to live with their children (Kaguta, 2014).

According to Elkins (2005) Nyeri County was at the heart of *Mau* liberation movement and formed the main battle fields during the country's struggle for independence specifically from October 1952 until December 1963 when the country attained her independence. During this period women actively participated in sustaining the movement and were in return detained together with their children in villages. Brutal mechanisms were used to gain confessions from Mau Mau suspects both men and women.

Elkins (2005) observes that:

electric shock was widely used, as well as cigarette and fire. Bottles (often broken), gun barrels, knives, snakes, vermin and hot eggs were thrust up men's rectums and women's vaginas. The screening teams whipped, shot, burned, and mutilated Mau Mau suspects, ostensibly to gather intelligence for military operations, and as court evidence (p. 66).

Currently, Nyeri women are imaged by mainstream and social media as independent, violent and engaging in domestic and property crimes (Mose, 2016; Wambugu, 2016). The collapse of the masculine coffee economy in the late 1990's and early 2000's resulted in men turning to alcoholism. This resulted to frustration among the females in the region and has escalated incidences of domestic violence, sour relationships and increased financial burden on women who are tasked to raise their children on their own.

Lastly the County was also home to the early missionaries such as the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Africa (P.C.E.A) and the Roman Catholic Church which founded mission centers, schools and health facilities as early as in the mid-1920s (Baur, 1994). This may influence offender reentry based on the Gospel invitation for forgiveness and reconciliation. In the Catholic Archdiocese of Nyeri for example it's not uncommon to find Christian groups organizing themselves to make visits to the prisons. CARITAS Nyeri, an initiative of the Catholic Church, has had a Restorative, Justice and Empowerment programme (RJEP) strategy for both men and women exiting King'ong'o prison regardless of their religious affiliation serving Nyeri and parts of Laikipia Counties. Between 2013 and 2015 the programme focused on rehabilitation of ex-offenders but from 2015 to its closure in December of 2018 the welfare of the victims was also factored through Victim Offender mediation (VOM) initiatives. The program was funded by its sister association; CARITAS Germany.

3.3. Research Design

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006) research design is the “structure of research” or “an arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data” (p. 70). The research design provides the broad outline and shape the study takes. Research design also lays out the methods of data collection and analysis (Scott & Marshall, 2009). Naughton, Rolfe, & Siraj-Blatchford (2010) describes Research design as “...the creative process of translating a research idea into a set of decisions about how the research will proceed in practice...a range of approaches to the problem to be researched” (p.105).

The study used qualitative research design which has been in use since 1920s and 1930s, and the 1960s studies of Chicago School and amongst British Criminologists respectively and enables the development of policy-oriented studies for crime management and control as well as theoretically-oriented explanations to the causes of crime (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). The qualitative approach allows data collection on a natural setting and allows the researcher to collect data themselves (Creswell, 2014).

Phenomenological approach was adapted in this study as together with the grounded theory, case study, ethnography, content analysis, conversation and discourse analysis are popular across the social and health sciences like criminological research (Creswell, 2014; Crow & Natasha, 2007). The design originates in philosophy and psychology and permits the researcher to describe the lived experiences of the respondents about the subjective meanings of their experiences through in-depth interviews (Creswell, 2014). The meanings comprise physical, emotional and mental experiences as well as perceptions emerging from contextual settings (Routledge, 2013).

3.4. Unit of Analysis and Observation

The individual women respondents returning home after release from prison without any form of correctional supervision are both the units of analysis and observation.

3.5. Target Population

Kothari (2004) and Mugenda (2008) define population as a statistical term which refers to the whole group of individuals, objects, items, cases, articles or things with common

attribute or characteristics. The research investigated women who had been incarcerated either in a prison or remand prison for a period exceeding three months but not exceeding six years prior to the interview. This facilitated easy recall of the happenings before, during and after imprisonment.

The narratives were generated from in-depth qualitative interviews with forty one (41) women ex-convicts and key informants comprising of the prison chaplain, prison officials, government and community leaders. Other narratives were made from three Focused Group Discussion raised from three cohorts namely family members of ex-convicts, prison welfare staff and select community members. Two ex-convicts contacted for the study flatly declined to be interviewed.

3.6. Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

A smaller group, a sub-group, part, proportion or representative of a population that is obtained from the target population or the population of interest but which has shared characteristics is called a sample (Bachman & Schutt, 2003; Lind, Marschal & Wathen, 2006; Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) describe sampling as the process of selecting the subject or cases to be included in the sample.

Despite the data for women exiting prison being available in correctional facilities, the same could not be accessed for this study. Owing to this limitation, a non-probability sampling (purposive) was adopted in gathering the data. Through working with CARITAS Nyeri (the philanthropic arm of the Catholic Archdiocese of Nyeri) that had some contacts and the local administration, the survey sought to reach out to the

identified ex-convicts. Further, snowballing exercise was conducted where the contacted ex-convicts referred the researcher to other ex-convicts. In total, 41 female ex-convicts whose ordinary residence is within Nyeri County were interviewed for the survey. The women were largely from Nyeri women prison and very few from Nanyuki and Murang'a prisons.

The specific sampling procedures used in the study involved the following steps:

1. Nyeri County was purposively selected as the site of the research study.
2. In absence of a sampling frame, available contacts were made with the ex-convicts for possible inclusion in the survey through CARITAS Nyeri, local administration and snowballing. The process yielded interviews with 41 women ex-convicts.
3. Interviews with the available ex-convicts were conducted at their homes or in a secured office in Nyeri town or any other place convenient to the respondents.
4. Key informants were selected based on their areas of expertise and relevance to the study and interviews were mainly booked and conducted in their offices. The selection for Focus Groups participants varied depending on the target. The community group participants were drawn from various sub-counties in Nyeri County, affected families group members were recruited during the interview with ex-convict whereas the prison staff participants were members of the prison welfare.
5. All these interviews were recorded for transcribing purposes. Field notes were also taken immediately after the interviews.

3.7 Data collection instruments

Qualitative data was collected using an interview schedule which varied based on the target respondents. Depending on the literacy levels of the respondents, the language for administration varied from English to vernacular which allowed them to freely express themselves.

The discussion guides were useful for both the researcher and the respondents as both parties were able to clarify the amount of emphasis on each topic area and the flow of the interview. The design of the instrument (discussion guides) also helped in building up researcher/respondent rapport, as they acted as a reference tool and a solid foundation for the in-depth interviews or group discussion to build upon increasing confidence and trust for both parties. The tools also helped to accommodate illiterate and semi-illiterate respondents as it was orally administered in face-to-face interviews. Researcher administration of the interview schedule was also aimed at achieving higher response rates, make observations and ensure certainty that questions were answered by the purposed interviewees (Bachman & Schutt, 2003; Bryman, 2016; Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999; UNODC, 2009). The method of data capture included reading questions, audio-digital recording and field notes.

3.7.1. Collection of Qualitative Data

The research employed qualitative research methods of data collection through In-depth one-on-one interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Qualitative methods currently enjoy wide acceptance in criminology research especially where official police statistics and records are missing (Kerley, 2013; Lawston & Lucas, 2011; Noaks &

Wincup, 2004). The qualitative method however has the disadvantage of proneness to eliciting inappropriate answers and is time consuming in regard to data collection, coding and analysis (Agboola, 2016).

The qualitative techniques are key in uncovering deep rooted sentiments and views which would otherwise be impossible to unearth in a quantitative interview. This is because respondents are able to freely disclose their experiences, thoughts and feelings in their own words without constraint owing to usage of discussion guide as opposed to a questionnaire (Agboola, 2016; Ellis, 2009; Kothari, 2004; Larner, 2017; Wesley, 2018).

3.7.2 Focused Groups Discussions

The focus groups were key in this study as they enabled the participants to share collectively their perceptions on women re-entering society and make assessment on what can be done to ensure full re-integration. In total three focus groups were conducted among prison welfare staff, affected families and community members. The prison welfare staffs were six while both the family and community focus groups had eight participants each.

Focused Group discussion (FGD) refers to a mainly qualitative research technique of interviewing in which more than one interviewee, normally not less than four are involved. The groups need to be large enough to generate rich discussion but not so big that some participants are left out (Bryman, 2016). The prison welfare FGD comprised two social workers, a counsellor and three religious welfare staff who were directly

involved in dealing with women convicts and sometimes also the ex-convicts. The group session took place inside King'ng'o prison. Respondents from the affected families were recruited during the interview with ex-convicts and invited to a central place in Nyeri town for the focus group discussion. In regard to the community group participants, members were recruited from the eight subcounties in Nyeri County and needed to have known of an ex-convict in their locality. This group session was also held in Nyeri town to facilitate travel due to its central location.

The interview schedule guided the participants in contributing their opinions. The sessions were recorded to allow for capturing of the information after the sessions.

3.7.3 Key Informants Interviews (KII)

Unlike Focus Groups, the KII were conducted among experts who on regular basis interact with women in prison and exiting prisoners as well as their families. Owing to their professions, the KII are an authority in the field of study. In total, nine KII were conducted and represented prison chaplain, County commissioner, regional, county and sub-county probation officers, officer in charge Nyeri women prison, In-charge CARITAS Nyeri, and local administration involving a chief and nyumba kumi representative.

3.7.4 In-depth Interviews

This was the primary source of information. The technique works like the Key Informants Interviews (KII) as it is a one-on-one interview. This provided an opportunity

for the ex-convicts to share their experiences, expectations, challenges and coping mechanism while freely allowing the moderator to ask questions based on their responses. The methodology also offered an opportunity to the respondents to freely engage in a confidential way given the sensitivity of the subject.

3.8. Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

The researcher piloted the research instruments in Murang'a County in November of 2018 because of geographic and social-economic similarities with Nyeri County. The pilot study involved three women ex-convicts and a prison staff. This was done to test the research instruments for validity and nature of information likely to be collected. Validity refers to ability of instrument to measure what they purport to (Lind, Marschal & Wathen (2006). Respondents in the pilot study were excluded in the actual research study. The revised draft of the instruments accommodated in as far as it was possible the gains from pilot study. The actual data for the study was collected for transcribing and analysis between December 2018 and end of February 2019.

3.9 Data Analysis

The qualitative approach produced enormous body of textual material in terms of transcripts from the survey audiotapes and field notes. Qualitative data was processed through content analysis. The audios were transcribed in order to identify themes and patterns. To analyze the qualitative data, themes were generated from the transcripts by using NVivo Software. The software systematically groups unstructured text into structured themes through identifying key-words-in contexts (KWIC) i.e. themes are

generated through ‘word frequency counts and text word queries’ from all the transcripts instantly. The analysed data was further interpreted in line with the research objectives in order to generate the report and recommendations.

3.10. Ethical Considerations

According to Bachman and Schutt (2003), Kothari (2004), Mugenda (2008) and UNODC (2009) great diligence and attention is required in carrying out research study. Some of these considerations include maintaining systematic and objective procedures prior to data collection, as well as in collecting, processing, analyzing and interpreting data, and sharing of findings. The researcher identified himself appropriately to all the respondents, stated the purpose of the research, promised confidentiality and privacy and allowed questions prior to the interview session. Free and informed consent of the respondents was verbally procured prior to conducting the interviews. Confidentiality is similarly important while dealing with information accessed in informal discussions with respondents. In this study, Pseudo names and not connected to the interviewees were generated from the women in the bible and allocated to the respondents to conceal and protect their identities.

According to Yeboah (2009) criminological research requires a lot of sensitivity as it involves disadvantaged and vulnerable offenders. He further indicates other ethical issues that include accurate disclosures on the research study, financial reimbursements or fees to the subjects and upholding the rights and dignity of the research subjects. Written recommendation to carry out this study was given by Moi University’s department of

Sociology and Psychology while the research license was granted by the National Commission for science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Further authorities at the County level were granted by the County Commissioner and the County director of education after submitting the research proposal for scrutiny. Lastly, the researcher did not notice any significant conflict of interest as to influence the findings of this study in the course of carrying out the research study.

3.11. Chapter Summary

The study used qualitative research design and a phenomenological approach due to their popularity in criminological research. The research site, the key informants and the Focus group discussion membership was purposively selected. Purposive sampling and snowballing was used in selection of women ex-offenders until saturation was attained and no more new knowledge was being generated. The sample size included 41 women ex-convicts, nine key informants and three Focus Groups.

A semi-structured interview schedule appropriate to the three categories of respondents was applied to collect data from the research subjects. Secondary data was picked from existing sources. Data processing and analysis was done through computer based software for qualitative data analysis called NVivo. The study factored in several ethical considerations, and acquired relevant research permits.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1.Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion involving data analysis, presentation of relevant outcomes from data analysis and interpretation(s) of the research findings. The major discussions are laid according to the research objectives. These include the challenges women returnees face; how the challenges affect them; the coping mechanisms to the challenges and solutions and policy proposals. An opening presentation on the biographical overview of the respondents is made. A summary of the chapter concludes the discourse.

4.2.Interviews Response Rate

The response rate was good. Forty-one women ex-convicts met the criteria of having served time in a prison or remand prison for a period exceeding three months, released from prison and returned to a home in Nyeri within a period not exceeding six years before the interview. The following personal descriptions were generated from the general profile of the research participants. The women's age range was between 22 to 70 years old. The overwhelming majority – 39 of them had been incarcerated in Nyeri women prison, one in Nanyuki and another in Murang'a women prison respectfully. The marital status of the women ex-offenders included 11 currently married, 10 widowed, and 14 separated while 6 had never been married.

There were nine Key informants who included the officer in charge Nyeri women prison, the Roman Catholic Chaplaincy who is also an assistant director of Kenya Prison Services, the Nyeri County Commissioner, Central Region Probation Coordinator, County probation director, Sub-County Probation officer, CARITAS officer in charge of rehabilitation programme in Nyeri Catholic Diocese, Chief and “Nyumba Kumi” elder.

Three focus group discussions were made. The groups had representation of six prison staff, eight family members and relatives and eight members from the community. Members of the family and community in the respective FGDs were drawn from the eight sub-counties forming Nyeri County. Only two ex-convict strongly declined to be interviewed on the basis that their prison experiences were too traumatizing to be recounted.

The high response rate and accompanying certainty that the questions received answers from the purposed interviewees was attained because of the researcher’s administration of the interview schedule (Bryman, 2016; UNODC, 2009). The response rate also indicates the willingness of the research subjects to consent to interviews when necessary authorizations are demonstrated and privacy and confidentiality assured.

4.3. Biographical Overview of the Research Participants

Background information of the study respondents formed an essential context of the research objectives as indicated in Table 4.1 in the appendices. The findings are discussed in this section and include such themes as age distribution, marital status,

family size, education level, crimes committed, duration spent in detention and offenders prison training amongst others as shown in Table 4.2 in the appendices.

4.4. Age distribution

Two thirds (68%) of the ex-convicts interviewed were in the age category of 30-49 years as shown in the Figure 4.1 an indication they were mainly of productive age with children who were dependent on them at the time of incarceration. These finding corresponded with the information from the key informants who estimated the age of majority female convicts to be between 20-45 years thus disruptive on parenting. The families and community members that have interacted with ex-convicts also concurred with the finding as they lamented that convictions are disruptive to family lives as majority of convicts are mainly in their reproductive age of 25-45years.

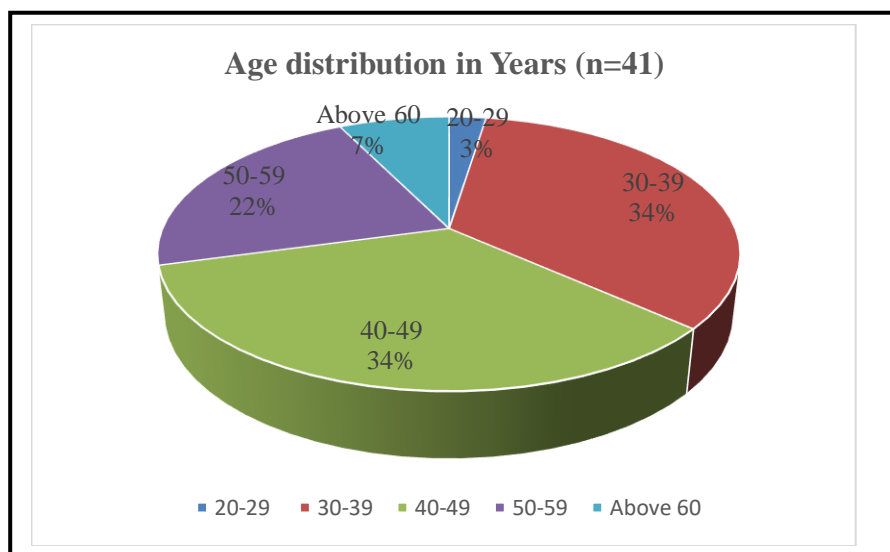


Figure 4.1: Age distribution of Respondents

Minority were those aged between 20-29 years (3%) followed by 7% for those above 60 years. This implies that crime rate among these groups is quite low as compared to those aged between 30-49 years. This age pattern is consistent of a women population taking care of dependent children or supporting others under severe social-economic difficulties (Gunnison et. al., 2016; Haires, 2007).

4.5. Marital status

A total of 73% of the ex-convicts interviewed are living alone independent of a husband or an intimate partner after prison, either as widows, separated or never married with their children or grandchildren as shown in the Figure 4.2. This indicates majority of the ex-convicts assumes the role of bread winner for the family upon release leading to a rise in female headed households in Nyeri County. This means that the women played the authority figure in their families and undertook routine decisions for their households (KNBS, 2014).

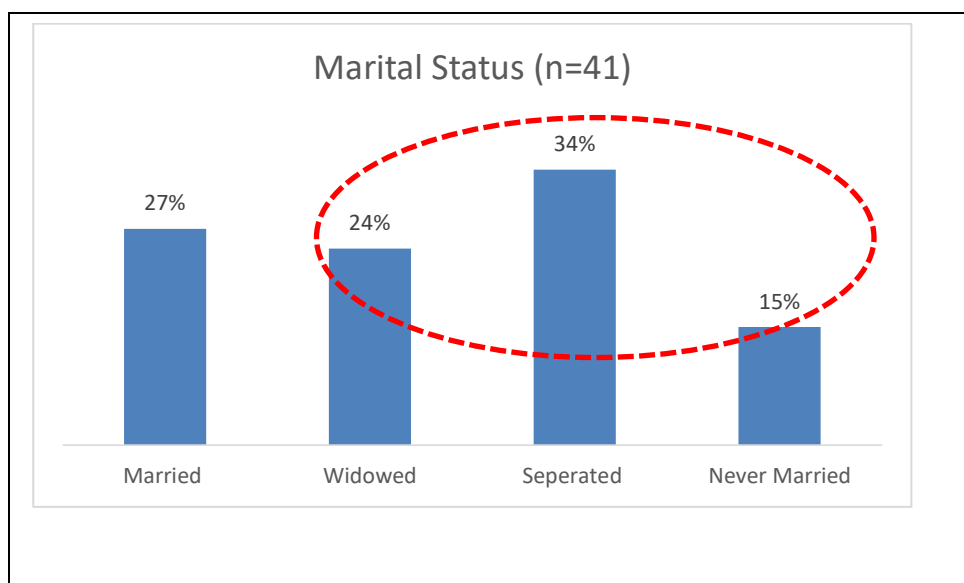


Figure 4.2: Marital status of Respondents

An officer in charge of female prison in Nyeri, observed that “convicts who come to prison as married leave as separated at the time of release or immediately after”. The immediate family members and the community also indicated marriages disintegrate upon imprisonment. “Majority are single mothers, poor and struggling to take care of their children” as was indicated in the discussion with prison welfare staffs. The marital status also resonates to the fact that quite a number of the women ex-offenders had committed crimes directly connected to an abusive past or violent domestic environment (Bonta et al., 2008; Coll & Duff, 2011).

