

**HAWASSA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES**



**EXAMINING FACTORS, PATTERNS AND TREATMENTS OF
CRIMINAL RECIDIVISM IN CASE OF YIRGALEM CORRECTIONAL
CENTER, SIDAMA NATIONAL REGIONAL STATE**

MA THESIS

BY

FREZER CHANIYALEW

AUGUST, 2023

HAWASSA, ETHIOPIA

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CRIMINAL RECIDIVISM IN CASE OF YIRGALEM CORRECTIONAL
CENTER, SIDAMA NATIONAL REGIONAL STATE**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES,
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES OF HAWASSA
UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS IN SOCIOLOGY**

BY

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AUGUST, 2023

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this MA thesis entitled “**Examining factors, patterns and treatments of criminal recidivism in case of Yirgalem correctional center**”, is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University, and all source of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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We hereby certify that this thesis entitled **“Examining factors, patterns and treatments of criminal recidivism in case of yirgalem correctional center”** submitted to the Department of Sociology, Hawassa University for the award of the MA Degree in Sociology is an authentic work done by Mr. Frezer Chaniyalew from **January 2017 to May 2018** under our supervision and guidance. The subject on which the thesis has been prepared is based on his original research work and it has not been submitted earlier in full or a part thereof for the award of any of degree, diploma or any other similar titles in this or any other University or institution.

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Name of Principal Advisor	Signature	Date
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Name of Co-advisor	Signature	Date

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As members of the Board of Examiners of the final Master's degree open defense, we certify that we have read and evaluated the thesis carried out by Frezer Chaniyalew under the title “**Examining factors, patterns and treatments of criminal recidivism in case of Yirgalem correctional center**” and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirement for the degree of MA in Sociology.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Firstly, I'm grateful to almighty God who gave me life, the courage and wisdom to persevere to this level. Secondly, I'm greatly indebted to Addis Zena (Assistant Professor) who is my advisor, for his effective supervision, dedication, availability and professional advice.

I extend my gratitude to correctional institution leaders, officers, and social workers, for your vigorous helping me in making arrangements with the recidivists and expertise involved in the key informant interview, and for allowing me to access documents that I used to assess the criminal history of inmates in the correctional center.

Lastly, I am grateful to all key informants who shared knowledge on their respective areas of expertise and I would also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to inmates who participated in the study for giving me their time and stories; without them, there would be no study.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to explore factors and treatments of recidivism in yirgalem correctional center, Sidama National Regional State. The study was guided by a life course, differential association and labeling theoretical framework. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Census survey or complete enumeration was employed and entire recidivists (i.e. 114 respondents) were involved in the study. In-depth interviews were conducted with one female and four male recidivists. Also, key informant interviews were conducted with one prison official and three correction professionals (i.e. psychologist, legal officer and academic teacher) working at the correctional center. The data collected by quantitative method was analyzed using descriptive statistics like percentages, frequencies, bar charts, pie charts and cross-tabulation, and chi-square test analysis of inferential statistics. The data collected by the qualitative method was analyzed thematically. The findings suggested that most ex-offenders reoffended due to individual characteristics such as gender, age, occupation, marital status, monthly income, and drug abuse. Some others reoffend due to correctional institution related factors such as shortening of time spent in correctional center, and criminal peers and their influences. Likewise, stigmatization/social exclusion, unemployment, lack of economic support, housing problem and ex-criminal peers post release were identified as community related factors for recidivism. Also, crime against property (economic crime), particularly theft, was the most dominant crime type in the study area. Regarding prisoners' treatments, the study pointed out ineffective rehabilitation and reformation activities due to unrealized treatment programs such as formal education, vocational training, counseling services, and also due to the existence of maltreatment. In conclusion, individual, correctional institution, community related factors were contributory for recidivism and ineffective prisoners' treatments were substantial input for reoffending. Lastly the study recommended policy implications.

ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

CC	Correctional Center
CJS	Criminal Justice System
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Council
EVT	Educational and Vocational Training
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
PFPCE	Proclamation of Federal Prisons Commission Establishment
RTFP	Regulations on the Treatment of Federal Prisoners
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSMRTP	United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners
US	United States
USSC	United States Sentencing Commission

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

Crime is as old as human society and criminals are part of every society whether modern or primitive (Salman 2009). Crime is one of the manifestations of deviation from social norms and it is anti-social behavior as it violates acceptable standards of social lives and punishable as it exceeds limits of tolerance (Torres, 2015). The term crime is defined in the Ethiopian criminal code as an act which is prohibited and made punishable by law (FDRE Criminal Code, 2004). It is an offence that is committed in the society and which is against the interest of the society that has been criminalized and punishable by law.

The prison is among the components of criminal justice system that is used for deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation of criminals. Offenders are expected to enter prison, to understand what they did was wrong, to alter their behavior, and to reenter to society as a better person (Benson, 2003). Also the major aim of rehabilitation is to change offenders' behavior and prevent future offending (Adler et al, 2007). However, due to a variety of factors, such as age, education, peers, mental illness, poverty, lack of social acceptance, having prison experience, and lack of vocational training during incarceration (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015), the criminals are repeating criminal acts and reconvicted after they are released from prison which so termed as recidivism (Maltz, 2001).

Recidivism is a relapse into crime and criminal lifestyle or activities by an offender who had once or more times been processed through the prison system and otherwise acknowledged as incorrigible offenders or offenders beyond rehabilitation (Andersen &Skardhamar, 2014). Tenibiaje (2013) also endorses that recidivism is the act of a person repeating undesirable behavior after he/she has either experienced the negative consequences of that behavior or has been treated or trained to alter that behavior.

Among different studies conducted on recidivism some revealed that the prevalence of recidivism is ever-increasing throughout the world. According to the study conducted on recidivism of

prisoners released in thirty (30) states of America in 2005, a large portion of the American population will be released back into society after involvement with the correctional system, but two out of three released prisoners will be rearrested within three years (Cooper, Durose, & Snyder, 2014).

Moreover, Visser & Travis (2003) portrayed that in the US among the 600,000 prisoners released in 2002 from prison, 7 out of 10 were rearrested within three years and a half returned to prison due to either new offense or violation of their parole. It is also indicated that the USA recorded the highest recidivism rate in the world at 90 percent which is followed by Germany with 74 percent, Norway with 30 percent, and Switzerland with 22 percent of recidivism rate. Another study also revealed that the rate of recidivism in the Netherlands in 2007 was 48%, Germany in 2004 was 48%, Sweden in 2005 was 43%, Denmark in 2005 was 29%, and Norway in 2005 was 20% (Fazel & Wolf, 2015).

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. 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 rareness of comprehensive studies that were conducted in Ethiopia. But, very recently the issue of recidivism has been observed by researchers like Tegeng & Abadi (2018), Goche and Hayelom (2018) and Tomas Tsegaye (2022) found in their studies that many released prisoners were re-offending and returned to correctional centers. Pertaining to in-prison treatment, reform and rehabilitation of offenders, study indicates that the correctional education programme offered in the correctional center is a reduction tool for recidivism (Hall, 2015).

According to FDRE Proclamation of Federal Prisons Commission Establishment Article (5 & 6), the objectives of the prison system is to provide prisoners with reformatory and rehabilitative

service in order to enable them, and make attitudinal and behavioral changes as to become law abiding, peaceful and productive citizens. It is ensured through providing criminals with academic education, vocational training, social work and counseling services (PFPCCE, 2003). Additionally, FDRE regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners (2007) article 5(3c) declare that recidivist prisoners shall have separate accommodations from other prisoners. These all are to facilitate their post-release rehabilitation and respect for the law. However, nowadays, the prison systems have failed to achieve their intended objectives of reforming, rehabilitating, correcting and deterring criminals post their release.

Andargachew (2004) publicized condemnation on the ability of correctional systems to rehabilitate the prisoners. Likewise, Fitsum (2018) confirmed that due to a range of institutional and inmate related factors, the correctional facility failed to fulfill its primary function of correction for the reason why they have established. Furthermore, studies conducted by Goche and Hayelom (2018), Eskalehu (2019), and Tomas (2022) showed that recidivism has become a serious social problem in Ethiopia. Therefore, based upon the premises discussed above, the researcher was tried to find responses for the inquiries related to the contributing factors for the development of recidivism and its patterns as well as the treatment that are provided for prisoners who are serving time at Yirgalem Correctional Center in Sidama Nation Regional State.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Crime is a serious social problem that directly reduces the quality of life of individuals and the community. The criminal justice systems have principles of incarcerating law violators for the purpose of correction and to stop them from committing further crime (Coyle et al, 2016). However, due to different influences ex-prisoners continue to commit crimes instead of reforming (Dube - Mawerewere & Chiborise, 2017). Hence, crime, criminal behavior and correction philosophies attracted the interest of several researchers in Ethiopia. Yet, the studies that have been conducted and the knowledge obtained from those studies are not adequate to understand and explain recidivism in our country's contexts.

In general, in Ethiopia, several studies are conducted on the prevalence and determinants of crime, for instance, Nega & Berhanu (2014) in their study on criminality and victimization in Oromia revealed that 200 crimes were committed per 100,000 population and 715 people per 100,000 populations are statistically offenders. Their study focused on the prevalence of crime. Daniel (2004) revealed in his study on crime incidences in Addis Ababa centrally emphasized on the nature, spatial pattern, causes, consequences and possible remedies and found out different variables causing criminal behavior. Moreover, Sisay (2016) and Sintayehu (2017) in their study indicated that peer effect, family matters, economic problems, political and administrative issues were the key contributing factors for youth crime.

