

FACTORS AFFECTING COMMUNITY PERCEPTION AND RECEPTIVENESS OF EX-INMATES IN SELECTED DISTRICTS IN NORTHERN UGANDA

A Survey Commissioned by Advance Afrika to Inform the Economic Empowerment and Social Reintegration of Youth Ex-inmates (SREE) Project in the Acholi and Lango Sub-regions

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFPU Child and Family Protection Unit

NGOs Non-Governmental Organisations

Officer in Charge of Prison

RPC Regional Prisons Commander

SWRO Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Officer

TCs Therapeutic Communities

UPS Uganda Prisons Service

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Ex-Inmates: The survey considered an ex-inmate as anyone who has ever been in prison as an inmate, whether convicted or on remand, for a considerable amount of time, starting from four weeks. However, some of the respondents called them ex-prisoners (any direct quotation with 'ex-prisoner' was not replaced with 'ex-inmate').

Community: A community is a cluster of people living in a specific geographical area where people maintain their homes, earn their living, rear their children, and carry on most of their life activities (Poplin, 1979).

Community Member: Different segments of a community relevant in influencing the reintegration of ex-inmates into the community (ex-prisoners, family and close friends; victims, complainants and their relatives; Senior Assistant Secretaries and LCIII chairpersons and community leaders, including LCIs, religious and cultural leaders).

Reintegration: Designated interventions, programmes and services designed to assist prisoners in living law-abiding lives in the community following their release (Griffiths, Dandurand and Murdoch, 2007).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Advance Afrika, in partnership with the Uganda Prisons Service with funding from the European Union and Caritas Switzerland, is implementing the Economic Empowerment and Social Reintegration of Youth Ex-Inmates (SREE) project in the Acholi and Lango-sub regions, northern Uganda. The three-year project aims at rehabilitating and reintegrating 1200 ex-inmates in 26 prison units in the Lango and Acholi sub-regions, northern Uganda. The objective of SREE is economic and social integration of youth ex-prisoners through:

- Developing their entrepreneurship and life skills;
- Establishing learning and mentorship mechanisms to support them in the development and implementation of small businesses;
- Providing them with start-up kits to establish small businesses;
- Improving their reintegration into the communities; and
- Strengthening the capacity of key stakeholders.

This survey aimed at exploring and analysing the factors affecting community perception and receptiveness of ex-inmates in order to inform the effective implementation of the project. The survey specifically focused on: the social and economic developments, opportunities and risks in the community with special regard to reintegrating ex-inmates into the community; the structures of current activities and programmes in support of youth and ex-inmates; the social factors affecting ex-inmates in the reintegration process; the regulatory environment and legal impact assessment with regard to the employability and reintegration of ex-inmates; access to relevant vital information to ex-inmates and the impact of the information on their performance; community acceptance of ex-inmates and who the key players are in that effort at community level; and the perception and reaction of the community towards the criminal justice system and prison in particular.

The survey employed a cross-sectional design and primary data was collected using in-depth interviews and face-to-face questionnaires from Gulu, Kitgum, Amuru, Dokolo, Lira and Oyam districts. Data was collected from 85 ex-inmates and 19 inmates from different prisons in the region, 112 community members and 21 key informants, including district and sub-county officials, plus prison officials. Documentary review/analysis was also employed to gather secondary data that were integrated in the relevant thematic areas of the study findings. Data collected was analysed using thematic analysis and analysis from Excel databases.

Community perception and receptiveness of ex-inmates was largely influenced by the low confidence in the justice system; limited information about the role of the Uganda Prisons Services (UPS); different expectations regarding justice outcomes; and the behaviour of ex-in-

mates. The major factors affecting successful reintegration of youth ex-inmates included limited reintegration programmes; economic challenges faced by ex-prisoners; family breakdown; stigmatisation; continuous conflict between the complainant and ex-inmates; and limited opportunities for ex-inmates. The survey concluded that the reintegration of ex-inmates is greatly challenged by societal forces and requires a multi-pronged approach since there are several actors and the challenges are complex. In line with the survey findings, there is need to sensitise the community regarding the basic criminal justice procedures and the role of the UPS and highlight the roles and importance of different stakeholders in the community in the reintegration of ex-inmates; building reconciliatory mechanisms between the complainants/victims and the ex-inmates; economic empowerment of ex-inmates; and building strong networks, including civil society organisations as well as cultural, religious and political actors in the community.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Ex-inmates the world over are a special category of citizens, given the several challenges of their situation in rebuilding their lives after prison. Some researchers in criminology have argued that community receptiveness can contribute to successful reintegration of ex-inmates and reduce recidivism (Chemonges1; Kelechi, 2015). For example, Penal Reform International and SATIO Group of Companies (2013) note that strong ties between prisoners and their families or close friends appear to have a positive impact on post-release success. Prisoners returning to the community with weak or no family support were less likely to succeed in reintegration than those with strong family support (Graffam, 2004).

There are some studies that have highlighted the plight of ex-inmates in different parts of the world in terms of negative perceptions by the communities (Kelechi, 2015; Ssanyu, 2014; Penal Reform International and SATIO Group of Companies, 2013; Mpata, 2011). Most people view the role of prisons as places for retribution, deterrence and incapacitation of the offender, and the prevention of crime by long periods of imprisonment. But the United Nations Minimum Standard Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1957) emphasises that prisons are places for the reformation and rehabilitation of offenders to reduce the crime rate and recidivism. In Uganda, there has been a move towards the reformation and rehabilitation of offenders through changing the role of prisons from being retributive to rehabilitative and reformative to reduce the crime rate (Prisons Act, 2006) and one of the core functions of the Uganda Prisons Service is to facilitate the reintegration of prisoners into their communities.

SOME PRISONERS PREFER STAYING IN PRISONS FOR FEAR OF STIGMATISATION BY THE COMMUNITY OUTSIDE PRISON (MPATA, 2011).

Despite the move towards the reformation and rehabilitation of offenders, there are common occurrences of recidivism and most offenders released from prison commit either the same offences with which they were previously charged and sentenced to prison or commit more heinous crimes (Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS), 2007). Some prisoners prefer staying in prisons

for fear of stigmatisation by the community outside prison (Mpata, 2011). This calls into question not only the reformation and rehabilitation system in Ugandan prisons but also the community impact on ex-inmates. Chemonges² argues that a successful shift of perception will go a long way in realising the full integration of ex-offenders in the community and a holistic approach to the treatment of offenders cannot be achieved without the proactive engagement of the community.

See www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No84/No84_15VE_Chemonges.pdf See www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No84/No84_15VE_Chemonges.pdf

Contextually, northern Uganda suffered a long history of war, which may have contributed to a relatively high crime rate in relation to other parts of the country (Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (ACCS), 2013; Eichelberger, 2015) and is reported to have the second highest prison occupancy rates after Kampala. Many youth involved in crimes end up in prisons and after serving their sentences get back into their communities as social outcasts in their various communities. In response to the above, Advance Afrika, in partnership with the Uganda Prisons Service with funding from the European Union and Caritas Switzerland, is implementing the Economic Empowerment and Social Reintegration of Youth Ex-inmates (SREE) project in northern Uganda that is aimed at rehabilitating and reintegrating the ex-inmates in partnership with 26 prison units in the Lango and Acholi sub-regions, northern Uganda. This survey aimed at exploring and analysing the factors affecting community perception and receptiveness of ex-inmates in order to inform effective implementation of the above project.

1.1 Purpose of the survey

The purpose of this survey was to explore and analyse the different factors affecting community perception and receptiveness of ex-inmates in northern Uganda to inform the implementation of the SREE project in the Acholi and Lango sub-regions. The survey focused on the following issues as required by Advance Afrika:

- The social and economic developments, opportunities and risks in communities with special regard to community reintegration of ex-inmates.
- Current activity and programme structures in support of youth and ex-inmates.
- Social factors affecting ex-prisoners in the reintegration process.
- The regulatory environment and legal impact assessment with regard to the employability and reintegration of ex-inmates.
- Access to relevant vital information by ex-inmates and the impact of the information on their performance.
- Community acceptance of ex-inmates and who the key players are in that effort at the community level.
- Perception and reaction of the community towards the criminal justice system and prison in particular.