4.6. Family Size of Ex-convicts

Based on the information gathered from the ex-convicts, over 70% of them had 3 or more children in their homes as indicated in Table 4.2. This is an indication that their involvement in crime may have been due to the need to support others rather than

themselves (Gunnison et. al, 2016; Stathopoulos and Quadara, 2014). The results show that majority (55.2%) of the children (dependents) were either taking care of themselves, staying with relatives or in Children’s homes upon the detention of their mothers. This indicates that incarceration provides a hasty interruption, both physical and emotional, for families at a critical formative age for children when mother’s nurturing role is needed. Such a state usually has an impact on the life and growth process of the child. This in turn can lead to future involvement in crime by the children.

Table 4.1: Family size of ex-convicts

Family Size	Frequency	Percentage
Childless	2	4.9%
1 Child	4	9.8%
2 Children	6	14.6%
3 Children	11	26.8%
4 Children	11	26,8%
5 Children	4	9.8%
Above 5 children	3	7.3%
Total	41	100%

4.7. Education Levels of the Ex-Convicts

Over three quarters of the ex-convicts interviewed had not completed secondary school education. 62% indicated they have education up to primary level as shown in Table 4.2. The classification is also in line with the observation made by a majority of the key informants as well as the community who observed that most of the convicts are primary or secondary school drop outs. Low education level and lack of employment remain great challenges to offender reentry (Holtfreter & Morash, 2013; Lerner, 2017; Petersilia, & Petersilia, (2003). The low education level also makes it difficult for gainful employment

forcing victims into crime. Unfortunately, these challenges which characterize the initial prison entry are often unmet within the prison system and are even harder to meet after leaving prison (Gunnison et.al., 2016).

Table 4.2: Highest Education Level

Highest Level of Education Achieved	Frequency	Percentage
No Education	2	5%
Primary Incomplete	8	19.5%
Primary Complete	15	36.5%
Secondary Incomplete	6	14.6%
Secondary Complete	8	19.5%
College Incomplete	1	2.4%
College Complete	1	2.4%
Total	41	100%

The above findings were also supported by the community members' focus group discussion where they noted

“these people are mainly of primary school education level or drop-out in primary or secondary schools. Due to low exposure they end up committing crimes without necessarily thinking the consequences of their actions”.

Respondents reporting low education levels produce poor conflict management skills and overwhelming employment challenges. This may create relationship crisis and economic burden leading to increased likelihood of violent crimes and involvement in property crimes for purposes of supporting their livelihood and those dependent on them.

4.8. Categories of Crimes Committed by the Ex-convicts

About half (51.2%) of the ex-convicts had committed crimes related to ‘crimes against persons’. Other crimes committed by a significant number of ex-convicts included possession of dangerous drugs (17.0%) and theft of stock (9.8%) as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Categories of Crimes committed

Categories of Crimes committed	Percentage
Crimes against persons	51.2%
Robbery	2.4%
Theft of stock	9.8%
Dangerous Drugs	17.0%
Criminal damage	2.4%
Economic crimes	7.0%
Corruption	2.4%
Other Penal code offenses	7.4%
Total	100%

The results indicated the crimes were mainly connected to relationships and search for income in order to support their families. Crimes against persons which include murder, assault and child neglect relate to relationships while theft of stock crime such as stealing and handling stolen property together with the economic crimes such as bribery and forgery are connected to the search for improved income.

4.9. Specific crimes committed

Murder topped the list of crimes committed following drug possession and assault as shown in Figure 4.3 below. This was also supported by prison staff discussion group who indicated that common crimes mainly consist of :-

“Assault, child neglect, stealing by servant, murder, robbery with violence, drugs – using or selling narcotics and drunkardness”

Women ex-offenders who were widowed, single or living with unsupportive or abusive partners faced diverse economic hardships. This to some great extent explains the high incidences of assault, child neglect, murder (which mainly targets abusive partners) and selling of drugs for income generation.

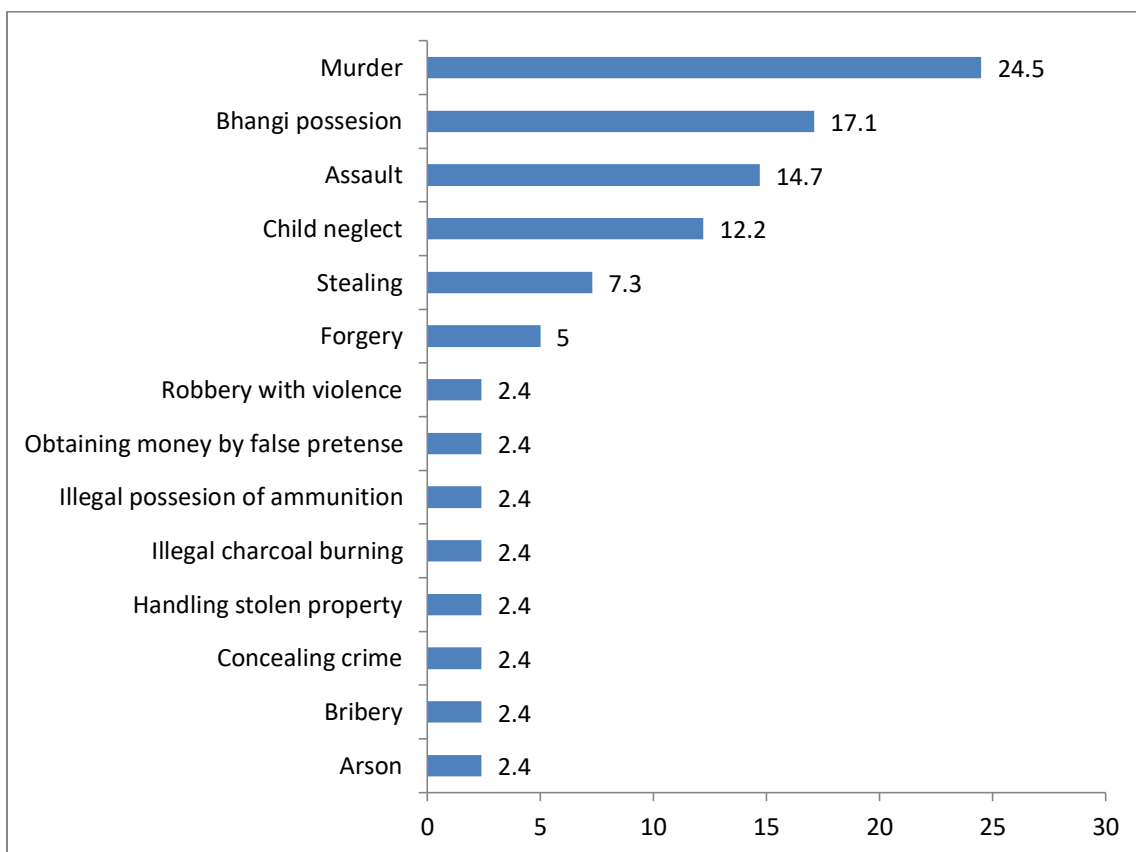


Figure 4. 3: Crimes committed by Respondents

Critical analysis of the crime committed by the respondents indicates two major divisions consistent with profiling of the Nyerian woman as violent and likely to engage in domestic and property crimes (Mose, 2016; Wambugu, 2016). The crimes of murder,

assault, arson, robbery with violence and illegal possession of ammunition at aggregated 45% possess a spontaneous violent character. Possession and sale of bhang, stealing, forgery, bribery, handling stolen property, illegal charcoal burning and obtaining money by false pretense are crimes linked to poverty, unemployment and the burden of having to raise families by themselves (Haires, 2007).

The research further sought to understand if the crimes committed had any link with previous abusive experiences whether in early childhood or marriage. About 20% of them indicated they actually experienced abusive experiences that in a way pushed them to crime or to commit crimes against their close family members. Some of these abusive experiences included domestic violence, alcoholism in the family and physical abuse by parents. Zipporah, an ex-convict while recounting her early childhood experience lamented about how her mother treated her;

‘Our mother used to beat me, she was selling alcohol and I would be kicked out of the house to sleep in the cold outside.’

Early exposure to violence and alcohol has connection to crime propensity in later years. Negative treatment by mothers has negative consequences for the upbringing of their daughters as they are their primary care givers (Davies, 2011). Indeed according to Haires (2007) past physical abuse in childhood, domestic violence, absent or poor housing have big implications in leading women to crime in later years.

4.10. Years Spent in Prison/ Remand

Majority of the ex-convicts interviewed spent three years and below with only 19% of them being jailed for more than 4 years. This is indicated in figure 4.4 below.

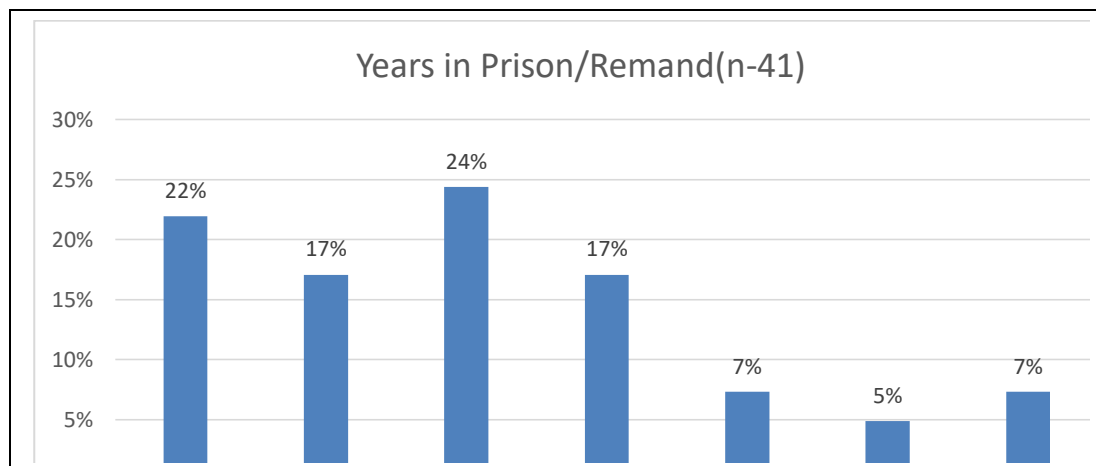


Figure 4.4: Years spent in prison by Respondents

Those jailed below one year form the largest single cohort of women prison periods. Majority of those jailed for more than 5 years were initially prosecuted or detained for murder, but their sentences may have been reduced to manslaughter or infanticide during the court process thus reducing time spent in prison. According to Gunnison et. al. (2016) four in ten (40%) of inmates leave prison within a year of imprisonment. Lawston and Lucas (2011) however state that some may spend longer times waiting for trial and sentencing. When this happens it totally affects a woman's self-esteem.

4.11. Years Since the Last Incarceration

Although this was a selection criterion, a majority of the ex-convicts interviewed had spent over two years since they left prison as shown below in Table 4.4 below

Table 4.4: Years since last incarceration

No. of years since last incarceration	Frequency	% Frequency
Below 2 years	12	29.3%
Between 2-4 years	14	34.1%
4-6 years	15	36.6%
	41	100

4.12. Feelings During Release

Expectedly, all ex-convicts were very happy upon release irrespective of crime committed or where they were to go next. Majority being mothers, they were very excited to be re-united with their children and to a good extent their families. Jael an ex-convict exclaimed;

“I missed my first born because at that time I had one child, I was always scared for my child and parents. Secondly I was missing my old life of freedom”. Overall, none of the ex-convicts had sweet memories of the prison experience.

However, a few had some fears especially on how they will be received by their families and the community at large. Candace, one of the ex-convict opined

“You know coming out of the jail, the community will look at you differently.... Mtu wa jela... to them you are like a monster. For the community it is not about what you did, but by the mere fact you were in jail, you are a bad person”

Considering the two responses from Jael and Candace, one would say that upon release, women convicts have mixed feelings, on the one hand, they are happy to experience freedom again but on the other hand they are fearful and anxious about how they will live, be received and relate with others in the family and community.

Some of the ex-convicts however had their joys cut short when they went home and they either did not have a home to go back to as their rental houses and property had already been taken while others had lost their loved ones during incarceration. Jezebel, tearfully explained how she received shocking news of her son while on her way home

“While on the way home I was informed my son had died and was awaiting burial. This saddened me, I wondered, what a welcome”.

This narrative exposes the agonizing emotional experiences women offenders and their kin face when death of an immediate family member occurs and they cannot attend to their burial. Haley (1997) opines that absence from prison would be permissible in such cases for short periods under temporary release programs. This would potentially benefit non-capital or non-life convicts (within the nuclear family) especially within African communities where burial, circumcision and marriage rituals are considered sacrosanct.

Depending on the crime and the timing of release, some were picked at the prison gate by their relatives and had parties to welcome them back home. However, these were exemptions rather than the norm. Those who were received by family members and friends had easier re-entry and re-integration stories to tell compared to those who were

rejected. Merab who had been separated from her husband, for example, who was warmly received back home had the following to share;

“My parent’s side received me well. A party was organized where collective reconciliation was advocated for anyone who may have talked ill of me”.

This narrative manifests the great joys ex-offenders go through when they are pleasantly received back into the communities by their families. Actually offenders price family accommodation, emotional, financial, social and psychological capital soon after release from incarceration (Larner, 2017; McIvor, 2004; Pager, 2007; Visher, 2004). Merab’s children later worked for a re-union between their parents. This eventually made her husband’s relatives who had been hostile upon release forgive and accept her back into the extended family.

4.13. Prisoners Training

The prison offers various courses to convicts. These range from vocational training to adult education. Some of the training offered to the female ex-convicts include: counselling, tailoring, knitting, embroidery, baking, organic farming, detergent making, hair dressing, bead works and crocheting (duvet, dolly and carpet making)

However, only about half (65.9%) of the ex-convicts interviewed participated in the training. This was either because of the length of stay at prison, crimes committed or were held at remand. Ordinarily, the training is offered to inmates detained for a period exceeding a year and those in remand do not receive any training at all because they are not yet convicted.

Despite about half (65.9%) of them being trained in various trades, only a few (9.8%) indicated the training was useful to them after leaving prison. One of the ex-convict, Merab, who had been trained on dress making indicated the training had not been useful- “No, not using as am doing other profitable things such as tea farming and a retail shop”. Others cited lack of capital, lack of interest as well as lack of market for the trade as the reasons for the training being un-useful to them. The same information was corroborated by the prison workers and probation officers who indicated that some skills taught may be hard to implement depending on the prisoners’ background yet the prisoners are not allowed to select the training they prefer. One of the county probation officers noted;

“Most of the courses are already overtaken by technology. These are the training inherited from the colonialist and passed on through generations. Whatever they are practicing outside, there is technology but the training is old fashioned. The prison department should try to advance to be in line with what we have today”

Despite this observation it must be recognized however, that low education level would still block majority of the ex-offenders’ to training in jobs requiring modernized technology. The ex-offenders would never the less benefit from prison training which factors their level of education, interests and existing skills to support some informal income generation. This was reported in a few of the instances.

However, there were few cases (9.8%) of ex-convicts being able to eke a living from the trainings offered at the prison especially those who engaged in farming or a trade they were doing before imprisonment. Candace, who was a peer educator before imprisonment was one of those who benefitted and had the following to say when asked on the usefulness of the training

“...yes, peer counselling has helped me settle in the community. I was doing counselling and I feel the urge to continue. Currently am a peer counselor in the church and the community and I have never downgraded myself”.

A prison officer indicated she has met ex-convicts who after leaving prison are living a better life than before through earnings made from the training received in prison.

Others (4.9%) appreciated the training offered and in some cases the equipment's offered on leaving prison like sewing machines, but unfortunately, the usefulness of the equipment's was short-lived as they did not have start-up capital to enable buy necessary working inputs. Jemima, was one such beneficiary who got a sewing machine but she could not afford the lengths of cloths as she explained;

“I was trained on tailoring which was good.... I was given a machine but my biggest challenge is of lack of materials owing to capital.”

This narrative by Jemima identifies the utility of some form of prison training such as tailoring. The practical usefulness of the training is unfortunately inhibited by the limited initial gift of relevant materials as they exit prison and lack of a startup capital. This problem is not unique as in most of the cases the ex-offenders face poverty and unemployment (Haires, 2007).

Despite the ex-convicts appreciating the training, in some cases it ended up being unutilized owing to lack of capital. This should however be interpreted within the context of offenders' poor formal education levels (Larner, 2017).

4.14. Challenges facing women returnees in Nyeri County

The first objective of this study was to find out the challenges facing women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County. The findings are discussed in this section and relate to housing, employment, relationships, drugs and substance abuse as well as mental health and related others. The researcher directly encountered some of these challenges during the field study to unearth the challenges women returnees encounter. In one of the unfortunate instances associated with Kikuyu patriarchal system, a father informally requested the researcher to counsel the daughter ex-convict to vacate home as the land was only available for his sons. One youthful returnee found her husband married to another woman upon return and confided her frustrations in wanting to establish a new intimate relationship due to her criminal past. Lastly another re-married ex-convict woman had been reminded by her husband about his regrets for having married an ex-convict against the advice of his family.

4.15. Housing

Before arrest, majority (85.4%) of the female convicts lived with their immediate families such as husbands or mothers in their homes or rented houses. However, on release housing became a major problem and a majority (61.0%) neither went back to their homes nor the houses they had rented before. Some (9.8%) actually found that their houses had been rent out to others and their personal belongings lost. A few (7.3%), actually three, got married soon after release and were received by their husbands in their family houses. Relatives, especially mothers and sisters, provided temporary accommodation to the ex-convicts soon after release before they rented their own houses

and far away from home. It's only a few (14.6%) that sought accommodation briefly with a relative immediately on release and before they rented their own house. These findings are indicated in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Housing arrangements before and after prison

Ownership type	Before	After
Family	18 43.9%	16 39.0
Rented	17 41.5%	13 31.7%
Relative	6 14.6%	12 29.3%
Total	100%	100%

Prior to imprisonment majority of the respondents lived with their families or independently in rented houses. Immediately after release from prison however the numbers seeking to stay with relatives increased whereas the numbers for those going back to their families or rented housing decreased.

According to the County probation officer Housing is a very integral part of reintegration and if ex-convicts do not have somewhere to reside, they are likely to go back to prison.

He further stated;

“Some of the families refuse to re-accommodate them... some of the offenses committed do not warrant them to go back to the same areas. They end up renting if they cannot go back. Sometimes we look for a willing relative living far away to accommodate them”

This observation was confirmed by the chief who the study sought his opinion,

“Some go to prison married or not married and the offence committed was against the family so they will have nowhere to go. if they don’t get help they are likely to go back to prison”.

From the community members’ discussion group it was established that

“majority will be rejected by their brothers who look at them negatively as they pose a threat to their portion of inheritance since they are perceived to be unmarriageable rejects”

However, amongst the 12 ex-convicts aged 50 years and above, most of them (83.3%) went back to their homes where they used to live with their children as they were either widowed or unmarried. Among the middle aged ex-convicts, majorities were either rejected or their rental houses had been rented out. During the interview, Damaris, who had been accused of child neglect by her mother who they had a strained relationship stated

“I came home and got rejected. So I went to stay with my cousin for 5 months. But I managed to rent my own house after some hustling”.

A few (2.4%) did not have any place to go to and ended up seeking help from former ex-convicts like Delilah who stated

“I called up a friend who we were with in prison together and she came for me. Nobody from the family came for me”

The housing difficulties and families’ resistant to receive back the ex-convicts and house them as expressed by the County probation officer, the Chief and community FGD is reasonable. This is because some of the violent crimes especially murder and assault had targeted spouses or cohabiting intimate partners and relationships with them or their families largely remained strained. Even in these circumstances, however, some relatives staying far away were welcoming and temporality received the ex-offenders before they picked themselves up and rented their houses.

Among the ex-convicts who sought to rent houses, there was no major challenge connected to their criminal history as they often chose to relocate to places where they were not known. However, their key challenge was to raise money for rent and other household items as some found their property had either been stolen or auctioned to recover rent arrears. Phoebe for example who had been in jail for only seven months and had no children or anyone to take care of her property complained “I went to my house only to find nothing except a table and bed”.

