

**FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RECIDIVISM: THE CASE OF PRISON
INMATES AT HAWASSA CORRECTIONAL CENTER, SOUTHERN
ETHIOPIA**

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**FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RECIDIVISM: THE CASE OF PRISON
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ETHIOPIA**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN
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DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that any material written by others has been acknowledged in the text. I solemnly declare that this thesis has not been presented or being submitted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or publication by any other individual, in English or in any other language.

Tomas Tsegaye Haki

Signature.....date.....

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents (my father Tsegaye and my mother Blaynesh) for their constant support.

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First, I would like to give praises and thanks to the Almighty God who has been my constant guide and the one whom I call upon every time I sit down to write.

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ACRONYMS

COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
ECJP	Ethiopian Criminal Justice Policy
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FMOH	Federal Ministry of Health
FPCEP	Federal Prisons Commission Establishment Proclamation
GST	General Strain Theory
HCC	Hawassa Correctional Center
KII	Key Informant Interview
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

Nowadays, the issue of crime in general and recidivistic behavior in particular, has become a great problem in Ethiopia. Every crime has social and economic costs for both society and the individuals, but most importantly recidivism creates fear and insecurity among the society along with continuous loss of property and life, plus it escalates expenditures on law enforcement and criminal justice. However, recidivism and its factors are not adequately understood in Ethiopia. Hence, this study tried to examine the factors that contribute to recidivism, with particular emphasis on prison inmates at Hawassa correctional center. A mixed research approach and cross-sectional study design were employed. The quantitative data was collected from all recidivists (80) selected through comprehensive sampling. On the other hand, qualitative data was gathered from seventy purposively selected participants using key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews, and case studies. The quantitative data were analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques while the qualitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis. The study results showed that recidivism is emanating from; personal factors which comprise age, sex, educational background, alcohol and drug use; socio-economic factors which include lack of family support, peer pressure, negative community attitude, unemployment, income shortage, and homelessness as well as institutional factors which encompass mistreatment by prison staff, ineffective services, overcrowding, lack of inmate classification system, inmates subculture and lack of assistance upon release. Based on the findings, the researcher recommends that efforts to incorporate the issue of recidivism and social reintegration of offenders in current criminal policy, the prison management should introduce offender oriented treatment programs and work with community groups, faith-based institutions, and volunteer individuals and organizations to assist released prisoners in creating opportunities for them.

Key words: Prison, Recidivism, Rehabilitation, Reoffending, Socio-economic

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Every country has a segment of individuals who act illegally, challenging the law and disregarding other people's rights and needs. However, not all individuals commit crimes with the same frequency; most of them get involved only in a one-off criminal occasion and then once again they become contributing members of society and avoid criminal activity. On the other hand, others find themselves again in criminal activities and finally in prison. Those continuing offenders are defined as recidivists. Therefore, recidivism in its general sense refers to those activities and behaviors, which are being against the law and are enacted by an already convicted offender (Zara and Farrington 2016). The concept of recidivism has, over time, been defined in different terms. It encompasses re-arrest, re-conviction, and re-incarceration among others (Oruta 2016). In broad terminologies, recidivism means relapse into a criminal lifestyle or activities by an offender who had once or more times been processed through the penal system (Mckean and Ransford 2004).

Globally, recidivism is one of the most essential concepts in the criminal justice system and it is a major problem faced by all countries (Forkuor 2017; Akporaro 2019). Despite various intervention strategies, the rate of recidivism has increased across all nations in the world along with its negative consequences on individuals, as well as on the social and economic life of the community (Akporaro 2019). Moreover, recidivism has become a major social problem by affecting governments, multinationals, and humanitarian organizations (Simasiku 2018). United States of America (USA) as the country with the worst crime rate in the world (Atieno 2017), in the same way, it has the highest recidivism rate in the world with over 76.6% of released prisoners reoffending and returning to prison (Flores 2018). On the contrary, Scandinavian countries are frequently considered as models of successful incarceration and rehabilitation practices, particularly, Norway has one of the lowest recidivism rates (20%) in the world (Deady 2014).

In Africa, the increasing rate of crime and incarceration has been consistent with the pattern and trends in all parts of the world. Recidivism is also a common phenomenon in African countries (Oruta, 2016). South Africa has the highest recidivism rate (74%) followed by Kenya (47 %), and Tanzania (36 %) in the continent (Wambugu 2014; Khamba 2017).

Similar to other countries Ethiopia is not free from the problem of crime and recidivism. Various research findings demonstrated that nowadays the problem of crime is found in every part of the country predominantly in urban areas like Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Adama, Hawassa, and Sodo because of social and economic problems (rapid population growth, poverty, unemployment, rural-urban migration, ghettos way of life and the like) [(Meti 2016; Getahun 2017; Fereje 2017; Ephrem 2018; Omod 2019; Nigatu et al. 2019)]. Moreover, according to the World prison brief report (2018), trends in prison population rates have increased over the last 20 years at an alarming rate. It was 91, 96, 136, and 129 per 100,000 in 2002, 2005, 2011, and 2015 respectively; making Ethiopia one of the top listed among eastern African countries.

However, it is difficult to show the exact rate or condition of recidivism in a national context due to the paucity of comprehensive studies done so far in Ethiopia. But, very recently the issue of recidivism has been observed by researchers like Goche and Hayelom (2018) and Eskalehu (2019). Goche and Hayelom (2018) found that many released prisoners were re-offending and return to prison in North East Ethiopian correctional centers. Similarly, Eskalehu's (2019) study shows that recidivism has become a central issue in all prisons of the Amhara region, particularly; the problem is highly intensified in prisons which are found in main cities like Bahir Dar, Gondar, and Dessie.

In fact, the main purpose of rehabilitation or prison services is to reform the offender's behavior and prevent them from committing a further crime and rejoin them to society as useful and law-abiding members of the society. However, studies like Goche and Hayelom (2018), and Eskalehu (2019) showed that recidivism has become a serious social problem in Ethiopia. Therefore, it needs a detailed understanding particularly about how and what factors contribute to recidivism? Hence, to address such questions the current study attempts to examine the issue of recidivism in Hawassa correctional center, southern Ethiopia.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Crime has devastating effects on the victims, the communities, the offenders, and their families too, in fact, beyond what can be actually measured (Zara and Farrington 2016). Particularly, recidivism upsets the individual's health when they are in prison and it creates instability and disrupts the social cohesion of family and community (UNODC 2012; Kitaria 2014). In addition to that, recidivism jeopardizes public safety, security and escalates expenditures on law enforcement and criminal justice (Khamba 2017).

According to UNODC (2018), "If prisoners re-offend after discharge, there are costs related to policing and adjudicating these new offenses plus the costs of administering new sanctions. There are far less easily quantifiable or indirect costs to society, such as those borne by the victims of these crimes, those related with lost economic and community capacity, or through ex-prisoners relying on social services instead of contributing to society." Thus, knowledge about the risk factors to recidivism is very important to develop preventive strategies and effective interventions.

In Ethiopia, various studies tried to examine the determinants of crime, for instance, a study conducted by Meti (2016), which focused on inmates in Kaliti Correctional Administration indicated that low parental guidance, peer influence, and lack of income are among the factors that influenced prisoners to commit a crime. Furthermore, studies conducted by Sisay (2016) and Sintayehu (2017) revealed that peer effect, family issues, economic problems, political and administrative issues were the main contributing factors for youth crime.

However, few studies have tried to consider the issue of recidivism in Ethiopia. For example, Abebaw's (2019) study indicates that the discrepancies between prisoner's rehabilitation needs and rehabilitation programs offered at prison centers in Ethiopia make rehabilitation ineffective and contribute to recidivism among inmates. However, he lacked from discussing recidivism in detail. Fitsum (2018) also conducted a study on the discrepancy between rhetoric and practice barriers associated with prisoner rehabilitation at Hawassa correctional facility, his finding shows that Hawassa correctional facility has failed to fulfill its primary function of correction due to institutional and inmate related factors. Also, to some extent, he tried to discuss the debates on the efficiency of correctional rehabilitation in reducing recidivism. Yet, he also failed to show the factors that contribute to recidivism in detail.

Moreover, a study conducted by Goche and Hayelom (2018) indicates that the major factors that contribute to recidivism comprise economic problems, family and psychological problems in North East Ethiopia correctional centers. However, they slightly studied the social and institutional (correctional) factors that contribute to recidivism. Another study is conducted by Eskalehu (2019) in Bahir Dar Correctional Administration by using a qualitative research method on youth recidivism. His finding demonstrates that youth recidivism is caused by individual-related issues and household difficulties. Then again, he gave little attention to socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism. Besides, both Goche and Hayelom, and Eskalehu studies were particularly conducted in the northern part of Ethiopia. As well, they suggested further research be done on recidivism to consider the issue at the national level and identify appropriate measures to address it.

In general, the reasons that motivated the researcher to conduct this study are: first, evidence shows that nowadays the issue of crime in general and recidivistic behavior, in particular, has become a great social problem in Ethiopia. The issue of crime nowadays disrupts the social order and creates fear and insecurity among the society, and also involves significant social costs in Ethiopia. Most importantly, recidivism causes continuous loss of property and life. Second, as argued before there is a gap in the literature basically in studying institutional (correctional) factors and social factors of recidivism. Finally, the current Ethiopian Criminal Justice Policy (ECJP) (2011) encourages studies on the causes of crime to develop better crime prevention strategies. In view of these points, this study tried to examine the contributing factors to recidivism among prisoners who are serving time at Hawassa correctional center, southern Ethiopia. Hawassa correctional center is chosen based on its proximity to conduct the study with in the given time.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The overall objective of this study was to identify factors that contribute to recidivism in the case of prison inmates at Hawassa correctional center.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To assess personal factors that contribute to recidivism;
- To identify the socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism and;
- To investigate institutional factors that contribute to recidivism.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The government spends money to maintain offenders in prisons to rehabilitate them, but if there is reoffending and returning to prison that means the government resource is being wasted. In this regard, this study will be helpful for the policymakers and criminal justice agencies to develop better crime (recidivism) reduction strategies, rehabilitation, and social reintegration programs. Particularly, the findings of the study will have importance for administrators of rehabilitation facilities to develop or improve the current programs and services that could substitute the successful rehabilitation of inmates and their reentry into society as law-abiding citizens. This would not only be cost-saving for the government but would also ensure that instead of released offenders going back to prison, they participate in useful and legal economic activities that can help the growth of the country's economy. Furthermore, this study will give some insight into the issue of recidivism in the Ethiopian context for the general readers because according to Eskedar (2001) and Eskalehu (2019) people in Ethiopia are not well aware of the issue of recidivism. Finally, this study will also serve as a way in and be helpful to initiate new researchers and educational experts for further studies, particularly from a sociological view.

1.5 Scope of the Study

People commit crimes for many reasons and they also stop committing crimes for many reasons (UNODC 2018). Moreover, there are various contributing factors to recidivism from different points of view, for instance, from social, biological, and psychological outlooks. However, this study was focused on sociological aspects primarily by looking at the personal, socio-economic, and institutional factors that contribute to recidivism with particular emphasis on prison inmates at Hawassa correctional center, which is found in Hawassa city. Hawassa correctional center held all the categories of criminals including awaiting trial, first-time convicts, and re-offenders.

However, this study was targeted at re-convicted prisoners, which means awaiting trial and first-time convicts were excluded in this study. Theoretically, the study was guided by selected four sociological theories: the Differential association theory of Edwin Sutherland, Labeling theory, Strain theories and Inmate Subculture theory to consider the issue of recidivism.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The first limitation of this study is the study lacked a sufficient review of the literature concerning recidivism in the Ethiopian context particularly in southern Ethiopia due to the dearth of well-organized and published documents about the issue. The second limitation of this study is related to data collection, audio recording is not allowed by the prison administrations, as a result, the researcher was limited to use only note-taking during interviews, and therefore the researcher may have skipped some important issues. Lastly, the study was conducted only in Hawassa correctional center; however, there are many correctional centers in Ethiopia so it is difficult to generalize the issue of recidivism simply by using the finding of this study therefore it needs further study.

1.7 Challenges in Conducting the Study

Conducting research in prisons is somewhat difficult due to the protective and restrictive nature of the institution. In conducting this study, especially the researcher encountered the difficult task to convince prison managers to allow prisoners to participate in this study due to COVID-19¹ protocol. The researcher convinced the prison managers by justifying the purpose of the study and the way how to conduct the study in a safe tactic. Another challenge is some participants were not cooperative for interviews and unwilling to give information particularly due to issues like shame and private experiences related to their past offenses, but the researcher overcame this issue by negotiating with the study participants by describing the purpose of the study and establishing a good rapport.

¹ *COVID-19 is the name of the “novel coronavirus” disease. The new CORONA virus has been identified as the cause of the acute respiratory disease in humans since the end of December 2019(2019-nCoV). It is first seen in Wuhan, China, now the virus is a challenge for both developed and underdeveloped nations. Coronaviruses cause mild respiratory illnesses, such as the common cold; Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS); Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) (FMOH, April 2020).*

1.8 Organization of the Paper

This research paper is organized into five chapters. The first chapter introduced the introductory part of the inquiry along with its justification such as the background of the study, statement of the research problem, research objectives, scope of the study, and significance of the study. The second chapter presents a review of basic concepts, the empirical and theoretical literature on factors that contribute to recidivism. The third chapter comprises a description of the study area, the study design, the research approach, and the methods employed to conduct the study. The fourth chapter deals with results and discussion. The final chapter provides a summary, conclusion, and recommendations based on the key findings.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter discusses both empirical and theoretical literature related to recidivism, basically concerning the specific objectives of the study. In detail, the chapter presents the basic concepts, previous empirical studies that have been conducted on factors contributing to recidivism, legal frameworks, and prison conditions of Ethiopia. The chapter also presents selected sociological theories and conceptual framework.

2.1 Basic Concepts

Every scientific study requires the definition of key concepts because it helps the researcher to understand the intended issue easily and explain the key findings (facts) properly. The concepts in this study are derived from the research problem and its objectives. These concepts are stated as follows.

2.1.1 Correctional Institution

Correction means the society's handling of persons after their conviction of a criminal offense. Usually, the components of the criminal justice system serve to punish and reform offenders by involving the deprivation of life, liberty, or property after due process of law (Glory 2009). Besides, correctional institutions are the places where convicted criminals serve out their sentences, including prisons, halfway houses, and supervised release programs. They are commonly statutory creations and are governed by boards of charities and corrections or similar boards that are part of municipal or state government (Joplin 2001).

2.1.2 Prison

The word prison/ jail has been defined as a place or penitentiary which is properly arranged and equipped for the reception of criminals who are legally convicted or are waiting to get punishment (Glory 2009; Islam and Antora 2019). According to English Oxford Dictionary, a prison is a building in which people are legally held as a punishment for a crime which they have committed or while waiting for trial (<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/prison>). The main objective of the prison/jail is to rehabilitate prisoners thereby helping them to understand what was wrong with their behaviors and helping them to become productive citizens in the future after release from prison (Niriella 2010).

However, writers like Kagendo (2003), Mohseni (2012), and Islam and Antora (2019) argue that prison is not an appropriate training place for prisoners. They claim that criminals are more empowered in the prison for their dysfunctional behaviors, and they become more specialized in criminal activities. Furthermore, Damm (2020) in his article “Prison as a Criminal School: Peer Effects and Criminal Learning behind Bars” discussed that incarceration can have adverse effects on the prisoners because inmates learn from one another and thereby acquire or strengthen their criminal capital.

2.1.3 Recidivism

Before we see the definition of recidivism, it is important to define the concept of crime to understand the meaning of recidivism easily. The term “crime” comes from the Latin word “cernō/crimen” meaning intellectual mistake or fault. In ordinary language, crime is an unlawful act punishable by a state or other authority (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crime>). Sociologically, crime is a form of deviance as a result it is a social problem in any society. With these in mind, now we can see the concept of recidivism. There are various definitions given for recidivism by different researchers and academic writers. Let’s start with its origin, the word “recidivism” is derived from the Latin root words “re”, meaning “back” and “caedere” meaning “to fall” or literally “to fall back.” Therefore, recidivism means a “tendency to relapse into a previous condition or mode of behavior; especially relapse into criminal behavior” (Barnett and Hagel 1977). According to Winnicott (1984), recidivism can be explained as an offender’s tendency to repeat his/her criminal behavior despite efforts towards reformation. Also, recidivism has variously been defined as a return to custody for any reason, including technical violations of an offender’s parole or probation (Verbrugge et al. 2002).

Recidivism, in a criminal justice context, refers to the return of an individual to criminal behavior after the person has been convicted of a prior offense, sentenced, and has been corrected (Darkwa 2015). Other studies define recidivism as re-arrest, reconviction, or re-incarceration of an ex-offender within a given time frame (James 2014). According to Schoeman (2010) recidivism is defined as:

“Recidivism is a behavior process or pattern whereby an offender, who was previously found guilty of a crime and sentenced in a court of law, commits a further unspecified

offense and is found guilty of this offense, and receives a further undetermined sentence in a court of law”.

According to this definition, an offender is deemed to be a recidivist if:

- he/she was previously found guilty of a crime in a court of law and sentenced to an indeterminate sentence;
- he/she commits a further criminal offense within the specified survival period; and
- he/she is found guilty of a further unspecified crime and receives a further unspecified sentence in a court of law.