1.2 Scope of the survey

This survey focused on the factors affecting community perception and receptiveness of ex-inmates. It was conducted in Gulu, Amuru, Kitgum, Lira, Oyam and Dokolo and considered 19 inmates and 85 ex-inmates from different prisons in the region plus 112 community members. In Gulu, data was collected from Pece Division, Layibi Division and Patiko Sub-county; in Amuru data was collected from Lamogi Sub-county and Otwee Town Council; in Kitgum data

was collected from Labongolayamo Sub-county, Amida Sub-county and Pagea Division in Kitgum Municipality; in Oyam District, we collected data from Kamdini Sub-county, Minakulu Sub-county, Acaba Sub-county, and Oyam Town Council; in Lira, data was collected from Lira Sub-county, Adekokwok Sub-county and Ojwina Division; and finally, in in Dokolo District, we only collected data from Dokolo Town Council. The geographical scope was determined to ensure different contexts in terms of location.

1.3 Justification and significance

Much as Uganda is noted for being one of the countries with low recidivism in the world, it is also noted that this is mainly because of the conditions in prison rather than community reception (Ssebugwawo, 2010).³ Some studies show that community support is very important in contributing to the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-inmates. By identifying the factors within the communities in selected districts in the northern region of Uganda that led to limited support in the community and making appropriate recommendations, this survey contributes directly to improving the services and activities of Advance Afrika aimed at empowering youth ex-inmates in the different geographical areas of their operations. The survey results will also be shared with key project stakeholders, namely the Uganda Prisons Service, NGOs engaging with prison inmates, and community and government leaders to inform evidence-based planning for ex-inmates to improve programmes and services to ex-inmates. The effectiveness of the services that are provided to ex-inmates could be beneficial to the community in terms of reduced possibility of re-offence and helping the youths to refocus their lives into productive activities.

1.4 Methodology

The survey employed a cross-sectional design and used both primary and secondary sources of data as well as employing mixed methods of data collection and analysis. Face-to-face questionnaires were used to collect data from 19 prisoners, 85 ex-inmates and 112 community members (family and friends of inmates, ex-inmates, and victims or complainants, Senior Assistant Secretaries and LCIII chairpersons and community leaders, including LCIs, religious leaders and cultural leaders). This was aimed at understanding the ex-inmates' experiences in prison and their life after prison in terms of the perception and receptiveness of the community. In order to analyse the reintegration programmes and the challenges therein with a view to making appropriate recommendations, the study conducted in-depth interviews with 21 key informants, who included the officers in charge of Prisons (OCs), prisons Social and Welfare Officers (SWOs) (Pece Prison, Gulu Main Prison and the female wing, Oyam Prison, Lira Main Prison, Lira Women's Prison and Dokolo Prison) and the Mid-Northern Region Prisons Commander (RPC). The other key informants included Uganda Police Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) (Lira, Oyam, Dokolo, Amuru and Gulu), the officers in charge of the Child and

Family Protection Unit (CFPU) of Lira, Dokolo and Oyam; the District Community Development Officers (DCDOs) of Kitgum and Dokolo, the Senior Probation and Welfare Officer of Lira and the Senior Community Development Officer (SCDO) of Dokolo Town Council.

Ex-inmates, family and close friends, victims, complainants and their relatives, community leaders including religious and cultural leaders, were sampled consecutively. All individuals who agreed to participate on condition that they met pre-established criteria were recruited in the sample while the RPC, OCs and SWOs, Senior Assistant Secretaries, LC III and LCI chairpersons, Probation Officers, CLOs, CFPU OCs and CDOs were purposively selected owing to the nature of their work in the community. Documentary review and analysis were also employed to gather secondary data that was integrated into the relevant thematic areas of the study findings. Data collected was analysed using thematic analysis and analysis from Excel databases.

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

The findings are organised by presenting the demographic characteristics first and then thematically in accordance with the issues most relevant to the work of Advance Afrika and its partners, i.e. Caritas Switzerland and the European Union.

2.1 Demographic characteristics of community members/ respondents

In order to inform our analysis, we collected relevant demographic data from the community members, ex-inmates and youth inmates, as summarised in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: Demographic information about respondents - Ex-inmates and youth inmates

3 1		
Age group	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
15 - 19	9	9
19 - 20	1	1
20 - 24	26	25
25 - 29	22	21
30 - 34	22	21
Above 35	24	23
Total	104	100
Gender	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Male	88	85
Female	16	15
Total	104	100
Marital status	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Married	62	59
Never married	29	28
Divorced	5	5
Widowed	8	8
Total	104	100
Highest education level	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Never been to school	3	3
Primary level	62	60
O' level	22	21
A' level	7	7
Tertiary	8	7
Other (specify)	2	2
Total	104	100

Much as our methodology was open in terms of age of ex-inmates and inmates in selecting the sample, the data collected indicate that the majority (77%) of respondents were youth aged 15-34 years. This reflects Uganda's population structure that is predominantly young but, more importantly, the prison population since several studies, such as ACODE (2014) show that this group is characterised by high levels of unemployment, redundancy and dependency, and such factors are related to criminal offences (ILO, 2012). Table 1 also shows that most of the respondents among ex-inmates and youth inmates were male and this was due to the sex structure of ex-inmates and youth inmates, who are predominantly male. But it was also noted that some female ex-inmates were not comfortable with regard to talking about their imprisonment.

As Table 1 indicates, most ex-inmates and youth inmates had completed primary education and only 7% had completed tertiary education. This has several dimensions in terms of programming activities to facilitate reintegration but also, at the same time, it is a predisposing factor to crime in case the youth are not given alternatives to formal education and employment.

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of community members

Age group	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
15 - 19	06	5.3
20 - 24	19	17
25 - 29	13	11.6
30 - 34	27	24.1
Above 35	44	39.3
Non-response	03	2.7
Total	112	100
Gender	Number of respondent	Percentage of respondents
Male	87	78
Female	25	22
Total	112	100
Marital status	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Married	87	77.7
Never married	13	11.6
Divorced	5	4.5
Widowed	4	3.6
Non-response	03	2.7
Total	112	100
Highest education level	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Never been to school	3	2.7
Primary level	23	20.5
O' level	23	20.5
A' level	13	11.6
Tertiary	31	27.7
Other (specify)	7	6.3
Non-response	12	10.7
Total	112	100

Table 2 indicates that the majority (40%) of the community members interviewed were 35 years old and above and this was due to the inclusion of different segments that were in positions of leadership and responsibility that are predominantly above 35 years. Seventy-eight per cent of the respondents among community members were male and only 22% were female, and this is attributed to the community structures being male-dominated. Much as the highest percentage of our community respondents had completed tertiary education, UBOS (2016) still indicates that the highest level of education among the majority (58.4%) of Ugandans is primary level and, therefore, the skewed findings on the level of education resulted from the differentiation of respondents according to segments (family and friends of inmates, ex-inmates, and victims or complainants, Senior Assistant Secretaries and LCIII chairpersons and community leaders, including LCIs, religious leaders and cultural leaders). Education affects community receptiveness of ex-inmates in terms of being informed about the role of prisons in society and the criminal and justice system.

2.2 Opportunities and risks within the community related to the reintegration of ex-inmates

As noted by the researchers while conducting this survey, the community is a major stakeholder in the successful reintegration of ex-inmates. As such, it is important that whoever is involved in the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-inmates takes cognisance of what opportunities can be taken advantage of and what risks can be mitigated in order for the reintegration to serve its purpose in society.

2.2.1 Opportunities within the community for reintegration

Economically, the majority of ex-inmates are trying to do something to earn a living in the community (see Appendix 1). According to Figure 1 below, only 1% of the ex-inmates reported doing nothing as their main occupation; otherwise the majority (32%) were engaged in farming, 25% were running small businesses, 5% were students and 31% reported several activities within the informal sector such as bartending and car-washing, among others.

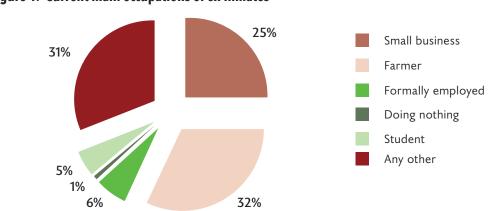


Figure 1: Current main occupations of ex-inmates

It should be also noted 76% of the ex-inmates reported having more than one source of income or are diversifying their sources of income (see Appendix 1). This indicates that the majority of ex-inmates are willing and trying to rebuild their lives despite the challenges. Any reintegration programmes by different actors such as Advance Afrika and its partners need to leverage this opportunity by exploring how they can facilitate the ex-inmates to have substantial and sustainable incomes.

There are rehabilitated ex-inmates in the community who acquired a positive attitude, life skills, business and vocational skills while in prison and are living productive lives and can influence community perception and receptiveness (when the community notices positive behavioural change among ex-inmates). The ex-inmates can engage actively as agents of change in the community perception of ex-inmates if they can talk to different community members through both formal and informal avenues about prison life and how it has changed them, and offer advice on avoiding crime. Interventions can be designed to facilitate community dialogues and radio talk shows where some ex-inmates can be involved in talking to the public and sensitise them to what happens in prison.