Though, few studies have tried to consider the issue of recidivism in Ethiopia. For example, Abebaw (2019) revealed in his study 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. Yet, in his study, he did not discuss broadly about recidivism in general and the contributing factors in particular. Fitsum (2018) in his study on barriers associated with prisoner rehabilitation at Hawassa Correctional Facility revealed that correctional capability failed to fulfill its primary function of correction due to factors such as inadequacy of correction personnel, underfunding of programs, absence of correction personnel on administrative positions, weak inmate classification system, and correctional officers' low level of treatment orientation. Besides, to some extent, he tried to discuss the debates on the efficiency

of correctional rehabilitation in reducing recidivism. Yet, similarly he also does not address the factors that contribute to recidivism in detail.

On the other hand, a study conducted by Tegeng & Abadi (2018) in their study on exploring factors contributing to Recidivism in Dessie and Woldiya Correctional Centers revealed that economic, family and psychological problems as major factors and to some extent labeling, discrimination, inadequate rehabilitation and reintegration serve as factors for recidivism. However, he does not see both the social and institutional factors

Tomas Tsegaye (2022) in his study exploring factors Contributing to Recidivism at Hawassa Correctional Center, revealed that personal factors, the socio-economic factors and institutional factors that contribute to recidivism yet, he does not give attention for community related factors for relapsing of ex-offenders. 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 community related factors that contribute to recidivism and he didn't give attention about the treatments that are provided for recidivist prisoners.

However, the above notable studies that are conducted on the concept of recidivism do not comprehensively examine the key contributing factors for recidivism. Also, their discussions are more focused on economical and psychological aspects. For instance, the social aspects of recidivism were not deeply investigated and almost undiscovered. Furthermore, they missed to discuss treatments that are provided for recidivists. So, this study will try to look at recidivism from a holistic point of view in the sense that the societal context, the correctional institution aspect and the individual factors would be examined as predictors of criminal recidivism. Therefore, as the preceding discussion has shown that the studies so far conducted did not sufficiently address the issue of recidivism. Hence, this study explored factors associated with criminal recidivism and the treatments made for recidivists in Ethiopia. More specifically, the study aimed at towards

filling the above identified research gaps by examining the contributing factors and treatments for recidivism at Yirgalem correctional center, Sidama National Regional state.

1.3. Research Questions

- What personal factors are contributing for reoffending of ex-criminal in study area?
- What correctional institution related factors are accountable for recidivism in study area?
- How community related factors influence ex-offender to reoffend in study area?
- What are the treatments provided for criminal recidivists at the study area?

1.4. Objectives of the study

1.4.1. General objective

The overall objective of this study was to explore the factors, patterns and treatments of criminal recidivism at Yirgalem Correctional Center, Sidama National Regional State.

1.4.2. Specific objectives

- To assess individual related factors for reoffending of criminals in the study area,
- To describe correctional institution related factors for reoffending in the study area,
- To investigate community related factors for relapsing of ex-offenders in the study area,
- To examine the treatments that provided for recidivists in the study area,

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study was intended to obtain accurate information on this adverse social phenomenon (i.e. recidivism) as general and particularly to sketch an image of recidivism based on its contributory factors from our country context which might be used by policy formulators as to be utilized in preventing and reducing the scenario. This is to make it vibrant why a correctional institution failed to correct prisoners, particularly why rehabilitation and correction programmes such as education,

vocational training, and counseling ...etc., are largely, lost its effectiveness to achieve its goal. This can help criminal justice system to look other alternative or to reform the system itself and also to design appropriate policy and strategy accordingly.

Also recidivism is considered as criterion for assessing effectiveness of correctional programs (Maltz, 2001). The failure of correctional institution in reforming and rehabilitating offenders can use as parameter of its effectiveness. Thus, it is important to display the performance and effectiveness of the correctional institution. As a result, it can assist the criminal justice system to overcome the identified problems.

Finally, the study added a new knowledge to the existing literature that is used as reference by researchers, benefits policy makers, and criminal justice system agencies in addressing, reconstructing, and evaluating issues of recidivism for the benefit of wider society.

1.6. Scope of the study

This study was intended to explore the factors for recidivism, its patterns, and treatments provided for recidivists at Yirgalem Correctional Center, Sidama National Regional State. Geographically, the study was delimited at Yirgalem town, which is 45 km far to the south east from Hawassa, the capital city of Sidama Nation Regional State.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

Since the study was not be relied on longitudinal study, it does not provide the ideas that were collected over the long period of time to understand changes within the same general population over the time. Furthermore, since the number of female recidivists in the study area is very small and it was too difficult to analyze certain gender based issues statistically.

1.8. Organization of the Study

The thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one consists of background to the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance, the scope, and limitation of the study , conceptual clarification and operationalization and variables investigated to facilitate the full understanding of the paper by the readers. In chapter two, a review of literature related to the study that illuminates work which has influenced this research and which justifies the need for extending the current research is presented. Chapter three details the research methodology which was employed in this research. Chapter four presents research findings and discussions. Chapter five contains conclusions and recommendations based on the research findings that are presented in the previous chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter presents a review of related studies on factors associated with the occurrence of criminal recidivism as well as the treatments provided for recidivists. Thus, it is structured into themes drawn from study objectives. It also presents the theoretical perspectives and conceptual framework of the study.

2.1. Basic Concepts

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

2.1.1. Prison

A prison is a place where people who have been convicted of some crime are kept. Opara (1998) defined prison as a place delimited and declared as such by the law of the state and created to ensure restraint and custody of individuals accused or convicted of violating the criminal laws of the state. The word prison 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).

2.1.2. Correction Facility

These facilities assist inmates in becoming new, reformed people who will no longer harm others. These institutes work to address their psychological concerns while also educating them. Serial killers and offenders who have performed particularly significant and terrible crimes are generally housed in these facilities. These institutions attempt to correct their errors by educating them on what they did wrong. These facilities aid convicts in self-reform. In these institutions, inmates can participate in a variety of vocational and educational activities. Correctional facility tries to rectify

them, and the purpose of prison is to punish a criminal. A prison is a vast building where people who commit crimes are confined. (Emma Smith, 2023).

2.1.3. Concept of Recidivism

There is no clear cut consensus on the concept of recidivism throughout the world. Maltz (2001) citing Sechrest et al (1979) asserted that there is no consistent definition of recidivism. For instance, a program may use a follow-up time of 1 year, another of 6 months. Follow-up time may be computed starting with release from prison or with release from parole. The recidivating event may be a technical violation of the conditions of parole, or it may be a return to prison. There are so many possible variations in the method of computing recidivism.

However, when recidivism is discussed in a correctional context, its meaning seems fairly clear. The word is derived from the Latin *recidere*, to fall back. A recidivist is one who, after release from custody for having committed a crime, is not rehabilitated. Instead, he or she falls back, or relapses, into former behavior patterns and commits more crimes (Maltz, 2001). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “recidivism” or “reoffending” refers to whether a person who is the object of a criminal justice intervention (punishment) reoffends later on (UNODC, 2018). In other way, recidivism is the relapse into criminal activity and is generally measured by a former prisoner’s return to prison for a new offense (McKean & Ransford, 2004). Recidivism is a notion synonymously used as reoffending which refers to repetitive offending in the form of re-arrest and reconviction (Bello, 2017). Therefore, the concept ‘recidivism’ should be conceived as re-offending which may be defined in re-arrest, re-conviction or re-incarceration.

2.2. Theoretical Frameworks

There are several criminological theories by which we can explain crime causation such as Merton’s theory of anomie, differential association theory, labeling theory, life course theory, rational choice theory and routine activities theory just to mention some. It indicates that there are plenty sociological theories that were developed to respond a key question for why individual commit a crime (crime causation factors) that can be used to deal with why ex-offenders relapsed criminal activities. Among those theories listed above, three of them are selected based upon their

relatively better explanation of the subject matter under the study. Here, they are briefly discussed along with their respective justifications to be used in this particular study.

2.2.1. Life course theory

In this theory, the term “life course” refers to the wide range of age-graded trajectories people engage in during their lives such as work careers and family pathways (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2010).

According to Huntchison (2011), the Life Course Theory seeks to understand the multiple factors that shape individuals’ lives from birth to death by analyzing people’s lives within structural, social, cultural and historical contexts. It looks at how chronological age, relationships, common life transitions, life events, social change and human agency shape people’s lives.

Also the theory examines an individual’s life history how early events influenced future decisions and events that rooted in different trajectories, like becoming unemployed or having a child, marriage and divorce, gender, engagement in crime, that change the individual’s current conditions and future options. Trajectories and their transitions are interdependent in that development or transitions in one trajectory influence the context and future progress in other trajectories (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2010).

Accordingly, events that take place over the life course influence people’s involvement in criminal activities. Criminality is considered as a dynamic process influenced by a multitude of individual characteristics, traits, mental health and social experiences. As people travel through the life course, they are constantly bombarded by changing perceptions and experiences, and as a result their behavior will change directions. People may show a tendency to offend early in their lives, but the nature and frequency of their activities are often affected by forces beyond their control, which elevate and sustain their criminal activity (Siegel, 2010).

Miller (2009), by citing Thornberry (1997), showed that the life course theory is focused on a comprehensive outlook to the study of criminal activity because it considers the manifold of factors that affect offending across different time periods and contexts. One of the core assumptions of this theory is that changes with age and reoffending activity occur in an orderly way. Here, its effort is not only document crime over the life course but also to more readily identify the key risk and protective factors associated with the onset, persistence, and desistance from criminal activity.