In general, when we see these all definitions of recidivism, it is so complex and broad because it includes even the technical violations and re-arrests statistics (individuals who are found not guilty of the charges). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, recidivism is defined as committing a fresh crime after serving at least one previous sentence of imprisonment and being convicted for the fresh crime, and returning to prison with a new sentence. The rationale behind focusing on reconvicted prisoners is: reconviction is the definitive definition of recidivism (Zara and Farrington 2016) and it is also a widely accepted definition of recidivism (Gomez 2017). Besides, the criminal code of FDRE, proclamation No.414/2004, articles 67 and 188 states that an individual is a recidivist only if there is a previously served sentence. Therefore, ex-offenders can only be considered as recidivists if they are convicted for a new offense, and thus a re-arrest cannot be considered as recidivism.

2.2 Empirical Findings on Factors Contributing to Recidivism

Several studies examined the contributing factors to recidivism among released offenders in different countries. The following subsections discuss relevant previous findings related to the study objectives.

2.2.1 Individual or Personal Level Factors

Evidence shows that there are two categories of individual-level contributing factors to recidivism: individual static characteristics and individual dynamic characteristics. Static factors are those that cannot be changed as a result of correctional interventions, traits such as age and sex. Dynamic risk factors, on the other hand, are traits of the offender that can be transformed, either through rehabilitation programs or by changes in the former prison inmate's

circumstances, such as drug and alcohol use, education level, and the like (Forkuor. 2017; Olson 2018).

Studies on the relationship between age and recidivism stated that recidivism decrease significantly with old ages (Zamble 1997; Zara and Farrington 2016; Gomez 2017). According to Kitaria's (2014) study, young people are more likely to recidivate than their older counterparts among Kenyan prisoners. Furthermore, younger offenders are more likely to get a new conviction sooner than the older ones in Chilean prisons (Gomez 2017).

Sex is another determining factor for recidivism among inmates in prisons. Studies show that the proportion of male recidivates is greater than the female recidivates; the reasons for the larger proportions of male recidivists in prisons to their female counterparts can be linked to the fact that male criminals are more likely to adventurous and involved in a variety of antisocial activities than females. Furthermore, women are more likely to be invested in the family unit, therefore they have less time to be involved in other more dangerous or illegal activities outside the home than males (Oruta 2016).

Regarding the dynamic personal level contributing factors to recidivism, Glover et al.'s (2018) study in Ghana shows that lack of interest to participate in rehabilitation programs, inability to cope with challenges in the society, and substance abuse contribute to recidivism. Similarly, Olson (2018) identified factors like antisocial personalities, and drug and alcohol use patterns increase the chance of recidivism.

2.2.2 Institutional Factors

Institutions are a system of behavioral and relationship patterns that are densely interwoven and enduring, and function across an entire society. They order and structure the behavior of individuals by means of their normative character. Institutions regulate the behavior of individuals in core areas of society. Correctional institutions are one of them. Accordingly, prison rehabilitation aims to modify the behavior of the offenders and reintegrate them into society as productive members (Darkwa 2015). However, the effectiveness of rehabilitation has been seriously questioned by different researchers. Studies show that the atmosphere in which the rehabilitation programs are carried out is not conducive to reform. This is because inmates

feel harassed and exploited in prison which in turn gives them a negative attitude toward the work they engage in correction programs. Such ineffective rehabilitation systems hinder the successful reentry of the offenders into the community; as a result, they revert to their criminal behavior (Komu 2017). In support of this argument, Lekalakala's (2016) study in South Africa showed that offenders re-offend due to the ineffectiveness of the rehabilitation programs. Because inmates turned out of the prison without any job skills and unreformed.

Moreover, studies show that overcrowded inmates could not successfully be rehabilitated, instead, it gives the chance for the inmates to interact with all kinds of offenders, share their experiences and strategies related to illegal activities, thus after discharge they become at high risk of re-offending, and re-incarceration (Darkwa 2015; Komu 2017). According to Antwi (2015), there is a new prisonization existing within prison walls. He mentioned that offenders import criminal values and attitudes from their subculture groups which are developed in the prison together with socio-demographic characteristics and criminal career variables, such as the length of the sentence and criminal record. This may increase the likelihood of recidivistic behavior upon discharge.

In fact, prison conditions in Africa and other developing countries are very harsh and compounded by poor characteristics such as overcrowding, poor nutrition, degrading clothing and bedding, and poor sanitation (Sikasa 2015). For instance, Darkwa, (2015) indicates that overcrowding along with limited infrastructure in the Ghana prison is the major challenges faced by prison officers in rehabilitating and reforming offenders. He stated that due to overcrowding the prison officers couldn't manage every activity of the inmates. So it allows the inmates to form groups and share their criminal experience and methods of committing a crime, which maintains more serious crimes after discharge.

Other studies showed that lack of interventions during the transition of offenders back into the community tends to become obstacles to a crime-free lifestyle. The concept of the transition of offenders back into the community is called offender reentry. Offender re-entry means the process of leaving prison or jail and returning to society (Heyns, 2011).

According to Griffiths et al. (2007), assistance or interventions (i.e. material, psychological, and social support) are very important upon offenders' release to reduce the levels of recidivism. These interventions represent a wide array of efforts sponsored by the justice system, in collaboration with community agencies and organizations. In the absence of these programs at the time of prisoner's release, they may face many obstacles, ranging from meeting basic survival needs such as shelter and employment (Wodahl 2006; Griffiths et al. 2007; Heyns 2011). Therefore, assistance-based transition programs are very significant for ex-offenders. Furthermore, reintegration assistance is not only necessary for the sake of the offenders, but even more importantly for the safety of the community, the benefit of potential future victims, and ultimately for the socio-economic development of countries (UNODC 2012).

2.2.3 Socio-Economic Factors

This section briefly highlights the socio-economic factors that may hinder the offender's ability to become law-abiding citizens after discharge from prison. Many studies confirmed that socio-economic factors are playing a greater role in contributing to recidivism, issues such as family problems, peer pressure, discrimination, homelessness, and unemployment (Kitaria 2014; Sorochi 2015; Oruta 2016; Akporaro 2019). These issues are a result of the offenders' past experiences and others are more directly associated with the consequences of incarceration and the difficulty of transitioning back into the community (Ajala 2011).

Studies confirmed that released ex-offenders who continue to connect with criminal associates upon release are more likely to re-offend. The time they spend with criminal associates enhances their likelihood to re-offend because it presents them with methods, motivations, and support for engaging in criminal activities (Gómez 2017; Olson 2018). Samuels's (2010) qualitative study demonstrates that the influence of gangsterism and peer pressure on ex-offenders leads them to re-committing of crime and re-incarceration in South Africa.

Other empirical studies have shown that living with a spouse or healthy family reduces the chances of unlawful activities/behavior after release (Dadashazar 2017; Sorochi 2015). Offenders with greater family support do better in terms of obtaining employment and having greater stability in employment than those with less or no support (Glover et al. 2018). If there is

a lack of parents or close family support for offenders the result is loneliness and homeless that increases the severity of alcohol and other drug problems among offenders, consequently, they return to their criminal behavior again (Håkansson and Berglund 2012; Simasiku 2018).

Much of the literature also showed that the negative attitude of society toward ex-offenders contributes to recidivism. For instance, Breen (2011) examined the effect of stereotypes associated with having a criminal record, and how this affects the reintegration of ex-offenders at John Howard Society in Toronto by using 18 in-depth interviews with ex-offenders. He discussed that after their release from prison, ex-offenders are stereotyped and face community exclusion due to their criminal record, this phenomenon has a negative impact on the offender's ability to reintegrate back into society. Furthermore, Martinez (2009) stated that ex-offenders often facing discrimination or stigma because of their former offending status. Such stigmatization increases the tendency of ex-convicts into criminal acts.

Extensive literature has shown that unemployment is another major contributing factor to recidivism (Sorochi 2015; Bello 2017). According to Graffam et al. (2004):

“Employment provides more than the income necessary to support adequate material conditions. It also provides structure and routine, while filling time. It provides opportunities to expand one's social network to include other productive members of society. In addition to all this, employment can contribute to enhanced self-esteem and other psychological health”.

This quotation connotes that employment is very important for every individual beyond satisfying the basic need. Released offenders need a job to attain self-sufficiency and be better able to avoid involvement in criminal activity. But, due to unemployment, offenders are more likely to return to their criminal behavior (Bello 2017). Awilly (2015) in his study found out that employers cannot legally hire individuals who have criminal records. As a result, many offenders do not have access to work. Besides, he showed that even if persons with criminal records are hired, many employers give them seasonal or temporary employment. This temporary employment is better than nothing, once it is over, the probability of the offender reverting into criminal activities is high because they face challenges to support themselves financially.

Other research works also shown that homelessness or lack of secure housing is another area of concern for newly released offenders. Released prisoners who do not have stable housing arrangements are more likely to return to prison (Baer et al. 2006). This issue is especially due to the offender's incarceration. Because of incarceration, offenders may lose their livelihood, their personal belongings, their family, and it may damage their social networks as a result they lose the ability to maintain housing for themselves (Ajala 2011). Finally, they may find themselves on the street and in illegal activities.

2.3 Recidivism, Legal Frameworks and Prison Conditions of Ethiopia

2.3.1 Legal Frameworks and Prison Conditions of Ethiopia

As discussed earlier, institutional issues are one of the contributing factors to recidivism. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to show the legal and prison conditions of Ethiopia. Before the seventeenth century, the Ethiopian penal system was mainly based on diverse customary practices. However, gradually the penal system in Ethiopia shifted from retribution and deterrence to reformation and rehabilitation (Glory 2009).

The new Criminal Code of FDRE (2004), art 87 states that the penalties and measures shall always be with respect due to human dignity. Besides, Article 5 of the Federal Prison Commission Establishment Proclamation (2003) states that the objective of the commission is to provide correction and rehabilitation services for the prisoners to enable them to achieve attitudinal and behavioral reforms and become law-abiding, peaceful, and productive citizens.

According to Eden (2018), there are six federal prisons, 120 local prisons, and many unofficial detention centers in Ethiopia. As she cited, most of these prison and pretrial detention centers are harsh and sometimes life-threatening for the inmates. Other studies also indicated that depression among prisoners in Ethiopia is high due to the punitive prison conditions (Teresa et al. 2017). The US Department of human rights report (2016) confirmed that prisoners are mistreated by the prison guards and they were also experiencing mental health problems due to solitary confinement, overcrowding, and lack of adequate healthcare facilities and services.

Furthermore, most prisons in Ethiopia are overcrowded (Eden 2018), however, the vital issue is the effect of overcrowding on the prisoners. In most Ethiopian prisons there is no separation

among prisoners (based on age and offense type) as a result, hardened criminals influence the minor criminals (Glory 2009; Fitsum 2018). Moreover, Glory (2009) discussed that prisoners may have been working for several years in one of the prison workshops but they were not paid for their labor though legally entitled to get a certain percentage out of the sales of the goods they had produced. Therefore, at the time of release prisoners may not have enough money for their meals and transport to reach their destination. That contributes to reoffending. In general, based on over mentioned information, it is important to note that the prison conditions in Ethiopia are relatively harsh and it has an influence on the prisoners.

2.3.2 Factors Contributing to Recidivism in Ethiopia

There are different factors that push individuals to participate in criminal activities. Therefore, first considering the determinant factors of crime in Ethiopia and southern Ethiopia is important. Numerous studies show that social and economic issues have a greater influence on the individuals in Ethiopia to commit a crime. These include unemployment, poverty, migration, peer influence, lack of income, parent's failure to give proper guidance for the young, divorce, and the like (Sisay 2016; Meti 2016; Getahun 2017; Nigatu et al. 2019).

Moreover, a study conducted by Aklilu et al. (2016) in Sidama zone and its neighbors shows that age, sex, educational background, marital status, residence, employment status, wealth status, awareness of criminal law, attitude towards revenge, and previous criminal history are the most important determinants of crime.

As discussed earlier, in Ethiopia prisons are responsible for carrying out the functions of criminal justice, incarcerating offenders with the aim of reforming, rehabilitating, and reintegrating them into their respective communities. Accordingly, many ex-offenders are able to once again become contributing members of society and avoid future criminal activity but others find themselves again in criminal activities and finally in prison. Regarding this issue, studies on contributing factors for reoffending in Ethiopia indicate that age, marital status, low educational and skill acquisitions level, alcohol and drug use, peer pressure, unemployment, poverty, family problems, false witness, lack of adequate rehabilitation are the main determinants of recidivism (Goche and Hayelom 2018; Eskalehu 2019). These studies were particularly conducted in the northern part of Ethiopia, in correctional centers like Bahir Dar, Dessie, and Woldiya. However, to understand the issue of recidivism in the national context it is important to conduct further

study in another region of the country. So, that is why this study tried to deal with this issue in southern Ethiopia.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Theories and theoretical perspectives are useful tools that help us to understand and explain the world around us, they shape how we can describe and analyze empirical realities (Kleemans 2014). In the context of sociology and criminology, they help us to understand the factors for criminal behavior, the workings of the criminal justice system, and the actors in the system (See & Kieser 2013). According to Yeraswork (2010) using multiple theoretical perspectives to a single study in social research guides the researcher to understand the intended issue from a different direction. Besides, different theoretical perspectives have their assumptions and set of concepts, accordingly, each theoretical concept helps the researcher to interpret the meaning and significance of the data in holistic outlook (Neuman 2014). Taking this in mind, for the purpose of this study four relevant sociological theories which better explain the issue of recidivism were selected. They are discussed as follows.

2.4.1 Differential Association Theory of Edwin Sutherland

Edwin H. Sutherland is a U.S. sociologist and criminologist who advanced the theory of differential association to explain criminal behavior in the 1920s and 1930s (Edewor 2010). According to him, criminal behavior is learned through interaction with others in intimate personal groups. The learning includes techniques of committing criminal acts, motives, drives, rationalization, and attitudes favorable to committing a crime (See 2004; Nirmala 2009).

The nine basic principles of Sutherland's theory are 1. Criminal behavior is learned. 2. Learning is a by-product of interaction. 3. Learning occurs within intimate groups. 4. Criminal techniques are learned. 5. Recognitions of legitimate code impact thought processes and drives. 6. Differential affiliations (associations) may change in recurrence, term, need, and escalation. 7. The method of learning criminal behavior by affiliation with criminal and anti-criminal designs includes all of the components included in numerous other learning processes. 8. Criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, but it is not excused by those general needs and values because non-criminal behavior is also an impression of those same needs and values. 9. A person becomes a criminal because of an excess of definitions favorable to the

violence of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of the law (Oyakhromen 2010). Notably, he states that criminal behavior is influenced by exposure to pro-criminal and anti-criminal individuals (See 2004; Piquero 2016).

The researcher employed the differential association theory of Edwin Sutherland for this particular recidivism study because it has a useful lens regarding factors contributing to recidivism especially related to social interaction and learning criminal behavior. This theory explains recidivistic behavior as learned in interaction with others, particularly with anti-criminal individuals. It claims that individuals associated with anti-criminal persons are more likely to learn and adopt criminal values and behaviors. For instance, a person who has been imprisoned in prison learns many techniques from his intimate groups, so after discharge, he may try to commit a crime again using more innovative techniques. Another point is after discharge the offender joins his/her family, friends, and other groups, so if those groups may have criminal behavior, the chance of the released offender relapsing in criminal behavior is high.

2.4.2 Labeling Theory

Explanation of labeling theory about criminal behavior relies on the symbolic interactionist perspective. Symbolic interactionists propose that “an individual’s character and self-concept, cognitive forms, values, and states of mind are seen as existing within the setting of society acting, responding, and changing in social interaction with others,” (Mill 2009; Aksan et al. 2009). Following this general assumption labeling theory states that deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application of rules and sanctions to an “offender” by others. According to this theory, societal judgment is the basic cause of recidivism. Individuals who are labeled as criminals feel they are excluded from society and they will begin to view themselves as deviant because they internalize the label which society has applied to them (Breen 2011). It means that, once offenders are judged by society as criminals, it is very hard to get back to what they once had, and often they experience it as their identity (Burke 2009; Breen 2011).

Labeling theorists mention two concepts: the concept of primary deviance and secondary deviance. Primary deviance represents the first deviant act committed by an individual. They do not concern themselves much with the primary deviance, and they do not explain why an individual would choose to commit the original deviant act. But the secondary deviance is of the

principal importance to the labeling theorists. Secondary deviance denotes deviance that occurs once an individual has been labeled. This type of deviance is said to happen because the individual has believed the label as a central part of their identity, and is acting in a manner congruent with this identity (Burke 2009; Breen 2011).

Furthermore, according to the labeling theory, official efforts to control crime often have an effect on increasing the chance of recidivism. People who are captured, indicted, and rebuffed are labeled as criminals accordingly, criminal justice systems like prisons see and treat these individuals as wrongdoers, and then this increases the probability of ensuing unlawful activity (See 2004; Edewor 2010).

Thus, the researcher used this theory because it enables to examine the social and institutional factors that contribute to recidivism. Labeling theory explains recidivism as a product of society's reaction to the individual. It contends that if an individual once sentenced to a crime, is labeled as a criminal and thereby he acquires a criminal identity. Moreover, individuals once are labeled and rejected by society; it is very difficult for them to live in harmony with the legitimate means. Finding a job or acquiring housing becomes very difficult for them because members of the conventional society do not want to associate with them. Also, due to being excluded from society, they lose support from their friends and family, as a result, they are forced to associate with individuals who have also been stereotyped and segregated from society. In other word, the rejection by law-abiding persons opens the door for acceptance by the wrongdoers. Consequently, the offender becomes increasingly socialized into criminal behavior and more estranged from law-abiding behavior.