Nasser and Visher⁴ note that existing research provides strong empirical evidence that the family of a returning prisoner has a significant impact on post-release success or failure – indeed, the family often serves as a 'buffering agent' for the newly released prisoner. They note that close friends and family are largely positive and still supportive of the reintegration of ex-inmates in the community, as reported by ex-inmates and corroborated by some prison SWOs. They help ex-prisoners reintegrate through counselling, encouraging, advising, offering financial support, housing, food and networking for job opportunities. For example, one of the ex-prisoners in Layibi industrial area confessed: 'My friend linked me to his friend who had a welding and fabrication business and was looking for someone to work for him and I got this job since I had learnt the skill in prison' (face-to-face questionnaire, 13 December 2016). Some prison SWOs noted that community members who have had relatives in prison generally have a positive perception of ex-inmates because they have interacted closely with the Uganda Prisons Service during visits and, therefore, have some knowledge about prison life.

There are established community structures such as cultural leaders, community religious leaders, LCIs, para-social workers and self-help groups that can be empowered to facilitate integration. These structures could be avenues for changing community perception of ex-inmates. For example, a parish chief in Amuru suggested a village committee made up of the parish chief, CDO, LCI, religious leaders and cultural leaders that should receive an ex-prisoner and help him/her to reintegrate into the community. Advance Afrika needs to explore ways of integrating local and cultural reconciliatory measures such as Mato Oput and Kayo Cuk (in the Acholi and Lango cultures, respectively) which can help to advance restorative justice and reduce tendencies towards revenge against and animosity towards the

culprit or his/her family. Therefore, there is need to consult the local community structures on how best restorative tendencies can be adopted in order to manage successful reintegration of ex-inmates.

There are a number of NGOs and institutions partnering with the Uganda Prisons Service such as Advance Afrika, Product of Prison, Prison Fellowship International, Africa Prison Project, different religious institutions and individuals, among others, that volunteer to provide spiritual counselling and to participate in different rehabilitation activities of prisoners. There are also private-for-profits and non-profits that are not working with ex-inmates as their target population but could be potential service providers in vocational training and apprenticeship such as tailoring, vehicle mechanics and motorcycle repair within the survey areas that can play a big role when brought on board (for example, Northern Uganda Youth Development Centre can be a partner in vocational training).

According to Uganda Prisons Service officials interviewed for this survey, the Uganda Prisons Service has an open-door policy that allows anyone to seek information about their programmes or to support their activities. There is need to popularise the work of the Uganda Prisons Service in the communities and to create awareness about the changed approach of the Uganda Prisons Service towards the rehabilitation of prisoners so that different individuals can get interested and acquire more information that could help ex-inmates to be accepted and supported by different actors in the community.

2.2.2 Risks in the community to the reintegration of ex-prisoners

Economically, one of the major risks to reintegration is rampant unemployment, especially in urban areas, and unstable livelihoods in both rural and urban areas. Fifty-one per cent of the respondents were unemployed before imprisonment, indicating rampant unemployment (see Appendix 1). ACODE (2014)⁵ notes that about 30% of the youths who are institutionally qualified in Uganda are unable to find jobs, and the situation is even worse for semi-skilled and unskilled youth. International Alert (2013)⁶ states that youth unemployment and underemployment trends in Uganda are driven by the interplay of factors such as lack of employable skills, limited access to financial and technical resources, the insufficient emphasis on vocational training, a mismatch between skills and requirements in the job market, and the negative attitudes of some youths towards certain employment sectors, such as agriculture.

It should be noted that, much as many youth ex-inmates reported doing something to earn a living, they were involved in unstable occupations such as smallholder farming, which is characterised by numerous challenges in Uganda (IFAD, 2008), and small-scale businesses which, according to UBOS (2011), have a high mortality rate. Some community members and

See ACODE (2014). Youth Unemployment and Job Creation in Uganda: Opportunities and Challenges.

⁶ See International Alert (2013). Youth Perspectives of Identity and National Unity in Uganda.

prison officials argued that even when start-up capital for businesses and tool kits are given to empower the ex-prisoners, there is need for close monitoring to ensure sustainability. For example, a community member in Oyam commented that 'you have a prisoner who has nothing at all in terms of basic needs and you give him money to start business; without close monitoring the money will be spent on immediate needs like food and clothing' (face-to-face questionnaire, 18 December 2017).

Most community members do not believe in the justice system; they perceive police and judicial officers as being highly corrupt. This situation is worsened by the fact that they are largely ignorant of the court processes, e.g. mandatory period on remand, remission of sentences, plea bargain etc. And because of the low confidence level in the justice system, the community (some victims, complainants and their family members and community members generally) largely looks at ex-inmates whom they presumed to be guilty before going to court and prison as wrongdoers still, even though the courts have acquitted them; and considers as innocent those they initially presumed to be so even when they are found guilty by the courts of law. Some people wait to take revenge on the ex-inmates because of the low confidence level in the judiciary. This indicates continued animosity regardless of the formal justice measures to address injustice in some situations, as reported by some respondents. For example, an ex-inmate in Amuru stated:

When I was released after serving three-and-a-half years at Gulu Main Prison for defilement, some community members arrested and took me to police without even listening to me, claiming that I had escaped without completing my sentence. I had to show my road pass to the police before being released. (Face-to-face questionnaire, 15 December 2016)

In relation to the above, there were some ex-inmates in the community who were angry and felt that the complainants wrongly accused them and they were thus jailed without justification. For example, one of the ex-inmates in Layibi industrial area asserted:

My ex-wife with two children connived with the police and I was arrested in June 2016. They claimed that I had organised people to rape and assault her while she was returning from Buganda Pub at night, something I would never do to the mother of my children. I spent three months of my life in prison and my business suffered terribly, all because of the poor choice of the mother of my children. I do not want to see her ever again. Let me stay with my children and let her never come in my presence. (Face-to-face questionnaire, 18 December 2016)

Some friends and family members are the direct victims of crime and this complicates reintegration. In such cases, the Uganda Prisons Service welfare officers reported that they work to reconcile the ex-inmates and their family members; sometimes they succeed but sometimes they fail. In addition, for some crimes, for fear of being stigmatised, family

members and friends may avoid interactions with ex-prisoners, as noted by Chemonges.⁷ Some youth ex-inmates reported avoiding bad friends for fear that peer pressure might lead them to commit more crimes.

The survey found that there are inadequate reintegration programmes for ex-inmates in the communities and, therefore, minimal organised participation by the community; only 8.9% of community respondents admitted having participated in such programmes and activities (see Appendix 2). There seems to be minimal collaboration and coordination among the non-state actors, coupled with limited focus on community-focused reintegration of ex-inmates. Prison officials reported that it was only Advance Afrika that goes to the community to follow up ex-inmates; on the other hand, the other NGOs that partner with the Uganda Prisons Service work on rehabilitation within prisons. Besides, it was noted that some of the NGOs focus on victims in the community but emphasise retributive measures at the expense of restorative justice, which may hamper a full cycle of reintegration, especially through promoting victim-offender reconciliation. This means that NGOs such as Advance Afrika risk facing a challenge of dealing with a reinforced negative perception of inmates and ex-inmates resulting from strong retributive messages.

It should be noted that, as a category in the community, the youth are already a marginalised group that are not highly integrated into the community even before imprisonment in terms of leadership and governance, ownership of productive resources such as land and meaningful networks.8 Reintegrating youth ex-inmates is more challenging since their integration in the community was already weak before imprisonment. As a marginalised category in the population, the youth require specific attention if they have to benefit from a successful intervention.9

Ssanyu (2014)10 observes that the community has limited information about the Uganda Prisons Service and what happens in prisons and this is largely due to the indifference towards prisoners; as a result, most people do not care to know. In addition, the Uganda Prisons Service communication approach is highly centralised and one obtains information only on demand. The Uganda Prisons Service has limited interactions with the community. 'We do not interact with those people at all' was a common response from the sub-county officials and LCIs. In fact, a sub-county official in Amuru commented that 'UPS is an isolated institution. The only time we see them is when there are people in the yellow uniform of prison and some two or three people in the official's uniform escorting' (sub-county official from Amuru, interview on 15 December 2016). This disconnection between the Uganda Prisons Service and the community needs to be addressed since they are partners in the reintegration of ex-inmates.

See www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No84/No84_15VE_Chemonges.pdf

⁸ See International Alert (2013). Youth Perspectives of Identity and National Unity in Uganda.

⁹ Griffiths, C.T., Dandurand, Y. and Murdoch, D. (2007). The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention. Available at www.PublicSafety.gc.ca/NCPC. Accessed on 24 January 2017.