According to Mortimer & Shanahan (2007) and Siegel (2010) this theory raises a basic question about the criminal careers: Why do some offenders persist in criminal careers while others desist from or alter their criminal activity? Some life course theorists also recognize that career criminals may travel more than a single road; some may specialize in some crime typology; others engage in a variety of criminal acts, some may begin their careers early in life and most offenders desist whereas others travel a more moderate path.

This is why the theory concentrates on three main issues among which the first one is the development of offending and antisocial behavior (i.e. progression of criminal involvement over time). The second is the effect of risk and protective factors on criminal activity at different ages. The risk factors such as unemployment, lack of education, and substance abuse, and protective factors like having job and being educated have impact on whether an individual would become involved in reoffending over the life course or to desist from it. The third is the effects of life events (i.e. such as marriage and steady employment) on the course of development and criminal activity throughout the life course (Miller, 2009, cited in Farrington, 2003). Consequently, life course theorists are wants to respond for a question that not only why people enter to a criminal way of life but, why once they do, they are unable to alter the trajectory of their criminal involvement. Therefore, it stretches the reason to interconnected factors such as personal factors, social factors like socialization, cognitive factors and situational factors. Shortly speaking, there is a tendency for crime changes over the life course, multiple pathways to crime, multiple classes of criminals, and crime & its causes are interactional which can affect each other (Siegel, 2010).

A life-course theory suggested that a full-time employment and marriage are significant predictors for recidivism. Moreover, employment is the more statistically significant of the two. Criminality is not a static condition, and can be influenced by trajectories of “social capital.” (Yeager, 2004) Therefore, it is clear that the theory explain at how early events influenced future decisions and individuals’ lives, and particularly discusses how events that can take place over the life course influence criminal choices, even multiple factor during lifetime can lead them to engage in recidivism. Thus, the life course theory better elucidated the factors for recidivism above all the individual related factors is one of the specific objective of this study.

2.2.2. Differential Association Theory

Differential Association Theory (Sutherland's theory) suggests that criminal behavior is learned through interaction with others, especially intimate others. It is often influenced by the areas in which one lives and learned as any other form of behaviors (Carrabine et al., 2009). On this notion, Mitchell (2009) argued that the criminal behavior, like any other behavior, is learned through interaction and communication within intimate personal groups.

Newburn (2017) also discussed that while criminal behavior is learned in association with others, not necessarily people who are themselves involved in crime and what is learned tends to reflect the balance of 'definitions' favorable or unfavorable towards breaking the law. Here, this theory postulated that it was the balance in human interactions between contact with attitudes favorable to socially acceptable conduct and attitudes favoring deviance that influences behavior itself.

The theory is based on nine basic principles (propositions). Here, some of them are discussed in conceptualized fashion. Thus, criminal behavior is learned (i.e. techniques of committing a crime, motives, drives, rationalization, and attitudes) in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.

The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable (Mitchell, 2009). It is obvious that, during in prison, inmates can learn techniques of committing crime that are very complicated as well as very simple and the specific direction of the motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes such as the celebration of criminal deeds and criminal figures.

Bernard et al (2010) confirmed that inmates are more likely to learn anti-social behaviors since they are surrounded by persons whose inclinations are favorable to the violation of criminal codes. Accordingly, criminality depends on the frequency, intensity and meaningfulness of associations rather than on the individual's mental qualities or traits (Carrabine et al., 2009). Becoming a criminal for Sutherland is, therefore, a fairly routine process involving the learning of attitudes and values that affect choices in just the same way all behaviors are learned, particularly when

someone/criminals are socialized into criminal life (Newburn, 2017). For instance, the persons socialized in disorganized neighborhoods are likely to have associations that will encourage criminal adaptations (Carrabine et al, 2009). Also Hagan (2008) proved that individuals become motivated toward criminality due to an excess of contacts or exposure effects that promote criminal behavior inside correctional center.

Therefore, this theory is used to elaborate more about how individual developed criminal recidivism through association with other criminal associate within prison as well as during reintegration into society. Hence, above all, it was used to explain the correctional institution related factors for recidivism in this study.

2.2.3. Labeling Theory

Some researchers are argued that the way society reacts to individuals and the way individuals react to society determine behavior. Society creates deviance through a system of social control agencies that label certain individuals as criminal and encouraging themselves to accept this negative identity (Lanier et al, 2015).

Esmaili (2011) showed that the deviant identity or behaviors increase the tendency to be label themselves as to act accordingly. As a consequence, the inclination of someone to commit crimes is also high which means that labeling increase number of re-arrests. Initially, people commit criminal act for a number of reasons for which they may be detained by justice system on which they are labeled as criminals, troublemakers so and so by significant others. Then, they start to accept tagged stigma to them and develop their self-image accordingly. As a result, they may identify themselves as members of an outcast group and become locked into criminal career. Those who have accepted these labels are more prone to engage in criminal behaviors. According to Lanier et al (2015), criminal careers form based on destructive social interactions and encounters. They discuss that people who are labeled with negative trait are assumed to help stigmatize the recipients of these labels and reduce their self-image. It leads to exclusion from society which in turn resulted in involvement with deviant peer groups and committing more criminal acts (Esmaili, 2011).

Bernburg et al (2006) argued that involvement with the prison system and getting label of prisoner is related with more serious criminal in later years. They were noticed that formal criminal intervention affects the individual's immediate social networks. Here, the stigma of the criminal status may increase the probability that the individual becomes involved in deviant social groups which is incitement for re-offending. Also some other researchers confirmed that criminal justice interventions intensify offending behavior. Specially, labeling seems stronger for people who are already in a disadvantaged situation having a convicted parent. This means labeling effects might be ruthless for children of convicted parents (Besemer et al, 2017). Study discovered that the formal labeling process does not have the same effect on every individual. Individuals with weaker stakes in society are more likely to engage in criminal behavior following formal intervention with the criminal justice system than an individual who has many or stronger stakes in society. Thus, stakes in conformity may play a major role in moderating the significant relationship between formal labeling and subsequent crime (Ciaravolo, 2011).

On other hand, following release from custody most offenders face with many hardships. They are negatively labeled by others or face stereotype and community exclusion due to their criminal record. Hence, experiencing stereotype has a negative impact on their ability to reintegrate back into society. Also it affects their employment, housing, and relationships with other members of community which again creates vicious circle of reoffending (Breen, 2011).

Labeling theory suggested that disadvantaged offenders often entail images of criminal career and dangerousness (Bernburg, 2009). Therefore, this theory more emphasizes on how labeling and stigmatization of ex-prisoner more intensify the tendency of recidivate and thus it would be used to elucidate community related factors for recidivism. Additionally, it was also served to display the factors that related to maltreatment of recidivists in prison due to their relapsing of criminal act.

2.3. Magnitudes of Recidivism

Criminal recidivism rates remain very high among certain groups of offenders in different countries. Even though, global statistics are not available, data from individual countries confirm existence of high rates of reoffending. Based on statistics from 2005 to 2010 different year's recidivism rate of US was at 23 % by one year and continued to rise to 45 % at three years, and 55 % at 5 years post-release (Fazel & Wolf, 2015). Also McKean & Ransford (2004) confirmed that the rate of recidivism in the US is estimated to be about two-third which means that two-third of released inmates will be re-incarcerated within three years.

Several African countries also faced failure of correctional centers (prisons system) to reform inmates upon their integration into society. For instance, Otu (2015), citing Chukwumerije, (2012) & Abriforet al (2012), discoursed that statistics from Nigerian prisons indicates that over 60% of inmates are recidivists, and this is an indication that the prison as a reformatory or rehabilitation home has failed in correcting anti-social behavior of prisoners. Also study found that prisons have become a training ground for criminals instead of rehabilitation home. Because the population that goes in and out of prisons shows that there are some problems in the system (Out, 2015).

In addition to this, a researcher illustrated that the prevalence of recidivism in Nigeria as at 2005 was 37.3% while it reached 52.4% in 2010 (Out, 2015). We can observe the magnitude of situation in Zimbabwe at year of 2010, 2013 and in 2016 following Presidential pardoning of more than 2000 inmates, more than 50% filtered back into prison barely three months post release (Dube-Mawerewere & Chiborise, 2017:36). The recidivism rate has a tendency to be varied based upon the crime typology. Depending on the finding of research conducted by Cooper, Durose, & Snyder (2014) on 'Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005', the property offenders have a recidivism rate of 82.1 % in the first five years after release. Drug offenders have a recidivism rate of 76.9 %, while public order offenders have a recidivism rate of 73.6 %. Lastly, violent offenders have a recidivism rate of 71.3 %.

Specifically, among released offender of US in 1994 from 15 states reconvicted for property crime with the highest re-conviction rates of robbers 70.2%, burglars 74.0%, larcenists 74.6%, motor vehicle thieves 78.8%, those in prison for possessing or selling stolen property 77.4% and those possessing, using or selling illegal weapons 70.2% (Farmbrough, 2018).

Therefore, property offenders have consistently shown that they are the least likely to reform their behavior upon their release. In above case, more than a third (36.8%) of all prisoners who were arrested within 5 years of release were arrested within the first 6 months after release, with more than half (56.7%) arrested by the end of the first year. Thus, these statistics indicate that release is approximately a three in four chance of being returned to prison within five years (Cooper, Durose, & Snyder, 2014).

2.4. Empirical Findings on Factors Contributing to Recidivism

Grounded on different review of relevant previous research findings, the following subsections discuss the contributing factors to criminal recidivism in related to the study objectives.