Overall, housing remained a major challenge to the women ex-convicts driving them to live with relatives or friends. Alternatively, some went back to slums where likelihood of re-engaging in crime was high. Lack of housing is a grave issue especially for women returnees who had serious unresolved issues with their families.

Harris (2015) observes that women returning home are flatly homeless, living in temporary shelter, particularly uneasy in returning home to live with family members and find it more difficult than men to talk about their relationships. This is worsened by lack of prior housing arrangements before release (Kerley, 2013). This was commonly reported as incarceration sometimes leads to loss of previous housing arrangements due to failure for rental and mortgage payments (Melissa, 2012). This is supported by Herbert (2014) who holds that Ex-offenders often have limited or no income on release to rent a house.

In Conclusion, it is observed that housing was a great challenge immediately upon release especially for those who faced rejection by the family or found their rented houses already taken away and sometimes with property lost. Housing did not however present much of a challenge for the women returnees aged over 50 years as in most of the cases they were widowed and the *de facto* heads of their households.

4.16. Employment

The ex-convicts who had found meaningful jobs on release appeared to have weathered the storms associated with incarceration. The number of women who had no secondary education (75.6%) or employment (78.0%) prior to and after incarceration is however extremely high.

Overall, the community, the stakeholders and the ex-convicts were in unison that employment was a great challenge for the ex-convicts. The officer in charge of the women prison observed that

“It is a great challenge since after release irrespective of the education background, their employment is terminated. So despite the rehabilitation, it automatically means dismissal from work even for government employees. It is a cause for some of them to come back to prison owing to stigmatization by the community”.

A criminal conviction invites a blanket condemnation and profiling for the offenders even after they have left prison. Employers place a premium on an employee they can trust and definitely an ex-offender doesn't fit this description especially when safety of both employees and property from violence and theft respectively is considered.

This is made worse by the demand for a police clearance certificate.as many employers routinely require employee background checks and are reluctant to offer jobs to ex-offenders whom they profile as unreliable and risky (Harris, 2015; Simmon Staff, 2016; Wendy et al, 2005).

When queried about previous employment before incarceration, it emerged that a majority of the convicts interviewed were mainly casual labourers with only two having been employed in the formal sector and about four owning small business like salon, second hand cloth selling and kiosks. Bilhah, who was a form three drop out and a three times recidivist exclaimed “I have never been employed but I get money through casual labour”. The ex-convicts who had farms went back to farming with some of them having success stories attributed to the skills gained in prison. Abigail a standard three drop out who had been in prison for two years indicated the training on farming had helped her as she indicated

‘I get money through farming; I plant potatoes, maize, coffee and pumpkin and am already constructing a permanent house for myself from the farming proceeds’.

The narrative above presents wonderful revelations of successful prison training when the training is congruent to the existing offender skills and interests. This experience demonstrates that despite low education level, identifying corresponding skills and interests has the potential of generating adequate income for life’s sustenance for the lowly educated and bettering their reentry.

A majority (68.3%) however went back to casual labour like coffee and tea picking, cleaning of clothes in people’s houses and as farm helps. A few (17.1 %) were found to

be utilizing skills learnt in prison like hairdressing, soap making and tailoring as part time jobs. Others (14.6%) ventured into part time businesses like selling ground nuts and second hand clothes in the evening. This reflects the national context where women are grossly under-represented in all sectors of formal employment and only dominate the informal sector employment (KNBS, 2017). According to Pager (2007) employment problems actually existed even before imprisonment and are worsened by incarceration as prison programs rarely prepare the inmates for the formal sector employment market. Incarceration also creates negative job histories, interrupts social and family capital support to job finding. Kenya had an unemployment rate of 15.3 % for women in 2018 (ILO, 2018).

About four (9.8%) were however lucky and got jobs such as cooks, adult education teacher while another joined a milk processing company. Incidentally, all the four indicated they still keep as a secret their criminal history and their places of work are away from where they committed the crimes. This forms part of special instances where prison rehabilitation programs may increase the chances of employment for some prisoners (Aaltonen et. al., 2017). The study also focused on their current incomes and majority of them were found to be earning less than Ksh 300 a day as shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Monthly income

Income level	Frequency
Don't know	6 14.6%
Below Ksh 2000	3 7.3%
Ksh 2001-4000	13. 31.7%
Ksh 4001-6000	9 22.0%
Ksh 6001-8000	6 9.8%
Above 8000	4
Total	41

The income levels of the women ex-convicts during arrest and court processing relates directly to the probability of incarceration or not. In an informal group discussion with women on probation in Karatina probation office (Mathira West Sub-county, Nyeri) it appeared clear to the researcher that bribery of police officers and court officials was common and preferred in order to avoid being sent to courts and or prison.

4.17. Relationships

According to the ex-convicts, the relationship with their close family members before incarceration varied. This is because some women may have lost family members and may have had a history of verbal, physical, and/or sexual abuse whether in the family or other relationships. Some indicated that they had good relationships while others had strained relationships. For instance, Hanah who was detained for conspiracy in the murder of her husband had a strained relationship with her in-laws yet she felt she had acted out of grave provocation where she complained “...

“I can say that we used to argue with my hubby a lot for a long time because he was a drunkard and he never contributed anything at home. I used to hustle but

he won't let us enjoy in peace. Sometimes, we could offer him food but instead throw it to the cows."

Shelomit who was jailed for seven months because of assault claimed to have had a strained relationship with her mother in law;

"His mother despised me. She used to see me as someone who came from a poor family and so I wanted to show them the opposite".

Incidentally, a majority claimed they did not have any bad blood with the community before incarceration. Sapphira who was a jail bird (living in the slums and had been detained for more than 5 times) also claimed

"If you go back to your parents, your brothers and sisters start seeing you as another burden. Even getting married again is a problem so you are forced to move out to avoid conflicts with your siblings".

Depending on the nature of the crime committed, the circumstance and against who, some ex-convicts were visited in prison while others were not. Overall, family members were the regular visitors while the community largely stayed away. Indeed prisoners' expectation in the period immediately after release is that their families would provide emotional, financial, problem solving advice, social and psychological assistance, social capital to exit criminal activities and accommodation support (Larner, 2017; McIvor, 2004; Pager, 2007; Visher, 2004). During the visits some family members were able to reconcile with the convicts which in a way started the healing process. Candace who was imprisoned for child neglect, had the following to report from her father's visit

"My father once came to prison and told me... the fact that you are in prison, you still remain my daughter. This made me go back to our home. You know they did not also think I would go to jail at first."

The hostile relationship encounters cited above by Hannah, Shelomit and Sapphira indicate the difficult and abusive relationships the women ex-offenders faced leading to their crime. Actually, Coll and Duff (2011) are persuaded that a large number of imprisoned women are likely to have had a history of abuse in the family or other relationships. This hostility is extended after release by family members and aggravated by perceived fear of financial burden in shouldering the demands of the returnees. The labeling of the returnees on account of their criminal history potentially thwarts founding of new intimate relationships and marriage. To the contrary, Candace's testimony tells that manifest show of love by family members such as through prison visits and kind talk restores broken relationships.

The research findings indicated that relationship is a great challenge for the ex-convicts and their families or the community. According to one of the probation officers who the survey sought his opinion "suspicion and mistrust are their biggest challenge and it takes time before ex-convicts can prove that they are not what the community allege they are." According to some key stakeholders the effects are great as they do not get a suitor in the community and if seen courting an ex-convict, the community will ask "*Kwani humjui... Alikwambia alikuwa jela?* (You mean you don't know her....Did she tell you she was in jail)".

Unlike before the conviction, where the community had no major issues with the offenders like their families, the reverse became the norm after their release. The community and families of victims became largely hostile to the ex-convicts whereas their immediate families were more welcoming to an extent of arranging for home

coming parties. Merab, who was convicted of forgery for 3 years had the following to say about her immediate family reception;

“My parent’s side received me well. A party was organized where collective reconciliation was advocated for anyone who may have talked ill of me”.

This positive reception by the family provided big mental relieve that made reentry and reintegration smooth. The relationship with the husband’s relatives however remained strained until when the children navigated mediation and reconciliation between their parents and constructed a permanent house for them.

Unlike Merab, Hanah, who was accused of murdering her husband following domestic violence, had a completely different experience with her in-laws who she claimed

“My hubby’s parents clearly showed that they had no business with me, because they said the children belong to them but not me”.

Damaris, who was in prison because of child neglect, got the wrath of the community upon release. Upon her release this is what she found out

“I was deregistered from all the community groups I was in – from churches and all the self-help groups.....no one wanted to talk to me. I was treated like an outcast.”

This made Damaris feel extremely isolated and unwanted in her community. It’s not until her priest intervened that she was admitted back into the church groups. The community groups have however remained hesitant to accommodate her back. At some point she had contemplated selling off her land and relocating to an area in which people did not know her or her previous criminal history.

Overall, the study established that the community promoted stigmatization of the ex-convicts more than the family members. According to prison welfare discussion, majority of them felt this was orchestrated by failure to visit the convicts in prison.

“The community promotes stigmatization more than the family for they never visit the prisoners. The family members may visit and have time to reconcile. Furthermore, the crimes committed could mainly be involving the society thus hard for them to forgive. Majority of the ex-convicts also fear the community after jail term”

Rejection by the in-laws when a wrong has been committed against their own member is a common sub-cultural phenomenon which faces many women ex-offenders. The animosity is unhealed when the returnees are within the child bearing age as families fear that the youthful wife would find another suitor. The naming system amongst the Agikuyu never the less permits retention of children named to the husband’s relatives or sometimes all the children born of the husband. Nyeri is a rural county where people tend to know each other and taking sides as an outcome of criminal activities is not unlikely. This makes it possible for the family rejection to easily spiral to other groups where the injured family members belong such as self-help and religious groups. Similarly, lack of interaction by communities with the correctional systems makes communities distanced with the offenders during detention and makes recreating social bonds difficult upon release.

Labeling, stigmatization associated to imprisonment and the subsequent feeling of shame affects women more than men (Dodge & Progrebin, 2001). The stigmatization is further extended to those hosting and accommodating the returnees (Farkas & Miller, 2007) who adapt withdrawal or secrecy tactics as a coping mechanism (Winnick and Bodkin, 2008).

4.18. Drug and Substance abuse

According to the findings from the community, families and key stakeholders, drug and substance abuse is not a major problem to most of the women returning from prison. Based on their opinion, it's only those who were used to taking drugs before arrest that continued with the habit. The Nyeri probation officer had this to say;

“It depends on how they have been taken care of some do take drugs after prison but others are good. If they have been using, chances of relapsing are very high if nobody really takes care of them”

This observation fits well with the collective socialization that women should not take drugs and even when they take alcohol it should be under moderation and generally during community ceremonies such as weddings and birth rituals. Desistance from drug use and has been boosted by the declining practice of tobacco sniffing.

Based on the research findings among the ex-convicts, a majority of them (83%), including those incarcerated for drug related cases reported no usage of hard drugs like Bhangi, other illicit drugs or alcohol. Only Seven (17%) reported to using Alcohol while one among them used both bhangi and alcohol. The non-use of drugs (Bhangi especially) is impressive compared to the 18 – 38 million women drug users (UNODC, 2009) in 2009 or the 15.8 million (or 12.9% of all women) women using illicit drug or prescribed drugs for recreational purposes in 2013 (SAMHSA, 2014; Karberg & James, 2005). These findings on drug and substance abuse amongst the women ex-offenders are illustrated in Figure 4.5 below.

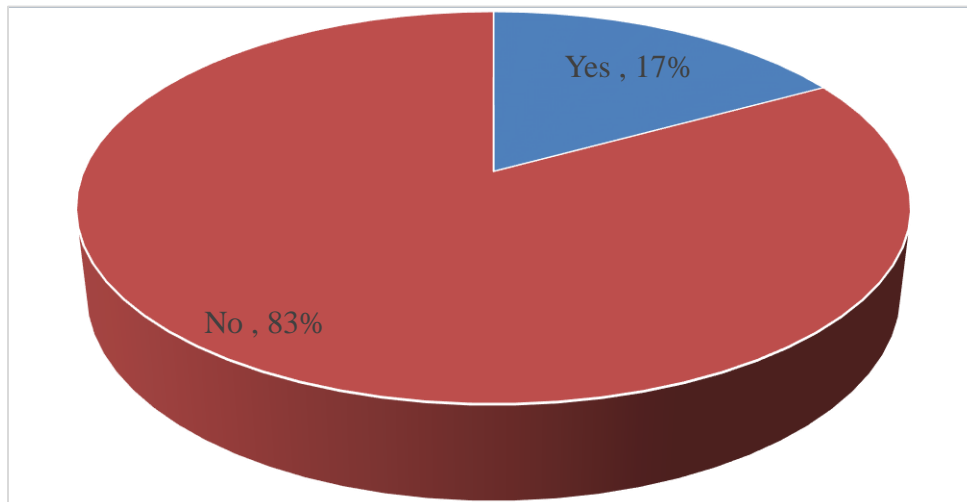


Figure 4.5: Drug and Substance use

According to those convicted of handling drugs, they claimed to be involved in selling in order to raise money for their children up keep as they were either single, widowed or their partners were not contributing to the livelihood and upkeep of the family. Bilhah who had been arrested thrice for handling bhanghi claimed to be selling bhanghi to cater for her family and inherited the trade from her deceased husband

“I was selling Bhanghi to cater for the family needs especially the kids who were very young. Our farm was very small and could not cater for the family needs. I borrowed money for my son to go to form 1 but I had no money to pay for the second term. At least it helped me pay school fees and feed the family with minimal problems but personally I don’t use Bhanghi”

It is evident that most women engaged in drugs and substance abuse mainly as sellers and not users. The need to raise money for children upbringing and upkeep is a compelling motivation which may however not be abandoned until the children are grown up. In the absence of an alternative source of income recidivism appeared imminent though the women had gained tricks of avoiding detection and how to navigate their way out upon

arrest. Programmes for rehabilitation of women ex-convicts from drugs and substance abuse would however appear necessary for the small group that used drugs and substances such as alcohol.

4.19. Mental Health and others

Overall, the ex-convicts commended the prison structures for the readily accessible health attention which included mental, physical and spiritual health care. This is unlike in other instances where offenders lack access to mental health treatment when incarcerated or even when they do the quality is of questionable standards (Beck, 2000).

On the mental and physical front, the ex-convicts indicated that prison services were good which included taking them to hospitals for both diagnosis and treatment whenever they had problems. However, a few claimed to have suffered from stress leading to insomnia, communicable diseases owing to hygiene and congestion as well as weather and diet related complications. The stress condition experienced by some of the convicts was mainly related to the separation with their children, regrets over crimes committed, and bitterness where they felt wrongly convicted among others.

The prison welfare staff also indicated some prisoners acquire stress owing to:-

“Culture shock- You see some ladies are arrested for loitering and they leave their children in the house. If they get arrested, their children might be stuck in the houses without anybody’s help. She can’t sleep for all the days. Some mothers can also not get sleep when they are separated with their young children”.

Just as it has been noted by Wahidin (2013), women are generally considered non-criminals and their arrest for a criminal activity brings a lot of personal shame. This masculinization of crime is also supported by Williams (2012) as well as Barlow and

Decker (2010) who see women engaging in crime as sharing masculine biological characteristics. This is still the popular thinking and leads to culture shock when a woman finds herself imprisoned and consequently worsened by separation from her children and worry for their safety as in most cases they are the single family provider and heads.

Separation from family and children worsen the case of mental health in women prisoners Pogorzelski et. al., 2005; Bonta, et. al., 2008). Milcah, who was accused of child neglect, was stressed as she felt the police wrongly advised her to take plea in exchange of release but instead got a prison sentence.

“Sometimes I lack sleep because of bitterness. I’m bitter because of the judge, the police and the Officer Commanding Police Station (OCS). I’m ever bitter especially because he wickedly took the children to a juvenile school instead of ordinary school...my children were really lost “

In Kenya, access to legal guidance is rare. This makes the policing agencies tactfully lure the legally illiterate offenders into admission of self-guilt and easy conviction. It is only later that the offenders realize, especially through peer learning while in prison, that there were better ways to escape their conviction and detention and that admitting guilt was mere trickery to easily dispense their case by the prosecution.

However, despite the challenges the ex-convicts indicated the prison offered counselling services through qualified counselors as well as religious leaders in the chaplaincies. These gains were positive as majority were physically fit to work as well as attend to their daily chores upon release from the prison.

On spiritual health, everyone was attending religious services while incarcerated though upon release, 24% stopped attending religious services. This implies that whereas religious practice provides a psychosocial support system during incarceration, many ex-convicts either feel that their behaviour is not consistent with moral demands of religion or that their attendance to religious gatherings is labeled and treated with suspicion. Practice is that many members of religious groups have a condemnatory attitude towards ex-convicts. Indeed, all the focus group discussions observed that a female offender is treated with more disgust than a male offender.

Taken together, these results suggest that housing, employment and relationships are serious challenges facing reentry and reintegration back into communities for women ex-offenders in Nyeri County. Interestingly however, there were no serious challenges experienced in regard to drug and substance abuse as well as mental health.

4.20. Effects of the Challenges Encountered after Imprisonment

The second objective sought to establish and analyze the effects of the challenges earlier discussed for women returning from prison in Nyeri County i.e. challenges connected to housing, employment, relationships, drug and substance abuse as well as mental health after incarceration. The effects were studied in regard to their impact on the individual self, their family, the community and in regard to recidivism susceptibility.

4.20.1. Effects on self

The effects of failure to acquire housing and employment, unrepaired relationships, or unattended mental health, drug and substance abuse struggles after imprisonment were diverse depending on each ex-convict's circumstances. Some had walked out of prison feeling better, more determined to face challenges ahead while others were bitter, unsure of the way forward or even desperate. Some of those who were positive felt they had learnt something from prison life and were determined not to return to prison again, others had been changed by the counselling offered and wanted to transform themselves and move on with life. Dorcas, who was in prison for almost 4 years indicated that "although the journey was tough, I thank God for the lessons and knowledge I picked from prison". Some ex-convicts and remandees to the contrary left prison feeling bitter about the time they had wasted in prison, the difficult life at prison and lack of freedom. There were some who however continued to experience uncertainty especially on housing, unemployment and relationship soon and much far after leaving prison. This made them to live a stressful life especially those who were in remand and are still waiting for the conclusion of their cases. Jehosheba, who had been in prison for two years, lamented "I still remain disappointed as I had to start a life again"

Lack of employment and Housing were indicated to have long continued to affect women ex-convicts, dooming them into a life of poverty and obscuring their reintegration.

According to the County Commissioner,

"Some of the women ex-convicts were forced to remain poor, doing menial jobs and hawking. Some also end up in the streets. Those not accepted back by their spouses go out and rent out houses either with the kids or by themselves"

The statement above is testimonial of the general life of abject poverty that is an outcome of unemployment, lack of other sources of income and affordable housing for many Kenyans. This reality has pushed many people to the informal economy and hawking is one of such as no much of startup funds or particular expertise is required. The informal housing sector has also been thriving and easily affordable especially if the women returnees are not accompanied by children and are living alone.

Other jobs, homeless and unemployed returnees could engage in according to the Community FGD interviews are as “house helps or bartenders”.

This was supported by the Prison Chaplain, who indicated that some women continued to face housing challenges many months after their release and the church had to step in,

“The Church sometimes has to offer help with rent of about five months for some of the women long after they left prison.. there is no policy of their stay after exiting the prison gate, and they are left to themselves, their families, religious groups or well-wishers”.

Nyeri County is home to the early Christian missionaries who founded churches, hospitals and school as an evangelical tool to both capture followers and improve the livelihoods of communities. Knocking on the doors of a church entity to seek emotional or physical help, even in places where one is unknown is an everyday phenomenon. Indeed churches are well known for their preferential option for the poor and Christian teaching outlines that accommodating the homeless and visiting inmates is virtuous.

The County commissioner did not see much (if any) effects in regard to mental health except that

“Anxiety is there but it doesn’t affect women as much. Women, married or single, in this part of the country are generally likely to be the family bread winners...so they tend to be more focused than worried on whom to provide for them after prison”.