2.4.3 Strain Theories

Strain theory was initially developed by Durkheim who first introduced the term, "anomie" which described a feeling of disorientation and anxiety as a result of the "breakdown of traditional life in modern society" (Burke 2009; Edewor 2010). Adapting Durkheim's anomie theory, Merton (1938) focused on the discrepancy between societal goals and the legitimate means of attaining those goals (Burke, 2009). Merton's Strain theory explains that the real problem is not created by a sudden social change, but rather by a social structure that holds out the same goals to all its members without giving them equivalent means to attain them. This lack of integration between what the culture calls for and what the structure permits causes criminal

behavior. Therefore, deviance or crime is a symptom of the social structure. Furthermore, Merton posited that crime was caused by strain, the difference between one's economic aspirations and their actual means of achieving those aspirations. He proposed that when individuals were unable to meet their goals through legitimate means they would resort to illegitimate, or illegal measures to achieve their goals (Burke 2009; Edewor 2010).

A recent version of strain theory is Robert Agnew's (1992) general strain theory (GST) describing crime may result from the failure to achieve three interrelated goals: money, status, and adolescent autonomy from adults. Regarding money, GST states that lower-class people are prevented from getting money through legal channels, such as work. As a result, such people experience strain and they may attempt to get money through illegal channels such as theft, selling drugs, and prostitution (Miller 2009). Concerning status and respect, GST argues that people have a general desire for status and respect. Many males, particularly those who are young, lower-class, and members of minority groups, experience problems in satisfying their desire to be viewed and treated as men. These people may try to "accomplish masculinity" through unlawful activity. Another issue is autonomy. Autonomy may be defined as power over oneself: the ability to resist the demands of others and engage in activities without the permission of others. Accordingly, this theory states that most lower-class adults try to attain their autonomy through illegal means (Edewor 2010).

Furthermore, according to this theory people engage in crime and become repetitive offenders because of strain or stress. GST states that some strains are more likely to lead to crime than others, largely because they generate strong negative emotions, overwhelm legal coping resources and are conducive to criminal coping (Miller 2009). Criminal coping is more likely among those with poor coping skills and resources (e.g., poor social skills and inadequate problem-solving skills). It is also more likely among those with few conventional social supports; that is, family, friends, and others who can assist. And it is more likely among those who are low in social control or have little to lose by joining in crime (e.g., are unemployed, doing poorly in school, do not get along with parents) (Burke 2009; Piquero 2016).

Therefore, the researcher found strain theories as important to this study because it enables to examination of the socio-economic factors for recidivism. According to strain theories, recidivism is to be understood as the reflections or products of the approach that society organizes its goals, and the legitimate means available to access these goals. For instance, released offenders may not access to equal opportunities in goal attainment due to their criminal records. Especially, offenders who are from the lower class are frequently prevented from achieving such goals through legal channels. That could lead them to certain strains and it increases the likelihood of crime. It means that offenders may use crime as a way to reduce or escape from their strains.

2.4.4 Subculture Theory

A subculture is a sub-division within the dominant culture that has its own norms, beliefs and values. Sub cultures may form among members of racial and ethnic minorities, among prisoners, among occupational groups, among ghetto dwellers (Glory 2009). According to Albert Cohen, an American Sociologist, deviant behavior is supported by subculture. Cohen describes the subculture as one that “takes its form the larger culture, but turns them upside down. Subculture of deviants develops as a result of socialization practices found in the ghetto or slum environment. The members of the gang lack basic skills necessary to achieve social and economic success or what Cohen calls middle-class measuring roles (hard work, formal education, delay gratification). The consequences of this deprivation result in deviant subculture (Burke 2009; Oyakhiromen 2010).

A sub culture of criminals have thier own norms which stand over against the norms of the larger group (the dominant culture). Cultural deviance theorists assume that: Individuals become criminal by learning the criminal values of the groups to which they belong. In conforming to their own group standards, these people break the law of the dominant culture (Burke 2009; Glory 2009).

According to Sykes, the pains of imprisonment tended to gather around five general areas of deprivation, and it was due to these deprivations that the prison subculture developed, largely as a means of adapting to the circumstances within the prison. Sykes (1958) included the following

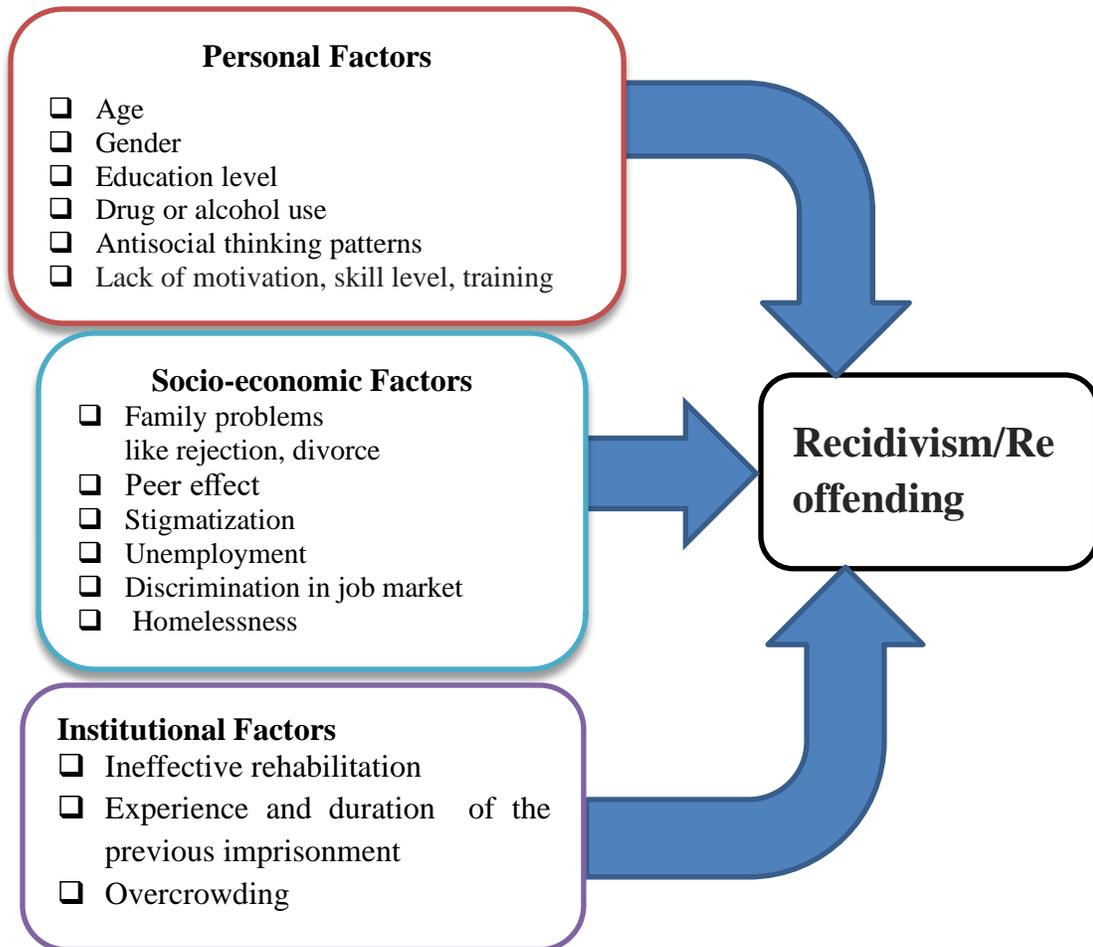
five categories as being particularly challenging to men and women who do time: 1. The loss of liberty. 2. The loss of goods and services readily available in society. 3. The loss of heterosexual relationships, both sexual and nonsexual. 4. The loss of autonomy. 5. The loss of personal security. This issues contributes to formation of subculture in prisons like gang group, facial tattooing group and homosexuality. This groups felt they had nothing to lose. Members of this group are recidivists and habitual offenders and being labeled within prison they are also resisted by outside society (Cohen 1955). Consequently, upon their release, they would be unable to have a normal life in society especially during the daytime when other people in society could clearly see their faces and they might fear. In addition, the majority of the individuals felt some sort of rejection from their families. Also on their release, they could not apply for jobs and remain with permanent deviant behavior (Cohen 1955; Sykes 1958). Therefore, the researcher assumed that subculture theory was significant to this study because it enables to examine the institutional and social factors that contribute to recidivism.

2.5 Summary of the Empirical and Theoretical Literature

In general, based on the empirical and theoretical literature, it can be confirmed that both the individual level and structural factors can contribute to recidivism. At the individual level, both static and dynamic factors can contribute to recidivism. The static contributing factors are those nothing could be done about it such as age and sex. Studies confirm that there is a sharp increase in criminal activity in mid-adolescence (young) and men are more likely to commit crime and return to prison. The dynamic personal factors include issues like low interest in participating in rehabilitation programs, educational level, and alcohol and drug abuse. On the other hand, structural issues like socio-economic and institutional factors are major contributing factors to recidivism which include, peer pressure, family issues, stigmatization, unemployment, homelessness, ineffective rehabilitation service, lack of support upon discharge, and the like. Moreover, theories (Sutherland differential association theory, labeling theory, Strain theory and Inmate subculture theory), which are guided by this study, explains recidivism as a product of learning, stigma/labeling, socio-economic structure and subcultural behaviour.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework



Source: *Own construction based on the review of the literature (2021)*

Justification

The above conceptual framework is constructed based on the literature reviewed; it shows three factors that contribute to recidivism, personal, socio-economic, and institutional factors. The framework shows that age, gender, education level, drug or alcohol use, antisocial thinking, lack of motivation and low skill level as the main personal contributing for recidivism. Moreover, family problems (like rejection and divorce), peer influence, stigma, unemployment, and homelessness are also socio-economic issues which upturns the likelihood of criminal behavior upon discharge. As well as ineffective rehabilitation, overcrowding, experience and duration of the previous imprisonment are institutional factors to recidivistic behavior. In general, recidivism is the result of both individual issues and the influence of structural factors.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter gives details about, location of the study area, research design, research approach, study population and sampling, method of data collection and instruments, procedures of data collection, validity and reliability, data analysis methods, methodological triangulation, and ethical issues alongside the rationalities.

3.1 Description of the Study Area

The study was conducted in Hawassa correctional center (HCC), which is located in Hawassa city. Hawassa city is a city in Ethiopia, on the shores of Lake Awasa in the Great Rift Valley. It is 274 km south of Addis Ababa, the political and economic capital of Ethiopia. Hawassa city currently serves as the capital of the Sidama Region and the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Region. Hawassa city was established in 1952 E.C during the period of Emperor Haileseilasie. The city administration is now divided into 8 sub-cities namely: Misrak sub-city, Addis ketema sub-city, Menehariya sub-city, Bahil Adarash sub-city, Tabor sub-city, Mehalketema sub-city, Haykdar sub-city, and Hawella-Tulla sub-city, and 32 Kebeles. Hawassa correctional center (HCC) is located around Hiteta Kebele in the Tabor sub-city. The original prison compound history of the establishment was in 1970. The institution aims to make the prisoners capable of entering society after imprisonment and makes them productive forces that betterment of their lives, family, society, and country in general. The organizational structures of Hawassa correctional center have four main subdivisions namely; Prison officials and Security sector, Basic needs sector, Reform Development sector, and Finance sector altogether all work for reforming and rehabilitating prisoners.

The correctional facility houses both male and female inmates in separate living quarters. During this study, Hawassa correctional center held 1762 prisoners (1724 males and 38 females). Of the total prisoners, 1094 are convicted prisoners (1082 males and 12 females) and 668 are awaiting trial (642 males and 26 females). Out of the total convicted prisoners, 788 inmates are petty criminals (783 male, 5 female) and 306 inmates are serious criminals (299 male, 7 female). Out of the total convicted prisoners, 18 inmates are lifelong prisoners (18 male, 0 female). In fact, there are many different correctional centers in Ethiopia; Hawassa Correctional Center was chosen because its location was convenient for the researcher based on its proximity to investigating the issue within the given time.

3.2 Research Design

A Cross-sectional study design was employed in this study. A Cross-sectional design seeks information from a sample at a single point in time (Bernard 2006; Leavy 2017). Similarly, this study is aimed at collecting data at one point in time and accomplish the study based on the given timeframe in completing thesis work rather than showing the patterns of change which might be witnessed over time, in other word, the focus of this study was not to determine and compare recidivism rates across different years; therefore, a cross-sectional design was appropriate. The data was collected from February 25 up to April 30, 2021.

3.3 Research Approach

To achieve its objectives this study employed a mixed research approach. Mixed methods research is an approach to an inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, on the assumption that integrating the two forms of data can provide a good understanding of the research problem (Creswell 2009).

According to Creswell (2003 and 2018) under mixed-method research, the researchers normally build knowledge based on pragmatist² claims (e.g. problem-centered and pluralistic). According to Pragmatists, selecting the research method is based on “*what works*” in the context of a particular research question. In view of that, after considering the purpose of this study the researcher chose a mixed methods approach as appropriate for this study. Moreover, the logic behind employing a mixed research approach in this study is with an assumption that combining methods and empirical materials can hope to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from a single approach (Yeraswork 2010). The objective of this research (i.e. personal factors, socio-economic factors, and institutional factors that contribute to recidivism) cannot be addressed with a single method rather it needs the integration of the two methods. Therefore, the overall objectives of this study were conducted by mixing the methods.

Moreover, in this study, the researcher used quantitative method to examine the recidivists experience through numerical or statistical data so as to examine the motive factors to their

² **Pragmatism** is an American philosophical belief system that developed at the start of the 20th century out of the work of Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), John Dewey (1859–1952), and George Hebert Mead (1863–1931). This worldview holds no allegiance to a particular set of rules or theories but rather suggests that different tools may be useful in different research contexts. Researchers value utility and **what works** in the context of a particular research question (Creswell 2018).

recidivistic behaviors, while by using qualitative methods the researcher tried to understand the perceptions, experiences, and opinions about the factors that contribute to recidivism through interviews from the participants' perspectives in detail. A strategy of inquiry used in this study was the convergent (concurrent) mixed method.

3.4 Sources of Data

This research used both primary and secondary sources of information. New data gathered by the researcher for the first time through different quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were the primary data sources. In order to substantiate and augment the data from primary sources, the researcher also used secondary sources. Secondary sources are data that have already been collected by someone else or written documents. To acquire the secondary data the researcher reviewed prison records, published articles on prison and recidivism, and thesis reports. The information extracted from the above sources was triangulated to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the situation of the topic at hand.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

As presented earlier, this research employed a mixed research approach, so to collect the data this study specifically used the survey method to collect quantitative information, on the other hand, key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews, and case study to gather qualitative information. The methods are briefly explained as follows.

3.5.1 Survey Method

Target Population and Sampling

The inmate population in correctional centers varies from time to time because the inmates enter and are released from the prison day-to-day. During the actual data collection of this study, the average number of convicted prisoners in Hawassa correctional center was 1094 (1082 males and 12 females). Out of the total convicted prisoners, the number of recidivists available on the prison record was 80, which was the target population of the study. According to Pandey and Meenu (2015), a survey study may be conducted by either of two methods; census method and sampling method. The Census method deals with the investigation of the entire population or the data collected from every unit of the universe. This method provides more accurate and exact information as no unit is left out. On other hand, the sampling method is used by taking a small

portion or group, as representative of the whole universe. Accordingly, this study employed a comprehensive sampling technique (using the census of the recidivists (80)). The reason for employing the comprehensive sampling technique is based on the assumption that selecting all recidivists makes the study more representative in showing the nature of subjects and the size is also found manageable. To differentiate the recidivists from non-recidivist inmates the researcher used the recidivist's data from the correctional record.

Survey Questionnaires

The study used survey questionnaires to generate quantitative data regarding the contributing factors to recidivism. The questionnaires for this study were developed from February 5 to March 20, 2021. Two different sets of questions were prepared: close-ended and open-ended questions. The researcher was mindful of using non-academic language in the questions so as to make the questions easily understood and accessible to all participants. The questionnaires were divided into three sections based on the objectives of the study. The first section contains background information of the recidivists. The second section focuses on socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism. The last section deals with institutional factors that contribute to recidivism (see Appendix I).

Operationalization of Concepts

Imprisonment: State of confining a person in a correctional facility for breaking the law.

Institutional factors: These are factors that revolve around the prison settings that would influence the behavior of offenders. This includes issues like treatment of offenders by prison staff, services, and offender experience in the previous imprisonment.

Personal factors: These are factors related to the individual background and lifestyles that would affect the offender's ability to settle back successfully into the community by providing immediate needs and personal welfare. This includes the age of the offender, sex, educational level, drug and alcohol use, and the like.

Recidivism: Committing a fresh crime after serving at least one previous sentence of imprisonment and being reconvicted for the fresh crime and returns to prison with a new sentence. Therefore, a recidivist is a prisoner, who is re-convicted for the new crime and sent back to prison to start another prison term.

Re-conviction: Being found guilty of a new offense in a court of law.

Rehabilitation: The process of instilling knowledge, skills, and attitude for prisoners to bring change and to integrate offenders back into society to lead productive and conforming lives.

Socio-economic factors: These are factors related to the family and community level, which the offender comes from, and it would influence the offender's behavior. This includes family issue, community attitude, peer effect, and unemployment among others that could influence the offender's behavior.