2.4.1. Individual Related Factors for Recidivism

There are some individual related factors influencing a propensity of people's committing crime as well as recidivism hence eventually returning to prison. These factors are basically divided into two categories: internal and external individual related factors (Sanei and Mir-Khalili, 2015). The internal factors are such as mental, physical, biological and genetic conditions (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015). Also Dawe (2007) revealed that individual related factors for recidivism include components such as physical & mental health of individuals. In this sort Nadeau (2007) and Butorac et al (2017) also argued that the internal factors that are considered as major issues for recidivism are issues such as mental illness and learning disabilities. Also Sanei & Mir-Khalili (2015) portrayed that among those internal related factors some belong to psychological aspects of recidivists. For instance, offender's mental illnesses which include: psychiatric disorders, psychosis and neurosis are considered as offenders psychological related problems. A related study found that the mentally ill offenders are not responsible for their criminal act as a result they may not respond to any punishment, including imprisonment, rehabilitative programs, or any other measure taken in response to their crime. As such, their tendency to reoffend may continue until their mental health problems are addressed. Thus, mental health of an offender is most important predictors of recidivism (Bello, 2017). Also James and Blaze (2006) report that more than half of in prison and jail inmates have mental health problems and it arises during the period of

incarceration because of the pain of imprisonment. Petersilia (2003) observes that by all indicators, prisoners and ex-prisoners are less healthy compared to the general population.

External individual related factors are issues that typically external to individual but mostly have the capability to influence individual behavior as to relapsed criminal activities. It includes issue such as age, marital status, education and experiences (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015). Bello (2017) also displayed as the features such as gender, age, race, and levels of education and socioeconomic situation of the offender do encourage individuals to recidivate. In rating to the age, young people more likely repeat criminal act than older people (Siegel, 2000). As Rosenfield et al (2005) cited in Bahati and Piquero (2008) and USSC (2002) age is inversely related to recidivism; older offenders are less likely to reoffend than young offenders. Also Dawe (2007) depicted that individual related factors for recidivism are including education level, employment history, substance abuse, and accommodation problems. It is also supported by other study which showed that the behavior of reoffenders can also be linked to substance abuse, lack of job skills, and lack of education (Butorac et al, 2017). Specifically, the lack of educational and employment skills are often result in unemployment which in turn exacerbate the inclination of reoffending (Dawe, 2007). In relation to this, features such as gender, marriage, celibacy, and polygamy are some significant external individual related factors for recidivism (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015). Attachment to spouse was found to be associated with a decrease in the likelihood of reoffending; particularly having marriage decreases the possibility of subsequent offence than unmarried offenders (Wright & Wright, 1992).

Different findings of several studies found that among instrumental factors for recidivism one is insufficient individual's monthly income. For instance, Tegegn & Abadi (2018) elucidated that the majority of offenders relapse criminal act due to low income to satisfy their basic needs. Also related study showed that the average minimum wage increase of \$0.50 reduces the probability that men and women return to prison within 1 year by 2.8%. This implies that on average the effect of higher wages, drawing at least some released prisoners into the legal labor market, dominates any reduced employment in this population due to the minimum wage (Agan, et al, 2018).

Antwi (2015) and Blumstein et al (1986) revealed that there is a relationship between criminal records and repeated offending because an offender's past criminal record is often used to predict the probability of recidivating. A related study showed that the higher the criminal record, the

greater possibility of reoffending (Gendreau & Goggin, 1996) because the criminal record poses a major challenge to ex-offenders because it prevents them from being trustworthy, getting employment and having a good affiliation with others. Thus, prior criminal backgrounds can lead to committing new crimes in the future.

2.4.2. Correctional Institution Related Factors for Recidivism

There are certain institutional (correctional system) related factors that are contributory for reconviction of criminals. For instance, someone's criminal history, particularly conviction history of under the age 18 is risk factor for recidivism (Dadashazar, 2017). Also the institutional push factors stem from the fact that penal policies mainly focus on custody, deterrence and retribution rather than rehabilitation. In addition to this, non-existence of parole and ineffective aftercare are the major core problems. Consequently, prison-based interventions are ineffective in transforming the inmates into law-abiding citizens because governments are not obliged to finance rehabilitation programmes (Antwi, 2015).

On the other hand, the very purpose of correctional institution is to alter the behavior of prisoners; however, due to the conditions prevailing in the prison it becomes contrary to its aim. Because correctional center as a social environment that people may intentionally or unintentionally, guilty or innocent, enter it has very negative implications that its effects on the person which cannot be denied. Also prison by creating a culture of common crime can underpin the foundation of prison gangs and criminal organizations post-release. This means when people are housed in groups, they can be encouraged to do more professional crimes through learning from one another (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015). Furthermore, Zamble & Quinsey (1997) and Gendreau et al (1996) displayed that criminal friends have significant influence on recidivism.

Poor living environments such as correctional centers and the factors governing it can be one of the major factors affecting the prisoner to reoffend (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015). Additionally, correctional center is identified as a negative environment in which offenders continue their destructive habits and lifestyles (Kenemore & Roldon, 2005). Findings of related study have

shown that harsher prison treatment does not reduce former inmates' criminal behavior rather intensifying subsequent criminal possibility (Drago, 2008).

Pertaining to the amount of sentences, less serious crimes often result in shorter sentences. Even if correctional centers offer treatment and support for offenders while in detention, less time in center can limit access to these services which due to the case prisoners can reoffend (Butorac et al, 2017). Likewise, there are certain pull factors that more or less attract ex-offenders to come back to correctional center. These includes factors such as free meals, free accommodation, the absence of utility bills such as water and light, and recreational activities which keep inmates entertained in-prison provide a sense of survival to the inmates compared to their life out of prison (Antwi, 2015).

2.4.3. Social/Community Related Factors

According to Sanei & Mir-Khalili (2015) displayed that among community related factors one is family problem because violent behavior of the family members with each other and with the child causes the wrong belief in the child's mind. Also the friends of the same age are the most vital factor for reoffending. Here, one of the main issues in the case of recidivism or return to prison can be noted as the lack of social and family acceptance among prisoners who has repeatedly committing a crime. Also study showed that there are certain social or community push factors of ex-offenders that influence as to return to prisons.

These are: social rejection which indicate that social system outside the prison is coercive and non-supportive, coercive interpersonal relationships among their family, lack of needed support from the larger society due to the stigma of prison record, negative perceptions of the public towards prisoners which reinforce the stigmatized identities of ex-offenders (Antwi, 2015). The offender may withdraw his or her stakes in conformity, reject the institutions that they feel rejected them, and seek out deviant peers who may be seemingly less judgmental and willing to provide a system of social support (Ascani, 2012). Also economic deprivation, poverty, unemployment, income, effect of the housing, type of residence, religion and social rejection are considered as factors associated with criminal recidivism (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015).

A study found that criminality emanates from the rural urban migration trends that result in unemployment. Exposure to such economic disadvantage then becomes an important lever for criminal behavior and reoffending (Dube-Mawerewere and Chiborise, 2017). Related study found that area of origin can be a risk factor to recidivism which relies on neighborhood circumstances and residential mobility (Kling et al, 2005). Additionally, Visser *et al* (2003) specified that obtaining and maintaining housing is one key challenge facing ex-prisoner upon discharge.

Thus, following releasing from prison if family, friends, formal and informal institutions refuse to accept them, the risk of recidivism and returning to prison will become higher. Because the exclusion of the individuals from family, group and society influence them as to escape from friends and neighbors, loses his job and family (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015). Also due to the above fact, most ex-offenders lack legitimate support from micro and macro sources, lack of civic engagement in conventional activities and weak ties to conventional society which can hinder prisoners to build new identity that in turn drives individuals to relapse and more aggravate the tendency to recidivate (Antwi, 2015).

Additionally, Mendes et al (2009) revealed that familial dispositions to criminal inclinations are related to genetic, biological and socio-environmental exposure. Also Christian (2009) portrayed that children of incarcerated family are sixth times more likely to be incarcerated as compared to children whose family had never been imprisoned.

However, research showed that ex-prisoners' employment when released from prison helps to extend their time of crime-free in the community. But, obtaining employment when released from prison did not significantly decrease the likelihood of re-incarceration over time (Tripodi et al., 2009).

2.5. Patterns of Recidivism

Patterns of recidivism is endeavored to discuss from the dimension of recidivists' age, sex, educational level, race, substance/alcohol abuse and type of crime committed to more conceptualized issue under the study.

Pertaining to age, Meneses (2003) discussed by citing Fendrich & Archer (1998) that recidivism increases in the early teenage years and decreases after about age sixteen. Older offenders were

substantially less likely than younger offenders to recidivate following release. The criminal recidivism rate declined as age increased. Age exerted a strong influence on recidivism across all sentence length categories. Older offenders were less likely to recidivate after release than younger offenders who had served similar sentences, regardless of the length of sentence imposed (United States Sentencing Commission, 2002). Likewise, younger offenders with sentences of up to six months generally had lower reconviction rates than younger offenders with longer sentences. In addition to this, based on types of crime offenders with under age 30 at the time of release, the reconviction rates were 79.3% firearms, 62.5% drug trafficking, and 53.6 % fraud and offenders with age 60 & above at the time of release, the recidivism rates of firearms crime 30.2%, drug trafficking 17.5% and fraud 12.5% (USSC, 2002). Also in relation to other criminal behavior, the rate of sexual offending decreased with age. Also there is a significant difference between sexual offenders such as extra-familial child molesters, incest offenders and others based on age. For instance, rapists were younger than other sexual offenders and their recidivism risk steadily decreased with age (Hanson, 2002).