There was however a strong feeling amongst the community FGD members that long after prison release women still felt discriminated, depressed and experienced suicidal thoughts because of

“Lack of self-acceptance.....Sometimes feelings of demeanor and guilty for the crimes committed and if not well received by the family and community they can engage in self-harm”.

This is echoed by the family members FGD who said

“They have a negative self-image about themselves and could easily commit suicide if not well handled by the family and community”

Naturally women have since their early days of life faced tragic, traumatic events and near death experiences for themselves or other family members while exercising their role as care givers and mothers. Women in Nyeri are also known to belong to several self-support and religious groups which offer an opportunity for them to express themselves and relieve their anxieties. Popular talk is that this explains the lower rates of stress related suicides in the County. To the contrary however is that imprisonment dents their self-image and acceptance due to public demeaning attitudes and treatment towards ex-offenders which may lead to suicide.

No effects related to drugs and substance abuse was raised from any of the respondents. This is mainly because it had not been identified as a major challenge in the first instance.

The findings thus present a double sided outcome on how women ex-convicts are affected by their challenges following imprisonment. Whereas some see it as a learning opportunity that provided new opportunities others are unable to comprehend why they

had to face the ignominious and wasteful prison life. This later group views their reentry and reintegration negatively while those positive on the whole experience have better reentry and reintegration prospectus. This was well stated by the prison welfare staff FGD that

“Those who accept their criminal past easily face their challenges such as unemployment or broken relationships and accept to move on with high self-esteem. ...but those who never accept themselves and their conditions normally live with very low esteem. Same case happens for those who feel they were falsely accused... they feel they have lost their dignity and time.”

This observation testifies that ex-offenders perception of their criminality, conviction and imprisonment contributes greatly to how they face life on release. Those who have an open and resilient character accept their past and soldier on into the future with a more optimistic approach no matter the circumstances of their offending.

Bitterness, uncertainty, stressful life, suicidal thoughts, a life of poverty and discrimination are the major effects to the individual linked to the challenges faced by women returnees. This is supported by Fournier and Mercier (2009) who for example see lack of employment as cause for pessimism, low self-esteem, anxiety and fatalism. It is also supported by Dodge and Progrebin (2001) who observe that women are greatly affected by labeling, stigmatization associated to imprisonment and the subsequent feeling of shame.

4.20.2. Effects on families

The effects of unaddressed challenges to the family include separation (family break up), extra burden in feeding and housing the ex-convicts and their immediate dependents, bitterness among the victim's family and stigma and discrimination of the ex-convict's

families. Ex-convicts who haven't acquired a job and their own housing appear to impose an unnecessary burden to their families such as having to support their children. This breeds rejection, division amongst the family members and stigma. The family members FGD interviews said

“Their brothers look at them negatively and with stigma...they are sometimes hated by their families and communities... families and communities are usually divided between those who support the ex-convict and those who have a very negative attitude towards them depending on the crime they had committed”

Another finding is that families of ex-convicts are stigmatized on account of their member's incarceration especially those who continued to live within their midst for lack of employment and housing. Even when the ex-convicts moved out to rent houses elsewhere their families continued to be linked with their bad behaviour. KII, the County probation officer, emphatically stated;

“In most cases, once you enter the jail, you are a bad person. People avoid you, your children and your family. There is a case where we went looking for children from a mother who had committed murder; her children stated they had been socially discriminated on account of their mother's action”

Families in Africa have still continued to maintain some family ties despite the individualistic lifestyle born of capitalism, urbanization and globalization. Misbehavior therefore extends dishonor, stigma and discrimination not only to exact offenders but also to their children and families. It is not uncommon therefore that in wanting to appear good to neighbourhood communities family members sometimes seek to delink themselves from a criminal relative and or their children

Renewing relationships with family members and friends is actually difficult and leads to isolation of ex-offenders (Olphen et al, 2009). Journeying back home and the associated challenges affect women heavily as more often than not they are single mothers sometimes unable to provide basic needs to their dependent children (Mumola, 2000).

4.20.3. Effects on communities

The community mainly feels insecure upon return of the ex-convicts. The community also plays a bigger role in stigmatization and discrimination of the ex-convicts socially, economically and spiritually. Indeed the worst response from the community to the returning offenders is stigmatization and sadly so women since they are affected more by labeling, stigmatization associated to imprisonment and the subsequent feeling of shame (Dodge and Ogrebini, 2001). Merab, who was in prison for forgery stated that the community habitually discriminate and associate the ex-convicts with any crime occurring in their neighborhood however long after release. She stated thus;

“There is lack of acceptance in the community and bad talk especially by fellow women, if anything is lost from chicken to anything else I am usually treated as the suspect. When I dress well or the children build me a house they said it was stolen money. I am labeled a thief and a prostitute. I am referred to as the women who left prison”

Indeed two outstanding effects were manifest when and where communities encountered ex-convicts known to them but were jobless, lacked housing and relationships remaining broken. These are stigma and tacit extension of punishment. The experience by the prison chaplain was;

“Some communities can be hostile to offenders upon release and even after...but to avoid this hostility the national government can use the chiefs and assistant chiefs to reconcile ex-offenders with their communities. The Members of County

Assembly at the County government levels can also be useful in the VOM (Victim Offender Mediation) process”.

From this observation, community extension of punishment long after prison is an impeding experience for women wanting to find new intimate relationships and probably marriage. The Caritas officer, observed;

“Those who are not married find it extremely hard to get married within their area unless they go somewhere else... it would take a lot of convincing to make people believe that they have changed”.

This observation was shared by the FGD by the Prison welfare staff that;

“After completing the sentence, you are cleared and should go back to normal life. That is how the system should work. But there is still a bigger risk owing to stigmatization as people continue to punish the ex-convicts for sentencing already served. The family need to be uplifted and government need to see how the community can be educated to stop this”

The community FGD equally observed that unless families of the returnees accept and appreciate them, communities remain negative about them banish especially those who have dead parents, are separated or have no houses of their own because

“The prisons are for men and not women. This is the norm since colonial times and it cannot be viewed different even today”

The attitude that prison is intended for men and women is shared by Wahidin (2013) who argues that women are non-criminals, conformists and passive by nature. Williams (2012), Barlow and Decker (2010) similarly observe that female offenders are thought to manifest men-like biological characteristics.

4.20.4. Effects on Recidivism rates

According to the community and the probation officers, recidivism is not common among women. A probation officer in Nyeri observed;

“Recidivism is uncommon among females....in fact most of these women do not come back. The rate is very low and sometimes you can go for months without any”.

This observation was collaborated by the research findings among the ex-convicts as majority of them (90%) had stayed out of prison for more than one year since release, and only 20% had recidivated in the past. From the research it was noted that majority of the recidivists were mainly those involved in drug related crimes and assault. The implications of these findings is that recidivism rates amongst subjects of the study is low, probably based also on the nature of the crimes committed, fear for re-incarceration and the generally low crime rates amongst women. Given recidivating was linked to sale of drugs and substances it can also be interpreted that the usage of drugs and consumption of alcohol is prevalent in the County. Caution must however be observed that the consumers of drugs and substance abuse are mainly men and that women's engagement in the trade is only as sellers or traffickers in order to support their families.

Asked about the women who they met in prison and those who have recidivated, the following reasons were advanced as the causes of crime and recidivism: Lack of financial support(poverty), temper, family conflict and separation, peer pressure, greed for money and desire for better life, influence of alcohol and drugs, joblessness and false accusation. One of the ex-convicts, Jeneth, narrated how she had a friend who kept of recidivating because of drugs;

“Like I had a friend from prison using bhang and when she got out, she went back to selling it for another person. So she used to get caught but the owner goes scot free”.

One prison officer also observed some of the ex-convicts also recidivate willingly as a way of running away from harsh life outside prison too. In support of her narrative, the officer narrated;

“Some come back willingly so that they can have some help. At Shimo la Tewa we used to have a lady who always came when she was 7 months pregnant so that she can get health care at prison. She was a carrier but wanted the prison to sustain her at birth and the child”

As indicated elsewhere women ex-offenders, even those imprisoned more than once for use or selling of drugs, rarely commit crimes by themselves alone but in company of a male partner or others. Unfortunately the real owners funding the drug industry and employing others to trade on their behalf are difficult to identify or arrest. Interestingly and unimagined, is that a woman would abet their arrest during pregnancy as to enjoy the free health care services in prison. This is an extremely creative way to outwit the pangs of poverty.

The Criminal Justice System especially the courts must remain cognizant to this reality of ex-convicts wanting to take advantage of the subsidized services offered by the prison system. The difficulties of life brought about by economic downturn has the potential of luring ex-convicts back to crime and prison that they may access free food and health care such as was the case narrated above or even abdicating their parental responsibilities. This is because sympathetic family members, communities and even government are likely to take over the care of children for an unmarried convicted woman.

The study findings' low recidivism rates of 20% amongst the respondents are contrary to the 40% likelihood of recidivating in the study by (Kilgore, 2015) or that of Nigeria at over 60% (Chukwumerije, 2012).

A number of effects of the challenges encountered after imprisonment were identified and touches on the ex-convicts themselves, their families, the community and exposure to recidivism. The effects for the ex-offenders include unmanned relationships, rejection and discrimination; the families reported separation, breakups and financial burden of sustaining the ex-convicts and communities became hostile, discriminating and suspicious of the returnees. There was no evidence that the challenges had an effect on recidivism rates.

4.21. Coping Mechanisms

This section addresses the findings connected to the third objective of the study which was to evaluate the coping mechanisms adopted by women returnees in Nyeri County.

In order to cope with life after prison various ex-convicts adopted various survival tactics. Some relocated to new areas and rented houses. Ex-convicts are known to move, through networks of friends, to far distance places away from home where they are not known especially to escape the pangs of stigmatization (Harris, 2015). Damaris for example stated;

“I came home and got rejected. So I went to stay with my cousin for 5 months. But I managed to rent my own house after some hustling”

Jehosheba had a similar experience on release

“I moved to my mother’s place but after two weeks I was called by my madam friend in prison to stay with her. She took me in as her daughter until I got a job and rented my place”.

Asked on how ex-convicts cope (i.e. strategies of solving personal and interpersonal problems connected to going back home after release from remand prison or prison) with the housing challenge KII, ‘Nyumba Kumi’ elder, responded; “It depends, if not married some go back to their families while others rent houses”.

Others (9.8%) went to live with their children while those with their own homes decided to be resilient and stay put despite the fact that the community was not welcoming and always viewed them suspiciously. A few (7.3%) also briefly lived with their friends as they tried to adjust and make some savings to rent their houses too. The returnees sometimes looked up to religious organizations for support as a coping mechanism. According to the community and family focus groups discussion, majority of the ex-convicts were said to

“turn to churches for social, emotional and economic support. Here people are likely to accept them easily because of the religious teachings”

On employment, those who had the intent of getting employment in the formal sector relocated to new areas, concealed their criminal history to their potential and actual employers and were ready to take up any jobs. The fear was that a disclosure connected to the criminal past would jeopardize their chances of employment. According to the County Commissioner

“Some of them are forced to do menial jobs and hawking. You can see the largest numbers of hawkers are women and some of them are ex-convicts. Some end up in streets. They normally re-invent themselves after prison life”.

This was supported by the sub-county probation officer who opined that ex-convicts find it

“difficult to get good jobs other than house helps and casual laborers because of low education level. They are still seen as criminals. If they had been working, they are replaced immediately they are arrested”.

On relationships, a number of the ex-convicts separated from their families or spouses, the youthful ones remarried after relocating to new areas. Incidentally, two of the ex-convicts re-married to male ex-convicts whom they claimed to have met during the court processes. However, among those who remarried, they had to conceal their true identity in terms of past criminal history from their new extended family. According to the Regional probation coordinator, the ex-convicts “relocate to other environment where the communities are unfamiliar with them, to start life afresh”.

The consequences of having to relocate to places where they are not known have the effect of ‘net-widening’ the time spent in prison for ex-convicts. The fear of getting uncovered as an ex-convict must be greatly tormenting and impending to birthing of new social capitals. Relocating away from known friends and environments destroys a large part of a person’s history and the wealth of it.

The participants on the whole indicated that they migrated to areas where they were unknown, hid their criminal past and rented out new houses in order to cope with reentry and reintegration challenges. They also sought accommodation from relatives and friends temporarily and embraced any available menial jobs. Other coping mechanisms include

separation from spouses, getting remarried and founding new families while praying that their in-laws never uncover their criminal history.

4.22. Solutions and Policy

The last objective of the study was to evaluate how the relevant and responsible bodies could address the challenges facing women returning from prisons in Nyeri County in terms of practice and at the policy level. Respondents were asked questions regarding the needed practices for economic, physical, social and spiritual support that would address the challenges of reentry. They were further asked which services the ex-offenders required in terms of education, training and counseling as well as their opinion on the agencies that should be tasked to support the women ex-offenders fit back into the community. The findings to these questions are presented in this section first by identifying the challenge and then placing into a parallel column the conforming solutions in terms of practices and policies.

Table 4.7 outlines a summary of suggested practice and policy solutions to the key challenges i.e. housing, employment, relationship and slightly about mental health in the eyes of the women ex-convicts themselves, key informants and the Focus Group Discussions.

Table 4.7: Addressing the challenges faced by women returning from prisons

Challenge	Solutions: Practice and Policy
Housing	<p>Housing was a big burden for ex-offenders returning home. The county probation officer also acknowledged this;</p> <p><i>“...lack of housing is a major problem and an arrangement can be made to rent out a room for them. May be for a certain period”.</i></p> <p>The County commissioner similarly stated that ‘the ex-offenders need some housing support for some time as they plan their lives’. This provision should be extended to the moment of arrest to securer their properties as observed by the Prison staff FGD which stated that</p> <p><i>“The government or through the area authority should organize for the security of their belongings upon arrest and imprisonment” .</i></p> <p>This would take away nasty experiences such as that of Tamar upon release; “my brother had sold all my items even my clothes”</p>
Employment	<p>The women ex-offenders appear to have implicitly acknowledged that their low education level, lack of skills and probably age could not likely grant opportunities in the formal market. Majority of them expressed desire for money as startup capital to found their own income generating businesses. Mehatabel for example stated, “I was given a machine but I had no materials to start up the job”. The need for startup capital (but with some caution) was also expressed by the KII and FGDs. Sub-County Probation officer for instance stated that;</p> <p><i>“Money should be given for income generating activities e.g. business, materials for business such as hairdressing or business of their own choice. Caution must be taken as money can easily be diverted to other</i></p>

uses”.

The family FGD supported this by stating that the ex-offenders should be; “...provided with startup capital or even buy them materials for the machines and skills given in prison” while the community FGD commented that ‘there should be a financial kitty especially for long prison servers’.

The prison staff FGD group was more precise and stated;

“They should be supported to have somewhere to start e.g. a cow or small businesses... most of them come back here for lack of financial support and they have children. They need just some small boost to start something. They learn some skills here and when they go out without capital they cannot do much without some assistance. They need some seed capital otherwise they will be tempted to steal which will again bring them back to prison”.

These sentiments further enjoy the support of both the prison chaplain and the County commissioner who opined that;

“ the ex-offenders need to be supported with startup capital to buy materials for the trainings given while in prison e.g. detergents (Chaplain)

“Suppose there was to be a financial program, we have the devolved funds like the national government affirmative funds, they can form groups. The government can also set up jua kali sheds for them” (County Commissioner)

The small businesses desired by the ex-offenders included dairy farming, hair dressing, stocking and selling of second hand clothes, cereal shops, kiosks or boutique. Asked why they opted for these ventures, the responses for example included ;

‘cows so that I can sell milk’ (Keziah); ‘salon because it was the course

that I took in prison and even I used to buy second hand clothes and put them at my work ,so the customers will just come’ (Jeneth); ‘cereals because its basic in peoples lives’ (Jehosheba) and “hairdressing because it has a lot of money” (Rizpah)

It is for this self-employment motif that returnees considered prison training should include but not be limited to financial management, hair dressing, tailoring, catering, farming practices, Yoghurt making and dress making or tailoring. The need to provide these type of trainings as source of income generation for the ex-convicts also finds great support from the KII and FGDs

The regional probation officer for example stated;

“Some of the trainings given do not require a lot of capital. They just require start up kits and capital. .. trainings like ... bead making and embroidery. Soap and detergent making is easy and fast moving and could be the best at the moment

While the County Commissioner was in the opinion that ‘agricultural related skills is good e.g. poultry, farming and cattle keeping, can boost their earnings’

But cash money should also be given as one respondent indicated that they should receive ‘some money, at least fare to go home (Zipporah). The prison chaplain to the contrary sated that ‘they are offered fare to the court of last conviction’.

Relationships

While addressing practical concerns in matters relationships, it clearly appears that women returning home from prison have positive expectations from their families but nothing much from the communities. Amongst their expectation was acceptance, appreciation, love, money, food, moral support and not to be harshly judged. Tamar and Abigail for example stated- ‘I expected support, love and much understanding from my family’

(Tamar) and ‘all I know is your family cannot neglect you when you have problems’ (Abigail)

A rather unique expectation from the family was stated by Shelomit- ‘Giving food and even seed to plant if you want to farm’. Some were however disappointed by the family response towards them;

“I would have preferred they receive me as one of their own. They should have sought for the truth but instead they sided with the community” (Milcah)

The centrality of the family in regard to reentry is also emphasized by the County probation officer who said;

“Family is essential to providing all manner of support. It’s role is greater than that of the community”

To support the returnees families could also do a few activities as here suggested by the family FGD;

“Support in the upkeep of children soon after release before they settle for a period of like 2-3 months. Family should volunteer to help in household chores e.g. washing clothing as a sign of welcome”

The expectations from the communities were rather dull as stated below;

“it takes time before people and even your friends accept you back and recognize that you’ve amended your behaviors” (Reumah)

To address this negative reception and attitude by the community the chaplain suggested VOM while the in charge women prison suggested the utility of involving the media to create community awareness

The chaplain mentioned that

“There is need for a Victim Offender Mediation (VOM) Policy starting while in prison. The national government can use the chiefs and assistant

chiefs to reconcile ex-offenders with their communities. The Members of County Assembly at the County government levels can also be useful in the VOM process”.

Media has a role to play by highlighting the challenges and problems ex-offenders are facing and make it a discourse for the nation. The more they highlight it, the more they make it a topical issue to the society.

Some people out there do not know what help the prisoners need. If highlighted it would help(In charge women prison)

It was also suggested that communities should be beforehand be prepared to receive the ex-offenders home;

“Prepare communities and families of origin before release through Counselling. Allow more prison visits. Have community awareness programmes to reduce stigma” (Community FGD)

Spiritual support and Mental Health Mental health though not a serious concern for women exiting prison was boosted by belonging to a church group. The religious groups offered prayers, counseling, advice, love, encouragement, moral, emotional, and financial support, money and even food after release for practicing followers. For the merely nominal Christians the services were however not provided.

Milcah and Merab shared some positive experience;

“The church especially ... was coming to see me regularly. When I came they have been very good and they received me well. The pastor enquired where I was staying and invited me to join him in church. They have also been supporting us with food and charcoal. Very supportive” (Milcah)

“Church has been very support, spiritual Counselling, brought us service, renewed our marital vows and allowed me back to the women’s association” (Merab)

Agencies supporting women ex- Generally the women ex-offenders had no knowledge of organization(s) dedicated to assisting the ex-offenders fit back into the community other than for CARITAS Nyeri and an NGO called Road Kenya. Others had

offenders	<p>heard of specific priests who support ex-offenders with materials such as machines for tailoring and sewing.</p> <p>Bethsheba and Mehetabel exclaimed;</p> <p><i>‘none, only God (Bethsheba)</i> <i>“None. Because I even talked with the teacher of Road Kenya but he lied to me until I gave up, the same as another madam from Nyeri who did that also” (Mehetabel).</i></p> <p>The County Commissioner affirmed this and said ‘the government does not have any agency to support women ex-offenders’</p> <p>In lieu of the absence of any government agencies specifically concerned with women reentry, the In charge women prison was in the opinion that;</p> <p><i>“These are state guests. The responsibility therefore lies with the government. But when they go out, the government should still ensure the prisoners are not candidates of coming back to prison. Private organizations and the churches may also help”</i></p> <p>This was supported by Caritas Officer;</p> <p><i>“I think the government should be the lead agency in ensuring that it holistically addresses all the challenges that comes on the way of women who are existing prison...the church would also help because it’s a trusted institution by mobilizing these groups and offering halfway homes. There is need for a multiagency approach which can come in to offer their support towards these women”</i></p> <p>Other suggestions included the government including the female ex-offenders as beneficiaries of affirmative action funds e.g. Uwezo funds and bursaries,</p>
------------------	--

A common view amongst all the categories of respondents was that there is least support from government bodies for the ex-convicts’ reentry and re-integration back into the

society. Community corrections, some form of follow up after release from prison and provision of startup capital was suggested to enable reentry. Surprisingly, awareness campaigns on the functioning of the penal system, (involving the media, religious institutions, administrative and political leadership) was also strongly proposed.