¹⁰ See Ssanyu, R. (2014). Prisoner Rehabilitation in the Uganda Prison Service.

2.2.3 Challenges faced by ex-inmates as risks to reintegration

Successful reintegration of ex-inmates largely depends on the conditions in the outside environment immediately after release and, therefore, this study explored the challenges that are a risk to reintegration. Figure 2 indicates that ex-inmates face several interlocked challenges immediately after release (also see Appendix 3).

The majority (54%) (see Appendix 3) of ex-inmates reported that they suffered family breakdown in terms of their spouse leaving and sometimes remarrying and their children failing to meet their basic needs, such as housing. Family breakdown is traumatising to the ex-inmates and may predispose them to re-offending and, besides, when children without one or both their parents misbehave in the community, the blame is largely put on the parent who was in prison, which makes such a parent live in guilt. This could contribute to a cycle of imprisonment in a family, with possibilities of recidivism, and could result in the children becoming future offenders or current juveniles. In line with this, the Deputy Officer in charge of Gulu Women's Prison noted:

We have habitual offenders. Some people are here on the fifth time and these are mainly young girls from broken homes without parental guidance and because they have no families, they prefer staying in prison than out. (Interview, 17 January 2017)

45 40 Family breakdown 35 Stigmatization 30 Loss of property 25 Lack of capital 20 Loss of employment 15 Lack of information 10 Psych trauma 5 Others 0 No. of Resp(invited to give more than one challenge)

Figure 2: Major challenges faced by ex-inmates immediately after release

Source: Primary data

Economically, most of the ex-inmates come out with nothing from prison and yet, owing to imprisonment, there is loss of business, of property and of productive resources due to neglect, being grabbed or destroyed by the community members and sometimes sold off in efforts to get the prisoner released. Owing to limited opportunities, unemployment and lack of capital to start a business, the risks of recidivism are ever-present since youth ex-inmates may look for any means to survive, including illegal ones.

The prison welfare officers who conduct pre-release visits to prepare the community to welcome these ex-convicts back were cautious, especially in serious cases like murder, aggravated robbery and some land wrangles, about their safety. Some confessed that their security could be compromised if the community members mistook them to be taking sides with criminals. This comes about as a result of the community's perception and expectations about justice for such crimes, since most community members would want whoever is guilty, especially of heinous crimes, to remain in prison until death. This is worsened by the limited reconciliatory measures present within the reintegration process of ex-inmates into the community.

In addition, the Uganda Prisons Service officials interviewed stated that most prisoners do not want their release date to be known by anyone apart from the closest family members for fear that if the community gets to know such details, some people, such as the complainants and their families, may waylay the ex-inmate and harm him/her. This is a challenge because the complaint from the communities, especially from the local leaders, is that they cannot tell which prisoner has come out officially and which unofficially since even those given release letters to report to the LCIs rarely do so.

It was noted that women face double marginalisation in the community with regard to reintegration. It is worse where contentious cases of defilement and gender-based violence that results in death are involved (FHRI, 2015).11 The biological family looks at a woman who has committed crimes such as murder/manslaughter as a disgrace and the marital family considers a woman who has murdered her husband as an enemy who murdered their son regardless of the circumstances. For example, the OC Lira Women's Prison stated that:

There is difficulty in settling women back into the community, especially former convicts of murder cases. The family of the husband reject her with much hatred and don't want her to come back home even after the sentence and yet she has no place in the biological family. (Interview, 18 December 2017)

It was noted that male ex-inmates under similar circumstances are easily facilitated to have cultural reconciliatory ceremonies in order to compensate the victims and their families compared to women. Therefore, women ex-inmates need extra support from NGOs and government to reintegrate.¹²

Current Activity and Programme Structures in Support of 2.3 Youth and Ex-Inmates

Government has put in place development programmes such as the Youth Livelihood Programme, NUSAF and Operation Wealth Creation that target all community members

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative and Penal Reform International (FHRI) (2015). Who Are Women Prisoners? Survey 11 Results from Uganda.

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative and Penal Reform International (2015). Who Are Women Prisoners? Survey Results from Uganda.

interested in improving their agricultural activities for commercial purposes; Women's Entrepreneurship Programme; and, recently (2016/17), the District Discretionary Development Equalisation Grant to facilitate community development and eradicate poverty. Ex-inmates were asked to mention the government programmes that they were aware promoted development in their communities.

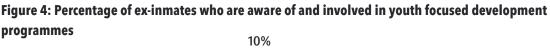
40 Youth livelihood programme 30 NUSAF Operation wealth creation 20 Others Dont know any programme 10 0 % of respondents

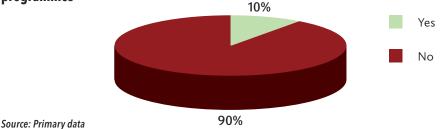
Figure 3: Awareness by ex-inmates of the different government development programmes

Source: Primary data (respondents were invited to give more than one response)

The Youth Livelihood Programme was the most popular among the ex-inmate and inmate respondents, who answered the questionnaire with 36.5 %, followed by NUSAF (26%) and Operation Wealth Creation (16%). The other government programmes were rarely mentioned (see Appendix 4). It should, however, be noted that none of the above government programmes are specific to ex-prisoners. Furthermore, as has been noted by different experts in development, neutral development programmes may not go a long way in helping such marginalised groups as ex-inmates since they are less likely to participate (UNDP, 2010¹³; Tucker and Ludi, 2012¹⁴).

In relation to awareness, the ex-inmates were asked whether they were participating in any youth-focused programmes and activities and, as indicated in Figure 4 below, only 8 (10%) of the 79 ex-inmates who answered the question stated that they were involved.



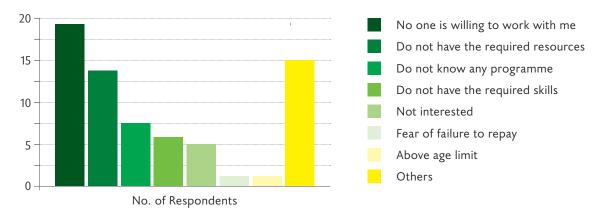


¹³ UNDP (2010). Marginalised Minorities in Development Programming.

¹⁴ Tucker, J. and Ludi, E. (2012). Poverty Reduction and Pro-Poor Growth: The Role of Empowerment. Overseas Development Institute.

The 71 (90%) who were not participating had various reasons, as depicted in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Reasons for non-participation in youth-focused development programmes by ex-inmates



Source: Primary data (invited to give more than one response)

Many ex-inmates (19) confessed that people did not want to work with them, 14 said that they did not have the required resources, while eight said that they did not know of any project or programme. The other reasons mentioned included: most of the youth ex-inmates had inadequate knowledge about the programmes (many respondents had heard about Operation Wealth Creation and the Youth Livelihood Programme but lacked solid information on how to benefit from them); some ex-inmates feared to work in groups since many development programmes use the group approach; lack of the necessary requirements and skills; corruption of government officials; and lack of interest.

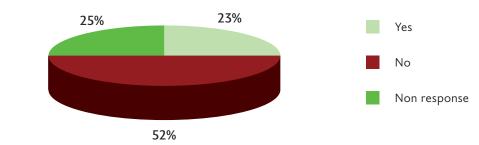
It is agreed that rehabilitation of an inmate is part and parcel of the reintegration process. The Uganda Prisons Service, with its partners such as Advance Afrika, Product of Prisons, Africa Prisons Project and different religious organisations, have put in place different programmes and activities to facilitate the rehabilitation of prisoners within prisons, which is assumed to translate into behavioural change among ex-inmates to enable their acceptance and reintegration into the community. Some former prisoners confessed that they were engaged in small-scale businesses using the knowledge and skills they acquired while in prison. For example, one ex-inmate stated:

I learnt a lot while in prison, which has helped me to restart my business of selling mats and even venture into other businesses like repairing and selling bicycles. This is due to the entrepreneurship skills and business training that were provided by Advance Afrika and UPS. I know how to make a nursery bed and I can train others in the community. (Face-to-face questionnaire on an ex-prisoner who benefited from Advance Afrika, 15 January 2017)

The survey established that rehabilitation activities include: adult literacy education; brick-making; prayers and spiritual edification; carpentry; guidance and counselling; formal education; entrepreneurship and business skills; improved farming skills; emphasis on general hygiene; tree planting; human rights education; leadership skills; life skills; paralegal induction training; visitations from friends and family; games and sports (football and netball); music, dance and drama; tailoring, bakery; basket-weaving; bead-making; and mat-making. These programmes are similar to those offered in different parts of the world with a reformatory approach to prisoners, though the effectiveness of these various progammmes has been analysed by many researchers with mixed outcomes (Ssanyu, 2014).15 Furthermore, there seems to be limited studies on what happens to ex-inmates in the community largely due to limited programmes directed at ex-inmates and, possibly, the indifference towards prison services.