Benda (2005) displayed that based on gender difference men are more likely to return to prison due to some factor such as criminal peer associations, carrying weapons, alcohol abuse, and aggressive feelings. Deschenes et al (2007) discussed that among incarcerated women in California, 38% were reconvicted, and 30% were returned to prison in the three years following release from prison. Beth et al (2010) added that women who are drug dependent have less education, or have more extensive criminal histories are more likely to fail on parole and more quickly to recidivate than others. Also research showed that males and indigenous prisoners were more likely to return to prison than females and non-indigenous prisoners respectively, and were also more likely to return to prison more quickly (Holland et al, 2007).

According to United States Sentencing Commission (2002), education level influenced recidivism across almost all categories. For example, among offenders under age 30 at the time of release, college graduates had a substantially lower relapsing rate (27.0%) than offenders who did not complete high school (74.4%). Similarly, among offenders age 60 or older at the time of release, college graduates had a somewhat lower reconviction rate (11.6%) than offenders who did not complete high school (17.2%).

Different study illustrated that there is difference of recidivism rate based on racial differences. Meneses (2003) explained that White Americans were more likely to fail sooner than African Americans and Hispanics in recidivism. Other study showed that racial variation in the effect of education, drug use, and neighborhood concentrated disadvantage on recidivism (Beth et al, 2010). The type offense that offenders had committed also had an effect on the criminal recidivism. For instance, firearms offenders (79.3 %) had a substantially higher reconviction rate than drug trafficking offenders (62.5%), which in turn had a higher relapse rate than fraud offenders 53.6% (USSC, 2002). In addition to this, (Stuart & Brice-Baker, 2004) displayed that offenders who are younger were imprisoned for a property-related offense, have a substance abuse history, or have a lengthy criminal history are more likely to recidivate. Also study depicted that prisoners with a burglary or other property offence were more likely to return to prison than prisoners with sexual offences or drug offences (Holland, 2007)

2.6. Correction and Treatment for Offenders

2.6.1. Correction Services Provided for Prisoners

Pertaining to prisoner's correction, different educational and training services are provided for purpose of reforming behavior of criminal to make productive citizen on his/her reintegration into society simultaneously with aim of reducing criminal recidivism.

International standards state that prisoners should be provided with education for young illiterate prisoners. This is to integrate those programmes with the country's educational system to ensure that prisoners can continue their education after their release without too much difficulty. Also the provision of education and skills training is to facilitate the reintegration of prisoners into society after their release. It intended to undertake meaningful employment which will facilitate their reintegration into the country's labor market and permit them to contribute to their own financial support and that of their families (UNODC, 2018).

The research portrayed that in Australia education and training for adult prisoners and offenders can make a significant difference to successful post-offending employment outcomes and thus reduce the likelihood of re-offending. Increasing participation rates in vocational education and

training (VET) is likely reducing re-offending. Regardless of whether prisoners have a pessimistic or optimistic attitude to life, those prisoners undertaking vocational education and training courses expect better labor market futures than those undertaking non-vocational education courses or prison work alone. Here employment assistance programs for adult prisoners and offenders can significantly lower the rate of re-offending (Dawe, 2007). But study found that a correctional education occurs in a coercive environment unlike the mainstream education, as a result of this difference, correctional students may have a better chance of outclassing (DelliCarpini, 2008).

In spite of the fact UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1955) article 65 & 66 assert that the purpose of training and treatment of convicted persons shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life upon release and to fit them to do so. The treatment will encourage prisoner's self-respect and develop their sense of responsibility. Article 71 further claims that sufficient work should be provided to keep the prisoners actively employed for a normal working day. The work provided should increase the prisoners' ability to earn an honest living after release.

When we come back to Ethiopia, the FDRE Federal Prisons Commission Establishment Proclamation article 6(4) declared that prison system has a responsibility to reform the prisoners; it admits upon judicial sentences and also has a responsibility to provide prisoners with academic education, vocational training, and social work and counseling services to facilitate their post-release rehabilitation and respect for the law (PFPCE, 2003).

In addition to this, FDRE Regulations on the Treatment of Federal Prisoners (2007) article 23-26 stipulates that, in addition to education and training, every correctional center shall provide prisoners with the necessary and conducive physical education and exercises. Likewise, professional counseling service shall be provided to prisoners during their stay in prison to bring about behavioral change so that they can become law abiding and productive citizens after their release. Also every prisoner shall exercise his religion freely during his stay in prison and have the right to have access to and read spiritual books, magazines and articles as well as to observe religious holidays.

2.6.2. Treatments for Prisoners

Regarding prisoner's treatment, there are some specific issues that need better attention for the purpose of their well rehabilitation and correction. FDRE Regulations on the Treatment of Federal Prisoners article (5-11) declare that separate premises shall be allocated for male and female prisoners; particularly, prisoners on death roll, juvenile prisoners under the age of 18, prisoners with records of serious crimes, recidivists and indecent prisoners, and prisoners with communicable disease and mental cases shall have separate accommodations from other prisoners and they shall be categorized on the basis of their similarities and differences to simplify their social rehabilitation.

The same article of regulation also states that premises in which prisoners live/work shall have adequate light and better for fresh air. In addition to this, every prisoner shall be provided with the necessary bed and bedding, shall wear clothes provided by the prison except additional cloth recommended by a medical officer due to health conditions, regularly provided enough water & necessary materials for hygiene with toilet facilities, provided with balanced and sufficient diet with sufficient and clean drinking water (RTFP, 2007).

However, in Ethiopia there is a situation when all prison standards and regulation are missed and elapsed which provoke some prisoners to be recidivate. Similarly study shows that Ethiopian prisons need to be improvement due to the problem of dormitories over-crowdedness, lack of sanitation, insufficient amount and quality of food service and denying recreational services. And, prison facilities have not expanding or increasing as such in-line with increment of crime in the country (Andargatchew, 2004).

2.7. Studies Related Contributing factors for 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. 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). However, to understand the issue of recidivism in the country level it is important to conduct further study all corner of the country. So, that is why this study will be conducted to deal with this issue in Yirgalem correctional center, Sidama National Regional State.

2.8. National and International Instruments

There are some international and national instruments which are congruent with the issue under the study. They are explained as follows.

I. International instruments

Universal declaration of human rights (1948): it is an international instrument that proclaims issues pertaining to human rights which is related to subject under the study. For instance, according to article (5 & 9) no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest & detention. Also article (25) of the same document declares that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security.

UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1955): is one of the international instruments which is related to issue under discussion which contains rules, covers the general management of institutions, rules applicable to general and only special categories of prisoner, and expected treatment and service of prisoners.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976): it is an instrument that is already ratified by Ethiopia which declares in its article 10 that all persons held in custody and convicted prisoners (persons deprived of their liberty) shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person. It also claimed the separation of prisoners' accommodations according to their similarity and difference of their category. The prison system shall comprise treatment of prisoners given its essential aim shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation.

II. National instruments

FDRE Constitution (1995): an article 21 of this document declares about the rights of persons to equal protection of the law.

FDRE Criminal Code (2005): held in custody and convicted prisoners. It affirms that all persons held in custody and persons imprisoned upon conviction and sentencing have the right to treatments respecting their human dignity and shall have the opportunity to communicate with specified visitors. Additionally, article 25 announced that all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination

Criminal code of FDRE article 88 claimed that the court shall determine the punishments and measures by defining crimes and their punishments. The punishment shall be determined according to degree of individual guilt, taking into account dangerous disposition of the criminal, antecedents, motive and purpose, his personal circumstances, as well as the gravity of the crime and the circumstances of its commission (Criminal Code of EFDRE, 2005). Consequently, the code identified certain aggravation and mitigation circumstances of punishments on criminals, particularly let we see for recidivists. The article 67 & 188(2) of the same code claimed that the Court shall aggravate the penalty on ground of recidivism and where the criminal is a persistent recidivist the Court shall aggravate the sentence by going beyond double the penalty prescribed for the fresh crime.

Federal Prison Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 365/2003: it intended to admit prisoners and provide them with reformatory and rehabilitative service in order to enable them make attitudinal and behavioral changes as to become law abiding, peaceful and productive citizens.

Regulations on the Treatment of Federal Prisoners (Regulations No.1381/2007): to assure as the treatment of prisoners shall be non-discriminatory based on any grounds, respect to their human dignity unless restricted by the penalties imposed on them and to ensuring that the executions of penalties are educative and rehabilitative. Particularly, on article 5 (3c) states as prisoners with records of serious crimes and recidivists shall have separate accommodations from other prisoners.