Based on the research findings, ex-convicts were said to face numerous challenges some of which lead to recidivism. While the government is largely seen as the main player, for successful re-integration back into the community, ex-convicts themselves and other stake holders had various suggestions and policies that need to be implemented. According to Innes (2015) all stakeholders should be engaged in the process of addressing what the future holds for imprisonment. The process should involve correctional experts, politicians, the media, the convicts, their families, friends, neighbours and communities, the victims and all cadres in the correctional work force.

Based on the research findings, ex-convicts were said to face numerous challenges some of which lead to recidivism. While the government is largely seen as the main player, for successful re-integration back into the community, ex-convicts themselves and other stake holders had various suggestions and policies that need to be implemented. According to Innes (2015) all stakeholders should be engaged in the process of addressing what the future holds for imprisonment. The process should involve correctional experts, politicians, the media, the convicts, their families, friends, neighbours and communities, the victims and all cadres in the correctional work force.

4.23 Chapter Summary

Data analysis, presentation and interpretation in this chapter were done by the use of Nvivo; a computer based software for qualitative data analysis. The major areas addressed relate to the study objectives and research questions. These objectives include challenges related to housing, employment, relationships, drug and substance abuse and mental health and other health related issues. The effects of the challenges, coping mechanisms, solutions and policy suggestions have also been analysed, presented and interpreted as received from the women ex-convicts themselves, focus group discussions and Key informant interviews.

CHAPTER FIVE:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the research findings, the conclusions made, recommendations proposed and suggestions relevant for further research in line with factors influencing reentry and reintegration of women ex-offenders into the community in Nyeri County.

5.2 Summary of findings

This section presents the findings of the study centered on the research objectives. The overall objective of the study was to find out the challenges affecting reentry of women ex-offenders into the community in Nyeri County. In particular, the specific objectives of the study were; to find out the challenges facing women returning home from prisons, to establish and analyze the effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison, to assess the coping mechanisms adopted by the women returnees and to find out how the challenges facing women returning from prisons in Nyeri County can be addressed.

5.2.1 Background Information of the Respondents

Results of the study concerning the women ex-convicts background profile indicate that more than 68% are aged between 30-49 years (this must be noted is the age at interview and reducing it by 6 years at most before the interview would lead to an average age of between 25-40 years) during arrest and or incarceration as indicated by the KII. Three

quarters of the returnees are single either as separated, never married or widows, majority have not completed their secondary school level education and had spent three years and below in prison or remand prison.

The crimes for which the ex-convicts had been arrested for include; homicide, robbery, theft of stock, possession of dangerous drugs (especially Bhangi), economic crimes, corruption and other penal code offences such as illegal burning of charcoal. Majority (60%) of the ex-convicts received some training while in prison which included counselling, tailoring, knitting, embroidery, baking, organic farming, detergent making, hair dressing, bead works and crocheting (duvet, dolly and carpet making).

The above findings are supported by literature where Lawston and Lucas (2011) indicated that most of the female convicts go to jail for shorter periods, less than one year, except for a few who may spend longer time in remand. Such was the case for example of Claudia who spent 10 years in remand prison awaiting trial. Further the findings are also in concurrence with literature written by Gunnison et. al. (2016), Hale et. al. (2013) and Kaguta (2014) where they observed that most women offenders are single with dependent children and have low education levels and are likely to be aged between 25-35 years. The nature of crimes committed were also in line with the literature by the same scholars who had observed that most of the female convicts committed crimes such as homicide targeted at relatives and intimate partners or children, drug peddling as sellers or carriers as well as assault.

Whereas previous studies indicate majority of the ex-convicts are aged between 25-35 years (Gunnison et. al., 2016) the findings of this study observed that a third (29%) of the respondents were peculiarly aged over 50 years. The elderly ex-convicts had been charged and convicted mainly for drug peddling offences. General assumption is that law enforcement agencies are unlikely to suspect their involvement in crime on account of the perception that women of such an age would be conformist and law abiding (Wahidin, 2013).

5.2.2 Challenges facing women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County

Several challenges experienced by the female ex-convicts were discussed. These include lack of employment, housing, difficult relationships, health, drugs and substance abuse.

The study findings indicate that majority of the ex-convicts were casual labourers with only two in formal employment before imprisonment and a total of four formally employed after prison. After prison, majority (68.3%) went back into casual labour and farming but a few (17.1) reported utilizing the skills received while at prison. An overwhelming majority however did not link their training to the employment. The bulk (76%) of the ex-convicts earned less than Ksh. 6,000 per month which translated to below Ksh 200 a day. None of the convicts, even, those employed, disclosed their criminal history when they sort jobs as they thought this would negatively affect their employability. The majority (90%) of the ex-convicts were hesitant to seek employment of whichever kind as they thought the likely employers' request for a certificate of police clearance would unearth their past involvement in crime. These findings vary from those

by Susan (2005) who observed that 60% of the women at the time of arrest were in part time occupation but concurs with KNBS (2017) study findings that women are under-represented in the formal job market and dominate the informal employment sector.

The study findings point out that the women ex-convicts either lived in their homes or in rented houses before their imprisonment. The elderly ex-convicts moved back to their homes. Majority (59%) of those living in rented houses, however, did not go back to the same housing arrangements because of rejection or the rental houses had been rented out to others. Housing was not found to be directly a major problem linked to criminal history as they opted to migrate to other places where they were not known and did not want to reveal their criminal past. Some, however, had no place to go after release and or faced challenges to pay for their rent. Karley (2013) makes a similar observation on housing challenge for ex-convicts upon leaving incarceration blaming it on lack of prior housing plans for the ex-convicts before release; Herbert (2014) says it is a major cause to recidivism while Melissa (2012) indicated that most of the ex-convicts living in rental houses before incarceration faced a challenge of getting back as they had most probably faulted on rental payment. The assertion by Karley (2013) that ex-convicts do not find family members to stay with them soon after release is however falsified by the study findings as some went straight back to their immediate families and others were accommodated by close relatives especially mothers and sisters.

The study findings show mixed results for the relationship between the ex-convicts and their families and communities, before imprisonment, during the incarceration and after

release. Before the imprisonment and during imprisonment the relationship between offenders and their families was either good or strained. The relationship with the community was fair before incarceration but communities were the most hostile after release depending on the crime committed, the circumstances of the offence and the victim. Families received the ex-convicts well or totally rejecting them depending on the crime they committed. Those accused of murder of their husbands, for example, were absolutely rejected by their in-laws and communities but fairly accepted by their immediate family. According to Dolwick et. al. (2014) unhealed families and un-mended family conflicts lead to strained relations after incarceration. Further, according to Farkas and Miller (2007) families also experience stigma with hosting and accommodating ex-convicts. Another observation in line with survey findings was from The Urban Institute (2008) which pointed out the difficulties in re-establishing the relations between mothers and their children upon release especially for cases where children had been taken to foster care facilities.

The study findings indicate that in the overall, the ex-convicts appreciated the prison services for offering them excellent medical, mental and spiritual care through diagnosis and treatment of diseases (some which they had before going to prison), counseling for mental health issues and for spiritual care. The ex-convicts had nice memories of the chaplaincy services though some never went back to church after imprisonment. Some, however, indicated that they had prison related challenges to their physical health especially rheumatism due to the cold weather and blood pressure as a natural outcome of prison life long after release. Stress leading to insomnia was reported especially for those

who were out on bond and hand pending cases. There were also cases of sleeplessness and bitterness for the time wasted in prison, separation from their children and for being falsely accused. According to Visher (2004) only a small proportion of approximately 20% of the ex-convicts suffer from stress related conditions which is in line with this research findings.

Drug and Substance abuse is not a big issue amongst women ex-convicts according to the findings of this study. Even the sizeable number that had been arrested and convicted for possession and or selling of bhanghi indicated they were not users. Only (2%) one respondent indicated that she not only sold bhanghi but consumed it. The reasons advanced for the possession and selling of Bhanghi was to raise money to cater for their children as they were either single or living with an unsupportive husband. Alternatively, they were employed to sell it or worked together with a male partner while 17% indicated that they took alcohol in a rather abusive way. According to SAMHSA (2014), and Karberg and James (2005) only a small percentage (12.9%) of women engages in illicit drugs which are in line with the research findings. Richard (2018) also noted Bhanghi as one of the most abused drug which is also in line with the research findings. Further, NACADA (2017) indicated that the Central Kenya region has the second highest alcohol abuse incidence (9.2%); a rate that the survey cements as 17% of the ex-convicts indicated to be abusing alcohol.

5.2.3 Effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison

The effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison such as housing, employment, relationships, drugs and substance abuse and mental health affect the individual convicts, their families and communities. Recidivism may also happen when the challenges are not addressed.

The ex-convicts were personally affected differently by the struggles connected to housing and employment, broken relationships or health, drug and substance abuse constraints on reentry. Some felt that the struggles condemned them to a life of negative self-image about themselves, hopelessness and poverty, stressful life and discrimination which made them feel suicidal, bitter, and uncertain about life. There are others who nevertheless felt that the challenges faced provided learning opportunities and approached their reentry and reintegration with optimism.

The study findings indicate reentry challenges affected how families viewed and valued the women returnees and themselves. When the challenges faced by women returning home from prison remained unsettled family separation and breakups occurred. The families of the ex-convicts also felt that they were unnecessarily carrying an extra burden of sustaining the ex-convicts and their dependents as well as the baggage of stigmatization and discrimination by the community. The families thus viewed themselves to be suffering because of their returnees and were sometimes bitter with them. This is in line with Larner (2017) and Pager (2007) observations where they indicated that upon release from prison, most of the ex-convicts look upon their

immediate family for financial, social and emotion support. Cobbina (2010) also observed that close family members are the main source of social support for the ex-convicts.

Stigmatization, hostility and discrimination are the worst reactions to needy returnees by the community. Discrimination is seen in social, economic and religious activities. Communities continually feel insecure, burdened and view them suspiciously leading to a majority of the ex-convicts relocating to places where they are not known. The feeling of communities is that prisons are ineffective in changing the offenders and they thus come out hardened. According to Dodge et. al. (2001) women are more affected by labeling and stigmatization associated to imprisonment and the subsequent feeling of shame. This often leads to social isolation, loss of self-confidence and sometimes leads to re-offending.

The challenges faced by women returnees did not produce worrisome recidivism risk as was the 40% likelihood of recidivating in the study by (Kilgore, 2015). The study findings indicate low recidivism rates amongst the women ex-convicts interviewed at only 20%. The reasons for recidivism include lack of financial support(poverty), temper, family conflict and separation and singularly taking care of dependent children, peer pressure, greed for money and desire for better life, influence of alcohol and drugs, joblessness and false accusation. This is supported by Hale et. al. (2013) and Holtfreter and Morash (2013) who mention previous sexual and physical abuse in childhood, domestic violence, poverty, absent or poor housing, illegal substance and drug use, low

levels of education, singularly taking care of dependent children, divorce or separation as driving women to engage in crime.

5.2.4 Coping mechanisms by women returning home from prisons

The study findings indicate strategies adopted in order to cope with three main challenges namely employment, housing and relationships. The ex-offenders relocated to new areas where they were not known, concealed their criminal history and rented houses. Others lived with relatives or friends temporarily whereas the elderly and widowed ex-offenders went back to their homes. The ex-offenders who relocated to new places in search of a job never let anyone know that they had been into prison and were willing to do any jobs available but mainly as casual workers. In regard to their relationships the overwhelming strategy was to separate from their spouses and live alone, migrate into new places, some got remarried and founded new families and they never wanted their in-laws to discover they had a criminal past. The above findings are supported by Harris (2015) who indicates that ex-convicts relocate to places far away from home upon release to conceal their identity and associated stigma.

5.2.5 Mechanisms of addressing the challenges faced by women returning from prisons

The research findings from the various respondents indicate that there is urgent need to find out solutions to the challenges faced by ex-offenders both at the level of practice and policy. Community corrections have for example been indicated as alternative to the incarceration of women as this would help reduce stigma, employment and housing

pitfalls, avoid destabilization of children and loss of household property. The policy relating to keeping of criminal records and subsequent demand for production of certificate of good conduct was termed not only as profiling the ex-offenders long after imprisonment but carried with it great possibility of job denial as well as stigmatization.

Offenders leaving prison should also be given some start up stipend upon release, either through prison work programs or through affirmative action government funds. Use of mass media, intended to create awareness among members of the public on the functioning of the Criminal Justice System especially prisons was highlighted in order to reduce stigma related to incarceration. Lastly a follow up mechanism was mentioned as necessary after release from prison in terms of counseling in order to avoid challenges associated with mental health such as stress, bitterness and lack of sleep.

5.3 Conclusions

The study indicates that over 68% of the respondents are aged between 30-49 years, mainly single due to separation, never married or widows, hadn't attained secondary school level education and had spent three years and below in prison or remand prison. The crimes the respondents had committed include homicide, robbery, theft of stock, possession of dangerous drugs (especially Bhangi), economic crimes, corruption and other penal code offences such as illegal burning of charcoal. The ex-convicts had received some vocational training while in prison.

This study concludes that housing, employment and relationships are serious challenges when imprisoned women are released and affects their reentry and reintegration back into

their communities in Nyeri County. Majority (61%) of the ex-convicts struggled to start new lives and away from their dwelling after imprisonment as a result of rejection by community or immediate family members largely depending on the nature of the crime committed, the circumstances leading to the crime and the victim. This is complicated by the financial difficulties associated with lack of employment due to poor education qualifications levels, worsened by the extension of a criminal tag and stigmatization beyond the prison gates and fear that employers would do ask for background checks such as police clearance certificates. Issues of drug abuse and mental health did not come out strongly as key challenges to the ex-convicts.

From the study findings, the above challenges posed different effects on how the ex-convicts, their families and the community viewed and valued them. Unhealed relationships, broken families rejection, discrimination, mistrust, negative self-image, hopelessness and poverty, stressful life, suicidal thoughts, bitterness and uncertainty about life characterize the effects of the challenges on the individual ex-offenders. Others felt that the challenges provided learning opportunities. The challenges produced different effect to the families and how they viewed the returnees. The list includes separation, breakups, burden of sustaining the ex-convicts and their dependents as well as the baggage of stigmatization and discrimination by the community. The families thus viewed themselves to be victims because of their returnees and were sometimes bitter with them. Stigmatization, hostility, suspicion, insecurity, social, economic and religious discrimination define how communities view the women returnees leading to a majority

of the ex-convicts relocating to places where they are not known. This may however vary depending on the gravity of the crime committed.

The study findings indicate coping mechanisms to the adverse effects born of the challenges include migrating to places where they were not known, concealed their criminal history and rented houses, living with relatives or friends temporarily and willingness to do any menial jobs. Others opted to separate from their spouses while others got remarried and founded new families though they never wanted their in-laws to discover they had a criminal past.

Overall, there is minimal contribution from the relevant and responsible government bodies in addressing the ex-convicts' reentry and re-integration into the society. The study findings prefer community corrections and not incarceration for women offenders and expunging of criminal records upon release and demonstrated good conduct. It is also reasonable that ex-offenders should receive some follow up after release from prison, be given startup capital and that the mass media be used to create awareness among members of the public on the functioning of the Criminal Justice System. After care research in Kenya is still at its infancy and broad and could not be fully addressed in a single study like this one and hence more research in the area will be recommended.

5.4.1 Policy recommendations of the study

Guided by the research objectives several recommendations based on four key thematic areas are suggested. The recommendations are made in terms of practices and policies

which require to be made in order to address factors influencing reentry of women ex-offenders not only in Nyeri County but in Kenya as a whole.

1. Before arrest, there should be a special consideration for women in terms of identifying if they have dependent children and who would take care of the children in their absence. The nearest probation office in collaboration with local community and government officials should be tasked to expeditiously address this concern. This would ameliorate emotional stress for the women prisoners and eliminate the danger of their children turning to crime for survival and being turned into victims.
2. During arrest, the government through local officials (e.g. chiefs and their assistants) needs to identify and appoint a representative to take care of the property of the offenders to ensure by the time they get released, they do not have to start at zero for loss of their household properties.
3. Currently, the numbers of visits to a prisoner are limited to once a month. This denies the prisoner, their family and community ample time to meet, interact and reconcile. The allowed minimum visits should be reviewed to accommodate weekly visits as is on need basis upon the approval of prison authorities to allow for more interaction and reduce stigmatization. The number of open days where families and relatives interact with the prisoners should be increased and the public encouraged to make use of this opportunity to visit and learn what happens at prison in a bid to reduce stigma.
4. Given most of the female convicts are held in medium security prisons not far from their homes and that they are mainly not considered as a security risk and

also in line with the core functions of the prisons i.e. rehabilitation and reformation of prisoners for social re-integration, prisoners should be allowed to attend to critical family functions. This will help to build/maintain relations among their families and the communities. They should, however, not be granted if they are judged to pose any risk to themselves, the victims or the community.

5. Currently, there is a manifest disconnect between the courses trained at prison and potential employers. The government should come up with a policy that links potential employers with ex-convicts through tax rebates or land to build industries within prisons' proximity.
6. In Kenya, there are no documented policies for prisoners exiting prison without probation terms. The same does not also exist after probation period. Upon release, some prisoners have nowhere to go which increases the risk of them recidivating. The criminal justice system should be reviewed to provide for community corrections that provide some form of after-care that hold ex-convicts before they are directly released into communities especially those who have been in prison for long.
7. According to the current criminal records filing "once a criminal always a criminal" as they cannot get a certificate of good conduct. This automatically blocks the ex-convicts from formal job opportunities which negate the purpose of rehabilitation. This policy needs to be reviewed to allow for expunging of criminal records after some time
8. Currently, prison is negatively viewed by the community; this is primarily because of the isolation of prisoners and whatever happens behind the bars. The

government should involve other sectors such as the churches, the media, schools and Non- Governmental Organizations in educating the masses in order to ease re-entry of ex-convicts

5.4.2. Recommendations for Further research

In a bid to uncover more insights in this field of female convicts' re-entry and reintegration into the community, a number of areas would be of interest to study. These include:

1. How do children view their mothers after incarceration, the effects on their behavior and delinquency?
2. How to maximize and share benefits of prison labour between the prisons and the inmates to ease their reentry and reintegration upon leaving prison.
3. A longitudinal study to uncover changes in re-entry challenges, coping mechanisms and relationships (among close relatives and the community) over a period of time.