It was noted that only 23% of the inmate and ex-inmate respondents participated in the training offered by the Uganda Prisons Service, as indicated in Figure 6 below. This was partly due to the fact that, on one hand, some of the ex-inmates were on remand yet most of the programmes and activities target convicts; and, on the other hand, some ex-inmates, especially the elderly ones, said they did not have any interest in the training. It was noted that, much as the rehabilitation programmes are very crucial to reintegration, there is also need to increase the focus by different actors on what happens to the ex-inmate in the community after he/she leaves the controlled environment of prison.

Figure 6: Pie chart indicating percentage of inmates and ex-inmates' participation in training while in prison



Source: Primary data

The Social Welfare Department of the Uganda Prisons Service is directly in charge of reintegration by ensuring that by the time a prisoner is released, they are rehabilitated to ensure that they live in society as law-abiding citizens. This department is also charged with linking the prisoners (this applies to only ex-convicts) and their families, especially before release, by paying pre-release visits to the families of prisoners to analyse the likely safety and acceptance of the ex-inmate and to counsel the family members and persuade them to understand the rehabilitation aspects of prison. For example, the Dokolo Prison OC said:

We try to ease the reintegration of ex-prisoners by sending our staff to court to interview the complainants and their families in order to read the security situation of the prisoner before they are released and also pave way for a dialogue with the accused.

It was established that Welfare Officers are supposed to pay pre-release visits to the families of those about to be released in order to inform them that their family member is soon coming out and to tell them about how the prisoner has been rehabilitated. However, according to the prison staff interviewed, they only do this in situations where the prisoner has expressed the fear that they may not be safe and only for the nearby areas. Welfare Officers are few and yet the work they do is a lot and sometimes psychologically draining. For example, Dokolo Prison has no Social Welfare Officer, Gulu Main Prison has a Social Welfare Officer and an Assistant Social Welfare Officer and other prisons that were visited in the region have only one Welfare Officer, yet they serve a large population. In addition, the officers in the different prisons noted the budgetary constraints that hinder their activities. For example, one of the welfare officers in Gulu stated that 'follow-up is not easy because some of the ex-prisoners come from very far and there is no money, so doing pre-release visits and follow-ups is difficult' (interview, 18 January 2017).

It was further noted that the Uganda Prisons Service policy states that when one is released, one should be given transport up to where one was arrested, and yet the ex-prisoner may prefer to resettle in another area to start afresh. For example, one of the OCs in the Acholi sub-region stated:

If a prisoner was arrested from Gulu, for example, we shall give him USh. 1,000 as transport even though he comes from Soroti where he wants to settle and yet the person is coming out of prison with nothing but themselves, which may force some released ex-offender to re-offend to look for means of survival, among other problems. (Interview, 18 January 2017)

This was corroborated by many of the ex-inmates, who confessed that when they came out they did not have sufficient transport money to reach their homes:

I was imprisoned in Gulu Main Prison for two-and-a-half years and when I was released I had nothing in my pocket and yet I had no friend in Gulu where I could go. So I slept on the street for at least a week and did some odd jobs to raise 8000/= to reach here. (Face-to-face questionnaire with an ex-inmate in Lamogi Sub-county, 16 December 2016)

In addition, the focus of the Social Welfare Department of the Uganda Prisons Service is largely on the ex-inmates' family members with limited linkage to the general community, complainants and victims, government officials and local leaders, and yet these are active actors in reconciliatory measures that could lead to sustainable reintegration (Chemonges¹⁶; Ssebugwawo 2010¹⁷; Ssanyu 2014¹⁸).

See Chemonges, W. Available at www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No84/No84_15VE_Chemonges.pdf 16

¹⁷ Ssebugwawo, A. (2010). 'Community Service and Recidivism: A Study of the Legal and Institutional Framework in Kampala District'. Unpublished Dissertation for the Award of the Degree of Master of Laws of Makerere University.

¹⁸ Ssanyu, R. (2014). Prisoner Rehabilitation in Uganda Prisons Service,

In interviews with officers in charge of prisons and Welfare Officers, they acknowledged support from non-governmental partners, including Advance Afrika, Products of Prisons, Africa Prisons Project and religious institutions that have largely contributed to rehabilitation programmes within prisons. However, apart from Advance Afrika that goes into the community to support Uganda Prisons Service pre-release activities and also facilitate some youth ex-inmates in terms of giving them start up kits, training them in business skills and life skills and offering them soft loans to start all over again after prison, there was no other organisation that the Uganda Prisons Service officials were aware of in the Acholi and Lango sub-regions that were engaged in activities in the community specifically targeted at supporting the reintegration of ex-inmates. Any organisation or intervention that aims to rehabilitate prisoners should have an aspect of reintegration based in the communities that are meant to receive the ex-inmate after prison in order for such efforts to be sustainable.

2.4 Social factors affecting ex-inmates in the reintegration process

Ex-inmates need a healthy social environment just like any other human being in order for them to achieve their roles and expectations in society. The social factors are at micro (close family and friends), meso (community factors) and macro (national social policies and programmes) levels.

One of the major factors is social interaction (visitations and exchange of letters, for example) of the inmates with the immediate family and friends while in incarceration. This is a vital social activity that gives psychological motivation to become a better person. Continued interaction between the inmate and the friends and family also inform the prison authorities and the inmate on how to handle reintegration in case there are challenges in the community. Figure 7 below shows that 40/104 (38.5%) of the ex-inmates and inmates confessed to being in touch with their families and friends through visitations where they could share some information. However, 46/104 (44.5%) ex-inmates and inmates, which is a significant proportion, were not in touch with family and friends while in prison.

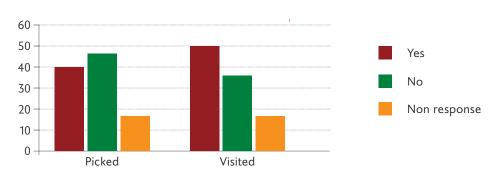


Figure 7: Bar chart showing no. of ex-inmates visited or/and picked up by friends/relatives

Visitations and interactions with inmates by family, friends and the community were dependent on the distance from the home of the prisoner to the prison where they were incarcerated, information about the imprisonment and prison procedures, the social bond one had with the prisoner, the perceived innocence or guilt of the prisoner, the behaviour of the prisoner before incarceration and the nature of the crime. First-time offenders were more likely to be visited by friends and family than re-offenders, as depicted by one of the female interviewees in Pece Vanguard:

My brother is a thief and is now in Gulu Main Prison for the third time for similar offences. I can never visit him, for what? The first time he was arrested I warned him that if he does not change his ways the next time they arrest him he should never even ever bother to contact me. (Face-to-face questionnaire, 15 December 2016)

In a related observation, the nature of the crime also influences social interaction. For example in Patiko Sub-county in Gulu, a male community member had this to say about visitation:

I have visited my friend and nephew when they were in prison because we are very close and I wanted them to know that I am there for them. However, I didn't visit my father the five years he was in prison because the crime he had committed was heinous. He murdered one of his wives and I felt some type of way towards him. (Face-to-face questionnaire, 18 December 2016)

The Uganda Prisons Service, Advance Afrika and any other partners interested can devise strategic measures to encourage continued interaction to enable prisoners to keep in touch with the relevant environment outside prison. However, this needs to carefully take into consideration situations where the crime has been committed within the family; or when it is a very serious crime. Such situations require consideration for the needs of the victims and effective reconciliatory efforts.

The treatment of and behaviour towards ex-inmates by the different segments of the community influence reintegration. Within the immediate environment, including family and friends, and the meso environment that includes complainants/victims and community institutions such as LCIs, there were both positive and negative reinforcements of reintegration. For example, family and friends play a great role through encouraging and counselling the ex-inmates and offering financial support to meet their basic needs. It was also established that some community members, especially those who have had someone close in prison, were largely supportive of ex-inmates. For example, the OC of Gulu argued:

The community is complex, made up of different people and it is dynamic. Some people are supportive of ex-prisoners while others are not...but what I have noted is that when people get their people imprisoned, their attitude towards prisoners changes positively. (In-depth interview, 18 January 2017)

However, it was also noted that many ex-inmates face the challenge of stigmatisation, expressed through name-calling and reminding one of the crime one committed, plus the fact that an ex-inmate is the first suspect in any crime related to the one for which he/she was sentenced or imprisoned. For example, a youth ex-inmate from Amuru complained that people harass you with their statements and behaviour; they keep calling you a defiler even when you left prison a long time ago' (face- to- face questionnaire, 16 December 2016).