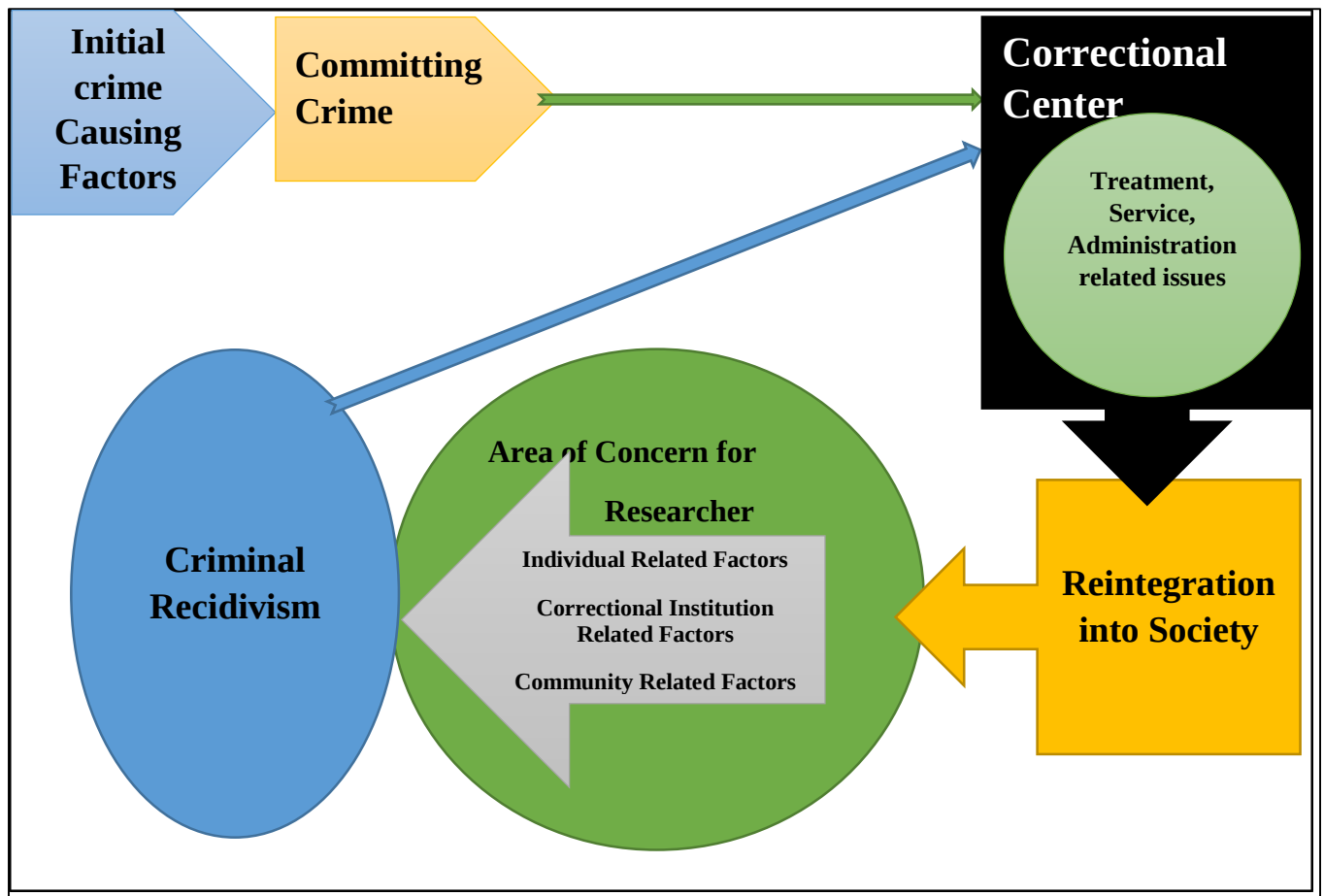
2.9. Conceptual Framework

From the above literature, it is clear that recidivism is a product of multiple factors and also we have erudite as correctional institutions have failed in performing their primary role which is to rehabilitate and reform criminals. Instead majority of ex-criminals relapse back into crime and find themselves in correctional center even within a very short period of time.

Here the researcher attempted to categorize contributory factors of recidivism into broader classification which named as individual factors, correctional institution related factors and community related factors. Within this grouping, a dimension of treatment that provided for recidivists within correctional institution was another specific scenario that targeted by this study.

Thus, it was aimed to portrayed inclusively correctional institution relate factors because they were un-separable facts. Based on this all efforts, the researcher outlined the patterns of recidivism. Therefore, in this study a conceptual framework has adopted to explain how offenders relapse into crime and treatments for recidivists. It was used as main structure or skeleton for this study to enhance easily understanding of the concepts under the study.

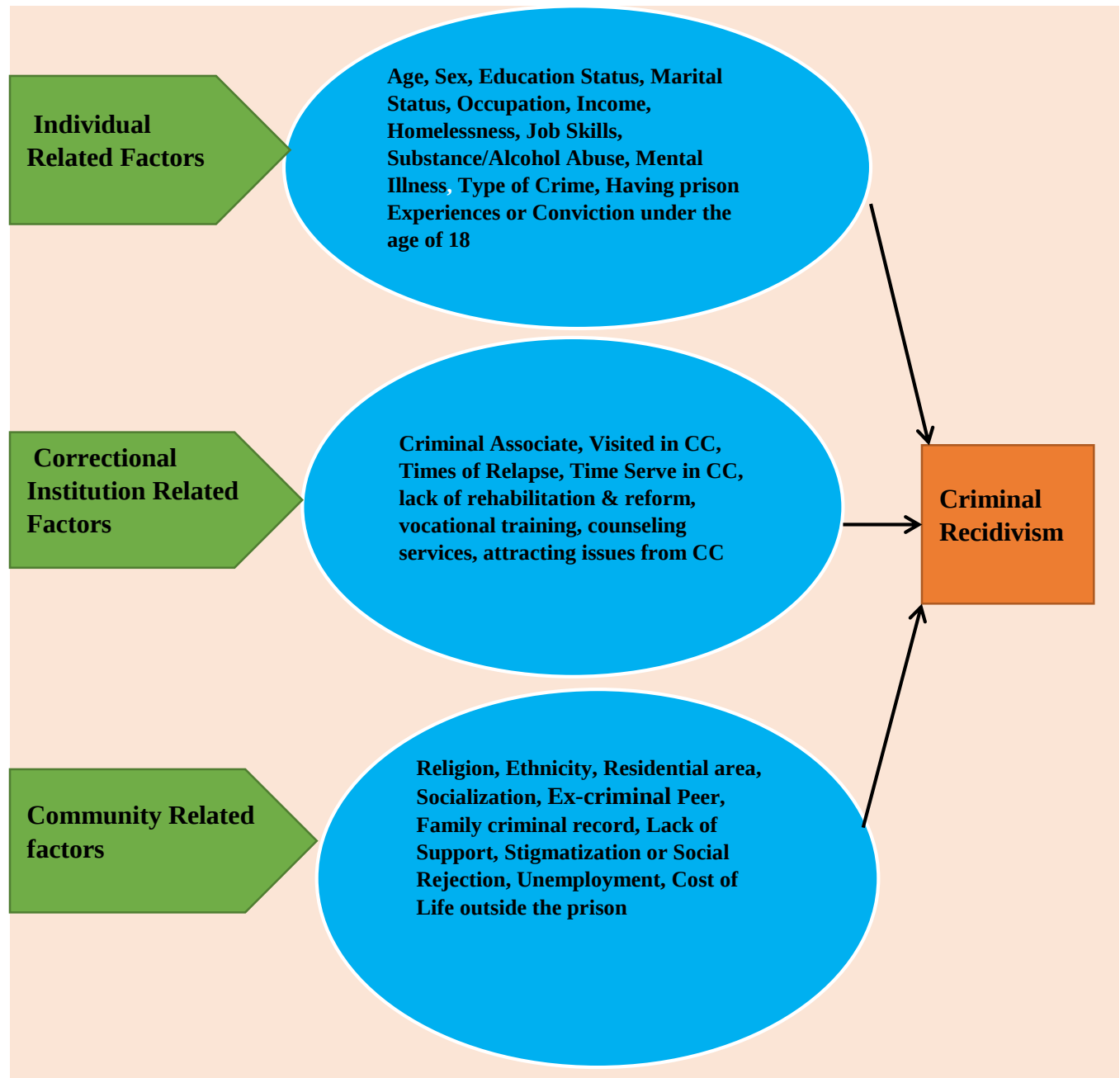
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



Source: Adapted from Butorac et al, 2017, Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015, Dawe, 2007, Bello, 2017 and Antwi, 2015

Figure 2.2: Detailed elaboration of conceptual framework.

This figure depicts the conceptual framework that illustrated above or the factors associated with criminal recidivism in detail.



Source: Adapted from Butorac et al, 2017, Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015, Dawe, 2007, Bello, 2017 and Antwi, 2015.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The study was conducted with the objective of exploring the factors and treatment of criminal recidivism by specifically focusing on individual, correctional institution and community related factors for recidivism as well as treatment that provided for recidivists at study area. To this effect, the study employed the following research methods to collect and analyze the data needed to address the various issues central to the study.

3.1. Description of the study area

Yirgalem town is located 60401 North Latitude and 380231 East longitudes, in the eastern part of Sidama national regional state. The town is located 370 km south of Addis Ababa, 45 km from Hawassa. It is found 50 km north of Dilla town. Yirgalem town found in semi-tropical climate zone and it is moderately hot. The elevation of the city ranges from 1600km to 1800km above the sea level. Physiographic seating of the town is characterized by steep slopes of river valleys and fluvial deposits. The town is also characterized by diverse religious and ethnic groups (Yirgalem Town administration, 2003). Historically, Yirgalem was established by Ras Desta Damtew in 1924 who was the governor of Sidama.

According to data obtained from Yirgalem town municipality (2009), the total population of Yirgalem town is about 61,820. The ratio of population (male to female) is balanced i.e. 31,510 are male and 30,310 are female. Yirgalem correctional center is also located in Yirgalem town and it is also one of the correctional institutions in Sidama National Regional state correctional institutions

3.2. Site selection

The study area for this research was in Yirgalem town, Sidama National Regional State, particularly at Yirgalem correctional center. Being I am working in the law Enforcement profession in the town, the researcher has closed experience on the concept of criminal recidivism. Familiarity with the profession, the social and physical environment of town was considered by the researcher as an advantage to gather primary data in relative ease in the correctional center. This is one factor that inspired the researcher to select the center as a study area.