Table 3. 1: Variables and their levels of measurements

Concepts	Variable	Indicator	Scale of Measurement
Personal factors	Age	Age of the recidivists	Age categorization Ordinal
	Sex	Sex of the recidivists	Male/Female Nominal
	Marital status	Marital status of the recidivists	Married, Single, Divorced Nominal
	Level of Education	The highest level of education attained by recidivists	Level of education Ordinal
Socio-economic factors	Family support	Emotional, material support	Yes/ No Nominal
	Peer pressure	Influence of friend/ criminal peer effect	Yes/ No Nominal
	Attitude of the community	Stigmatization, discrimination,	Yes/ No Nominal
	Unemployment	Were you employed after your previous imprisonment?	Yes/ No Nominal
	Income	Was shortage of enough income a motive factor for your re-offence?	Yes/ No Nominal
Institutional factors	Treatment from the prison staff and experience	Offenders experience and treatment from the prison staff	Hostile/Receptive Nominal
	Overcrowding	Did you face overcrowding problems in your previous prison time?	Yes/ No Nominal
	Assistance from prison institute in collaboration with organizations	Assistance from faith-based institutions and NGOs.	Yes/ No Nominal
Recidivism	Re- re-imprisonment	Number of times of re-imprisonment	Interval

3.5.2 Key Informant Interview (KII)

In this study key informants are some knowledgeable individuals who can best explain the issues under this study were selected by using purposive sampling technique especially psychologists, sociologists and correctional officials. The rationale for selecting informants by using the purposive sampling technique is it allows the researcher to select participants who are in the best position to help the researcher to address the research purpose and questions (Leavy 2017).

Key informant interview was used in this study to collect qualitative data concerning factors that contribute to recidivism and the institutional conditions. Especially, the researcher used this method to conduct the treatment of the offenders, reintegration of the offenders and general prison conditions. Key informant interview guidelines were prepared along with probing questions in line with the objective of the study (see Appendix I). The interviews were administered orally (face to face) and recorded using hand-written notes by the researcher. All the interviews were conducted in the Amharic language and were translated word by word to English. The average duration of the interview was 40 minutes. Generally, five key informants were contacted including 3 prison officers, 1 psychologist, and 1 sociologist.

3.5.3 Individual Interviews

The study employed semi-structured interviews to gather information from the recidivists about the factors which force them to recidivate. The reason for choosing a semi-structured interview is it gives the chance of seeking clarification and explanations, and it allows the researcher to have control over the line of questioning depending on what needs to be known (Creswell 2009).

The researcher employed a purposive sampling technique to recruit participants for semi-structured interviews. Particularly, recidivists who have many imprisonment times (more than 2 times) were selected with the assumption that they would better explain their prison experience and reintegration challenges they faced upon their release, which helps the researcher to adequately address the objective of the study. The researcher accessed the participants by contacting the prison registrar officer. 10 recidivists were selected for the study. Due to the prison regulation and for security reasons the interviews took place in one private room. The interviews were conducted based on an interview guide, which derived from the research objectives. The Interview guidelines prepared along with probing questions (see Appendix I).

The interviews were administered orally and recorded using hand-written notes by the researcher. During the interview, the researcher tried to write what the participants were saying as much as possible by giving a separate section for each participant in the notebook. When the questions required further clarification, the researcher clarified the question and made sure that the participant was comfortable enough to answer the question. Accordingly, the shortest interview lasted 20 minutes, and the longest interview lasted for 40 minutes.

3.5.4 Case Study

A case study method is a form of qualitative data inquiry which involves a careful and complete observation of an individual or a situation/phenomenon in-depth and in its natural context (Kothari 2004). Accordingly, in this study, the researcher conducted a case study with two purposely selected recidivists to get more reliable information and to make the study more meaningful. The researcher friendly approached the recidivists and made them free to narrate their feelings and life histories. As a result, it allowed the researcher to gather detailed information about the contributing factors to their recidivistic behavior, reintegration challenges during their previous discharge, and their previous prison experience.

3.6 Procedures of Data Collection

To conduct the study, prison officials of Hawassa correctional center were approached through a supportive letter written by Hawassa University, department of sociology. After the study received permission, the researcher conducted a pilot study on seven recidivists. After checking the instruments based on the piloted study, the researcher was identified and selected the participants for the main study. The researcher used 1 volunteer sociologist to collect the data. At the time of data collection, the researcher briefed the data collector about how to collect the data. Regarding the interview since any electronic device (tape recorder) was not allowed in the prison compound the researcher conducted the interview by taking notes. The researcher tried his best not to jump into important points raised during the interview session by using abbreviations, asking participants again, and checking back during note-taking. All the interviews were conducted in the Amharic language and were translated word by word to English. At the end of the interview, the researcher thanked the participant for their time and cooperation.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

Following the process of data collection, the researcher analyzed the data by using both quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods concurrently based on sequences of the study

objectives. Descriptive statistics was employed to analyze the data by using frequency, percentage, and tables. Besides, keeping in mind the assumptions of statistical tests, inferential statistical techniques like chi-square and Pearson correlation were employed to see association between personal contributing factors and reoffending. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 20 was used. In doing so, the following issues were taken into account (coding, data entry, data cleaning, and consistency checking). On the other hand, the qualitative data obtained from informant's analyzed using thematic analysis. In the first, the researcher has familiarized himself with the Amharic version text notes by reading step by step to understand all information. Then the researcher translated and rewrites the field notes from Amharic to English in a factual way by utilizing the 2010 version of Microsoft Word. After that, the investigator re-read the translated interview data line-by-line to attain a good understanding of what informants said about the phenomenon. Then the researcher has identified the relevant words, phrases, sentences, and concepts that relate to the research objectives. Then the researcher organized and prepared the data and broke up the text into sections and compared the similarity of the information. Finally, the researcher was integrated and interpreted the overall results in detail.

3.8 Methodological Triangulation

As shown in advance, different methods of data collection were employed in the research, plus the collected data was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively in combination so as to enhance the dependability and trustworthiness of the research. The methodological triangulation employed in the study was briefly summarized in the following table:

Table 3. 2: Methodological triangulation

No	Objectives of the study (For what purpose?)	Unit of analysis (Information on what/ Study of what?)	Unit of observation (From whom?)	Methods of data collection (how to collect data?)	Method of data analysis
1	To assess personal factors that contribute to recidivism.	Personal factors	Recidivists, sociologist, psychologist, and correctional officials	Survey, semi-structured interview, Key informant interview, case study	Descriptive, inferential, Thematic (text) analysis

2	To identify the socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism.	Socio-economic factors	Recidivists, sociologist, psychologist, and correctional officials.	Survey, semi-structured interview, Key informant interview, case study	Descriptive, Thematic (text) analysis
3	To investigate institutional factors that contribute to recidivism.	Institutional factors	Correctional officials, sociologist, psychologist and recidivists	Key informant interview, semi-structured interview, Survey	Descriptive, Thematic (text) analysis

3.9 Validity and Reliability

Reliability means dependability or consistency and it suggests that the same thing is repeated or recurs under identical or very similar conditions. Whereas validity suggests truthfulness and refers to how well an idea “fits” with actual reality (Neuman 2014). The main focus of this study was to identify factors that contribute to recidivism. There are many different contributing factors that might describe why released offenders could not successfully reenter into the community. Accordingly, the instrument used for this study was developed by the researcher himself depending on the literature reviewed and objectives of the research. The researcher has taken expert support from a sociologist and lawyers in the whole process of instrument development. To conduct the study the initial version of the questionnaire (English version) was translated into the Amharic version (see Appendix II). Subsequently, careful examination of the translation was made to avoid the difference in meaning. Furthermore, before the instruments (questionnaires) were administered to the participants, the researcher conducted a pilot study with 7 respondents (who were not selected for the main study) to ensure that the questionnaires are appropriate and understandable. Thus, it improves the reliability of the data. Moreover, building a good rapport, clarifying the objectives of the research, approaching respondents friendly and getting trust, respecting the cultural values of the participants were done to improve the validity of the data. Besides, the final data was also checked by colleagues.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

In doing research the core values of scientific research are required to be respected by the researcher (Singh 2006). Taking this in mind, before collecting the data the researcher has presented a supportive letter written by Hawassa University, department of sociology to obtain

the trust from the Hawassa correction officers and the study participants. After the study receives permission to recruit participants, the researcher selects the study participants based on their willingness to participate in the study. In this regard, the purpose of the research was communicated by the researcher to the participants. The researcher has assured them that their response would have no harm on them and there is no need to write any identification on the questionnaire. Furthermore, the researcher did not pressurize the informants to participate in the interview. Before the start of the interview, verbal informed consent was obtained from each participant. As well, the researcher was told to withdraw from the study at any time if they feel unpleasant. In addition to that, to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher did not mention identifiable information such as name or any identification of participants instead the researcher used pseudonyms and code numbers. All collected data from participants were stored on a password-protected computer that only researchers have access to. Furthermore, secondary data that were used throughout the study were duly acknowledged in order to avoid plagiarism.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the major findings of the study are presented and discussed based on the specific objectives stated in the first chapter. The chapter consists of five sections. The first section presents the background information of respondents and informants. The second section presents the personal factors that contribute to recidivism. The third section deals with the socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism. The fourth section presents the institutional factors that contribute to recidivism. The final section provides a discussion of the key findings.

4.1 Background Information of the Respondents and Informants

Table 4.1: Age, sex, educational level, marital status and religious affiliation of respondents

Items(variables)	Categories	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age group of respondents	Below 20	16	20
	21-30	32	40
	31-40	20	25
	41-50	8	10
	51 -60	4	5
	Total	80	100
Sex of the respondents	Male	80	100
	Female	0	0
	Total	80	100
Education level of the respondents	1-4(first cycle)	15	18.8
	5-8(second cycle)	30	37.5
	9-10(high school)	16	20
	11-12(preparatory)	11	13.7
	Diploma	7	8.8
	Degree and above	1	1.2
	Total	80	100
Marital status of the respondents	Married	28	35
	Single	42	52.5
	Divorced	10	12.5
	Total	80	100
Religious affiliation of respondents	Orthodox	26	32.3
	Muslim	9	11.3
	Protestant	40	50
	Catholic	5	6.3
	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

As table 4.1 depicts, 32(40%) of the respondents were categorized under the age group 21-30. This was followed by the age groups 31-40 and below 20 years which comprise 20 (25%) and 16 (20 %) respectively. 41-50 and 51-60 year age groups comprise 8(10 %) and 4(5%) respectively. Moreover, the study was designed to gather data from both male and female recidivists. However, study findings show that all of the recidivists who are reported in the prison recidivist list are male. Accordingly, the sex distribution of the recidivists that participated in the study was 100% male. With regard to the education level of the recidivists, according to Table 4.1, 30 (37.5%) recidivists were completed grades 5-8(second cycle) followed by grades 9-10 (high school) which comprises 16 (20 %). Those respondents who completed first cycle education(1-4) comprise 15 (18.8 %) and preparatory (11-12) comprise 11 (13.7%). Of the total respondents, fewer portions 7 (8.8%) and 1 (1.2%) were diploma and degree respectively. Regarding marital status, 42 (52.5%) of the recidivists were single and 28(35%) were married, the remaining 10(12.5 %) were divorced. In terms of religious affiliation, 40 (50%) of respondents were Protestants, 26 (32.3%) were Orthodox Christians, 9 (11.3%) were Muslims and 5 (6.3%) were Catholics.

Table 4.2: Current crime committed by the recidivists and number of times of reoffending

Current crime type	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Number of times of reoffending	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Homicide	2	2.5	Twice	36	45
Rape	5	6.3			
Robbery	15	18.8	Three times	36	45
Assaults	17	21.3			
Burglary	8	10	Four times	6	7.5
Theft	29	36.3			
Arson	1	1.3	More than four times	2	2.5
Corruption	3	3.8			
Total	80	100	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

According to Table 4.2, the finding shows that 29(36.3%) of respondents committed theft, 17(21.3%) were committed assaults and 15(18.8%) were committed robberies. The remaining, 8(10%), 5(6.3%), 3(3.8), 2(2.5%), and 1(1.3) of respondents were committed burglary, rape, corruption, homicide, and arson respectively. This data indicates that most recidivists committed crimes against the property for the reason that their offense is dominated by theft and robbery. As

indicated in Table 4.2, 36 (45%) of the respondents were imprisoned for a second time, similarly, 36(45%) of the respondents were imprisoned for a third time at the time of the survey. However, 6(7.5%) and 2(2.5%) were imprisoned for the fourth time and 5 and above times respectively. This indicates many released offenders fail to desist from crime and reintegrate into the community as law-abiding citizens.

The background information of informants (qualitative study participants) as shown in Appendix III, 17 individuals participated in the study. Of these, 12 participants were recidivists who are included in semi-structured interview and case study plus 3 administrative and 2 treatment staffs who are working in the correction center participated in the study. Among the key informants, 3 of the participants were males and the remaining 2 were females while all semi-structured interview and case study participants in the study were male. For details see Appendix III.

4.2 Personal Factors

Age of Individual

Table 4.3: Cross-tabulation of the number of times of reoffending and age of the recidivists

Number of times of reoffending	Age of the recidivists					Total
	Below 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	
Two times	10	12	8	3	3	36
	27.8%	33.3%	22.2%	8.3%	8.3%	100.0%
Three times	5	15	10	5	1	36
	13.9%	41.7%	27.8%	13.9%	2.8%	100.0%
Four times	1	3	2	0	0	6
	16.7%	50.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
More than four times	0	2	0	0	0	2
	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	16	32	20	8	4	80
	20.0%	40.0%	25.0%	10.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Pearson Correlation	r=(-0.026), p= (.001)					

Source: Own survey data, 2021

As displayed in the Table 4.3 above, 40.0% of respondents were categorized under age group 21-30, 25.0% were categorized under age group 31-40 and 20.0% were categorized under age group below 20. The remaining 10.0% and 5.0% of respondents were categorized under age groups 41-50 and 51-60 respectively. This shows that there is a variation in the age composition of of the

respondents. It implies that most of the respondents are young (youthful age) and recidivism increases in the age range of 21-30 years than in the older ages. The Pearson Correlation indicates there is a negative relationship between age and reoffending. As shown in Table 4.3, $r = -0.026$ at $p < 0.05$ which indicates the existence of statistically significant negative relationship between the two variables. That means when the individual becomes older, the tendency to reoffend decreases or at a young age individuals show a high tendency of reoffending.

Sex, Marital Status and Educational level

As Table 4.1 shows, the sex distribution of the respondents in the study was 100% male. However this does not mean that recidivism is the sole enterprise of males but due to gender socialization and other reasons, males are more exposed to the problem. Accordingly, sex is found as one of the personal factors that contribute to recidivistic behavior.

Table 4.4: The number of times of reoffending and respondent’s marital status

Number of times of reoffending	Marital status of the recidivists			Total
	Married	Single	Divorced	
Two times	13	19	4	36
	36.1%	52.8%	11.1%	100.0%
Three times	10	20	6	36
	27.8%	55.6%	16.7%	100.0%
Four times	5	1	0	6
	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	100.0%
More than four times	0	2	0	2
	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	28	42	10	80
	35.0%	52.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Pearson Chi-Square	$\chi^2 = (9.991)$, $p\text{-value} = (0.351)$			

Source: Own survey data, 2021

Regarding marital status, as Table 4.4, the findings of the study revealed that more than half (52.5%) of respondents were single. The married and divorced comprises 35.0% and 12.5% respectively. This data suggests reoffending varies by marital status of the recidivists. However, the Chi-Square test of association found there is no statistically significant relationship between the marital status and reoffending, ($\chi^2 = 9.991$, $P = 0.351$). The obtained chi-square test p-value does not fall within a range of alpha significance level ($p < 0.05$). Therefore, the researcher learned that there is no statistically significant relationship between marital status and reoffending.

Table 4.5: The number of times of reoffending and respondent's educational level

Number of times of reoffending	Educational level of the recidivists						Total
	1-4	5-8	9-10	11-12	Diploma	Degree and above	
Two times	6	14	9	3	3	1	36
	16.7%	38.9%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	2.8%	100.0%
Three times	7	13	5	7	4	0	36
	19.4%	36.1%	13.9%	19.4%	11.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Four times	0	3	2	1	0	0	6
	0.0%	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
More than four times	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	15	30	16	11	7	1	80
	18.8%	37.5%	20.0%	13.7%	8.8%	1.2%	100.0%
Pearson Correlation	r=(-0.089), p=(.000)						

According to Table 4.5, 37.5% of recidivists were completed grade 5-8 followed by grade 9-10 which comprises 20 %. Those respondents who completed grade 1-4 comprise 18.8 % and 11-12 comprise 13.7%. Of the total respondents, fewer portions 8.8% and 1.2% of respondents were diploma and degree respectively. From this information, it can be understood that most of the recidivists have low educational levels because most of them were not qualified from university or colleges. Moreover, the Pearson Correlation indicates, there is a negative relationship between reoffending and educational level. As shown in the Table 4.5, $r = -0.089$ at $p < 0.05$ which displays the existence of statistically significant negative relationship between the two variables. Therefore, it is important to note that, offenders who have low educational level are more likely to relapse into their criminal behavior upon discharge because having a good knowledge is very important for every activity (what to do and not to do).

Alcohol and Drug Use

According to the data collected through semi-structured interview, case study and key informant interview, alcohol and drug use upturn the likelihood of reoffending.

One semi-structured interview participant point out,

To tell the truth, I have a history of drinking alcohol. I started drinking alcohol when I was 15 years old just for enjoyment, but I became addicted to it, consequently, I always clashed with people so one day I was imprisoned. After I was released from prison, I continued drinking alcohol, and then once again I was too drunk and raped our neighbor girl, however, at the moment I wasn't mindful about what I am doing, so finally, I find myself in this prison again (recidivist).