The stigmatisation is also inflicted on the family of the ex-inmate. This was noted by a community member in Patiko Sub-county:

When one comes out of prison, people do not respect him and depending on the crime, people see you as a thief, defiler etc. The disrespect is not only on you but to your wife and the children and family as a whole,... Imagine you defile, your wife will have nothing to say in the community.

In addition, some of the victims and their families seek revenge even after the person has served their full sentence. They may destroy property like land, houses, animals, businesses and/or wait for the person to come out and beat him up. This has caused some ex-inmates to relocate.

The survey noted that some ex-inmates lose friends owing to long-term incarceration (Ssanyu, 2014)19 or owing to isolation because some people do not trust ex-inmates or do not want to associate with an ex-inmate for fear of tainting their image or getting into trouble. This was corroborated by responses from some community members who confessed that they were sceptical about interacting freely with ex-inmates, especially those who had committed serious offences like murder and aggravated robbery. Loss of friends and isolation are also a result of ex-inmates living in constant fear about their safety in the community. Isolation and rejection affect prisoners negatively with regard to building networks that could facilitate access to information about available opportunities and create apathy towards any developmental programmes.

Ex-inmates commonly reported the breakdown of families during incarceration. This means that the person comes back to nothing and no one (see Appendix 3). The majority of ex-inmates argued that the major problem they faced was loss of their wives and the difficulties their children faced in terms of accessing basic needs such as food, shelter, education and medical care; and the destruction of sources of livelihood such as businesses and productive resources like land. One of the respondents in Kitgum stated:

When I came out of prison, I found my wife gone and had sold my goats and taken the property in the house, my children were alone in the house and yet I did not have a single coin in my pocket. (Face- to- face questionnaire, 3 December 2016)

2.5 The regulatory environment and legal impact assessment regarding the employability and reintegration of ex-inmates

At the international level, Uganda has ratified treaties requiring respect for minimum standards for prisons and prisoners' rights (including the UN Minimum Standard Rules for Treatment of Prisoners 1995²⁰; the UN International Convention on Civil and Political Rights 1966²¹; the UN Resolution 43/173 - Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Detention 1988²²; the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights 1986²³). These legal frameworks emphasise reformative approaches to imprisonment to facilitate the reintegration of ex-prisoners in the community and to respect human rights.

At the national level, the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda²⁴, amended in 2005 (Articles 215-217) and the Prisons Act $(2006)^{25}$ that spell out the mandate of the Uganda Prisons Service as the provision of custody to prisoners and the rehabilitation of offenders and further mention facilitation of the reintegration of prisoners into their communities as one of the core functions. Sections 78, 86, 88, 89 and 90 directly relate to the reintegration of ex-inmates into the community and there is need to popularise them so that the community members are aware of them. This could be in the form of community dialogues and radio talk shows, among others.

2.6 Access to relevant vital information to ex-inmates and the impact of the information on their performance

Generally, there are limited sources of information that could go a long way in facilitating the reintegration of ex-inmates. According to International Youth Foundation (2011), 26 the common sources of information are radio, family and friends, and newspapers.

It was established that there was inadequate knowledge of the relevant information, especially youth-focused development programmes. Most ex-inmates (see Appendix 4) are not aware that they are free to join groups in government programmes that are meant for development. Some ex-inmates mentioned the Youth Livelihood Programme and NUSAF but, even then, they were not participating either owing to lack of interest or out of the fear of working with groups.

- 20 See UN Minimum Standard Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners 1995.
- 21 See UN International Convention on Civil and Political Rights 1966.
- See UN Resolution 43/173 Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Detention 1988. 22
- 23 See African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted in Nairobi on 27 June 1981 and entered into force on 21 October 1986.
- 24 See the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995.
- 25 See the Prisons Act (2006), Government of Uganda.
- See International Youth Foundation (2011). Navigating Challenges. Charting Hope. A Cross-Sector Situation Analysis on Youth in Uganda - Main Report.

2.7 Community acceptance of ex-inmates and the key players at the community level

2.7.1 Community acceptance

According to Chemonges²⁷ there is an existing gap whereby communities are not prepared to receive ex-inmates and continue to hold old perceptions about the ex-inmates. This is often manifested by resistance to the reintegration of the offender into the community.

Community acceptance of ex-inmates, however, also depends on several other factors, such as the type of crime one is imprisoned for and, sometimes, the age bracket of the ex-inmate and that of the victim. For example, people are more willing to accept a youth who has defiled a teenager but not aggravated defilement, murder or theft. There is a difference between the rural and urban settings in terms of acceptance. Different Uganda Police CLOs reported that in their experience of working with the communities to avoid crime, they have noted that the rural communities are more accepting of ex-inmates because of different factors, i.e. urban communities have hard-core criminals and people know one another more closely in the rural areas. (See Appendix 8 on the opinions of ex-inmates on the support they have received from the community.)

It was observed that the behaviour of the ex-inmates influences their acceptance by the community. The immediate behaviour of the ex-inmates is largely dependent on their emotional state since some of them still hold the complainants in contempt or fear them or are ready to let go and start a new life. The majority of ex-inmates (67.3%) were very happy to be free, whereas 5.8% were angry and 3.8% were scared. There are situations where some prisoners spend a long time awaiting trial and then finally are found to be innocent. Such ex-inmates may seek revenge on those who accused them falsely. This is worsened by the fact that most rehabilitation activities in prison are designed for the convicts, besides a small number on remand. It is assumed that the angry ex-inmates were susceptible to seeking revenge and the very happy ones and the scared ones would try to avoid going back to prison by living in harmony with others in the community (check Appendix 9 for the emotional state of ex-inmates on the first day of release).

2.7.2 Key players at the community level

In terms of community acceptance, the community is made up of different key players that strongly influence community acceptance and these include: inmates and ex-inmates; family, friends and colleagues of the offender; complainants and victims of crime; community leaders; community members; civil society organisations, faith-based organisations and volunteers; and government.

As already mentioned in the previous sub-section, the behaviour of the ex-inmates plays a role in determining community acceptance; the rehabilitated ex-inmates influence community acceptance positively while those who leave prison and behave badly are not accepted in the community.

The family, friends and colleagues are the closest link the ex-inmate has and play a big role in reintegration. However, depending on the crime and the direct or indirect impact the crime may have had on this category, they may reject the ex-prisoner. As regards friends, ex-inmates acknowledged that there are both positive and negative friends. For example, a respondent from Kitgum commented that 'my friend helped me and gave me USh. 100,000 to begin life upon release and this helped to buy me some clothes because I did not have anything and money.' While some ex-inmates argued that they avoided some friends because they were a bad influence (see Appendix 8).

The other important actors are the complainants, victims and their families. It was established that this category sometimes does not accept the outcome of the justice system and end up seeking revenge even when the due process of justice has taken place. A case in point was a young man in Lamogi Sub-county who stated:

I was imprisoned when I was 18 years for defiling a classmate while we were in Primary Seven and sentenced and stayed in prison for two years and eight months. When I was released in 2015, the relatives of the victim found me and beat me seriously and no one could help me in the community. The only support I had was my mother who had been sick all the time I was in prison and died immediately I was out. My father is just a drunkard who has not helped me. (Face-to-face questionnaire with an ex-inmate in Lamogi Sub-county, Amuru District, 16 December 2016).

According to some key informants, the community and complainants specifically have a different view on what they expect from the justice process. For example, one OC from Gulu noted that 'when one commits a crime such as murder, the victim's family expect compensation or a death sentence for the culprit, which may not be the case' (interview with OC Gulu Main Prison, 17 January 2017).

It was further noted that the victims, complainants and their families are not catered for in the reintegration process since the emphasis of reintegration is on the ex-inmates and their family. This contributes to some desire to revenge, especially in cases of serious crimes where life may have been lost, such as murder, manslaughter and aggravated robbery, even if one has served one's full sentence. For example, one of the ex-inmates in Kitgum who had been imprisoned for threatening violence after he had set a grass-thatched hut on fire owing to misunderstandings with one of his wives said that 'some members of the community became jealous of me because they never wanted me to be released. It became worse when I managed to start a small business of making local bags with the help of my brothers' (face-to-face questionnaire with a male ex-inmate in Kitgum, 6 January 2017).