REFERENCES

- Aaltonen, M., Andersen, Bäckman, O., Estrada, F., Danielsson, P., Skardhamar, T., & Nilsson, A. (2017). Comparing Employment Trajectories Before and after First Imprisonment in four Nordic Countries. *British Journal of Criminology*. 57 (4), 828-847. Retrieved 26 September, 2018, from doi:10.1093/bjc/azw026
- Abraham, M. F. (1982). *Modern Sociological Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Abrifor, C.A., Atere, A.A., & Moughalu, C.O. (2012). Gender Differences, Trend and Pattern Recidivism in Selected Nigerian Prisons. *European Scientific Journal*, 8(24), 25-44. Retrieved 26 March, 2019, from <https://ejournal.org/index.php/esj/article/view/436>
- Acocella, N. (2007). *Social Pacts, Employment and Growth. A Reappraisal of Ezio Tarantellis Thought*. Heidelberg. Springer Venay.
- Adler, F. & Mueller, G.O.W. (2010). *Criminology*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Agboola, C. (2016). *Memories of the 'inside': Conditions in South African Women's Prisons*. South African Crime Quarterly. Vol. 56, pp 19-26. Retrieved 30 March, 2019, from African Journals Online (AJOL) data base
- Ajala, E.M. & Oguntuase, A.E. (2011). Effectiveness of After-care-Services in the Reintegration and Supply of Labour after Incarceration in the Prisons: Lagos and Oyo States Prison Command Experience. *International Multidisciplinary Journal*, Ethiopia, 5 (5), 185-198.
- Ajit, K., Ghose, et al. (2008). *Global Employment Challenge*. International Labour Office, Retrieved 3 February, 2019 from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Akers, R. L., Sellers, C.S. & Jennings, W.G. (2009). *Criminological Theories*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Amadala, V. (2019). 51% of Kenyans Live Hand to Mouth-CBK Report, *The Star*. Retrieved 27 May, 2019, from <https://www.the-star.co.ke/business/2019-04-03-51-of-kenyans-live-hand-to-mouth-cbk-report/>
- Baer, D., Bhati, A., Brooks, L., Castro, J., Vigne, N.L., Mallik, Kane, K., Naser, R., Osborne, J., Roman, C., Roman, J., Rossman, S., Solomon, A., Visser, C. & Winterfield, L. (2006). *Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry: Research Findings from the Urban Institute's Prisoner Reentry Portfolio Justice Policy Center Reentry Researchers*. Urban Institute Justice Policy Center. Washington D.C. Retrieved on 10 may 2018 from <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/42981/411289-Understanding-the-Challenges-of-Prisoner-Reentry.PDF>

- Bahr, S.J., Harker, A., Gibbs, B. G., Hariss, P.E. & Fisher, J.K (2005). The Reentry Process: How Parolees Adjust to Release from Prison. *Fathering*, 3 (3), 243-265. Men's Studies Press, LLC. Retrieved 29 June, 2018, from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/255606267>
- Barlow, H. D., & Kauzlarich, D. (2009). *Explaining crime: A primer in criminological theory*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved 22 May, 2018, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Barlow, H., & Decker, S. H. (Eds.). (2010). *Criminology and public policy: Putting theory to Work*. Temple University Press. Retrieved 29 March, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Beck, A. J. (2000). *State and federal prisoners returning to the community: Findings from Bureau of Justice statistics*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved 29 July, 2018, from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/sfprc.pdf>
- Belkanap, J. (2001). *The Invisible Woman: Gender, Crime and Justice (2nd ed.)*. Michigan: Wadsworth
- Bloom, B. & Covington, S. (2000). Gendered justice: Programming for women in corrections settings. San Francisco, CA: *Paper presented at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology*. Retrieved on 5 February, 2018 from <https://www.stephaniecovington.com/assets/files/2.pdf>
- Bloom, S. L. (2000). Creating Sanctuary: Healing from Systematic Abuse of Power. *Therapeutic communities. International Journal for Therapeutic and supportive organizations*, 21(2), 67-91. Retrieved 9 January, 2018, from sanctuaryweb.com/Portals/0/Bloom%20Pubs/2000%20Bloom%20Creating%20Sanctuary%20Healing%20From%20Systemic.pdf
- Blume, S. (1990). Alcohol and drug Problems in Women: Old attitudes, new knowledge. In Milkman, H. & Sederer. L. (Eds.), *Treatment choices of alcoholism and substance abuse*. New York: Lexington.
- Bockneck, E., Sanderson J, Britner, P. (2009). Ambiguous Loss and Posttraumatic Stress in school-age children of prisoners. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 18(3):323-333. Retrieved 9 January, 2018 from <http://www.google.com>
- Boister, N. (2014). *An Introduction to Transnational Criminal Law*. OUP Oxford. Retrieved 9 January, 2018, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Bonta ,J., Ruge,T.,Scott,T.,Bourgon, G. & Yessine, A.K.(2008)Exploring The Black Box Of Community Supervision *.Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*,47:3,248-270,Retrieved 19 February, 2019, from <https://doi.org.1080/10509670802134085>
- Bost , N. S. (2010). *State wards, long-term care, and delinquent acts: An analysis of social bond factors*. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC. Retrieved 29 March, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

- Bradley, K. H., Oliver, R. B. M., Richardson, N. C. & Slayter, E. M. (2001). *No Place like Home: Housing and ex-Prisoner*. Research gate: Retrieved 9 January, 2018, from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/239616156_No_Place_Like_Home_Housing_and_the_Ex-Prisoner
- Brown, S. L., & Dowden, C. (2002). The role of substance abuse factors in predicting recidivism: A meta-analysis. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 8, 243-264, Retrieved 9 January, 2018, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/10683160208401818>
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics (2002). *Correctional Population in the United States*. Washington, DC; US Department of Justice. Retrieved 9 January, 2018, from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/press/cpus15pr.cfm>
- Bynum, T. S. & Huebner, B. M. (2016). *Wiley Handbook on Measurement Issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice*. John Wiley & Sons Incorporated. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Bynum, T. S. & Huebner, B. M. (2016). *Wiley Handbook on Measurement Issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice*. John Wiley & Sons Incorporated. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Byrne, M. & Howells, K. (2000). Key issues in the provision of correctional service of women. The women in correction: *staff and clients conference* (pp 1-7). Adelaide: University of Wollongong. Retrieved 29 June, 2018, from <https://ro.uow.edu.au/>
- Caddle, D. & Crisp, D. (1997). *Mother in prison: Research findings no. 38*. London: Home office-Research and Statistics Directorate. Retrieved 27 June, 2018, from http://www.birthcompanions.info/media/Public/Resources/Extpublications/Mothers_in_prison.pdf
- Caputo, G. (2004). *Intermediate Sanctions in Corrections*. University of North Texas Press.
- Carey, E. (2014). *Women Drug Traffickers: Mules, Bosses, and Organized Crime*. University of New Mexico Press. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Carlen, P. & Worrall, A. (2004). *Analysing Women's Imprisonment*. Willan Publishing. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Carrabine, E., Cox, P., Lee, M., Plummer, K. & South, N. (2009). *Criminology: A Sociological Introduction* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge
- Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (CSAT). (1994). *Practical Approaches in the Treatment of Women Who Abuse Alcohol and Other Drugs*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office Retrieved 22 March, 2019, from <https://store.samhsa.gov/system/files/sma15-4426.pdf>

- Center on Addiction.(2010).New CASA* report finds:65% of U.S inmates meet medical criteria for substance abuse addiction ,only 11% receive any treatment. New York. Author. Retrieved on May 30, 2018 from <https://www.centeronaddiction.org/newsroom/press-releases/2010-behindbars-II>.
- Chukwudi, F. (2012). Challenges of Reforms in the Nigerian Prison System: Lessons from the USA and South Africa. *Journal of Social Science and Public Policy*, 4(9), 35-46
- Clear, T. R., Rose, D. R., & Ryder, J. A. (2001). Incarceration and the Community: The Problem of Removing and Returning Offenders. *Crime & Delinquency*, 47(3), 335–351.Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128701047003003>
- Cobbina, J. E. (2010). Reintegration Success and Failure: Factors Impacting Reintegration among Incarcerated and formerly incarcerated Women. *Journal of offender rehabilitation*, 49, 210-232. Retrieved 22 June, 2018, from Taylor and Francis Online database
- Coll, G., Cynthia, and Duff, K. (2011). *Reframing the Needs of Women in Prison: a Relational and Diversity Perspective*. Project report. Wellesley, Mass.: Stone
- Community, S. A. D. F. C. & National, R. C. S. (2007). *Parole, Desistance from crime, and Community Integration*. National Research Council. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Cook, P. J., & Olivier, M. (2013). *Lessons from the Economics of Crime: What Reduces Offending?* In Machie, S. & Mastrobuoni, G. MIT Press. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Covington, S. (2000). Creating Gender-Specific Treatment for Substance-Abusing Women and Girls in Community Correctional Settings. In M. McMahon (Ed.), *Assessment to Assistance: Programs for Women in community corrections*, 171-233. California: American Correctional Association. Retrieved 24 June, 2018, from <https://www.stephaniecovington.com/assets/files/10.pdf>
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Crow, I., & Semmens, N. (2007). *Researching Criminology*. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Daly, D., Moss, H., and Campbell, F. (1993). *Dual Disorders: Counselling clients with Chemical Dependency and mental illness*. Centre city, Minn: Hazelden.
- Davies, P. (2011). *Gender, Crime & Victimization*. New York. Sage Publications
- Davis, L. M., Bozick R., Steele, J.L., Saunders, J. & Miles, J. N.V. (2013). *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education: A Meta-Analysis of Programs That Provide Education to Incarcerated Adults*. RAND Corporation, Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

- Delgado, M., & Humm-Delgado, D. (2008). *Health and health care in the nation's prisons: Issues, challenges, and policies*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved 12 September, 2019 from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Dodge, M. & Progrebin, M. R. (2001). Collateral Costs of Imprisonment for Women: Complications of Reintegration. *Prison Journal*, 81, 42-54. Retrieved 13 September, 2018 from Sage database.
- Dolwick Grieb, S., Crawford, A., Fields, J., Smith, H., Harris, R., & Matson, P. (2014). "The stress will kill you": Prisoner reentry as experienced by family members and the urgent need for support services. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 3, 1183-1200.
- Douries, P.F. (2007). *Victims, Crime & Society*. London: Sage Publications.
- Durrant, R. & Ward, T. (2015). *Evolutionary Criminology: Towards a Comprehensive Explanation of Crime*. Elsevier Science & Technology. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Durston, G. J. (2013). *Wicked ladies: Provincial women, crime and the eighteenth-century English justice system*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Elkins, C. (2005). *Britain's gulag: The brutal end of empire in Kenya*. London: Pimlico
- Ellis, L., Harley, R.D. & Walsh, A. (2009). *Research Methods in Criminal Justice and Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Ellis, L., Harley, R.D. & Walsh, A. (2009). *Research Methods in Criminal Justice and Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Erickson, P. E., Erickson, S. K., & Erickson, S. (2008). *Crime, punishment, and mental illness: Law and the behavioral sciences in conflict*. Rutgers University Press Retrieved 12 September, 2019 from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Farkas, M. A. & Miller, G. (2007). Reentry and Reintegration: Challenges faced by the families of convicted sex offenders. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 20, .88-92, Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://fsr.ucpress.edu/content/2/2/88>
- Few-Demo, A. L. & Arditti, J. A. (2013). Relational Vulnerabilities of Incarcerated and Reentry Mothers: Therapeutic Implications. *International Journal Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology rehabilitation*, 58, 1297-1320, retrieved 29 June, 2018, from Sage database.

- Fhoobiall, H., Chitto, H.B. & Bhoola, A. (2011). Trends in Incarceration and recidivism in Mauritius: raising the alarm. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 2 (7), 53-64, Retrieved 9 June, 2018, from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/fac3/16481583de39a17d8b8bdee63debf28e4e57.pdf>
- Freeman, R. M. (2003). "Social distance and discretionary rule enforcement in a women's prison." *Prison Journal*. 83,191-205.
- Freudenberg, Nicholas, Jesse Daniels, Martha Crum, Tiffany Peneins, and Beth E. Richie. (2005). "Coming Home from Jail: The Social & Health consequences of community reentry for women, male adolescents and their families and communities." *American Journal of Public Health*, 95, 1725-36). Retrieved 9 June, 2018, from <https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.2004.056325> Fournier, Manon, C., & Mercier, S.C. *Economics of Employment and Unemployment*. Nova
- Gendreau, P., Little, T. and Goggin, C. (1996). A Meta-Analysis of the Predictors of Adult Offender Recidivism: *What works!* Vol. 34. (pp. 575-607). Retrieved 9 June, 2018, from Wiley online Library database
- Genty, P. M. (2002). Damage to family Relationships as a Collateral Consequence of Parental Incarceration. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 30(5), 1670-1684, retrieved 9 June, 2018, <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ulj/vol30/iss5/6/>
- Giddens, A. (2011). *Sociology* (6th ed.). Cambridge: Polity.
- Goulding, D. (2004). *Severed Connections: An exploration of the impact of imprisonment for Women's familial and social connectedness*. Murdoch University, Research centre for social and community research.
- Graffom, J., Shinkfield, A., Lavene, B. & McPhearson, W. (2004). "Variables Affecting Successful Reintegration As Perceived by Offenders and Professionals," *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 40, 147-171. Retrieved 11 June, 2018, from Taylor and Francis Online database.
- Grieb, S.M.D., Crawford, A., Fields, J., Smith, H., Harris, R., & Matson, P. (2014). "The Stress Will Kill You": Prisoner Reentry as Experienced by Family Members and the Urgent Need for Support Services. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 25(3), 1183-1200. doi:10.1353/hpu.2014.0118. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/552193/summary>
- Grommon, E. L. (2013). *Prisoner Reentry Programs: Penetrating the Black Box for Better Theory and Practice*. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Gunnison, E. & Helfott, J. B. (2013). *Offender reentry: Beyond crime and punishment*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Retrieved 29 March, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

- Gunnison, E., Bernat, F. P., & Goodstein, L. (2016). *Women, crime, and justice: balancing the scales*. John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated Retrieved 12 March, 2019 from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Haires, R.W. (2007). *Crime and Criminology*. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Harding, D.J., Herbert, C.W., Morenoff, J.D. &. (2015). Homelessness and Housing Insecurity among Former Prisoners. *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*. 1 (2), pp. 44-79 Retrieved 16 January, 2019, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7758/rsf.2015.1.2.04#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Hale, C., Hayward, K., Wahidin, A. & Wincup, E. (2013) (2013). *Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haley, R. M. (1997). *Introduction to Criminal Justice*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Harding, D.J., Herbert, C.W., Morenoff, J.D. &. (2015). Homelessness and Housing Insecurity among Former Prisoners. *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*. 1 (2), pp. 44-79 Retrieved 16 January, 2019, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7758/rsf.2015.1.2.04#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Harris, M. L. (2015). *Returning Home: Intimate Partner Violence and Reentry*. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Harrison, P.M. & Beck, A. J. (2006). *Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2005*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of justice.
- Hartnett, S. J., & Novek, E. (Eds.). (2013). *Working for justice: A Handbook of Prison Education and Activism*. University of Illinois Press. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Hattery, A. J. & Smith, E. (2010). *Prisoner Reentry and Social Capital: The Long Road to Reintegration*. Lexington Books. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Heinlein, S. (2013). *Among Murderers: Life after Prison*. California: University of California Press Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Henry, J.S & Jacobs, J.B.(2007). Ban the Box to Promote Ex-offender Employment. *Criminology and Public Policy* .Retrieved 16 June, 2018 from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2007.00470.x>
- Herbert , Claire W. (2014). *The ethos of care: Assessing the (Non Legal) Right to property in Detroit* (unpublished paper). American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL. August 22-25.University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Hirschfield, P. J., & Piquero, A. R. (2010). Normalization and Legitimation: Modeling Stigmatizing Attitudes towards Ex-offenders. *Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 48(1), 27-55. Retrieved 26 March, 2019, from Wiley online Library database

- Hirschi, T (1969) *Causes of Delinquency*, Berkeley CA, University of California Press.
- Holtfreter, K & Wattanaporn, K, A. (2013). The Transition from Prison to Community Initiative: An Examination of Gender Responsiveness for Female Offender Reentry. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* (CJB), 41(1), 41-57. Retrieved 28 March, 2019 from Sage database.
- Holtfreter, K. & Morash, M. (2013). *The Needs of Women offenders: Implication for Correctional*
- <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1449426/pdf/0951718.pdf>
- Human Rights Watch. (2003). *Ill equipped: U.S. prisons and offenders with mental illness*. New York: Author, Retrieved May 5, 2018, from <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/usa1003/usa1003.pdf>
- Iain, C. (Ed.). (2001). *The Treatment and Rehabilitation of Offenders*. SAGE Publications, 2001. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- ILO (1982). *Resolution concerning statistics of the economically active population employment, unemployment and underemployment, adopted by the Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians*. Author. Retrieved 10 July, 2018, from https://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/standards-and-guidelines/resolutions-adopted-by-international-conferences-of-labour-statisticians/WCMS_087481/lang--en/index.htm
- ILO. (2015). *World Employment and Social Outlook 2015: The Changing Nature of Jobs*. International Labour Office. Retrieved 12 February, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Immariogean, S. M. (2011). *After Crime and Punishment, Pathways to Offender Reintegration*. New York: Routledge.
- Incarceration of inmates of color. A Call to the Communities. *Journal of Black Studies*: 35(5), 633-649. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from JSTOR database.
- Innes, C. (2015). *Healing corrections: The future of imprisonment*. Northeastern University Press Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- James, D. J., & Glaze, L. E. (2006). *Mental health problems of prison and jail inmates*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved May 5, 2018, from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/mhppji.pdf>
- Jinnah, D. (1994, October). Research and development: Women in prison. *Prison Fellowship*
- Jupp, Jupp, V., and Victor R. (1989). *Methods of Criminological Research*, Routledge, 1989. ProQuest Ebook Central. Retrieved 19 June, 2018, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

- Kaguta, R.J.N. (2014). *Rehabilitation of Women in Prison in Kenya: A Focus on Legal and Policy Framework, Process and Practice*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of PAU (UPPA), France.
- Kalabamu, F. (2006). Patriarchy and Women's land rights in Botswana. *Land use Policy*. 23(3), 237-246 Retrieved 16 January, 2019 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/222575800_Patriarchy_and_women's_land_rights_in_Botswana.
- Karberg, J.C., & James D.J. (2005). Substance dependence, abuse, and treatment of jail inmates, 2002. New York. Bureau of Justice Statistics Retrieved on January 10, 2018 from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/sdatji02.pdf>
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). (2018). *Statistical Abstract 2018*. Nairobi: Author Retrieved 20 May, 2018, from <https://www.knbs.or.ke/statistical-abstract-2018/> Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). (2013). *Statistical Abstract 2013*. Nairobi: Author Retrieved 20 May, 2018, from <https://www.knbs.or.ke/download/statistical-abstract-2013/>
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). (2018). *The 2015/16 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS)- Labour Force Basic Report*. Nairobi: Author
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2015). *Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2014*. Nairobi: Author
- Kenya Prisons Service (2004). *Handbook on Human Rights in Kenya Prisons*. Nairobi: Institute for Education in Democracy.
- Kerley, K. R. (2013). *Religious faith in correctional contexts*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Kilgore, J. (2015). *Understanding mass Incarceration: a people's guide to the key civil rights struggle of our time*. The New Press Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Kimberly, M. T. & Pence, R. (2015). "Factors that affect the arrest decision in domestic violence cases", *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 38(1), 56-70, Retrieved 16 January, 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-07-2014-0075>
- Knepper, P. (2004). *Criminology and Social Policy*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Kombo, D. K. & Tromp D.L.A. (2006). *Proposal and Thesis Writing*. Nairobi: Pauline's Publications Africa.
- Kornblum, W. J.J. (1998). *Social Problems*. New Jersey: Printice Hall.
- Kothari, C. (2004). *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited, Publishers.