Furthermore, one case study participant, recidivist, aged 29, narrated his experience as follow,

I grew up in Hawassa near what is commonly called Gebeya. I am an Orthodox Christian. I am married and I have children. I was drinking alcohol, just like a sociable drink after work. But my wife always clashed with me due to my drinking. Consequently, my marriage broke up. After my marriage broke up, I drank daily. And I was always getting in trouble with the police being drunk. My family ignored me due to my drinking. One day, I was over-intoxicated and fought with my family. Thus, I was imprisoned for three months. Due to my imprisonment, I lost my job. So, to free up myself from anxiety and my problems, I continued alcohol usage. Plus, I was exposed to smoking and chewing chat. Not only these due to alcohol usage I was exposed to gambling. As a result, I lost all my business. So to fulfill my demands of alcohol and drugs; I participated in unlawful activities like stealing. Consequently, now I am here. In general, alcohol and drug use exposed me to today's life situation.

From the above semi-structured interview and case study data, we can learn that excessive alcohol and drug consumption influences offenders both in a direct and indirect way. The direct effect is alcohol and drug abuse may make individuals less aware of the consequence of crime. This is observed from the semi-structured interview participant, who committed sexual assault due to excessive alcohol use. Indirectly, alcohol and drug abuse raise a bad need for money for personal demands. When released offenders addicted to alcohol and drugs results in high expenditure and money problems, finally, they may incline themselves into illegal activities like (theft) in order to acquire money and to support their alcohol and drug habit. This is clearly observed from the above case study data. Therefore, alcohol and drug abuse, particularly much consumption of alcohol and drugs can increase the likelihood that individuals will commit more

crimes either by reducing their self-consciousness or judgment or by increasing their agitation and anger. Furthermore, the data collected from key informant similarly shows,

Most recidivists have a history of alcohol and drug use, particularly, chat and cigarettes. After they entered the prison, individuals who came to visit them bring drugs to them in different techniques, especially within the food. To tell you one example, we found one visitor who brought tobacco in the middle of the prepared Cabbage and Injera. Once the drug is entered in this way or in another way, they use it together. As a result, the treatment they receive in prison for their addiction and criminal behavior becomes meaningless. Due to their addiction, some of them have no interest in participating in rehabilitation programs. So they leave the prison without being well reformed (prison officer).

This information also clearly shows that substance use predisposes to recidivism. Particularly, when the drug-addicted offenders are not adequately rehabilitated, they will more likely relapse into their criminal behavior. This is because they may involve themselves in illegal activities upon discharge so as to support their substance habit.

4.3 Socio-economic Factors

The second objective of the study sought to investigate the socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism. Accordingly, this section presents socio-economic factors such as lack of family support, peer pressure, negative community attitude, unemployment, shortage of income source, and homelessness.

Lack of Family Support

Family is one of the most significant units of society for everyone's life. Therefore, emotional and material support from family members is very essential in counteracting recidivism because it improves the successful reintegration of the offender. However, according to the finding, as shown in Table 4.6, 52 (65%) of the respondents reported that they didn't get emotional support from their family upon their release. Similarly, 60 (75%) of the respondents reported that they didn't get material support from their families upon their discharge. Only 28 (35%) and 20(25%) respondents indicated that they received emotional and material support from their family after their release respectively.

Table 4.6: Lack of emotional and material support from family upon release and its contribution to recidivistic behavior

Items (variables)	Categories	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Emotional support	Yes	28	35
	No	52	65
	Total	80	100
Material support	Yes	20	25
	No	60	75
	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

This finding show that most offenders lacked family ties and support upon their discharge subsequently it could increase the chances of re-engagement in crime. This was also confirmed via interviews with recidivists. Two recidivists described their experience as follows.

I was imprisoned for the third time here. I didn't join my family upon my second release, because my family rejected me upon my first discharge, they did not visit me during my second prison time, they don't love me, they have no care about me. Due to rejection from my own family, I have a negative attitude toward anybody; I don't feel good for others.

The other recidivist also clarified his experience,

Two months prior I was discharged but I chose to live here, so what I did was fight with police officers, since where do I go? With/To whom I will live? During my previous discharge, nobody helped me; no one visited me presently.

Moreover, other interview participants cited that they didn't join their family members due to feeling that they were insignificant to their family; because their families didn't accept them in fear (they may commit a crime again). Moreover, other recidivists also note that by creating collaboration with police, their family intentionally needs their children to be imprisoned since they think that if their children are with them; they destroy their property and make clashes with their neighbor. This finding suggests that offenders were not assisted by their families upon their discharge. This enhances the chance of reoffending because it affects their reentry efforts.

Negative Community Attitude

According to the survey result community stigmatization is one of the contributing factors to recidivism. As it is shown in Table 4.7, 57 (71.3%) of the respondents were not welcomed by the community upon their release, and 23 (28%) of the respondents were received by the community upon their discharge. Moreover, the majority of the 55 (68.8%) respondents discriminated upon their discharge and the rest 25(31%) of respondents reported that they were not. From this finding, the researcher learned that the negative attitude of the community towards released prisoners enhance them to commit more crimes.

Table 4.7: Contribution of negative community attitude to recidivistic behaviour

Items(variables)	Categories	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Community attitude upon release	Welcoming	23	28.8
	Not welcoming	57	71.3
	Total	80	100
Discrimination by the community	Yes	55	68.8
	No	25	31.3
	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

This argument was more confirmed by the qualitative data. When the recidivists were asked to describe the reaction of the community towards them during their previous release, most of them indicated that the community had negative attitudes towards them and they were doubted by the community as criminals. For instance, two recidivists mentioned that,

For the first time I was imprisoned for a murder case, upon my first discharge I joined my family and neighbor but they called me: [እሱ ሰው በላ ነው፣ ነፍሱን የሚጠቀም ሰው መጣ ይሉኝ ነበር] He is a man-eater; the soul-eater is coming...so to escape from such issues, I migrated from my birthplace to Hawassa city, life is hard in Hawassa, as a result, most of the time, I felt very lonely and hopeless so finally, it forced me to participate in unlawful acts again.

The second one also asserted,

I faced so many problems during my first release even my closest friends rejected me. Even without my wrongdoing, if someone commits a crime around my neighbor, the police and community firstly assume that he is responsible for this crime. If they hold you responsible for any problem, what do you do? After I was released, I tried to establish a new business by borrowing many from the financial institution and endeavored to collaborate with others, but no one was interested to work with me, the reason is they were not trust me due to my criminal record. So, such kind of community attitude hardened me to commit further crimes.

Additionally, sociologist working in the institution stated,

When offenders are discharged they face many challenges because they lost many things due to their imprisonment, so they need help and social capital, however, our society's attitude is not good. Social acceptance is significant for everyone. If their relatives and the general community don't accept them, they will be forced to join anti-criminals and engage in criminal activities that can lead them to another incarceration.

In general, from the above survey and interview data, it can be established that the labeling (once a criminal is always a criminal) by the larger society to those released prisoners contributes to recidivism. If the community stigmatizes and neglects the released offenders in social and economic activities, the offenders start to feel rejected consequently it leads to recidivistic behavior. It means that the more the released prisoners feel part of the community in which they live; they will probably minimize or stop contact in criminal activities. If they are rejected by the community, they may associate with criminal groups and finally, they relapse into their criminal behavior.

Peer Pressure

Table 4.8: Contribution of peer pressure to reoffending

Number of times of reoffending	Peer pressure		Total
	Yes	No	
Two times	13	23	36
	36.1%	63.9%	100.0%
Three times	23	13	36
	63.9%	36.1%	100.0%
Four times	6	0	6
	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
More than four times	2	0	2
	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	44	36	80
	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%

Source: Own survey data, 2021

As shown in table 4.8, more than half (55%) of the respondents reported that peer pressure was the reason for their recidivistic behavior. Contrary to this, 45% of the respondents indicated that peer pressure is not a motive factor for their re-offense. Moreover, the qualitative data gathered through semi-structured interview revealed that,

I grew up in Hawassa. I was imprisoned 3 times. ...one day my friends said to me, “Do you want to change your life?” I said yes, and then to do so, we chose the shortcut way, which is to steal and rob. One day we decided to steal a 12,000 Birr mobile phone from a big electronics shop, but we failed and I was imprisoned for 6 months. After my release I again joined my friends then [አፈሳ ስራዬ ሆኖ ቀጠለ] again stealing remains my business... we made a promise to each other (when we were under arrest we don't state our friends), so I chose to lie...lastly I am here again (recidivist).

Another recidivist stated that,

Due to my friends' influence, I was addicted to smoking and alcohol usage. For the first time, I stole money from my parents to buy cigarettes and drugs. But I didn't stop there; my stealing behavior augmented to steal other people's property that is due to my friend's motivation. My association with criminal peers encouraged me for wrongful acts and

³ አፈሳ means, a common name for stealing among prisoners, particularly offenders who are committed theft/ pickpocketing use this word instead of saying ስርቆን.

made me addicted to substances. If you are attached to criminal friends you will completely inherit their character. That is what happened in my life.

Based on the above information, the study establishes that peer pressure was one of the factors that contribute to recidivism, particularly if there is an association with antisocial groups. Because, peer groups encourage thinking alike and regular patterns of interaction, thus they begin to think alike and believe in only the group's viewpoint. Consequently, the members of a peer group are often under pressure to deviate. So it is important to suggest that exposure to and interaction with deviant peers upon discharge increases the chance of committing further crime.

Unemployment and Shortage of Income Source

Table 4.9: The influence of unemployment on recidivistic behaviour

Number of times of reoffending	Employment upon discharge		Total
	Yes	No	
Two times	8	28	36
	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
Three times	8	28	36
	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
Four times	0	6	6
	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
More than four times	0	2	2
	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	16	64	80
	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%

Source: Own survey data, 2021

Prisoners upon their release often encounter difficulties in finding secure employment (UNODC 2012). In line with this issue the researcher attempted to ask the respondents, as Table 4.9 shows, the majority of the respondents 64 (80%) were unemployed upon their discharge. Only 16 (20%) of respondents were employed after their previous imprisonment. This denotes most recidivists find themselves with no legal means of income upon their release. Furthermore, the qualitative data establish that after their discharge, many offenders were unemployed due to the reason that employers did not want to hire them as a result of their criminal record.

For example, two recidivists stated,

I was imprisoned for the seventh time here. I am 40 years old; I have a family with four children. I have skills particularly with electric light maintenance but I lacked secured jobs because people doubt me due to my criminal record, no one wants to hire me. So without a secure job how can I fulfill family issues? Due to this reason, I could not free myself from crime.

The other one,

I am imprisoned here for the third time. Due to lack of job, I encountered many problems. So to cope up with the difficulties I engaged in illegal activities. All individuals struggle to live a better life, but sometimes it is impossible to achieve our dreams in the correct ways therefore crime is the best option. That is what happened in my life.

The above quantitative and qualitative data clearly shows that upon their discharge prisoners face difficulties in getting a job. As the finding shows, released prisoners need employment to attain self-sufficiency and be better able to avoid involvement in criminal activity but due to their criminal record, employers do not wish to hire them, consequently, they become unemployed, and then they are more likely to turn to crime for their economic support.

Table 4.10: Contribution of shortage of income source to reoffending

Number of times of reoffending	Shortage of enough income		Total
	Yes	No	
Two times	26	10	36
	72.2%	27.8%	100.0%
Three times	28	8	36
	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
Four times	6	0	6
	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
More than four times	2	0	2
	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	62	18	80
	77.5%	22.5%	100.0%

Source: Own survey data, 2021

As in Table 4.10, most of the respondents faced a shortage of income upon their release. 62 (77.5%) of the respondents indicated that shortage of enough income was a motive factor for

their re-offense, and 18 (22.5%) of respondents indicated that shortage of enough income was not a motive factor for their re-offense. From this result, the study revealed that a shortage of enough income upturns the likelihood of reoffending. This point is also established by informants.

One of the recidivists said,

I grow up in a rural area, my family divorced when I was 15 years old, after their divorce, I and my mom started living in Hawassa, starting from that time life is become difficult for me, I tried to overcome the problem of income in a legitimate way, but I didn't', consequently I chose illegal ways... [የራስህ ነገር ካለህ የሰውን ለምን ታደለህ] If you have enough property why you look at the other's assets? ...I find myself here for the third time.

In a similar way, a correctional officer stated,

Commonly the recidivists commit minor crimes like theft and robbery. So I think lack of income sources leads released prisoners to illegal activities for their daily life.

In general, from the above survey and informants' data, it is important to note that unemployment and shortage of enough income increase the likelihood of recidivism. Employment is important in various ways, for instance, it serves as a source of income, it gives prestige and respect from the society and it is also a source of satisfaction. However, the finding shows, most recidivists were unemployed upon their release. So in order to adjust their life they might engage in unlawful activities. In other words when the legal means fail they will turn to illegal means for financial reasons.

Homelessness

Housing is another major challenge for released prisoners at the time of their reentry. According to the qualitative finding of this study, recidivists encountered a housing problem upon their release and it is also linked to their recidivistic behavior. From the below case study, the researcher understood that homelessness is one of the motive factors for recidivistic behavior. First, being homeless resorts to illegal activities as a means of survival. Second, being homeless increases the probability of interaction with criminal groups and different addictions. This, in turn, leads to reoffending.

I was born in Wolayita Sodo. When I was a child my family neglected me; especially my stepmother didn't love me. Then I decided to move to Hawassa and started living with my uncle at Misrak sub-city. I left school when I was 16 due to the workload given by my uncle. My life with my uncle was also not good. So I rented a lower grade house. Then life became hard for me combined with the payment of the rent. To cover the rent, and my daily life I did anything, even illegal activities. At day time I was a shoe shiner but at night time I participated in illegal activities which were important for my livelihood. Even though I participated in illegal activities to cover the payment of the rent, the price increased steadily, so I left the house. Then, I joined street life. House is a basic issue in order to do everything, without a house it is difficult to get a job and participate in conventional society. Due to street life, I was addicted to many things, like using benzene, cigarettes, hashish, and others. I had a good look at work to change my life before but it is hard when someone is living on the sidewalk, beaches, and other porches. When you are on the street food and cloth will come from steal and rob or beg. So one day I was arrested and sentenced to four months. After I was released, finding a house again became a challenge for me. As a result, I returned to my previous illegal activities and I am here today (recidivist).

In addition, one of the treatment staff explained,

Now the issue of recidivism becomes a big challenge for us, their number is increasing from time to time, particularly during rainy seasons (Kiremt: April-September) they commit crime intentionally to be here because most of them are destitute, so for sake of protecting themselves from cold, they commit minor crimes; for example, they commit a crime punishable by 2-8 months. They consider the prison as a better home than living on the street.

This data also implies that offenders face housing problems upon their release. The above quotation shows that, to cope with their housing difficulties released prisoners commit crimes so as to get accommodation service from the prison. That means homelessness is a contributing factor for their recidivistic behavior.

4.4 Institutional Factors

The third objective of the study sought to investigate the institutional factors that contribute to recidivism, thus, the major institutional factors found by this study are presented in four subsections: mistreatment by prison staff and ineffective services, overcrowding and lack of inmate classification system, the inmate subculture, and lack of assistance upon release.

Mistreatment by Prison Staff and Ineffective Services

As indicated in Table 4.11 below, the majority of the respondents 71 (88.8%) indicated that the treatment given from the prison staff was hostile during their previous imprisonment, but only 9 (11.3%) of the respondents responded that the treatment from the prison staff was receptive during their previous prison period. Besides, 55 (68.8%) of the respondents encountered violence during their previous imprisonment, the remaining 25(31.3%) of respondents did not experience violence in their previous imprisonment. Regarding the types of violence, the data collected from recidivists through interviews revealed that they were insulted and tortured by prison officers and police. Also, they mentioned that due to the harsh treatment given by the prison staff during their previous imprisonment they were exposed to anxiety, depression, and hopelessness.

Table 4.11: Treatment of offenders by the prison staff in Hawassa correctional center

Items(variables)	Categories	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Treatment from the prison staff in previous prison life	Hostile	71	88.8
	Receptive	9	11.3
	Total	80	100
Violence	Yes	55	68.8
	No	25	31.3
	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

One recidivist explained his previous prison life as follows,

My previous prison life was not educated me instead it was a source of anxiety, segregation, and hatred [የገለፈው የእስር ቤት ቆይታዬ ለኔ አስተማር ሳይሆን ጭንቀት የበዛበት፣ ማግለልና ጥላቻ የሞላበት ነበር]. I was tortured, stigmatized, and abused especially by the police. So, my previous prison life made me cruel and promoted me to commit more crimes.

This data clearly shows that hostile treatment given by the prison staff results in aggressive behavior; consequently, this aggressive behavior leads to reoffending upon release. Besides, it was found that there is an ineffective rehabilitation system in the prison.

A sociologist who working in the institution mentioned that,

There is no such detailed treatment based on the offender's need and risk factors due to the shortage of enough professionals. We are few, but there are a large number of prisoners, so it is difficult to give them appropriate treatment.

In general, based on the above findings it can be noted that mistreatment by prison staff and inadequate rehabilitation services in the prison puts the offenders at high risk of re-offending upon release. This is because inmates leave the prison without adequate skills and are unreformed. Moreover, it was revealed that due to a large number of prisoners with few staff the prison failed to perform its primary role in reforming the criminals. Particularly offenders are simply adjusted to the rehabilitation programs without consideration of their needs and risk factors. As a result, they may not be fully rehabilitated. If they are not fully rehabilitated they are more likely to reoffend after discharge.