3.3. Study Approach and Design

The study relied on both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Mixed research approach often provides a more complete picture of a particular phenomenon than either approach could do alone (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010).

Thus, since the nature of the study invites mixed approach and also to supplement data that would be collected using questionnaires of survey by data that would be collected qualitatively through interviews and focus group discussions. This is for the purpose of overcoming the limitation of one by another.

A cross-sectional study design lets for the study of a social phenomenon by taking a cross-section of it at one time and analyzing that cross-section carefully (Babbie, 2008). Accordingly, because of the apparent nature of the objective of this study aimed at and the study carried out at a time and only one time in research this study employed a cross sectional study design. It helps to gather data carefully, to minimize financial expenditure, to save time, to make respondents not bored with repeated interviews.

3.4. Study Population and Sampling Technique

The study population was the recidivist prisoners at Yirgalem Correctional Center, Sidama National Regional State for which the finding of this study would be generalized by surveying all criminal recidivists in the center.

Accordingly, the target population was all the recidivist prisoners in correctional center. Hence, the total number of recidivist prisoners in study area is 114 out of which 109 are men and 5 are women (Yirgalem Correctional Center Semi -Annual Report, 2023).

Under census survey, the data are collected from each and every unit of the population (Kulshreshtha, 2013 & Mathers et al, 2009). Thereof, a census survey or complete enumeration of the target population was employed and the data were collected from all units of the population or entire recidivists in the study area. Since it was manageable, the researcher decided to survey all the target population. Thus, no need of sampling and all recidivists in the study area that counted about 114 were surveyed

It is clear that the purpose of sampling is to assist the researcher to work with reasonable size of elements, meanwhile it is difficult to do so with the entire population and to ensure that there is no bias or subjectivity in the selection process, to save time spent on each and to reduce costs (Akinade & Owolabi, 2009). But, in this study, since the number of population was easy to manage, it was not as such costly and time consuming. Also it could adequately represent the population of the study area which is also an advantage for the quality of generalizability of the findings to study population since entire target population was surveyed. Additionally, it could eliminate sampling bias/errors.

On other hand, a purposive sampling was employed to select in-depth interview informants from recidivists and key informants from correction professionals those who were working on rehabilitation & reformation of prisoners (i.e. social worker, psychologist, legal officer and academic teacher), and prison officials .The sample size was determined based on data saturation point. Hence, 5 in-depth interview informants among which 4 were male and 1 was female and 4

key informants' interviews were selected. Additionally, focus group discussions were employed by organizing participants into three groups based on their similarities of status. The groups were arranged purposively by the researcher, in view of that, the first group was organized from male recidivists; the second group from female recidivists and the third group was held among correction professionals those are serving prisoners for behavioral reform.

Based on the proceeding direction, 3 focus group discussions which contained 5-8 members each were held. Specifically, female recidivist group contained 5 members, male recidivists group 8 participants and key informant group contained 7 members.

3.5. Methods of Data Collection

3.5.1. Primary Data Collection Methods

The primary data were collected through both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. Accordingly, the researcher could be utilized both quantitative (i.e. survey) and qualitative (i.e. interview and focus group discussion) data collection methods. Each of them are described as below:

- A. Survey:** Mathers et al. (2009) discussed that survey is employed to collect statistical data that are efficient and standardized from a large number of respondents. Thus, the survey was applied in this study by using questionnaire to quantitatively know significant factors for recidivism, its patterns and treatments for recidivists at the study area. Therefore, the entire target population at the study area were surveyed.
- B. Interview:** Two types of interview were employed. The first one was in-depth interview that was held with a recidivists convicted for several times and they were carefully chosen based on crime types they have been committed. In-depth interview was used to discover the informants' thoughts and behavior (Boyce & Neale, 2006) regarding factors that are associated with criminal recidivism, patterns and treatments provided for recidivists at the study area. Secondly, key informant interview was held with 1 prison official and 3 correction professionals (i.e. psychologist, legal officer and academic teacher) to explore expertise information relating to the concept under consideration. Generally, Wilson (2003) displayed

that interviews help to involve personal and direct contact between interviewers and interviewees, as well as to eliminate non-response rates.

- C. **Focus Group Discussion:** Stewart et al. (2007) revealed that ideally each group of focus discussion is 6 to 12 participants, but Krueger (2002) argued that 5 to 10 people per group are fit for group discussion. Because, if a group is too small, one person in the group may dominate it and if it is too big, then it may be difficult to control (Escalada & Heong, 2011). Accordingly, the researcher applied focus group discussion to understand common feeling, experience and reflection of the respondents.

Therefore, in this study Focus Group Discussions were contained three groups of 5 to 8 members in each group. The groups were formed like one from male recidivists; the second group from female recidivists and the third group from correction professionals. The researcher facilitated the discussion guided by FGD guide.

3.5.2. Secondary Data Collection Methods

In this study, secondary data was compiled from previously collected data by correctional institution for their primary purpose at different time in the past. They were unpublished sources such as annual/semi-annual prison reports, criminal records of correctional institution, follow up tools, correctional institution's guideline and prisoners' treatment manual.

3.5.3. Instruments for Data Collection

Instruments such as questionnaire, Interview guide, FGD guide and checklists were used to collect the data. Each instrument is elaborated as below:

- a) **Questionnaire:** a set of questions were prepared to ask and collect statistically useful data from respondents on issues related to the factors for recidivism, its patterns and treatments at study area. In this study, close-ended and open-ended questionnaire were employed. Then, it was provided for the correctional center members of the study populations specifically the entire criminal recidivists serving their sentence in Yirgalem Correctional Center.

- b) Interview Guide:** in this case a set of semi-structured interview questions were prepared for both in-depth and key informant interview. Here, the researcher personally met the informants and asked the questions regarding factors for recidivism, patterns and treatments in the study area.
- c) Focus Group Discussion Guide:** it is a data collection instrument which was used to guide the focus group discussions to keep discussions on intended ways. Here, the discussion guide will be contained a sort of questions that were posed to participants during the group's discussion. Therefore, it was directed to the groups that is formed from male recidivists, female recidivists and correction professionals to obtain in detail information about factors for recidivism, patterns, and treatments from multi perspectives.

3.6. Source of Data

In this study, both the primary and secondary sources of data were used. In order to undertake this study successfully the contribution of both sources were great. Therefore, the primary data was obtained from the respondents through the use of questionnaire, interview and focus group discussions (FGD). Then the secondary data was obtained from correctional institution's unpublished sources such as semi/annual prison reports, criminal records, follow-up tools, correctional institution's guideline and prisoners' treatment manual.

3.7. Method of data analysis

The researcher organized the data on the basis of different prior assumptions or theories of recidivism that were utilized in the study.

The analysis was also guided by the assumption that individual; correctional institution and community related issues were the main factors for criminal recidivism and treatments for recidivists were also considered. Babbie (2008) show that, quantitative analysis refers the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomenon which those observations reflect. Thus, the researcher has analyzed the data that were gathered numerically through quantitative methods.

The analyzing and interpretation of finding based on sequential explanatory which employed (QUAN → qual) design that qualitative methods are embedded within a quantitative design.

Also data that were gathered qualitatively were analyzed qualitatively through non-numerical examination and interpretation of data for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships. Hence, data that were collected through open-ended questions of survey were analyzed by transcribing the information and determining the common themes. Likewise, thematic analysis was employed to analyze the data that were collected from personal interviews and focus group discussion. Hence, the data that were collected through open-ended question of survey, personal interview and focus group discussion were analyzed in words and textual forms.

3.8. Ethical principles

In social research most ethical issues such as protecting participants from harm, securing informed consent, and right to privacy will be considered (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). In line with the above points, for informed consent a great attention was given. Before the data collection starts, the participants were informed about the purpose and objectives of the study.

Every individual who was voluntarily participated in the study was requested to give oral consent after the explanation of research objectives and goals, and they also did accordingly. They were informed as they have free choice in deciding whether to provide the required information or not. Similarly, the issue of confidentiality was given a serious attention.

The participants of the research were remained anonymous throughout the study. The researcher protected them from any mental and physical harms and was respected their personality in all possible way.

3.9. Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Terms

3.9.1. Conceptual Definitions of Terms

Crime: is an act that is prohibited and made punishable by law or the omission of a duty that makes the offender liable to punishment by law.

Criminal: is a person who proved by court as liable for his/her action of committing prohibited act by law or the omission of duty that makes liable to punishment by law.

Prison: is correctional institution where prisoners who are sentenced by court serve their sentences, are reformed and rehabilitated.

Prisoner: is a convicted criminal who is serving a sentence passed by a court authorized by law.

Community: is a social group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and often have a common cultural and historical heritage.

Correction Professionals: expertise those who are working on rehabilitation & reformation of prisoners such as social worker, psychologist, legal officer and academic teacher in correction center.

Recidivism: is the return of an offender to criminal behavior following conviction, diversion, or punishment.

Recidivist: a person who has been convicted more than one time

Post-release: it is time afterward of released from prison.

Treatment: is providing recidivist prisoner with education & rehabilitation, separate accommodations, good conditions of premises, bedding, sanitation, food, medical services, and the like.