- Larner, S.(2017). Pathways from violence: The Impact of Community based Intervention on Offender Reintegration in Gugulethu. *South Africa Crime Quarterly*, 61,41-55.Retrieved 16 January, 2019 from <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/sacq/article/view/166049/155484>
- Lawston, J. M., & Lucas, A. E. (Eds.). (2011). *Razor wire women: Prisoners, activists, scholars, and artists*. State University of New York Press Retrieved 17 January, 2019 from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Leverentz, A. (2014). *The ex-prisoner's Dilemma: How Women Negotiate Competing Narratives of Reentry and Desistance*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Retrieved 19 May, 2019, from JSTOR database
- Lind, D.A., Marschal, W.C. & Wathen, S.A. (2006). *Basic Statistics for Business and Economic* (5th Ed.). New York: McGraw Hill
- Losel, F. (2012). Offender Treatment and Rehabilitation: What Works? In Maguire, M., Morgan, & Reiner, R. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 986-1010)
- Loveless, J. (2012). *Criminal Kaw: Text, Cases, and Materials* ((3rd ed.). London: Oxford University Press
- MacKenzie, D. L. (2006). *What Works in Corrections: Reducing the Criminal Activities of Offenders and Delinquents*. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Marbley, A. F. & Ferguson, R. (2005). Responding to prisoner reentry, Recidivism, and incarceration of inmates of color. A Call to the Communities. *Journal of Black Studies*: 35(5), 633-649. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from Jstor data data base.
- Marbley, A. F. & Ferguson, R. (2005). Responding to prisoner reentry, Recidivism, and
- Marshall, G. & Scott, J. (Eds.). (2009). *A Dictionary of Sociology* (3rd Ed.) New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Martin, J.P. & Webster, D. (1971). *Social Consequences of Conviction*. London: Heinemann Education Books.
- Maruna, S. & Immarigeon, R. (Eds). (2004). *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender*
- McIvor, G. (Ed.) (2004). *Women who offend*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Mckean, L. & Ransford, C. (2004). *Current strategies for reducing recidivism*. Chicago: Centre for Impact Research. Retrieved 20 May, 2016, from <http://www.targetarea.org/research.doc/recidivismfullreport.pdf>

- Melissa, L. (2012). *Prisoner reentry and reintegration: perspectives of the women involved in Outcare's St John of God Women's Program*. Retrieved May 5, 2018, from <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/498>
- Mental Disability Advocacy Center (MDAC). (2003). *CAGE BEDS. Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment in Four EU Accession Countries*. Budapest. Author. Retrieved on 20 June, 2018 from http://www.mdac.org/sites/mdac.org/files/English_cage_beds.pdf
- Morenoff, Jeffrey, D. & Harding, D. J. (2011). *Final Technical Report: Neighbourhoods, Recidivism, and Employment among Returning Prisoners*. Report submitted to the National institute of justice. Retrieved 19 July, 2018, from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/236436.pdf>
- Mose S. (2016). *Nyerification reloaded: Why Nyeri women chop off husbands' genitals*. Standard. Nairobi. Retrieved 19 October, 2018 <https://www.sde.co.ke/thenairobi/article/2000165332/nyerification-reloaded-why-nyeri-women-chop-off-husbands-genitals>
- Mowen, T. J., and Visher A.C. (2015). Drug Use and Crime after Incarceration: The Role of Family Support and Family Conflict, *Justice Quarterly*, 32 (2), 337-359. Retrieved 29 June, 2018 from <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080%2F07418825.2013.771207>
- Mugenda, A. G. (2008). *Social Science Research*. Nairobi: Applied Research & Training Services.
- Mugenda, A.G. & Mugenda, O. (1999). *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Nairobi: ACTS Press.
- Mumola, C.J. (2000). *Incarcerated Parents and their Children*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Special. Report., US Dep. Justice, Washington, DC. Retrieved 29 June, 2018, from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/iptc.pdf>
- Muncie, E.M. (2010). *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Mushanga, M. *Crime and Deviance: An Introduction to Criminology*, Law Africa Publishing Ltd, 2011. Retrieved 22 May, 2018, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Mutabari, M. M. & Wanjohi, J.M. (2017). Factors influencing performance of prisoners' reintegration programmes: A case of women prisoners in Meru government of Kenya prison, Meru County, Kenya. *International Academic Journal of Information Sciences and Project Management*, 2 (1), 464-485. Retrieved 12 February, 2019, from http://www.iajournals.org/articles/iajispm_v2_i1_464_485.pdf

- Naser, R., & Visher, C. (2006). Family members' experiences with incarceration and reentry. *Western Criminology Review*, 7(2), 20-31. Retrieved 10 May, 2018, from http://www.antoniocasella.eu/nume/naser_reentry_2006.pdf
- Nathan, J. (2015). Offender reentry: correctional statistics. Reintegration into the community and recidivism. *Congressional research service*. Retrieved 6 March, 2019, from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL34287.pdf>
- National Center for Health Statistics. (2013). Health, United States, 2012. With special feature on Emergency Care. Washington D.C. U.S Government Printing Office. Retrieved on 12 April 2018 from <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/hus12.pdf>
- Naughton, G. M., Rolfe, S.A. & Siraj-Blatchford, I. (2010). *Doing Early Childhood Research* (2nd ed.). New York: Open University Press
- Noaks, L. & Wincup, E. (2004). *Criminological Research: Understanding Qualitative Methods*, London: SAGE Publications, 2004.
- Olphen, V., Eliason, M., Freudenberg, N. & Barnes, M. (2009). Nowhere to go: How stigma limits the options of female drug users after release from jail. *Substance Abuse, Treatment, Prevention and Policy*, Vol. 4, Article 10. 4-10. Retrieved 29 June, 2018, from Biomedcentral database.
- Oruta, E. M. (2016). Challenges That Confront Offenders During Reentry Into Kenyan Communities. *International Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 19, 57-66, Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://www.iiste.org/tag/international-journal-of-african-and-asian-studies-callforpapers/page/2/>
- Pager, D. (2007). *Marked: Race, crime, and finding work in an era of mass incarceration*. University of Chicago Press. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Pamela, D, P.F. (2007). *Victims, Crime & Society*. London: Sage Publications.
- Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC), 2018
- Petersilia, & Petersilia, J. (2003). *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*. Oxford University Press USA - OSO Retrieved 20 February, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Petrillo, M. (2007). *The Corston Report: A review of women with particular vulnerabilities in the criminal justice system*, *Probation Journal*, 54 (3), 285-287 Retrieved 28 March, 2019 from Sage database
- Piquero, A. R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Criminological Theory* (pp.271-289) Retrieved 29 March, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Pogorzelski, W., Wolff, N., Pan, K. & Blitz, C.L. (2005), Behavioral Health Problems, Ex Offender Reentry Policies, and the "Second Chance Act". *American Journal of Public Health*, 95 (10), 1718 -1724. Retrieved 29 January, 2019 from

- Pogorzelski, W., Wolff, N., Pan, K. & Blitz, C. L. (2005). Behavioral Health Problems, Ex-Offender reentry Policies, and the “Second Chance Act”. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95 (10).
<https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.2005.065805>
- Prison Reform Trust. (2013). *Women in Prison*. London. Author. Retrieved on 21 July 2018 from <http://www.prisonreformtrust.org>.
- Programming. Women and Criminal Justice, 14,137-160. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from https://doi.org/10.1300/J012v14n02_07
- Raynor, P. (2012). Community penalties, probation, and offender management. In Maguire, M., Morgan, & Reiner, R. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 928- 949)
Reintegration, Taylor & Francis Group. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Republic of Kenya (1963). *Act No. CAP 90: PRISONS*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved 20 November, 2018, from <http://www.kenyalaw.org:8181/exist/kenyalex/actview.xql?actid=CAP.%2090>
- Republic of Kenya (1963). *Act No. CAP 92: BORSTAL INSTITUTIONS*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved 20 November, 2018, from <http://kenyalaw.org:8181/exist/kenyalex/actview.xql?actid=CAP.%2092>
- Republic of Kenya (1981). *Act No. CAP 64: Probation of offenders Act*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved 14 January, 2020, from <http://www.probation.go.ke/resource-center/category/9-statutes.html>
- Republic of Kenya (2007). *Kenya Vision 2030: The Popular version*. Nairobi: author. Retrieved 22 May, 2018 <http://vision2030.go.ke/inc/uploads/2018/05/Vision-2030-Popular-Version.pdf>
- Republic of Kenya (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010.*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved 20 November, 2018, from <http://www.kenyalaw.org:8181/exist/kenyalex/actview.xql?actid=Const2010>
- Republic of Kenya (2017). *Kenya Gazette Vol. CXIX*. Nairobi: Author. Retrieved 20 November, 2018, from http://kenyalaw.org/kenya_gazette/gazette/month/3/2017, Vol.CXIX
- Rodriguez, N., & Brown, B. (2003). *Preventing Homelessness among people leaving prison*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice. Retrieved 9 October, 2018, from: <http://www.vera.org/downloadfile=271/11B%2BHomelessness.pdf>
- Routledge (2013). *Routledge library editions: Phenomenology*. Retrieved 22 November, 2019, from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Samaha, J. (1994). *Criminal Justice (3rd ed)*. New York: West Publishing Company.

- Schaefer, R.T. (2010). *Sociology* (12th ed). New York. The McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Schaefer, R.T. (2010). *Sociology* (12th Ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill
- Schug, R. A., & Fradella, H. F. (2015). *Mental illness and crime*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Science Publishers, Incorporated. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Seiter, R.P. (2003). Prisoner reentry and the role of parole officers. *Federal Probation*, 66 (3), 50-54. Retrieved 14 May, 2018, from https://www.uscourts.gov/sites/default/files/66_3_8_0.pdf
- Seiter, R.P., & Kadela, K.R. (2003). Prisoner reentry: What works, what does not, and what is promising. *Crime and Delinquency*, 49(3), 360-388. Retrieved 10 May, 2019, from Sage database.
- Shivy, V.A. Wu, J.J., Moon, A.E., Mann, S.C., Holland, J.G., & Eacho, C. (2007). Ex-offenders reentering the workforce. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 54, 466-473. Retrieved 12 April, 2019, from <https://psycnet.apa.org/doiLanding?doi=10.1037%2F0022-0167.54.4.466>
- Sidebottom, A., & Wortley, R. (2015). Environmental Criminology. In Piquero, A. R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Criminological Theory* (pp.156-181) Retrieved 29 March, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Sidēlska, A. (2014). *Housing element as social-economic development of regions* (unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Jelgava: Latvia University of Agriculture. Retrieved 19 October 9, 2018, from: https://lufb.ltu.lv/dissertation-summary/regional-economics/A_Sidelska_prom_darba_kopsavilkums_2014_LLU.pdf
- Siegel, L. J. (2010). *Criminology theories, patterns and typologies* (10th Ed.). Belmont. Wadsworth.
- Simmon Staff (2016). *The challenges of prisoner reentry into society*, Boston: Author. Retrieved 15 May, 2019, from <https://socialwork.simmons.edu/blog/Prisoner-Reentry/>
- Skeem, J. & Peterson, J.P. (2010). *Major risk factors for recidivism among offenders with Mental illness*. Retrieved 29 June, 2018, from <http://www.riskreduction.soceco.vci.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/crimNeedsCSG-Revised-clean.pdf>
- Snider, L. (2003). Atavistic Man Incarcerates Postmodern Woman. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 43 (2), 354-378, Oxford University Press, Retrieved 19 March, 2019, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23638858.pdf>
- Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). (2002). *Reducing Re-offending by Ex-prisoners*. London: Author

- Solinger, R., Johnson, P. C., Raimon, M. L., Reynolds, T., & Tapia, R. (2010). *Interrupted life: Experiences of incarcerated women in the United States*. University of California Press. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Stathopoulos, M. & Quadara, A. (2014). *Women as offenders Women as victims. The role of corrections in supporting women with histories of sexual abuse*. Sydney: Corrective Services NSW. Retrieved 19 March, 2018 from <https://www.correctiveservices.justice.nsw.gov.au/Documents/women-as-offenders-women-as-victims-the-role-of-corrections-in-supporting-women-with-histories-of-sexual-assault.pdf>
- Stohr, M., Walsh, A., & Hemmens, G. (2009). *Corrections*. Sage Publications
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). (2015). Behavioral Health trends in the United States: *Results from the 2014 National Survey on Drug Use and Health*. Publication No. SMA 15-4927, NSDUH Series H-50). Retrieved from 19 March, 2018 [http://www.samhsa.gov/data/ Originating Office Center for Behavioral Health Statistics](http://www.samhsa.gov/data/OriginatingOfficeCenterforBehavioralHealthStatistics).
- Susan, L. (2005). *Hard time: ex- offender returning home after prison*
- Swason, C.R. (2008). *Criminal Investigation*. New York: Mc Graw Hill.
- Tenibiaje, D.J. (2013). Educational attainment and peer group influence as predictors of recidivism. *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities*.
- The National Police Service. (2017). *Annual Crime Report 2016*. Nairobi: Author
- The Urban Institute (2008). The Challenges of Prisoner Reentry: Facts And Figures. <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/31786/411683-The-Challenges-of-Prisoner-Reentry-Facts-and-Figures.PDF>
- The World Bank. (2017). *Kenya economic Update: Housing Unavailable and Unaffordable*. Washington, DC: Author
- Thompson, A.C. (2008). *Releasing prisoners, Redeeming communities: Reentry, Race and Politics*. New York: New York University Press.
- Tierney, J. (2009). *Key Perspectives in Criminology*. McGraw-Hill Education. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Tong, S., Bryant, R. P., & Horvath, M. A. H. (2009). *Understanding criminal investigation*. John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Travis J. (2005). *But they all come back: Facing the challenges of prisoner reentry*. Washington, DC: the Urban Institute Press.

- Travis, J. (2001). But they all come back: Rethinking prisoner reentry. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, Retrieved 21 June, 2018, from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/181413.pdf>
- Triplet, R. & Upton, L. (2015). Labeling Theory: Past, Present, and Future. In Piquero, A. R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Criminological Theory* (pp.271-289) Retrieved 29 March, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- United Nation Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) (2008). *Handbook for Prison Managers and Policy Makers On Women And Imprisonment*. New York: United Nations. Retrieved 21 June, 2018, from <https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/women-and-imprisonment.pdf>
- United Nation Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) (2009). *Manual on Victimization Surveys*. Geneva: United Nations. Retrieved 21 June, 2018, from https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Crime-statistics/Manual_on_Victimization_surveys_2009_web.pdf
- Visher, C., Vigne L., Travis, J.(2004) , *Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner reentry Maryland Pilots study: Findings from Baltimore, Urban Institute*, Retrieved 30 June, 2018 from <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/42841/410974-Returning-Home-Understanding-the-Challenges-of-Prisoner-Reentry.PDF>
- Wahidin, A. (2013). Gender and Crime. In Hale, C., Hayward, K., Wahidin, A. & Wincup, E. (Eds). *Criminology* (pp. 308-322). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wambugu, E. (2016). Nyeri Women are not violent. *The Standard* \. Retrieved 27 October, 2018, from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ureport/article/2000203073/nyeri-women-are-not-violent>
- Wang, G. T., & Park, K. (2016). *Student research and report writing: From topic selection to the complete paper*. John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, Retrieved 19 June, 2018, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Warner, J. A. (2012). *Women and Crime: A reference handbook*. ABC-CLIO, LLC. Retrieved 29 January, 2019, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Wehrman, M. M. (2010). Race, concentrated disadvantage, and recidivism: A test of interaction effects. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4), 538-544. Retrieved 29 January, 2019 from Elsevier database.
- Wendy, P. Nancy, W. ko-yu, P. (2005). Behavioural Health Problem. Ex- offender reentry policies and the second chance act.
- Wesley, J.K. (2018). Co-constituting narrative: the role of researcher identity bids in qualitative interviews with women ex-offenders. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 31:3, 213-229, retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1478601X.2018.1437036>

- Western Australian Department of Corrective Services (WADCS). (2008). *Strategic Plan for Women 2006-2007*. Retrieved 29 May, 2018 from <http://www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au/-files/about-us/statistics-publications/docs-annual-report-2007-2008.pdf>
- Williams, K.S. (2012). *Criminology*. Oxford: oxford University Press.
- Winfrey, LT. & Abadinsky, H. (2003). *Understanding Crime: Theory and Practice*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Winnick, T. A., & Bodkin, M. (2008). Anticipated stigma and stigma management among those to be labeled “ex-con.” *Deviant Behavior*, 29, 295-333. Retrieved 29 February, 2019 from <http://www.doi:10.1080/01639620701588081>
- Wodahl, E.J. (2006). *The challenges of prisoner reentry from rural perspective*. *Western Criminology Review* 7(2), 32–47, Retrieved 19 May, 2018 from <http://www.westerncriminology.org/documents/WCR/v07n2/wodahl.pdf>
- World Health Organization (1946). *Constitution of the World Health Organization*. Retrieved from May 30, 2018 <http://apps.who.int/gb/bd/PDF/bd47/EN/constitution-en.pdf?ua=1>
- World Health Organization (1986). *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion, 1986* Retrieved May 30, 2018 from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/129532/Ottawa_Charter.pdf
- WHO (2001). *Strengthening mental health promotion*. Geneva, World health Organization (Fact sheet, No 220).
- World Health Organization (2018). *Mental disorders*. Retrieved May 30, 2018 from <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/mental-disorders>
- World Prison Brief (2018). *World Prison Brief data*. Retrieved July 30, 2019, from <https://www.prisonstudies.org/country/kenya>
- Yeboah, D. A. (2009). *Research methodologies in criminology*. Nova Science Publishers, Incorporated, 2009. Retrieved 19 June, 2018, from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Yin, R.K. (2011). *Qualitative Research from Start to finish*. New York. Guilford Press.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE RESEARCH

PARTICIPANTS

<i>Abigail:</i>	63 years old widow with class 3 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for possession of forged documents. She was sentenced to two years.
<i>Asenath:</i>	70 years old widow who never went to school. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for possession of Bhangi. She was sentenced to three years.
<i>Athaliah:</i>	38 years, incomplete primary school education level, never married and delivered twins while in prison. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for possession of Bhangi. She was sentenced to three years imprisonment. She served six months in prison and two and half years under probation.
<i>Bethsheba:</i>	58 years never married woman with class 4 education level. Three convictions for murder turned into assisting in abortions. She was sentenced to ten years imprisonment but only served two years.
<i>Bilhah:</i>	54 years old widow and form 3 drop out. Three convictions. Her conviction was for possession of Bhangi. She was sentenced to two years imprisonment. Worried that the community still believes she sells Bhangi.
<i>Candace:</i>	35 years old remarried with four kids and a college drop out. Only one conviction for child neglect. She was sentenced to one year imprisonment.
<i>Damaris:</i>	39 years old separated from husband with college education level. Two convictions-one for theft and the last conviction for child neglect. Spent one year in prison.
<i>Claudia:</i>	35 years old with class 8 education level. Only one detention. Spent 10 years in capital remand for the murder of her husband following domestic violence.
<i>Deborah:</i>	40 years, married and form 2 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for possession of Bhangi. She served five years and four months.
<i>Delilah:</i>	33 years, married to an ex-convict met during the court process and class 8 education level. Only one incarceration for murder. She served one year in remand prison before release for lack of evidence
<i>Dorcias:</i>	32 years, separated and remarried to an ex-convict and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for murder of her child and attempted suicide. She served three and half years before release upon her medical report.