The local leaders, including those in the cultural, political, religious and civic spheres, who may play a vital role in reintegration, are currently not seriously engaged by the Uganda Prisons Service or its partners like Advance Afrika in reintegration. This came out clearly when the majority complained that while they were aware that every ex-inmate is supposed to report to them immediately they come out, they only get to know about their release on seeing them in the community. There is need to engage these local leaders who could facilitate reconciliation activities to harmonise the victims and the ex-inmates even after they have served their sentences. The Community Liaison Officer of Lira Police Station had this to say:

We have some influential clan leaders who talk to the community since they are truly listened to. We can explain to them the importance of welcoming ex-prisoners back into the community so that they prepare the community positively. (Interview, 14 December 2016)

According to the Uganda Prisons Service officials, all the different religious denominations in Uganda have a range of rehabilitation activities in prison, although they seem not to have any targeted interventions for ex-inmates in the community (so their influence on community acceptance remains a potential opportunity). The commonly mentioned civil society organisations working with the Uganda Prisons Service northern Uganda include Advance Afrika, African Prisons Project and Product of Prisons; however, only Advance Afrika is partnering with the Uganda Prisons Service in reintegrating ex-inmates.

It was also observed that there are several civil society organisations that work to defend victims on issues of human rights such as land rights, the prevention of and response to gender-based violence, among others. This survey did not map out victim-focused NGOs, but examples include the International Justice Mission (IJM), Legal Aid Service Providers Network (LAPSNet), Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) etc. The Gulu Main Prison SWO commented:

The major strategy of victim-focused civil society organisations is to seek retributive justice for their clients and limited efforts towards restorative justice... the Uganda Prisons Service, Advance Afrika and other like-minded partners should seek strategies of bringing such organisations on board to promote justice and reconciliation in totality. (Interview, 17 January 2017)

Much as the government is already carrying out a lot of activities to rehabilitate prisoners and reintegrate ex-inmates through its policies and legal frameworks, more efforts and resources are required to promote reintegration. Advance Afrika should work with the different established structures such as relevant district offices, sub-counties and LCIs as a way of expanding synergies within the government institutions.

The media, especially radio which is the commonest source of information (International Youth Foundation 2011),²⁸ is a key potential player in changing people's mindset through talk shows and other strategic means.

Perception and reaction of the community towards the 2.8 criminal justice system and prison in particular

Most community members are disappointed when one is released ('that man is out') and, as noted by previous researchers (Osayi, 2015; Ssanyu, 2014; Ssebugwawo, 2010), most community members have a 'lock them up and throw away the key mentality' in different areas of the world. The OC Dokolo Prison stated that 'the community feels that prison is a punitive institution. When a person is in prison, then justice is being done; when he or she comes back, then a criminal has come out' (interview, 13 December 2017).

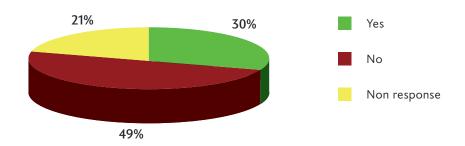
The OC Gulu Prison expressed the view that the above perception comes about because people in the community do not understand the difference between offences against the state and those against persons. For instance, defilement or murder is an offence against the state and it is the state to impose punishments, yet relatives of the victim would feel the offence is actually against them. This leads to dissatisfaction within the community with the kind of sentences given to convicts because the aggrieved family have not been compensated for the loss yet the accused is already out, claiming to have completed his or her punishment. This view is corroborated by one of the religious leaders who stated that:

In my observation, when it comes to retributive justice in our communities, the ex-prisoner who has faithfully served the sentence or who has been acquitted has reconciled with the law but not with the community and victims/complainants. (Reverend and lecturer at Gulu University, December 2017)

This implies that when inmate gets out of prison, the community still view him/her as a criminal who deserves to be punished despite the formal justice procedures that will have taken place.

The survey established that the majority of community members have very low confidence in the criminal justice system owing to factors such as ignorance on the part of the community about court procedures and sentencing, and perceived and real corrupt tendencies among judicial officers such as the police, court clerks and judges.

Figure 8: Pie chart indicating the percentage of community respondents on whether court sentencing is fair and just



Source: Primary data (check Appendix 10)

Only 30.4% of the community respondents believed that court sentencing is fair and just. The majority (48.2%) did not believe that court sentencing was fair and just and 21.1% did not respond to the question or said they did not know. Those who believe in court sentencing argued that the criminal system follows the laid out laws such as the penal code, the constitution and the mandated procedures. However, the majority who do not believe in the court sentencing hinged their argument on the corrupt tendencies of the judicial system, as depicted by negative statements such as: 'Can you imagine a person who committed robbery was convicted for only three months' (a community respondent in a face-to-face interview, Oyam); and 'Money talks in the courts of law' (interview with a community respondent from Kitgum, 3 January 2017).

The survey also established that there is limited knowledge about important criminal procedures such as court bail, plea bargain, remission and remand among the community members. This is exacerbated by the fact that some complainants, victims and the community members do not follow court proceedings partly owing to the delays, several adjournments, long distances and costs involved in following criminal cases (Mpata, 2011).²⁹ So when one is released or convicted, some community members still feel that justice has not been served because they were never part of the process and do not know how it works. The survey analysed the level of awareness among community member about three common criminal justice procedures, i.e. plea bargain in the courts of law, court bail and the remission of prison sentences. There was a high level of awareness about court bail but a low level of awareness about the remission of prison sentences and plea bargain among community members who were part of the survey. This contributes to a negative perception of the court system, as indicated in Figure 9 below.

100 86 80 Knoweledge about remission 64 60 49 Awareness about plea bargain 45 40 30 Awareness of court bail 18 18 18 20 8 0 Yes No No Response

Figure 9: Bar chart indicating no. of community members aware of remission, plea bargain and court bail

However, it should be noted that community members who were aware of the above procedures (plea bargain, remission of sentence and court bail) also had some reservations about them. For example, regarding plea bargain and the remission of prison sentences, many argued that these should be afforded to only those who have committed light sentences and are breadwinners to allow them to reintegrate into the community and be productive.

As regards court bail, community members raised important issues that. In addition to suggesting similar conditions for qualifying for the remission of prison sentences and plea bargain, some community members noted that court bail is given selectively to those who have the money to afford a lawyer and have the ability to get substantive sureties. Much as the laws of Uganda presume one to be innocent until proven guilty by a court of competent jurisdiction, some arguments by community members indicate that, in their view, some suspects of crimes such as child sacrifice, murder, witchcraft, aggravated robbery and aggravated defilement should never be granted bail.

CONCLUSION

Successful reintegration of ex-inmates into the community is in everyone's interest and, therefore, should be of concern to every individual and organisation. Ex-inmates face many economic and social challenges and are in need of the kind of support that addresses specific and general challenges and yet the reintegration programmes and activities within the community are very limited. Improving the current community perception and reception of ex-inmates can go a long way in facilitating the process of reintegration.

3.1 Recommendations

- There is need to sensitise the different segments of the community to create awareness in order for the community to understand their role in the reintegration of the ex-prisoners. The sensitisation messages should strongly include basic procedures of the justice system, the purpose of prisons and the role of different stakeholders in the reintegration of ex-prisoners in order to create a positive environment. This will go a long way in dispelling the rampant stigma attached to ex-prisoners and negative perception about the justice system.Different actors, such as civil society organisations like Advance Afrika, can liaise with the Uganda Prisons Service in order to agree on how to tailor their sensitisation messages such that they do not compromise the objectives of the service but, at the same time, inform the public in order to change the community perception of ex-inmates. For example, one of the Social Welfare Officers in one of the prisons suggested that Advance Afrika could facilitate reintegration by conducting community dialogues and possibly radio talk shows where identified ex-inmates can share their stories and experiences while in prison.
- There is need to involve grass-roots leaders, especially the LCIs, cultural leaders and parish chiefs, on the release of ex-inmates. The Prison Social Welfare Officers and Advance Afrika social workers and any other organisations engaged in the reintegration of ex-inmates should ensure that such local leaders are consulted and reconciliatory measures applicable to any specific context are explored. In the same vein, to facilitate sustainable reintegration, there is need to explore how to build victim-complainant positive relationships through using appropriate cultural mechanisms and conflict experts where necessary.
- It was observed that para-social workers at the sub-counties should be empowered with the skills and knowledge to mobilise the community in line with ex-inmate reintegration in the community. These could also help Advance Afrika, the Uganda Prisons Service and

any other partner in informing them about the safety situation of a person who is about to be released, in addition to organising community dialogues.