Overcrowding and Lack of Inmate Classification System

Table 4.12: The condition of overcrowding in Hawassa correctional center

Items(variables)	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
In your previous prison life did you face an <u>overcrowding</u> problem in the prison?	Yes	71	88.8
	No	9	11.3
	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

One of the big problems in Ethiopian prisons is overcrowding. Overcrowding hinders the effectiveness of rehabilitation and hardens the offender in committing further crimes because it leads to prison contamination and interaction between different kinds of offenders. Particularly, if there is no separation between offenders based on their type of offense and ages, the correctional institution may serve as a place for teaching and learning criminal behavior. The finding of this study in Table 4.12 shows that 71 (88.8%) of the respondents faced overcrowding problems in their previous prison life, only 9 (11.3%) of the respondents responded that they were not faced overcrowding in their previous prison life. Moreover the data collected from informants found that,

Due to overcrowding, I faced many problems such as a shortage of enough sleeping space, exposure to various infectious diseases, and depression. These and other bad previous prison conditions exposed me to commit more crime (recidivist).

One of correctional officer stated that,

Especially, before COVID-19, we had a large number of prisoners, nearly 3000. We house them in distinct accommodations based on their sex. But, there is no such clear classification between offenders based on their offense due to overpopulation.

This finding clearly suggests that overcrowded prisons hardened the offenders in committing more crimes because, first, offenders were exposed to different problems such as shortage of enough sleeping space, various infectious diseases, and depression instead of getting reformed. Second, due to overcrowding offenders are mixed together. This mixing of offenders without proper classification based on the types of offense they committed hardens the petty offenders or first-time offenders. When the petty offenders and serious criminals are mixed together, they get a chance to exchange ideas about criminal activities and teach each other about better techniques of committing crimes. Moreover, due to overcrowding prisoners develop subcultures in the prison.

The Inmate Subculture

Sharing experience is a culture here, do you know, when first time one individual join prison, he is first asked to share his experience, questions like, what type of crime he committed, if the individual committed the hard offense, he rewarded appreciation such as, “You are really a man” [የእውነት አንተ ወንድ ነህ],... you know it is hard to express, but the thing is, there is sodomy, substance abuse and many evil things among the prisoners. So, when one individual joins the prison he learns many bad things (recidivist).

Based on this data, it is important to note that there is an inmate subculture in the prison like homosexuality and substance abuse in opposition to the mainstream culture.

Moreover, one of the treatment staff asserted,

There are recidivists who are familiarized with the prison environment, they commit crimes frequently even within a month after discharge and they return here. ...they have their own shared traits based on their criminal history. They teach newcomers and integrate them with their behavior. After their discharge, they join a gang and rob groups; these groups are formed firstly here in the prison.

Based on the key informant, it was revealed that, the inmate’s subcultures like gang group in the prison leads offender to commit more crimes once they released because offenders learn more criminal techniques from their gang members. Therefore, interactions between different kinds of offenders results in formation of subcultures in the prison in opposition to the mainstream culture. This subculture influences offenders negatively and after discharge it puts them at high risk of re-offending and re-incarceration.

Lack of Assistance upon Release

Offender’s imprisonment is needed to reform and make them a law-abiding life. But imprisonment is not enough at all in addressing the offender’s behavior. Therefore, additional support/assistance from prison institutes or other criminal justice systems, in collaboration with community agencies and charity organizations upon their return to the community is very important (UNODC 2018).

Table 4.13: Lack of support upon offender’s release at Hawassa correctional center

Items(variables)	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Guidance from faith-based institutions	Yes	16	20
	No	64	80
	Total	80	100
Support from NGOs	Yes	12	15
	No	68	85
	Total	80	100

Source: Own survey data, 2021

Accordingly, in this study the researcher tried to ask the respondents about the issue, the finding in Table 4.13 shows that 64(80%) of respondents reported that they didn’t get any guidance from faith-based institutions during their previous prison release. On the contrary, 16 (20%) of respondents reported that through their previous prison release they got guidance from faith-based organizations. Furthermore, 68 (85%) of respondents reported that through their previous prison release they didn’t get any support from NGOs. In contrast, 12(15%) of respondents reported that during their previous prison release they got support from NGOs. This information shows that offenders lacked support or the support was inadequate upon their release. Besides, most semi-structured interview participants also cited that they didn’t get any assistance from the prison institute upon their discharge. Also, one key informant point out that,

Due to a lack of budget, there is no transitional assistance; we release offenders simply after they finish their sentence time.

In general, from the above qualitative and quantitative data, the researcher realizes that offenders lacked support/guidance from the prison institute in collaboration with faith-based institutions and charity organizations upon their discharge. Religious institutions have a great power to shape individuals. If there is motivation and help from religious institutions, offenders can easily develop contacts with the community and take responsibility for their life. But, the finding shows that religion or faith-based institutions did not appear to play a significant role in the lives of ex-offenders. Moreover, the finding indicates that there is no adequate aftercare service and proper intervention to connect offenders with the community by correctional institutions and charity organizations. As a result, offenders are exposed to problems like homelessness, unemployment, and others. These problems enhance the inmate's likelihood of reoffending.

4.5 Discussion

Every research starts with a research question and a final goal to answer the question in order to add valuable knowledge to the concerned subject (Kaushik and Christine 2019). In this study, the researcher tried to gather information about factors that contribute to recidivism. Accordingly, in previous sections, the results of the study were presented. This section is devoted to a discussion of the findings in accordance with the research objectives. The researcher tried to indicate which points of the new finding in this study are comparable and contradict with the previous findings conducted by different researchers and the theoretical explanations stated under the literature review part of the study.

4.5.1 Personal Factors that Contribute to Recidivism

According to this study personal factors are factors related to the individual background and lifestyles that would affect the offender's ability to settle back successfully into the community by providing immediate needs and personal welfare. These include the age of the offender, sex, marital status, education level, drug and alcohol abuse, and the like. Accordingly, the finding of this study revealed that the majority of recidivists were at a youthful age. Quantitatively, 60% of recidivists were categorized under age, below 20-30. This finding is similar to what has been found by Goche and Hayelom (2018), their finding shows that 84% of their study participants (recidivists) were aged 16-29. The current finding is also consistent with the study of Eskalehu

(2019), who concluded that individual age has an influence on recidivism and immaturity in age pushes youths to be a recidivist. Similar to this claim, the current study also confirmed that youthful ages are more prone to reoffending due to immaturity. Furthermore, the result of this study confirms the longitudinal studies. For example, Zara and Farrington (2016) stated that more young people are likely to recidivate than their older counterparts. Moreover, the Pearson Correlation shown that there is a negative relationship between age and reoffending. That means when the individual becomes older, the tendency to reoffend decreases or at a young age, individuals show a high tendency of reoffending. Accordingly, the researcher suggests that parents in particular, the society in general should understand the interests and needs of youths and treat them accordingly. Moreover, there is a need for special treatment from the correction institutions for the young offenders.

The study also revealed that all recidivists (100%) were male in the Hawassa correction center. This finding agrees with the previous studies, which show males are more likely to commit crimes than females upon discharge. For example, Kitaria's (2014) research finding indicates that 94.6% of recidivists were male among Kenyan prisoners. Similarly, Goche and Hayelom's (2018) study also indicates that 96.2% of recidivists were male in Dessie and Woldiya correctional centers. Therefore, the current study agreed with the literature that explains men are more likely to recidivate than women. However, the reasons for why men are more re-offend than women is not uncovered by this study but different literature cited that, due to gender role socialization, criminal peer associations, carrying weapons, alcohol abuse, and aggressive feelings, men commit more crimes than women's (Oruta 2016).

Low educational background was also found in this study as one of the personal factors that contribute to recidivism. Statistically, 90 % of recidivist's educational level is between grades 1-12, however, only 10% of recidivists were certified with diplomas and degrees. This result shows that most recidivists have low educational status and it appears to support the previous research finding which shows the low educational status of the offenders as reasons for recidivism (Kitaria 2014; Goche and Hayelom 2018). Besides, the finding of the current study confirms the general strain theory, which states, criminal coping is more likely among those with poor coping skills and poor educational backgrounds (Burke 2009; Piquero 2016). Moreover, the Pearson Correlation indicated that there is a negative relationship between reoffending and educational

level. Means that offenders who have low educational level are more likely to relapse into their criminal behavior upon discharge because having a good knowledge is very important for every activity (what to do and not to do) and the consequence of crime hence they commit more crimes. Therefore, it can be concluded that low educational level individuals show more recidivistic behavior.

Regarding the criminal history, the major offenses committed by the recidivists were theft, assault, and robbery. This implies released prisoners face economic challenges upon their release. This finding is consistent with various research works. For example, Goche and Hayelom's (2018) study shows that most of the recidivists were convicted for theft and burglary in Dessie and Woldiya correctional centers. Moreover, the current finding confirmed UNDC (2018) statement, *“A large proportion of offenders often go through the prison system for relatively minor crimes, such as small property crimes, serving successive and relatively short terms of imprisonment”*.

Comparable to the above statement, the qualitative data obtained from the key informant shows that most offenders committed minor crimes and were imprisoned for short terms. Goche and Hayelom (2018) discussed that short-term imprisonment has a minimum capacity to deter criminals from committing further crimes, because, in a short period of time the intended goals of the rehabilitation program may not succeed or modify the behavior of prisoners. Rehabilitation of offenders needs a relatively long time to teach the offender any skills, which resists them from further criminal acts. In a short-term prison sentence like within two to eight months, it would be very difficult to effectively reform the offenders behavior. In short sentence offenders leave the prison without adequate rehabilitation, therefore short-term prison sentenced offenders are more likely to re-offend and get re-incarcerated.

Furthermore, this study found that the offender's personal lifestyles like alcohol and drug use can contribute to recidivism. The qualitative data shows that excessive alcohol and drug use influences offender's behavior in both direct and indirect ways. Particularly, when offenders addicted to alcohol and drugs result in high expenditure and money problems, they finally incline themselves into illegal activities like (theft) in order to acquire money and to satisfy their addiction. This finding supports the study conducted by Near (2014), who identified alcohol and

drug abuse as risk factors for recidivism. Similarly, according to Samuels's (2010) finding, substance abuse predisposes reoffending in South Africa. Therefore, the researcher concludes that there is a link between repeat criminal acts and alcohol and drug abuse.

4.5.2 Socio-economic Factors that Contribute to Recidivism

The socio-economic factors established by this study include lack of family ties and support, peer pressure, negative community attitude, unemployment, shortage of enough income, and homelessness. These findings are discussed as follows.

This study found that lack of family ties and support upon discharge contributes to re-engagement in crime and finally return to prison. According to the survey data, more than half 65% of recidivists lacked emotional support from their families once they were released. Also, 75% of recidivists lacked material support from their families upon their discharge. Likewise, Goche and Hayelom's (2018) finding shows that lack of close supervision, lack of emotional attachment, lack of love and affection from parents, and maltreatment were the causes for juvenile delinquency recidivism. Also, Eskalehu (2019) found that low family income and lack of basic necessities in the household were the reasons for youth recidivism.

However, differing from Eskalehu's (2019) study, the present study found that not only low family income is the reason for recidivism but some families purposely reject their children and need their children to be imprisoned. Because their family assumes that if their children are with them they destroy their property and create a clash with their neighbor. Due to this rejection the released youth prisoners consider themselves as unimportant to their family and community, in turn, they associate themselves with criminal peers, finally they return to their criminal behavior again.

Besides, the reluctance of the family to accept the offender back into the house after discharge causes a lack of housing and unemployment that makes them also at risk of repeat offending. If the families of released offenders give them emotional support (love, affection, and respect) they may easily develop social capital with the larger community and link themselves with the resources and opportunities of the community. In contrast, if they lack family support and network upon discharge they will be more likely to re-engage in criminal activities. This point

confirms Agnew's (1992) general strain theory, which claims that criminal coping is more likely among those with few conventional social supports; that is, family, friends, and others who can assist (Burke 2009; Piquero 2016).

Community attitude toward released prisoners was found as another contributing factor to recidivism in this study. The finding shows that 57 (71.3%) of the respondents were not welcome by the community upon their release. Moreover, the majority of the 55 (68.8%) experienced discrimination upon their discharge by the community. This finding somewhat dependable with Goche and Hayelom's (2018) study, which indicates 34.3% of recidivists, were experienced discrimination and marginalization by the community after their discharge. The qualitative data of the current study affirmed that most of the recidivists faced many problems upon their release from society; most of them were labeled as criminals by the community after their discharge. This finding is consistent with Labelling Theory, which claims that secondary deviance (recidivism) occurs when a person's self-concept and behavior begin to change after his or her actions are labeled as deviant by members of society (Breen 2011). A social rejection due to prison records weakens the ties to conventional society and excludes offenders from participating in meaningful social activities that cause unemployment, housing, and other problems. Consequently, it forces them to link up with antisocial friends and increases participation in criminal activities again.

Peer pressure is also found as another contributing factor to recidivism. As the quantitative finding of this study, (55%) of the respondents have committed crimes again due to peer pressure. This finding appears to support the previous research conducted by (Eskalehu 2019 and Goche and Hayelom 2018). Their finding established that association with delinquent peers causes the utilization of addictive substances like alcohol, chat, cigarette, and cannabis; finally it contributes to committing further crimes. In the same way, according to Sutherland's social learning theory criminal behavior is learned through interaction with others in intimate personal groups (See 2004; Piquero 2016). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that peer pressure is one of the factors that contribute to recidivism. Because, peer groups encourage thinking alike and regular patterns of interaction, thus they begin to think alike and believe in only the group's viewpoint. As a result, the members of a peer group are often under pressure to deviate.

The other contributing factor to recidivism found in this study was unemployment. The majority (80%) of the recidivists were unemployed upon their discharge. In addition to that, 60% of recidivists were face discrimination in the job market due to their criminal record. Similarly, the qualitative data revealed that after their discharge offenders were unemployed due to the reason that employers do not want to hire them. Employment is a key to offenders' ability to secure housing, establish financial stability, support family members, gain self-confidence, make friends and ultimately desist from crime (UNODC 2018). However, as the finding shows it is difficult to gain secure job for offenders after their discharge due to the discrimination in the job market based on their criminal record. Unemployment could also be the result of offenders' low educational background. Education is highly relevant in getting a job, but as indicated previously most of the recidivists have poor educational achievement. Therefore, prisoners who have low educational status are more likely to reoffend upon discharge because it is difficult for them to find secure jobs and income sources. In its place, they seek support from illegitimate sources.

This study also revealed that lack of income source was a motive factor for recidivistic behavior. Statistically, the study revealed that 77.5% of recidivists committed crimes again due to a shortage of enough income. This finding is consistent with the Meti (2016) study, which found that lack of finances or low level of income, forced individuals to become involved in criminal activities. The qualitative data of the present study also found that, *I tried to overcome the problem of income in a legitimate way, but I didn't, consequently I chose illegal ways. If you have enough property, why do you look at the other's assets?* This confirms the theory of Merton's strain theory, which asserts when individuals were unable to meet their goals through legitimate means they would resort to illegitimate, or illegal measures to achieve their goals (Burke, 2009). Therefore, it is important to note that economically low offenders are more likely to commit a crime again upon discharge.

Simasiku (2018) and Kitaria (2014), states that offenders with housing problems are more likely to re-offend. Similar to these studies the finding of the current study indicates that ex-offenders faced housing problems upon their discharge and it is also the reason for their recidivistic behavior. This is because, first, being homeless resorts to illegal activities as a means of survival. Second, being homeless increases the probability of interaction with criminal groups and

different addictions. In turn it leads to reoffending. Prisoners become homeless upon their release may be due to low-income sources, discrimination, and lack of assistance upon discharge.

4.5.3 Institutional Factors that Contribute to Recidivism

Even if the main goal of rehabilitation is to change offenders' behavior and prevent future offending through correctional programs; there are a growing number of debates about the effectiveness of prisons in reducing reoffending. For example, Fitsum (2018) mentioned that Hawassa correctional facility failed to fulfill its primary function of correction due to the inadequacy of treatment personnel, absence of treatment personnel on managerial positions, underfunding of rehabilitation programs, weak inmate classification system, and the inmate subculture. Similarly, the current study found that there are many shortcomings of the correctional institution in rehabilitating the offenders and these shortcomings are found as institutional push factors that would enhance the likelihood of an offender to commit another crime.

The finding of the present study statistically indicates that 88.8% of recidivists were treated in a hostile approach by the prison staff during their previous prison time and 68.8% of recidivists experienced violence during their previous imprisonment. Regarding the types of violence, the data collected from recidivists through interviews revealed that they were insulted, tortured, and stigmatized by prison officers and the police.

In contrast to this finding, Art 87 of the Criminal Code of FDRE (2004) forbids such treatment by stating that the penalties and measures shall always be with respect due to human dignity. Hill (2011) in his study concludes that correctional programs based on coercion inside prisons enable the offenders to commit additional crimes because they see themselves as criminals and only associate themselves with ideas that go against the criminal justice system. Similarly, according to Antwi's (2015) study, 24% of ex-offenders recidivate due to the penal system largely emphasis on custody, deterrence, and retribution rather than rehabilitation in Ghana.

Therefore, a relationship characterized by hostility and violence can result in aggressive behavior and increases the likelihood of reoffending. Moreover, stigmatizing the offender as a criminal and punishing them in deterrence and retribution cannot change the behavior of the offender. So, to rehabilitate offenders effectively, first, we have to address the factors that cause offenders to

break the law and treat them based on their needs. UNODC (2018) stated that rehabilitation programs are most effective when they are based on a full diagnostic and individual assessment of the offender situation. Therefore, it can be suggested that preventing recidivism requires active prison interventions based on an understanding of offenders' special needs and the factors that place them at risk.