<i>Dinah:</i>	48 years, married and primary education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for possession of a bullet during a visit to her husband in Police cell. She was sentenced to one year imprisonment.
<i>Eve:</i>	45 years, never married and class 6 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for possession of Bhangi. She served four years in prison.
<i>Gomer:</i>	47 years, widow and primary education level. Imprisoned thrice for obtaining by false pretense (con-woman). She was in prison for four years.
<i>Hahah:</i>	40 years, separated and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was conspiracy in the murder of her husband following years of domestic violence. Reduced to manslaughter and sentenced to three years imprisonment.
<i>Hodesh:</i>	34 years, never married, HIV positive, practicing prostitution and class 8 education level. Beaten and kicked out of the house by her drunken aunt and male friend on her first day of release. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for child neglect. She served one year in prison.
<i>Jael:</i>	34 years, separated following her arrest and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for murder (killing her child by hanging) following years of domestic violence. Reduced to manslaughter after 8 months in remand prison
<i>Jehosheba:</i>	39 years, never married and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for assault. She served two years in prison.
<i>Jemima:</i>	65 years, widow and form 2 education level. Only one detention. She was accused of murder. She spent 5 years in capital remand prison and is out on bond
<i>Jeneth:</i>	32 years, separated and remarried and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for arson after finding her husband with a mistress. She served three years in prison.
<i>Jezebel:</i>	59 years, widow and class 7 education level. Only one detention. She was detained with her daughter as an accomplice in murder of her grandchild. She spent one and half years in remand and is out on bond.
<i>Jerusha:</i>	35 years, separated and class 8 education level. Only one detention. She was detained for murder of her child following post-partum depression. Taken to Lang'ata women prison for psychiatric treatment. She spent three years in remand and is out on bond.
<i>Jochebed:</i>	50 years, married with 10 children and never went to school. Only one detention. Two convictions for possession of Bhangi. She spent 7 months in prison for her last conviction. In the first conviction she spent 2 years.
<i>Keziah:</i>	45 years, married and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for lying under oath and concealing crime . She served 6

	months in prison.
<i>Orpah:</i>	22 years, separated and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for stealing. She served six months in Murang'a Women prison.
<i>Phoebe:</i>	50 years, separated, childless and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for assault. She served 7 months in prison.
<i>Rizpah:</i>	40 years, widow and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for child neglect. She served six months in prison.
<i>Sapphira:</i>	40 years, class 5 drop out and came out from prison to find the husband remarried. More than five convictions. Her last conviction was for assault. She served three and half years in prison.
<i>Shelomit:</i>	50 years, separated, childless and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for assault. She served seven months in prison.
<i>Tamar:</i>	47 years, never married and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was possession of stolen property and robbery with violence. She served three years in prison.
<i>Tabitha:</i>	40 years, married and class 5 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for environmental crime (illegal charcoal burning).She served six months in Nanyuki prison
<i>Vushti:</i>	53 years, separated and class 7 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for obtaining by false pretense. She served 2 years in prison.
<i>Zipporah:</i>	48 years, never married and incomplete primary education level. Held in a borstal institution at age 10 and imprisoned twice. Her last conviction was for assault. She served six months in prison
<i>Milcah:</i>	49 years, separated and class 7 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for child neglect. She served three years in prison without the option of a fine as the child died while at the police station.
<i>Miriam:</i>	51 years, widow and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for corruption (bribery of police to secure recruitment of her son) .She served two years in prison.
<i>Merab:</i>	47 years, married and form 2 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for obtaining by false pretense through forgery of land documents. She served three years in prison
<i>Mehetabel:</i>	53 years, widow and form 4 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for murder of her husband following domestic violence but reduced to manslaughter. She served seven years in prison.
<i>Naarah:</i>	40 years, separated and class 1 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for handling stolen property. She served two years in

	prison.
<i>Noah:</i>	34 years, separated and form 3 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for theft of a water pump. She served one year in prison.
<i>Ruah:</i>	35 years, separated and class 8 education level. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for assault. She served two years in prison.
<i>Ruumah:</i>	38 years, never married and class 7 drop out. Only one conviction. Her conviction was for murder reduced to manslaughter. She served one and half years in prison.

APPENDIX II: BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE OF THE EX-CONVICTS

Pseudo Name	Age	Highest Education Level	Crime	Years In Jail
Abigail	Above 60 years	Primary Incomplete	Forgery	2 years
Asenath	Above 60 years	No Education	Drugs	3 years
Athaliah	30-39 years	Primary Incomplete	Drugs	Below 1 year
Bethsheba	50-59 years	Secondary Incomplete	Drugs	2 years
Bilhah	50-59 years	Secondary Incomplete	Drugs	2 years
Candace	30-39 years	College Incomplete	Child Neglect	1 year
Claudia	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	more 5 years
Damaris	30-39 years	College Complete	Child Neglect	1 year
Deborah	40-49 years	Secondary Incomplete	Drugs	5 years
Delilah	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	1 year
Dinah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Illegal possession of ammunition	1 year
Dorcas	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	4 years
Eve	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Drugs	4 years
Gomer	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Stealing	3 years
Hanah	40-49 years	Secondary Complete	Murder	more 5 years
Hodesh	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Child Neglect	1 year
Jael	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	Below 1 year
Jehosheba	30-39 years	Secondary Complete	Assault	2 years

Pseudo Name	Age	Highest Education Level	Crime	Years In Jail
Jemima	Above 60 years	Secondary Incomplete	Murder	5 years
Jeneth	30-39 years	Secondary Complete	Arson	3 years
Jerusha	30-39 years	Secondary Complete	Murder	3 years
Jezebel	50-59 years	Primary Complete	Murder	2 years
Jochebed	50-59 years	No Education	Drugs	1 year
Keziah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Concealing crime	Below 1 year
Mehetabel	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Murder	more 5 years
Merab	40-49 years	Secondary Incomplete	Forgery	3 years
Milcah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Child Neglect	3 years
Miriam	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Bribery	2 years
Naarah	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	handling stolen property	2 years
Noah	30-39 years	Secondary Incomplete	Stealing	1 year
Orpah	20-29 years	Primary Complete	Stealing	Below 1 year
Rizpah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Child Neglect	Below 1 year
Ruah	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Assault	2 years
Ruumah	30-39 years	Primary Incomplete	Murder	2 years
Sapphira	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Assault	4 years

Pseudo Name	Age	Highest Education Level	Crime	Years In Jail
Shelomit	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Assault	Below 1 year
Tabitha	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Illegal Charcoal burning	Below 1 year
Tamar	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Robbery with violence	3 years
Zipporah	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Assault	Below 1 year
Phoebe	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Assault	Below 1 year
Vushti	50-59 years	Primary Complete	obtaining money by false pretense	2 years

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN EX-OFFENDERS

NO. _____ Constituency _____ Sub County _____

(CONFIDENTIAL)

I am Fr. John Muthee, a Phd student in Sociology (Criminology) at Moi University. I am conducting a study to find out “**Challenges influencing reentry of Women Ex-Offenders in Nyeri County**”. The information shared is for the purposes of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality even where quoted in the final study report. Your availability to participate in this interview by freely expressing your opinions and feelings is appreciated. You are however free **NOT** to answer any question that causes you discomfort, and to seek necessary clarification in a matter **YOU MAY** not **BE** clear **WITH**.

I will ask questions to guide the discussion in two major parts. In the first part I will ask you a set of direct questions, while the second part will be more conversational and detailed. Kindly and honestly answer the questions in the interview schedule and others that may be asked during the interview. Our conversation will be recorded but you may request it be turned off any time. You may now ask any clarifications before we start the interview.

Part one

Background Information of Respondents

1. Which is your age bracket? 20 - 29 ___ 30- 39 ___ 40-49 ___ 50-59 ___ Over 60 _____
2. What is your marital Status (e.g. married widowed, separated, never married etc.)? ___
3. For how long have you been married, widowed, separated or divorced? _____
4. How many children do you have? _____
5. How many are dependent on you for upkeep (e.g. food, shelter, education)? _____
6. What is your highest education level? _____
7. For which crime(s) were you charged for leading to your incarceration? _____

8. Explain what may have led you to commit the said crime(s) _____
9. For how long were you incarcerated? _____
10. How long have you been out since you left prison?
11. How did it feel upon your release from the prison gate _____
12. Did you acquire any training during the incarceration? _____
13. *If yes*, what kind of training? _____ do you think the training has been useful to you after leaving prison? _____ explain _____
14. Do you have any experience in your life (e.g. abusive past, sexual violence) that may have led to your imprisonment? _____

Part Two

Section one: Challenges women returning home from prisons face

Housing

15. Kindly explain your housing arrangements before and after imprisonment _____
16. Whom did you stay with immediately after your release from prison? _____
17. Why did you choose to stay with the person mentioned above? _____
18. Who owns the house you are currently occupying after leaving prison? _____
19. Have you had any housing challenges after your release from prison? _____
20. *If yes*, do you think your criminal history is related to your housing challenges? _____

Employment

21. What is your current employment/source of income? _____
22. If employed, are your employment terms permanent or casual? _____
explain _____
23. What is your estimated monthly income? _____
24. Were you employed before your incarceration? _____ *If Yes*, what job were you doing? _____
25. How willing are employers to offer you a job given your criminal history? _____
26. Has the prison programmes had any usefulness in your search for a job? _____

Relationships

27. Can you briefly explain the relationship between you and members of your family before you went to prison?_____
28. What challenges can you mention about the relationship between you and members of the community before you went to prison?_____
29. Briefly explain the relationship between you and members of your family during the period you were in prison?_____
30. Discuss the relationship between you and members of the community during your imprisonment?_____
31. Explain the relationship between you and members of your family after you left prison?_____
32. What challenges can you mention about the relationship between you and members of the community after you left prison?_____

Drugs, Substance abuse, mental health, Physical health, Spiritual, financial issues

Do you have any challenges related to;

33. Drugs?_____

If Yes, explain_____
34. Substance abuse?_____

If Yes, explain_____
35. Mental health?_____

If Yes, explain_____
36. Physical Health?_____

If Yes, explain_____
37. Spiritual Health?_____

If Yes, explain_____
38. Financial issues?_____

If Yes, explain_____
39. Have you faced any other challenge not mentioned?

If Yes, explain_____

Recidivism

40. How many times have you been incarcerated? _____
41. Do you have any worries of being incarcerated again? _____
If yes, what are some of the causes which would make you go back to prison?

42. What assistance do you think is required to prevent you from going back to prison? _____
43. From your prison experiences, what do you think makes women return to prison? _____

Section Two: Effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison**Self, family and community**

44. Explain how you view yourself/value yourself after incarceration? _____
45. How does your family value you after leaving prison (e.g. spouse, dependency, support, care for children, ?) _____
46. How does the community value you after incarceration _____

Housing, Employment, Relationships, Drugs, Substance abuse, mental health,**Physical health, Spiritual, financial issues**

Explain How your incarceration affected your

47. Housing _____
48. Employment _____
49. Relationships _____
50. Illicit drugs use (if any) _____
51. Substance abuse (e.g. alcohol if any) _____
52. Physical health (e.g. insomnia, asthma, BP, diabetes) in any way? _____
53. Mental health (e.g. worries, suicidal feelings, anxiety, Post Traumatic disorder, mistrust) in any way? _____
54. Spiritual health _____
55. Financial well-being _____

Section Three: Coping mechanisms by women returning home from prisons

Explain briefly how you cope with the challenges related to the following;

- 56. Housing_____
- 57. Employment_____
- 58. Relationships_____
- 59. Drugs_____
- 60. Substance abuse_____
- 61. Mental health_____
- 62. Recidivism_____

Section Four: Addressing the challenges faced by women returning from prisons

Women ex-offenders Perspectives

Practices

- 63. What kind of economic support/assistance do you think is needed by women coming home from prison? _____
- 64. What kind of Physical support (e.g. housing) do you think is required by women coming home from prison? _____
- 65. What kind of social support (e.g. family, community) do you think is required by women coming home from prison? _____
- 66. What kind of spiritual support (e.g. churches) do you think is required by women coming home from prison? _____

Policies

- 67. Which services (e.g. education, training, and counseling) do you think are needed by women coming home from prison?_____
- 68. Suggest and explain which agencies should be tasked to support women ex-offenders fit back into the community after imprisonment_____

Any other suggestion

- 69. Kindly feel free to express yourself on any relevant matter to women ex-offenders' reentry not covered in this instrument_____

APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

I am Fr. John Muthee, a Phd student in Sociology (Criminology) at Moi University. I am conducting a study to find out “**Challenges influencing reentry of Women Ex-Offenders in Nyeri County**”. The information shared is for the purposes of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality even where quoted in the final study report. Your availability to participate in this interview by freely expressing your opinions and feelings is appreciated. You are however free **NOT** to answer any question that causes you discomfort, and to seek necessary clarification in a matter you may not be clear with.

I will ask questions to guide the discussion in two major parts. In the first part I will ask you a set of direct questions, while the second part will be more conversational and detailed. Kindly and honestly answer the questions in the interview schedule and others that may be asked during the interview. Our conversation will be recorded but you may request it be turned off any time. You may now ask any clarifications before we start the interview.

Part one

Background Information

1. What is the common age bracket of women offenders in Nyeri County? _____
2. What is the common marital status? _____
3. What is their highest education level? _____
4. Which crime(s) commonly lead to their incarceration? ____
5. Do they acquire any training during the incarceration? _____
6. *If yes*, what kind of training? _____ do you think the training is useful to them after leaving prison?

Part Two

Section one: Challenges women returning home from prisons face

7. *What* Challenges commonly face women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County especially with the following:
 - a) Housing
 - b) Employment

- c) Relationships with family and community
- d) Drugs and Substance abuse
- e) Mental health,
- f) Physical health,
- g) Spiritual health
- h) Financial issues
- i) Recidivism

**Section Two: Effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison
Self, family and community**

8. Explain how women returning home from prison view themselves after incarceration?_____
9. How does the family value women offenders after leaving prison (e.g. spouse, dependency, support, care for children, ?_____
10. How does the community value women offenders after incarceration_____

**Housing, Employment, Relationships, Drugs, Substance abuse, mental health,
Physical health, Spiritual, financial issues**

Explain how incarceration affects women ex-offenders especially in the following:

11. Housing_____
12. Employment_____
13. Relationships_____
14. Illicit drugs use (if any)_____
15. Substance abuse (e.g. alcohol if any)_____
16. Physical health (e.g. insomnia, asthma, BP, diabetes) in any way?_____
17. Mental health (e.g. worries, suicidal feelings, anxiety, Post Traumatic disorder, mistrust) in any way?_____
18. Spiritual health
19. Financial well-being_____

Section Three: Coping mechanisms by women returning home from prisons

What Coping mechanisms do the women returning home from prisons adopt to cope with the challenges facing them?

20. What kind of economic support/assistance do you think is needed by women coming home from prison? _____
21. What kind of physical support (e.g. housing) do you think is required by women coming home from prison? _____
22. What kind of social support (e.g. family, community) do you think is required by women coming home from prison? _____
23. What kind of spiritual support (e.g. churches) do you think is required by women coming home from prison? _____
24. Which services (e.g. education, training, and counseling) do you think are needed by women coming home from prison? _____
25. Suggest and explain which agencies should be tasked to support women ex-offenders fit back into the community after imprisonment _____

Section Four: Addressing the challenges faced by women returning from prisons

Community and Government officials Perspectives

Practices

26. What kind of support do you think communities and government can offer to women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County especially with the following

- a) Economic support
- b) Physical support
- c) Social support
- d) Spiritual support

Policies

27. Which services do you think the government should offer (e.g. education, training, and counseling) to women coming home from prison? _____

28. Suggest and explain which agencies should be tasked to support women ex-offenders fit back into the community after imprisonment_____

Any other suggestion

29. Kindly feel free to express yourself on any relevant matter to women ex-offenders' reentry not covered in this instrument_____

Thank you very much for your availability and participating in the interview. All information provided will be treated with utmost privacy and confidentiality.

APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSION

I am Fr. John Muthee, a Phd student in Sociology (Criminology) at Moi University. I am conducting a study to find out “**Challenges influencing reentry of Women Ex-Offenders in Nyeri County**”. The information shared is for the purposes of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality even where quoted in the final study report. Your availability to participate in this interview by freely expressing your opinions and feelings is appreciated. You are however free **NOT** to answer any question that causes you discomfort, and to seek necessary clarification in a matter you may not be clear with.

I will ask questions to guide the discussion in two major parts. In the first part I will ask you a set of direct questions, while the second part will be more conversational and detailed. Kindly and honestly answer the questions in the interview schedule and others that may be asked during the interview. Our conversation will be recorded but you may request it be turned off any time. You may now ask any clarifications before we start the interview.

Part one

Background Information

1. *What characteristics are common among women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County especially with the following:*
 - a) Age bracket of women offenders in Nyeri County? _____
 - b) Marital status? _____
 - c) Highest education level? _____
 - d) Crime(s) leading to their incarceration? _____

Part Two

Section one: Challenges women returning home from prisons face

2. *What Challenges commonly face women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County especially with the following:*

- a) Housing
- b) Employment
- c) Relationships with family and community
- d) Drugs and Substance abuse
- e) Mental health,
- f) Physical health,
- g) Spiritual health
- h) Financial issues
- i) Recidivism

**Section Two: Effects of the challenges that face women returning from prison
Self, family and community**

3. Explain how incarceration affects women returning home from prison especially in the following:
 - a) Self-dignity
 - b) Family relationships
 - c) Community attitude
 - d) Housing_____
 - e) Employment_____
 - f) Relationships_____
 - g) Illicit drugs use (if any)_____
 - h) Substance abuse (e.g. alcohol if any)_____
 - i) Physical health (e.g. insomnia, asthma, BP, diabetes) in any way?_____
 - j) Mental health (e.g. worries, suicidal feelings, anxiety, Post Traumatic disorder, mistrust) in any way?_____
 - k) Spiritual health_____
 - l) Financial well-being_____

Section Three: Coping mechanisms by women returning home from prisons

4. What Coping mechanisms do the women returning home from prisons adopt to cope with the challenges facing them?

**Section Four: Addressing the challenges faced by women returning from prisons
Community and Government officials Perspectives**

Practices

5. *What* kind of support do you think communities and government can offer to women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County especially with the following
- e) Economic support
 - f) Physical support
 - g) Social support
 - h) Spiritual support

Policies

6. Which services do you think the government should offer (e.g. education, training, and counseling) to women coming home from prison?_____
7. Suggest and explain which agencies should be tasked to support women ex-offenders fit back into the community after imprisonment_____

Any other suggestion

8. Kindly feel free to express yourself on any relevant matter to women ex-offenders' reentry not covered in this instrument_____

Thank you very much for your availability and participating in the discussions. All information provided will be treated with utmost privacy and confidentiality.

APPENDIX VI: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/76195/24905**

Date: **24th September, 2018**

John Mbai Muthee
Moi University
P.O Box 3900-30100
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Challenges influencing reentry of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County, Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nyeri County for the period ending **20th September, 2019**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nyeri County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. MOSES RUGUTT, PHD, OGW
DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:


The County Commissioner
Nyeri County.

The County Director of Education
Nyeri County.

APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH LICENSE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. JOHN MBAI MUTHEE
of MOI UNIVERSITY ELDORET, 288-10100
Nyeri, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nyeri County
on the topic: CHALLENGES
INFLUENCING REENTRY OF WOMEN
EX-OFFENDERS IN NYERI COUNTY,
KENYA
for the period ending:
20th September, 2019

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/76195/24905
Date Of Issue ; 24th September, 2018
Fee Received :Ksh 2000



[Signature]
Applicant's Signature

[Signature]
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation


THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.


CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.

National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 20768

CONDITIONS: see back page

**APPENDIX VIII: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FROM MINISTRY OF
EDUCATION**

**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION**

E-Mail –centralpde@gmail.com
Telephone: Nyeri (061) 2030619
When replying please quote



OFFICE OF THE COUNTY
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
P.O. Box 80 - 10100,
NYERI

CDE/NYI/GEN/23/VOL.III/23

18th December, 2018

Fr. John M. Muthee
P.O. Box 288
NYERI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to Secretary National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation letter Ref. NACOSTI/P/18/76195/24905 of 24th September, 2018 on the above subject.

Kindly note that you have been authorized to carry out research on "*Challenges influencing reentry of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County, Kenya*" for a period ending 20th September, 2019.

**NELLY MWANGI
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
NYERI COUNTY**

cc.

National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation,
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

**APPENDIX IX: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FROM OFFICE OF
PRESIDENCY**



THE PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

E-mail: nyericountycommissioner@yahoo.com
Telephone: 061 2030619/20
Fax: 061 2032089
When replying please quote

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NYERI COUNTY
P.O. Box 33-10100
NYERI

Ref. No. NYC/ADM 1/57 VOL.VI/127

18th December, 2018

Fr. John Mbai Muthee
Moi University
P.O. Box 3900-30100
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to your letter dated 18th December, 2018 on the above subject.

Authority is hereby granted to carry out research on **“Challenges influencing reentry of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County, Kenya.”**

The period of research ends on 20th September 2019.

F. MWANGI
For: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NYERI COUNTY