- Advance Afrika needs to expand and further strengthen its initiatives of economic empowerment of ex-prisoners. One of the overriding recommendations from all categories of respondents was that those being released, especially those who have been convicted or on remand for long, should be supported economically. Other organisations should adopt the community follow-up approach of ex-inmates used by Advance Afrika beyond the prison walls to support community reintegration beyond rehabilitation in prison.
- Any programme in prison to support rehabilitation should have an intensive after-care component of facilitating reintegration outside the prison setting, i.e. the programme should have a clear plan on how it will help ex-inmates in the community for at least for 3-6 months.
- Individuals re-entering society after incarceration would greatly benefit from having individualised plans of action that address the ex-prisoners' specific needs. The exit plans of action should be client-centred and individualised to predict the best outcomes for the individual re-entering society after incarceration (Williams-Queen, 2014). For example, those who were engaged in formal education could be helped through scholarship programmes. Education has been supported by many researchers as, among other benefits, enabling the inculcation of logical thinking among the ex-prisoners so that they can avoid acting impulsively.
- All ex-inmates, whether sentenced or on remand, should be given release letters either by the Uganda Prisons Service or courts of law and encouraged to take them to their LCIs as proof that they have been officially released to avoid speculation in the community.
- The Uganda Prisons Service should consider adopting the police community liaison approach instead of a largely centralised approach in communicating to the communities. There is need for the Uganda Prisons Service to interact more with the community and to talk to them about the role of prison and prison procedures.
- One of the major reasons given for low confidence in the criminal justice system was corruption. As a broad approach to reintegration, different actors in community development in northern Uganda should strengthen their interventions in the advocacy against corruption and bribery in the legal/justice system so as to enhance confidence in the system.
- The creation of a well-developed network of potential employers and mentors, especially among the SMEs and vocational institutions, which could partner with different actors in the community to support ex-inmates.

- There is need for the government to have specific programmes and activities targeting ex-inmates as their primary population segment as opposed to some programmes which count them as simply part of the many population segments they serve.
- As a long-term intervention that has the potential for sustainability, the Therapeutic Communities (TCs) approach to fostering individual change and positive growth through changing individual lifestyles through a community of concerned people working together to help themselves and one another can be adopted by civil society organisations and the Uganda Prisons Service to facilitate the reintegration of ex-inmates (Drake and LaFrance, 2007).³⁰ The Urban Institute in the USA (cited in Drake and LaFrance, ibid.) notes that TCs have been acknowledged as an effective model for re-entry, especially if they started in prison and were followed up for at least six months after incarceration.
- Victim-offender relationship programmes (VORP)31 should be explored with a view to enhancing personal commitment to attain restorative justice, which views crime as harm done to people and communities, and seeks to identify and address that harm. Some organisations, such as the Centre for Community Justice, 32 have registered successful reconciliation between offenders and victims, but these are missing in the Ugandan context. These programmes are more likely to be used when there is an obvious victim as opposed to a scenario where both parties perceive the other as being the offending party, 33 and can be pre- or post-sentence.
- Ex-inmates should live exemplary lives to exhibit the rehabilitation that has taken place and endeavour to reconcile with the complainants, if possible.

³⁰ See Drake and LaFrance (2007). Findings on Best Practices of Community Re-Entry Programs for Previously Incarcerated Persons. San Fransico, USA: LaFrance Associates.

³¹ See http://www.vorp.com/ about Victim-offender relationship programmes

³² See http://www.centerforcommunityjustice.org/services/victim-offender-reconciliation-program/

³³ See http://ndaa.org/pdf/build_bridges_v6_no1_no2_08.pdf

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Table indicating status of employment before imprisonment and current main occupation and other sources of income for ex-inmates and youth prisoners

Employment at the time of first imprisonment	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Yes	51	49
No	53	51
Total	104	100
Current main occupation	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Engaged in small business	26	25
Farmer	33	32
Formally employed	6	6
I am doing nothing	1	1
Student	5	5
Any other (specify)	33	31
Total	104	100
Other sources of income apart from the main occupation	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Engaged in small business	20	26
Farmer	32	41
Formally employed	1	1
I am doing nothing	13	16
Student	1	1
Any other(specify)	12	15
No other source	25	24
Total	104	100

Appendix 2: Table indicating participation in reintegration of ex-inmates in the community by members (respondents)

Have you ever participated in the reintegration activities mentioned in 18 above?	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Yes	10	8.9
No	40	35.7
I do not know any programmes	62	55.4
Total	112	100

Appendix 3: Table showing major challenges faced or being faced by ex-prisoners ever since they got out of prison

Variables	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Family breakdown	42	54
Financial constraints	3	3.8
Do not have capital for business ventures	24	31
Do not have employable skills	8	10
Do not have information to help me earn income	5	6.4
Loss of property like land, houses	24	31
Isolation	5	6.4
Stigmatisation	28	36
Unemployment/loss of employment	15	19
Psychological trauma	5	6.4
People don't want to employ ex-prisoners	7	9

Source: Primary data (respondents were invited to give more than one response)

Appendix 4: Table showing awareness by ex-inmates of current specific government development programmes and projects that are targeting community economic empowerment

Variables	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
NUSAF	18	17.3
Operation Wealth Creation	11	10.6
Special grants for PWDs	2	1.9
Uganda Women's Entrepreneurship Programme	1	1
Youth Livelihood Programme	38	36.5
I do not know any programme	34	32.7

Source: Primary data (respondents were invited to give more than one response)

Appendix 5: Table showing reasons why majority of ex-prisoners were not involved in or benefiting from youth-focused development projects or programmes

Variables	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Above age limit	1	2
Fear of failing to repay	1	2
Not interested	5	7
Do not have the required skills	6	9
Do not know of any project or programme	8	12
Do not have the required resources	14	20
No one is willing to work with me	19	26
Others (specify)	15	22

Source: Primary data (respondents were invited to give more than one response)

Appendix 6: Table showing proportion of ex-prisoners who received training while in prison

Did you receive any training while in prison	Number of respondents	Percentage of the respondents
Yes	24	23
No	54	51.9
Non-response	26	25
Total	104	100

Appendix 7: Table showing the proportion of ex-prisoners who kept in touch with friends and family and were picked up on their release

While in prison, were you in touch with friends and family?	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Yes	40	38.5
No	46	44.2
Non-response	18	17.3
Total	104	100
Upon release, were you received or picked up	Number of	Percentage of
by anyone?	respondents	respondents
by anyone? Yes		
	respondents	respondents
Yes	respondents 50	respondents 48.1

Source: Primary data

Appendix 8: Table showing opinions of ex-prisoners concerning the support that they received from their families and the community to assist with their transition into society

Variables	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree	Total
My family has assisted me with my transition into the community	29 (35%)	5(6%)	1(1%)	37(44%)	12(14%)	84(100%)
My friends have assisted me in living productively after prison	39(46%)	9(11%)	4(5%)	21(25%)	11(13%)	84(100%)
I avoid my friends to minimise getting into more trouble	17(20%)	18(21%)	20(24%)	21(25%)	8(10%)	84(100%)
After prison I do not have any friends	8(10%)	26(31%)	13(15%)	11(13%)	26(31)	84(100%)
My religious leaders have facilitated me to overcome challenges after prison	29(34%)	15(18%)	3(4%)	27(32%)	10(12%)	84(100%)
The community has no support for the ex-prisoners	28(33%)	19(24%)	13(15%)	17(20%)	7(8%)	84(100%)
The reintegration services in prisons have helped me to reconnect with the community	28(33%)	9(11%)	16(19)	21(25%)	10(12%)	84(100%)
Leaders in our community have helped me to reintegrate in the community	30(36%)	18(21%)	7(8%)	20(24%)	9(11%)	84(100%)
I have been denied employment opportunities because I was a prisoner	15(18%)	32(38%)	6(7%)	20(24%)	11(13%)	84(100%)

Appendix 9: Table showing the feeling of ex-prisoners on the first day of release

Did you receive any training while in prison	Number of respondents	Percentage of the respondents
Angry	6	5.8
Indifferent	1	0.96
Regretful	4	3.8
Scared	4	3.8
Very happy	70	67.3
Non-response	19	18.3
Total	104	100

Appendix10: Table showing the perception of community members regarding whether court sentencing is just and fair

Community perception of whether court sentencing is fair and just	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Angry	6	5.8
Indifferent	1	0.96
Regretful	4	3.8
Scared	4	3.8
Very happy	70	67.3
Non-response	19	18.3
Total	104	100

Appendix 11: Table showing community members' knowledge/awareness about common criminal justice procedures

Knowledge about remission of prison sentence	Number of respondents	Percentage of the respondents
Yes	40	38.5
No	46	44.2
Non-response	18	17.3
Total	104	100
Awareness of plea bargain in courts of law	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Yes	45	40.2
No	49	43.8
Non-response	18	16.1
Total	112	100
Awareness of court bail	Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Yes	86	76.8
No	8	7.1
Non-response	18	16.1
Total	94	100