Another finding of the study was overcrowding and its influence on the offenders. The study found that most recidivists (88.8%) faced overcrowding in their previous prison life. As a result of overcrowding, offenders encounter various problems such as a shortage of enough sleeping space, exposure to various infectious diseases, and depression. Moreover, overcrowding affects the ability of prison staff to offer meaningful rehabilitation programs for the prisoners. Fitsum (2018) argued that when there is a large number of inmates with a few staff it is difficult to handle tasks effectively. As a result offenders leave prison without adequate rehabilitation.

In addition to this fact, the qualitative part of the present study found that due to overcrowding, inmates are mixed together in the prison. If someone breaks the law and is found guilty of the crime, the person should be punished, but putting a young person in the prison together with the adults and serious offenders is incorrect. This is because they might learn how to be a more serious criminal. The finding of the study clearly shows that there is no proper classification between young offenders and adult serious offenders in the institution. This mixing of offenders without proper classification based on the types of offense they committed hardens the young and petty offenders because they learn better techniques of committing crimes. This fact confirms Edwin H. Sutherland's differential association theory, which claims that individuals associated with anti-criminal persons are more likely to learn and adopt criminal values and behaviors. So it is important to advocate that prison experience basically without separation between offenders in terms of their offense, age, and risk factors may enhance the likelihood of recommitting a crime. The Federal Negarit Gazeta No. 47 or "Treatment of Federal Prisoners Council of Ministers Regulations No. 138/ 2007", article 5 states that,

"5(1) Separate premises shall be allocated for male and female prisoners; 5(2) prisoners on death roll shall be separately accommodated from other prisoners, 5(3) To the extent that circumstances allow: a) juvenile prisoners under the age of 18 shall have separate accommodations; b) persons detained upon judicial remand shall have separate

accommodations from convicted prisoners; c) prisoners with records of serious crimes, recidivists and indecent prisoners shall have separate accommodations from other prisoners; 5(4) To facilitate the social rehabilitation of prisoners, they shall be categorized on the basis of their similarities and differences a be given different work assignments”.

Exceptions to the sub-article 1, in Hawassa correctional center prisoners, were imprisoned together, without separate accommodation on the basis of age, offenses, and risk factors. If there is no separation between the criminals based on the above-mentioned issues, prisoners get a chance to exchange ideas about criminal activities and teach each other about better techniques for committing crimes. Moreover, it increases the development of subcultures in the prison consequently, they return to the community without being reformed. This finding confirms the Inmate Subculture theory, which states the formation of subculture in prisons like gang group, facial tattooing group and homosexuality makes inmates them recidivist and habitual offenders. Therefore, regarding the classification of the offenders, the researcher advocates that, as written on paper in article form, if the prison institute should put it on the ground or in a practical manner the probability of individuals who will commit a further crime would be reduced.

Furthermore, aftercare service is very important for the successful reintegration of the offenders into the community (UNODC 2018; Simasiku 2018). However, the finding of this study shows that most of the recidivists did not get any support and guidance from prison institutes, faith-based institutions, and NGOs in adjusting them into the community. As discussed earlier, most offenders are confronted by a range of social, economic, and personal challenges upon their release. Moreover, incarceration itself has its own effect upon the offenders; for instance, offenders may lose their livelihood, personal belongings, and social networks. Therefore, follow-up supervision and assistance after release are very important. However, it was observed that there is no effort to enhance inmate's to connect them with the outside community upon their release.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter comprises a summary, conclusion, and recommendations based on the major findings of the study. The first section of this chapter presents a summary of the findings. The second section draws conclusions and the final section makes recommendations based on the findings.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to identify factors that contribute to recidivism in the case of prison inmates at Hawassa correctional center. The study obtained three contributing factors to recidivism, personal, socio-economic, and institutional factors.

Personal factors that contribute to recidivism constitute individual background issues and lifestyles. The study found that the majority of recidivists were at a youthful age. This implies young ages are more prone to recidivistic behavior. Even though the study was designed to gather data from both male and female sex but the finding shows that all recidivists (100%) were male. This denotes males are more likely to commit crimes than females upon discharge. The study also identified that most of the recidivists have low educational level; accordingly, the study established that low educational level is another risk factor for recidivism. The study found that most recidivists committed minor crimes, such as petty property offenses (theft and robbery). This infers offenders face high economic challenges after being released from prison. Furthermore, the study revealed that alcohol and drug abuse is a motive factor for re-offense.

Regarding socio-economic factors that contribute to recidivism, the study found that lack of family ties and support upon discharge enhances the re-engagement in crime. Another issue found by the study is stigma/labeling by the larger society to those released prisoners contributes to recidivism. An association with antisocial groups/peer pressure was also found as one of the factors that contribute to recidivism. The study found 80% of the recidivists were unemployed upon their discharge and 60% of the recidivists were face discrimination in the job market due to their criminal record. Moreover, the study revealed that lack of income source is a motive factor for recidivistic behavior. The study also found that recidivists faced housing problems upon their release and it is also a reason for their re-offense.

Moreover, the study found institutional shortcomings in rehabilitating the offenders as push factors that enhance the likelihood of an offender to commit further crime. The institutional push factors include hostile treatment, overcrowding, lack of inmate classification system, and the absence of assistance/support from the prison institute in collaboration with faith-based and charity organizations.

5.2 Conclusion

Recidivism and its factors are not well understood in Ethiopia and it is one of the most neglected areas of research. Based on the literature reviewed and the findings of the present study, it can be concluded that recidivism is a serious social problem and needs attention as per any other social problem in the country. Based on three specific objectives, this study revealed that recidivism is emanating from personal, socio-economic, and institutional factors. The study found that young ages and males are more likely to commit crime again than their counterparts in old ages and women. Moreover, the study also observed that low educational level, and alcohol and drug abuse contribute to recidivism.

Offenders upon their release need a source of income, accommodation, and employment, however, due to inadequate family support, peer pressure, stigma, and the like offenders relapse into their criminal behavior. Most importantly, the attitude of the community about offenders based on an assumption that once a criminal always a criminal confirms the explanation of labeling theory. A negative community attitude results in the isolation of released offenders from the conventional society, consequently, offenders associate themselves with anti-criminals. The association with deviant peers also upturns the likelihood of criminal behavior.

Furthermore, the shortcomings of the prison system like, hostile treatment, lack of classification among offenders, lack of coordinated linkages and support system for inmates at the time of discharge are also factors that contribute to recidivism. As theorized by Sutherland's differential association theory, a person will act according to learned behavior from the environment and peers. Overcrowding along with the absence of classification (in terms of age, offense, and risk factors) among offenders hardens the offenders to commit further crimes because it enables them to share their criminal experiences with each other and learn new criminal techniques. Consequently, after discharge offenders may relapse into their criminal behavior. Besides, the treatment given by the prison staff is also harsh along with violence such as insult and torture.

These are unethical and unaccountable treatment practices and they should be replaced by interventions that are based on the principles of ethical procedures and evidence-based programs. In addition, coordinated linkages and support system for inmates at the time of discharge from prison is very important for their successful reintegration, however, it is observed that there is no effort to enhance inmate's to connect them with the outside community upon their release. In general, factors contributing to recidivism are multifaceted and they interlink with one another.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of this research, the following recommendations are forwarded:

Policy Recommendation

Policymakers should revise or incorporate the issue of recidivism and social reintegration of offenders in the current criminal policy and that would guide the government and correctional administrations to address the current gaps in the treatment of prisoners. Especially, as much as possible the re-entry and aftercare services should be incorporated in the existing proclamation of the federal prison administration.

Intervention Related Recommendation

The finding shows that upon their release, offenders face numerous obstacles such as lack of family ties and support, unemployment, housing problem, and stigma. Therefore, the correctional authority should implement coordinated programs with community groups, faith-based organizations, or volunteer individuals to assist released offenders in creating opportunities for them.

The study recommends that prison authorities need to place considerable emphasis on offering the vocational skills training and meaningful and remunerated work experience in prisons that offenders need in order to find and keep jobs after their release.

The study also shows that institutional shortcomings are pushing factors for recidivism, issues like overcrowding, and the absence of an inmate classification system based on the gravity of offenses. Hence, as much as possible the correction center should identify and classify the offenders based on their ages, offense, needs, and risk factors.

The study also recommends that the correction management should introduce offender-oriented treatment programs and develop adequate treatment personnel such as sociologists, social workers, psychologists, and vocational trainers.

It is also recommended that non-governmental organizations should be working jointly with the government especially with the police and justice system to alleviate the negative perception of the community towards criminals.

Suggestions for Future Research

Based on the findings of this research, the researcher recommends that:

- ⇒ There is a need for a longitudinal follow-up study to determine the rate of recidivism and to see the relationship between the factors particularly personal factors like age, and sex in detail. It is also important to check the effectiveness of rehabilitation.
- ⇒ There is also a need for recidivism research on emerging areas of crime, such as organized crime particularly on youths who consider crime like theft and robbery as their career in urban areas.
- ⇒ It would be also interesting to conduct a study on how the discharged inmates in the community are managing their day-to-day activities after serving sentences.

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Appendices
Appendix I: Instruments
Questionnaire for Recidivists

Dear respondent! My name is Tomas Tsegaye. I am a student at Hawassa University, pursuing my Master's Degree in Sociology. This questionnaire aims to collect data for the study entitled "*Factors Contributing to Recidivism: The Case of Prison Inmates at Hawassa Correctional Center, Southern Ethiopia*". The purpose of this study is to look at and understand the contributing factors to commit a crime again after being released from the correctional center among offenders. Trust that the information you will honorably provide is strictly confidential and serve for academic purpose only. I kindly request you to complete all questions by reading and following the instructions.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Instructions

- No need of writing your name at any place of the questionnaire.
- Answer the questions by thick in the space provided.
- Fill the blank spaces by reading carefully.

Part One: Background Information

1. Age: Below 20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61 and above
2. Sex: Male Female
3. Highest level of education:
1-4(first cycle) 5-8(second cycle) 9-10(high school)
11-12(preparatory) Diploma Degree and above
4. Marital status: Married Single Divorced Widowed
5. Religion: Orthodox Muslim Catholic Protestant other.....

6. Criminal History

Which type of crime did you commit?	How many times have you been imprisoned?
<p>Current Crime</p> <p>Homicide <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Rape <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Robbery <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Assaults <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Burglary <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Theft <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Arson <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Corruption <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>If there is another crime.....</p>	<p>Two times <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Three times <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Four times <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>More than four times <input type="checkbox"/></p>

Part Two: Questions Related to Socio- Economic Factors

1. Did you join your family after your previous release? Yes No
2. If yes, did your family give you emotional support after your release? Yes No
3. If yes, did your family give you material support after your release? Yes No
4. If you answer question number 1 “No” why?

5. Did you have an association with criminal peer groups? Yes No
6. If yes, were your friend’s influencing you to commit crime again? Yes No
7. What was the attitude of the community towards you upon release?
 Welcoming Not welcoming
8. Did you experience discrimination by the community after your previous release due to your criminal record?
 Yes No
9. Were you employed after your previous imprisonment?
 Yes No
10. If no, did you face any discrimination in the job market due to your criminal record?
 Yes No
11. After you were released from the previous imprisonment, did you have enough income to fulfill your necessities? Yes No
12. If not, was shortage of enough income a motive factor for your re-offence?
 Yes No

Part Three: Questions Related to Institutional Factors

- 1. How would you describe the treatment from the prison staff through serving in your sentence? Hostile Receptive
- 2. A). Did you experience any violence through serving your imprisonment? Yes No
B). If yes what type of violence please explain it
.....
.....
- 3. In your previous prison life did you face an overcrowding problem in the prison?
Yes No
- 4. If yes, please explain the influence of overcrowding on yourself
.....
.....
- 5. In your previous prison release did you get any assistance from the institution to adjust you into the community?
Yes No
- 6. Through your previous prison release did you get any guidance from faith-based (religious) institutions?
Yes No
- 7. Through your previous prison release did you get any support from NGOs?
Yes No
- 8. Please state here if you have additional points related to your previous prison experience and reintegration challenges?
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you!

Key Informant Interview Guide Line

Dear Informant! My name is Tomas Tsegaye. I am a student at Hawassa University, pursuing my Master’s Degree in Sociology. Today, I am here to ask you some questions for my study entitled “*Factors Contributing to Recidivism: The Case of Prison Inmates at Hawassa Correctional Center, Southern Ethiopia*”. The purpose of this study is to look at and understand the contributing factors to commit a crime again after being released from the correctional center among offenders. Your participation in this study shall be based on your willingness and you are guaranteed to withdraw from the interview at any time or refuse to answer any questions when you feel uncomfortable about it. The study will be conducted for academic purposes only and any personal information you share with me will be kept confidential. The interview will take a few minutes.

Thank you for your participation!

No	Background Information	
1	Gender	
2	Profession/ position	
3	Level of education	
4	Period in service	
5	Date of interview _____ Starting Time: _____ Finishing Time: _____	

Part One: Interview with Correction Officers

1. Can you give me some highlights about the general prison conditions? Probe: organization structure, facilities, treatment of prisoners, etc.
2. Is there classification between prisoners? Probe: Hardened criminals and petty criminals, young offenders and adult offenders, repeat offenders.
3. What are some of the rehabilitation programs for offenders in this prison?
4. What do you think about the challenges that some offenders face after their release? Probe: socially, economically?
5. What has been done by the correctional institution to successfully reintegrate offenders into the community and avoid a relapse into crime? Probe: follow-up supervision and assistance after release.

Part Two: Interview with Treatment Staff

1. How are counseling and training planned/organized in this correction center? Is there a Needs/Risk assessment? Offender's background, personality, the circumstances leading to the commission of the offense.
2. In your opinion, to what extent is the guidance and counseling adequate to transform the character and perception of inmates towards life?
3. In your opinion, to what extent is vocational training adequate for job opportunities outside the prison?
4. In your experience, with regard to the reoffenders, can you describe the various factors that seem to be contributing to their reoffending?

Thank you once again!

Semi-Structured Interview Guideline for Recidivists

Dear Participant! My name is Tomas Tsegaye. I am currently a student at Hawassa University, pursuing my Master's Degree in Sociology. I am here to ask you some questions for my study entitled "*Factors Contributing to Recidivism: The Case of Prison Inmates at Hawassa Correctional Center, Southern Ethiopia*". The purpose of this study is to look at and understand the contributing factors to commit a crime again after being released from the correctional center among offenders. Participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to choose not to do this. The researcher will respect your decision to participate or not to participate. If you decide to participate, during the interview, you can refuse to answer any questions if you choose. You are also free to stop the interview at any time when you become stressed or uncomfortable. Your responses to the research questions will be kept confidential, which means that I as the researcher will not report anything to anyone. The information you will give me is used for academic purposes only. Your name or anything that could identify you will not be included in the study. The interview will take a few minutes.

Thank you for your participation!

Background Information

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____ 3. Marital status _____ 4. Educational background _____ 5. Means of income during first discharge _____ 6. Date of interview _____ Starting Time: _____ Finishing Time: _____

Interview Questions

1. How many times have you been imprisoned and how long was your previous sentence?
2. Can you describe your previous prison experiences? Basically, prison conditions, treatment from the prison staff, family relationships and visits and others.
3. Do you have a history of alcohol/drug use? If yes, would you explain to me more?
4. Do you think any of your friends influenced you to commit a crime again after your last release? If so, how and why?
5. Did you join your family after your previous release? If so, would you explain your life with your family to me? If not, why?
6. Can you explain to me the attitude of the community towards you upon release?

7. Did you face any economic challenges after your previous release? If yes would you explain to me more?
8. Did you receive any types of services/support from the correctional institution collaboration with religious institutions and NGO after your previous release?

Guiding Questions for Case Study

1. Please describe your,
 - ⇒ Childhood,
 - ⇒ Educational performance,
 - ⇒ Motivation, skill level, training to work.
2. Please describe your previous prison experiences.
 - ⇒ Friends,
 - ⇒ Prison conditions,
 - ⇒ Treatment from the prison staff,
 - ⇒ Family relationship and visits and others
3. Now please describe in detail the factors that contribute you to reoffend.

Thank you once again!

Appendix II: Amharic Version of the Instruments

ተመላላሽ ታራሚዎች እንድሞሉት የተዘጋጁ ጥያቄዎች

ውድ ምላሽ ሰጪ! ስሜ ቶማስ ፀጋዬ እባላለሁ ። በሀዋሳ ዩኒቨርሲቲ በሶሻሎጂ ትምህርት ክፍል የድህረ ምረቃ ፕሮግራም ተማሪ ስሆን አሁን ላይ ለመመረቅ የሚሆን የማሟያ ጥናት በማድረግ ላይ እገኛለሁ። የጥናቴ ዓላማ የሚያተኩረው “ታራሚዎች ከእስር ቤት ከተለቀቁ በኋላ በተደጋጋሚ ጥፋት ውስጥ እንድሳተፉ አስተዋፅዖ በሚያደርጉ ምክንያቶች ላይ በደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ በሐዋሳ ማረሚያ ማዕከል ውስጥ በሚገኙ ታራሚዎች ላይ ተሞክሮ በመውሰድ ለጥናቴ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው ። ” የሚሰጡት መረጃ ሚስጥራዊነቱ የተጠበቀ ለትምህርት ዓላማ ብቻ የሚውል መሆኑን ላረጋግጥላችሁ እወዳለሁ ። መመሪያዎቹን በማንበብ እና በመከተል ሁሉንም ጥያቄዎች በመመለስ እንዲያጠናቅቁ በአክብሮት እጠይቃለሁ ።

ለተሳትፎዎ በቅዲሚያ አመሠግናለሁ!

መመሪያዎች

- በየተኛውም ቦታ ስምዎትን መጻፍ አያስፈልግም ።
- መልሱን በተሰጠው ምረጫ ቦታ ላይ ይህን ምልክት በሚገኝበት ገጽ ይመልሱ ።
- በጥንቃቄ በማንበብ ባዶ ቦታዎቹን ይሙሉ ።

ክፍል አንድ: የግለሰቦች መነሻ መረጃ

1. ዕድሜ: ከ 20 በታች 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61ና በላይ
 2. ፆታ: ወንድ ሴት
 3. ከፍተኛ የትምህርት ደረጃ:
 - 1-4 (የመጀመሪያ ሳይክል) 5-8 (ለተኛ ሳይክል) 9-10 (ሀይስ)
 - 11-12 (መሰናዶ) ሶማ ዲግ ሌላ.....
 4. የጋብቻ ሁኔታ: ያገባ/ች ባ/ች የፈታ ባል/ምስ ሞተበት/ባት
 5. ሀይማኖት: ኦርቶዶክስ ሊም ፕሮቴ ንት ካቶሊክ
- ሌላ (ይገለጽ).....

6. የወንጀል ታሪክ

የትኛውን የጥፋት ዓይነት ነው የፈፀሙት?	ስንት ጊዜ ታስረዋል?
የአሁኑ ጥፋት	ሁለት ጊዜ <input type="checkbox"/>
ግድያ <input type="checkbox"/>	ሦስት ጊዜ <input type="checkbox"/>
አስገድዶ መድፈር <input type="checkbox"/>	አራት ጊዜ <input type="checkbox"/>
ዝርፊያ <input type="checkbox"/>	ከአራት ጊዜ በላይ <input type="checkbox"/>
አካላዊ ጥቃት <input type="checkbox"/>	
ቤት ሰብሮ መስረቅ <input type="checkbox"/>	
እቃ፤የክስ ስርቆት <input type="checkbox"/>	
ቤት ማቃጠል <input type="checkbox"/>	
ሙስና <input type="checkbox"/>	
ሌላ ከሆኑ.....	

ክፍል ሁለት: ከማህበራዊና ኢኮኖሚያዊ ምክንያቶች ጋር የተያያዙ ጥያቄዎች

1. ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከቤተሰብዎ ጋር ተቀላቅለዋል? አዎ አይ
2. መልሶዎት አዎ ከሆነ ከእስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከቤተሰቦችዎ ስሜታዊ ድጋፍ አግንተዋል?
አዎ አይ
3. መልሶዎት አዎ ከሆነ ከእስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከቤተሰቦችዎ ቁሳዊ ድጋፍ አግንተዋል?
አዎ አይ
4. ለጥያቄ ቁጥር 1 መልሶዎት አይ ከሆነ ለምን አልተቀላቀሉም?
.....
5. ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከወንጀል ጋር ንክኪ ያላቸው እኩይ ዳደሮች ጋር ማህበር ነበረዎት? አዎ አይ
6. መልሶዎት አዎ ከሆነ ዳደሮችዎ እንደገና ወንጀል እንዲሰሩ ተጽዕኖ አሳድረውበታል?
አዎ አይ
7. ከቀድሞው ከእስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከማህበረሰቡ ለእርስዎ ምን ዓይነት አመለካከት ነበራቸው?
ተቀብለውኛል አልተቀበሉ
8. ከዚህ በፊት ከእስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ በማኅበረሰቡ እንደ ወንጀሌኛ ታይተው ማግለል አጋጥሞዎታል?
አዎ አ
9. ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ስራ ተቀጥረው ነበር?
አዎ አይ
10. መልሶዎት አይ ከሆኑ ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ እንደ ወንጀሌኛ ተቆጥረው በስራ ገብያው መገለል ገጥሞዎታል?
አዎ አይ

11. ካለፈው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ የሚያስፈልጉዎትን ነገሮች ለማሟላት የሚያስችል በቂ ገቢ ነበረዎት? አዎ አይ

12. መልሶዎት አይ ከሆኑ በቂ ገቢ አለመኖሮዎ እንደገና ጥፋት እንዲፈጽሙ አድርገዎታል? አዎ አይ

ክፍል ሶስት፡ ተቋማዊ ምክንያቶች ጋር የተያያዙ ጥያቄዎች

1. በቀድሞው የእስር ቤት ቆይታዎ ከእስር ቤቱ ሰራተኞች የተሰጠዎትን አያያዝ ወይም አገልግሎት እንዴት ይገልፃሉ? የማይመች የምያረካ

2. ሀ) በቀድሞው የእስር ቤት ቆይታዎ በደል አጋጥሞዎታል? አዎ አይ
ለ) መልሶዎት አዎ ከሆነ ምን ዓይነት በደል አጋጥሞዎታል እባክዎን ያብራሩ

.....
.....

3. በቀድሞው የእስር ቤት ሕይወትዎ ውስጥ በማረሚያ ቤቱ ውስጥ በታራምዎች ብዛት የመጨናነቅ ሁኔታ ነበር? አዎ አይ

4. መልሶዎት አዎ ከሆኑ በታራምዎች ብዛት መጨናነቁ ያደረሰባችን ተጽዕኖ ያብራሩ

.....
.....

5. ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከእምነት ተቋማት የተኛውንም ድጋፍ አግኝተዋል? አዎ አይ

6. ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ መንግስታዊ ካልሆኑ ድርጅቶች የተኛውንም ድጋፍ አግኝተዋል? አዎ አይ

7. ከቀድሞው እስር ቤት ሲለቀቁ እርስዎን ከማህበረሰቡ ጋር ለማስማማት ከተቋሙ ማንኛውም ዓይነት ድጋፍ አግኝተዋል? አዎ አይ

8. ስለ ቀድሞው የእስር ቤት ቆይታዎ እና ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ያጋጠሙዎትን ችግሮች ጋር የተያያዙ ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ ካሉዎት እባክዎ እዚህ ይግለጹ?

.....
.....

ለተሳትፎዎ በድጋሚ አመሰግናለሁ!

ከወካይ መረጃ ሰጭ ጋር የተደረገ ቃለመጠይቅ መመሪያ

ውድ ተሳታፊ!! ስሜ ቶማስ ፀጋዬ እባላለሁ። በሀዋሳ ዩኒቨርሲቲ በሶሻሎጂ ትምህርት ክፍል የድህረ ምረቃ ፕሮግራም ተማሪ ስሆን አሁን ላይ ለመመረቂያ የሚሆን የማሟያ ጥናት በማድረግ ላይ እገኛለሁ። የጥናቱ ዓላማ የሚያተኩረው “ታራሚዎች ከእስር ቤት ከተለቀቁ በኋላ በተደጋጋሚ ጥፋት ውስጥ እንድሳተፉ አስተዋፅዖ በሚያደርጉ ምክንያቶች ላይ በደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ በሐዋሳ ማረሚያ ማዕከል ውስጥ በሚገኙ ታራሚዎች ላይ ተሞክሮ በመውሰድ ለጥናቱ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። ” በዚህ ጥናት ውስጥ ያለዎት ተሳትፎ በፈቃደኝነትዎ ላይ የተመሠረተ ሲሆን በማንኛውም ጊዜ ቃሌ መጠይቁን ማቆም ወይም ምቹት በማይሰማዎት ጊዜ ለቀው የመውጣትና ለሚነሱ ጥያቄዎች መልሰው የመጠየቅ ሙሉ መብት ተሰጥቶታል ። ጥናቱ የሚካሄደው ለትምህርታዊ ዓላማ ብቻ የሚውል ሲሆን ከኔ ጋር የሚያጋሯቸው ማናቸውም የግል መረጃዎች በሚስጥር ይጠበቃሉ።ቃለመጠይቁ ጥቂት ደቂቃዎችን ይወስዳል።

ለትብብርዎ በቅዳሚያ አመሠግናለሁ!

ቁ	የግል መረጃዎች
1	ፆታ
2	ሙያ
3	የትምህርት ደረጃ
4	የአገልግሎት ጊዜ
5	የቃለ መጠይቅ ቀን _____ የመነሻ ሰዓት _____ የማጠናቀቂያ ሰዓት _____

ክፍል አንድ: ከማረሚያ ሀላፊዎች ጋር የተደረገ ቃለመጠይቅ

1. ስለ አጠቃላይ እስር ቤቱ ሁኔታ አንዳንድ ነገሮች ልነግሩኝ ይችላሉ? ለምሳሌ ስለ አደረጃጀቱ ፣ እስረኞች አያያዝ ወዘተ ።
2. በእስረኞች መካከል የመለየት ስራ ይሰራል ወይ? ለምሳሌ በከባድ ወንጀላቸውና ቀላል ወንጀላቸው፣ ወጣት ወንጀላቸው እና ጎልማሳ ወንጀላቸው ፣ ተደጋጋሚ ወንጀላቸውን መካከል?
3. በዚህ ማረምያ ቤት ውስጥ ለምገኙት ታራሚዎች የመልሶ ማቋቋም መርሃግብሮች ምንድን ናቸው?
4. ወንጀላቸው ከእስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ስለሚገጥሟቸው ተግዳሮቶች ምን ይላሉ? በተለይ ከማህበራዊ ፣ ኢኮኖሚያዊ አኳያ?
5. ታራሚዎችን በተሳካ ሁኔታ ወደ ህብረተሰቡ እንዲቀላቀሉ እና እንደገና ወደ ወንጀል እንዳይመለሱ በማረሚያ ተቋሙ ምን ዓይነት ስራዎች ይሰራሉ? በተለይ ክትትል ፣ ድጋፍ ታራሚዎችን ከማህበረሰቡ ጋር የማገናኘት ስራ እና ሌሎችም ይሰራሉ ወይ ።

ክፍል ሁለት፡ ድጋፍ ሰጭ አካላት ጋር የተደረገ ቃለመጠይቅ

1. በዚህ ማረጋገጫ ተቋም ውስጥ የምክር እና የስልጠና አገልግሎቶች እንዴት ይታወቃሉ? የታራሚዎችን ፍላጎትን መሰርተ ያደረገ ነዉ ወይ?
2. እንደ እርሶዎ አመለካከት እስረኞችን ባህሪ እና አመለካከት ለመቀየር የምሰጡት የምክር አገልግሎት ምን ያህል በቂ ነው?
3. እንደ እርሶዎ አመለካከት የሙያ ስልጠናዉ ከእስር ቤቱ ውጭ ላለዉ የሥራ ዕድል ምን ያህል በቂ ነው?
4. ተመላላሽ ወንጀለኞችን በተመለከተ በተደጋጋሚ ጥፋት ውስጥ እንድሳተፉ አስተዋፅዖ የሚያደርጉ የተለያዩ ምክንያቶችን በዝርዝር መግለፅ ይችላሉ?

ለተሳትፎዎ በድጋሚ አመሰግናለሁ!

ከተመላላሽ ታራሚዎች ጋር የተደረገ የቃሌ መጠይቅ መመሪያ

ውድ ተሳታፊ!! ስሜ ቶማስ ፀጋዬ እባላለሁ። በሀዋሳ ዩኒቨርሲቲ በሶሻሎጂ ትምህርት ክፍል የድህረ ምረቃ ፕሮግራም ተማሪ ስሆን አሁን ላይ ለመመረቂያ የሚሆን የማሟያ ጥናት በማድረግ ላይ እገኛለሁ። የጥናቱ ዓላማ የሚያተኩረው “ታራሚዎች ከእስር ቤት ከተለቀቁ በኋላ በተደጋጋሚ ጥፋት ውስጥ እንድሳተፉ አስተዋፅዖ በሚያደርጉ ምክንያቶች ላይ በደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ በሐዋሳ ማረጋገጫ ማዕከል ውስጥ በሚገኙ ታራሚዎች ላይ ተሞክሮ በመውሰድ ለጥናቱ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው።” በዚህ ጥናት ውስጥ መሳተፍ በፈቃደኝነት ላይ የተመሰረተ ነው እናም ይህንን ላለማድረግ የመምረጥ ነፃነት አለዎት። ለመሳተፍ ከወሰኑ በቃሌ መጠይቁ ወቅት ለማይመኙት ለማንኛውም ጥያቄ እንዲሁም ውጥረት በሚሰማዎት ጊዜ ቃሌ መጠይቁን በማንኛውም ጊዜ ለማቆም ነፃ ነዎት። የሚሰጡት መረጃ ሚስጥራዊነቱ የተጠበቀና እና ለትምህርት ዓላማ ብቻ የሚውል መሆኑን ላረጋግጥላችሁ እወዳለሁ። ይህም ማለት እኔ እንደ ተመራማር ምላሽዎን ለማንም ለሌላ አካል አሳልፈ የማልሰተጥ መሆኑን ልነግራችሁ እወዳለሁ። ስምዎ ወይም እርስዎን ለመለየት የሚችል ማንኛውም ነገር በጥናቱ ውስጥ አይካተቱም። ቃለመጠይቁ ጥቂት ደቂቃዎችን ይወስዳል።

ለተሳትፎዎ በቅዲሚያ አመሰግናለሁ!

የግል መረጃዎች

- 1.ዕድሜ _____
 - 2.ፆታ _____
 - 3.የጋብቻሁኔታ _____
 - 4.የትምህርት ደረጃ _____
 5. ስራ ከእስር በፍት _____
 6. የቃለ መጠይቅ ቀን _____ የመነሻ ሰዓት _____
- የማጠናቀቂያ ሰዓት _____

መጠይቆች

1. ስንት ጊዜ ታስረዋል እናም የቀድሞው ፍርድዎ ለምን ያህል ጊዜ ነበር?
2. ከዚህ በፊት የነበሩትን የእስር ቤት ልምዶችዎን መግለፅ ይችላሉ? የወህኒ ቤት ሁኔታዎች ፣ ከእስር ቤቱ ሠራተኞች የተደረግ አያያዝ ፣ የቤተሰብ ግንኙነት እና ጉብኝቶች እና ሌሎችም
3. የመጠጥ እና አደንዛዥ ዕፅ አጠቃቀም ታሪክ ነበረዎት? አዎ ከሆነ በሰፊው ልነግሩኝ ይችላሉ?
4. ከቀድሞው እስር ቤት ከተለቀቁ በኋላ እንደገና ወንጀል እንዲፈጽሙ ዳደሻዎ ተጽዕኖ ያሳደረብዎት ይመስልዎታል? ከሆነስ እንዴት እና ለምን?
5. ከቀድሞው እስር ቤት ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከቤተሰብዎ ጋር ተቀላቅለዋል? ከተለቀቁ በኋላ የነበሩትን ህይወት ያስረዱኝ?
6. ከቀድሞው ከእስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ የህብረተሰቡ ለእርስዎ ምን ዓይነት አመለካከት ነበራቸው?
7. ከቀድሞው እስር ቤት ከተለቀቁ በኋላ የኢኮኖሚ ችግሮች አጋጥመውዎት ነበር? አዎ ከሆነ ለእኔ ማስረዳት ይችላሉ?
8. ከቀድሞው እስር ከተለቀቁ በኋላ ከማረሚያ ተቋሙ ወይም ከማህበረሰቡ ማንኛውንም ዓይነት አገልግሎት ድጋፍ አግኝተዋል? ለምሳሌ የሃይማኖት ተቋማትና መንግስታዊ ካልሆኑ ድርጅቶች

Guiding Questions for Case Study

1. እባከን
 - ⇒ አስተዳደሩን
 - ⇒ የትምህርት አፈፃፀምን
 - ⇒ በስራ ላይ ያሉት ተነሳሽነት
 - ⇒ ክህሎትና ሥልጠና እና ሌሎችንም ጨምረው ብገልፁልኝ
2. እባከን ከዚህ በፊት የነበሩትን የእስር ቤት ልምዶችዎን
 - ⇒ ዳደሾች
 - ⇒ የወህኒ ቤት ሁኔታዎች
 - ⇒ ከእስር ቤቱ ሠራተኞች የተደረግ አያያዝ
 - ⇒ የቤተሰብ ግንኙነት እና ጉብኝቶች ብገልፁልኝ
3. አሁን በተደጋጋሚ ጥፋት ውስጥ እንድሳተፉ አስተዋፅዖ ያደረገችን ምክንያት ዘርዘር አርገው ይግለፁልኝ?

ለተሳትፎዎ በድጋሚ አመሰግናለሁ!

Appendix III: Background of the Informants

Background Information of Semi-structured interview and Case study participants							
No	Age	Sex	Marital status	Educational status	Occupation	Current type of crime	Frequency of imprisonment
1	20	M	Single	8 th grade	Student	Theft	Three
2	22	M	Single	6 th grade	Daily laborer	Robbery	Three
3	25	M	Single	7 th	Taxi driver	Theft	Three
4	30	M	Married	Diploma	Broker	Theft	Three
5	27	M	Married	6 th grade	Student	Murder	Three
6	26	M	Single	8 th grade	Shoe Shiner	Theft	Four
7	28	M	Married	11 th grade	Student	Robbery	Three
8	34	M	Single	8 th grade	Broker	Robbery	Three
9	25	M	Single	10 th grade	Student	Theft	Three
10	23	M	Single	5 th grade	Student	Theft	Three
11	40	M	Married	9 th grade	Electrician	Assault	Seven
12	29	M	Married	10 th grade	Trader	Theft	Four
Background Information of Key Informants							
No	Gender	Age	Marital status	Profession/ position	Level of education	Period of service	
1	Male	40	Married	Prison officer(head)	1 st Degree	4 year	
2	Male	36	Married	Prison officer(registrar)	2 nd Degree student	5year	
3	Female	33	Married	Sociologist	1 st Degree	6year	
4	Female	29	Married	Psychologist	1 st Degree	2year	
5	Male	45	Married	Prison officer(management)	1 st Degree	6year	