3.9.2. Operationalization and Variables Investigated

Table 1: Operationalization of the variables investigated and level of measurement

Concept	Variable	Indicators	Level of Analysis
Individual Related Factors for Recidivism	Age	The age of the respondent (recidivist) in complete year (e.g. what is your age?)	Scale
	Sex	The sex category of the respondent (recidivist) being male or female (e.g. what is your sex?)	Nominal
	Educational Status	Attained educational level in completed grade (e.g. what is your educational level?)	Scale
	Marital Status	The recidivist's spousal relationship (e.g. what is your marital status?)	Nominal
	Occupation	The employment status and the type of job recidivists involved in (e.g. did you employed before first incarceration? or in what type of job did you employed?)	Nominal
	Level of Income	A total monthly income of the recidivist from all sources before he/she committed crime again and imprisoned for the second time (e.g. what is your monthly income in Ethiopian birr before you became imprisoned for the second time?)	Scale
	Substance/ Alcohol Abuse	The recidivist's experience of substance/alcohol before he/she relapsed (e.g. have you ever used any types of substance after you released from first imprisonment? Or	Nominal

		have you ever experienced any addiction prior to second custody?)	
	Mental illness	The recidivist's experience of mental health illness before he/she reconvicted (e.g. have you ever experienced mental illness before first incarceration?)	Nominal
	Type of Crime Committed	The category/typology of crime that the recidivist involved in (e.g. what type of crimes did you committed?)	Nominal
Correctional Institution Related Factors for Recidivism	Having under the age of 18 conviction	The exposure effect that recidivist developed due to more contact with correctional institution (e.g. were you ever arrested under the age of 18?)	Nominal
	Time Spent in Correctional Center	Length of time spent in correctional center (e.g. how many months/years have you spent in prison during your first sentence?)	Scale
	Criminal Associate	Being associate with other criminal/s within correctional center (e.g. did you have any friend amid prisoners of your first time incarceration?)	Nominal
	Numbers of Times Relapsed (Rate of Reoffending)	The number of times/how frequent the recidivist involved in criminal activities after being punished for prior criminal act (e.g. how many times did you repeat criminal acts?)	Ordinal
Community Related Factors for Recidivism	Peer Influence	The recidivist's experience of pressure from a friend that was ex-prisoners after he/she was released from prison. (E.g. did you have any criminal peer after your first release?)	Nominal
	Unemployment	The manner in which the recidivists loose the opportunity for a job after their release (e.g. did you get any chance for employment after your first discharge?)	Nominal
	Housing problem	The recidivist's experience of homelessness or lack an accommodation that exposed him/her to repeat criminal act	Nominal

		(e.g. did you get the access of housing after your first discharge?)	
	Place of Residence	Recidivist's residential area expressed in category as rural or urban (e.g. where is your residential area before you committed crime for the second time and became imprisoned?)	Nominal
	Criminal record/history of Family/parental	The recidivist's parental/ family criminal record (e.g. Did your parents have criminal record?)	Nominal
	Lack of Support	The extent of which family or friend or community members assist the ex-prisoner to reintegrate into society (e.g. did you received any supports from family /friend/ community after your first release? Or did you receive any supports from other social institutions such as religious institution?)	Nominal
	Stigmatization or Social Rejection	The recidivist's experience of community acceptance during reintegration [e.g. the community member accepted you with good consent (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree)]	Ordinal
	Attracting (pulling) issues from CC	Recidivists' lack of capacity to overcome the cost of life & to survive outside the correctional center at their release (e.g. have you ever experienced any pulling factors in the prison?)	Nominal
Issues Related to Treatments provided for Recidivists	Maltreatment	The ill-treatment of recidivists while in prison by any else of prison staff (e.g. did you encountered any kinds of abuse by prison officer?)	Nominal
	Accommodation	The living arrangements/classification of the prisoners in prison based on their difference in types of sentence, gender, personality of prisoners, and times of conviction (e.g. did you accommodated separately from other prisoners during your first incarceration?)	Nominal

	Rehabilitation Programs	Prisoners' rehabilitation and reforming platforms that manifested through academic education, vocational training and counseling services (e.g. did you receive any kinds of training/counseling services during your first stay in prison?)	Nominal
	Inmates' lack of Interest to Reform	The Prisoners' interest in the correction programs [e.g. you did not have any willingness to receive correction programs on your first imprisonment (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree)]	Ordinal
	Regulation of CC	The recidivist's feeling for the manner of treatments in the correctional center (e.g. How the correctional center was treated you on your first imprisonment?)	Ordinal

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This part of the study presents data gathered from the study area which is organized according to study objectives. Also, this chapter contains three major sections among which the first part, deals with the socio - economic demographic characteristics of respondents. Secondly, the factors for recidivism which includes several subsections such as individual related factors for reoffending, correctional institution related factors for reconviction of ex-criminals and community related factors for recidivism. Lastly, the treatments that are provided for recidivists in the study area are discussed.

Also attempts have been made to relate the data to the theoretical frameworks and previously done empirical researches, those were utilized as literature in this study, to see whether the findings in this study area are in-line with those preexisting ones.

It is noticeable that the total numbers of respondents involved in this study were 114 recidivists and they all were joined in the quantitative portion of the study. On qualitative part 5 recidivists were involved in in-depth interview, 4 rehabilitation officers and 1 officials of correctional center were engaged in key informant's interview, and three focus group discussions with 5-8 participants were held. Based on the data collected from the above respondents and participants the following analyses were performed.

The analysis of comparison and test for significance of association within individual, correctional institution and community related factors for recidivism, and treatments of recidivists were made using descriptive statistics and chi-square tests for independence. In χ^2 test, Pearson chi-Square value was used where the requirements for the χ^2 test could be met and Fisher's exact test was used where the requirements for the χ^2 test could not be met.

The analyzing and interpretation of finding based on sequential explanatory which employed (QUAN → qual) design that qualitative methods are embedded within a quantitative design.

4.1. Socioeconomic Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Socio-economic demographic characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, educational level, residential area, occupational status, marital status and monthly income of respondents were discussed by using a table of frequency. In this section they are only described to give general overview about socioeconomic demographic characteristics of respondents and they are well discussed in relation to recidivism in the subsequent sections of the same chapter.

Table 4.1: Socioeconomic demographic characteristics of respondents

Variable	Categories	F	%	Variable	Categories	F	%
Sex	Male	109	95.6	Occupational status	Unemployed	47	41.2
	Female	5	4.4		Student	15	13.2
	Total	114	100.0		Farmer	11	9.6
Age	16-18	12	10.5		Government Employee	7	6.1
	19-30	67	58.8		Non-Government Employee	13	11.4
	31-50	30	26.3		Self Employed	21	18.4
	51 & above	5	4.4		Total	114	100.0
	Total	114	100.0	Marital status	Single	56	49.1
Education level	Illiterate	7	6.1		Married	39	34.2
	Read and/or write only	12	10.5		Separated	7	6.1
	Primary school	19	16.7		Divorced	8	7.0
	High school	44	38.6		Widowed	4	3.5
	Certificate & Diploma	18	15.8		Total	114	100.0
	Degree & above	14	12.3	Monthly income	Below 500	49	43.0
	Total	114	100.0		501-1500	33	28.9
Residential area	Rural	34	29.8		1501-2500	13	11.4

	Urban	80	70.2		2501- 3500	11	9.6
					3501- 5000	5	4.4
	Total	114	100.0		5000 & above	3	2.6
					Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

In Table 4.1 a number of variables have been discussed with their corresponding frequency and percentage to explain the profiles of recidivists in Yirgalem town correctional center, Sidama National Regional State. Of those variables one is sex which is elucidated as a category of male and female with proportion of 109(95.6%) and 5(4.4%) respectively. In the course of this study, among the recidivists found in the study area, most were men which exceed women by far.

Pertaining to age of respondents, the 4.1 displayed that out of 114 total recidivists 58.8 percent were found in the age category of 19-30, 26.3 percent of respondents were found in the age category of 31-50, 10.5 percent were in the age category of 16-18 and 4.4 percent were lived above age of 51. It indicates that among all age categories the majority which were more involved in reoffending problems were those found between the ages of 19-30.

Based on respondents' educational level, 38.6 percent of the respondents accomplished their high school education and also those educated primary education were calculated to 16.7 percent. Likewise, certificate & diploma holders have a share of 15.8 percent which is followed by degree holders which counted to 12.3 percent. Lastly, those who have limited ability to read and/or write only were 10.5 percent, and those illiterate were calculated to 6.1 percent of total respondents.

Regarding respondents' background based on their residential area, urban dwellers were 70.2 percent and rural residents were 29.8 percent. From this evidence, we understand that the majority of recidivists on time of this study were urban inhabitants.

Concerning occupational status of respondents, the Table 4.1 shown that out of 114 total respondents 47(41.2%) were unemployed, 21(18.4%) were self-employed, 15(13.2%) were

students, 13(11.4%) non-government employee, 11(9.6%) were farmers, and 7(6.1%) government employee. Thus, from the above information we can understand that out of the total respondents, the dominant number were the unemployed category of recidivists which followed by self-employed and student segmentation respectively.

Also, depend on Table 4.1, out of total respondents 56(49.1%) were single and 39(34.2%) were married. Also divorced segmentations of respondents were calculated to be 8(7%) which was followed sequentially by separated recidivists with an amount of 7(6.1%) and widowed with an amount of 4(3.5%).

Concerning the respondents' monthly income before their second imprisonment, Table 4.1 discussed evidently. As a result, from the total respondents, nearly the majority of them, 43 percent were earning below 500 birr per a month. Subsequently, 29 percent of respondents were found in the range 501-1500 monthly income and 11.4 percent of them earned in between 1501- 2500 per a month which followed by those who earned in between 2501-3500 per month with 9.6 percent. Likewise, 4.4 percent of respondents earned 3501- 5000 birr per month and 2.6% percent earned 5000 & above birr per month. Also a table of frequency shows that sequentially declining of magnitude of reoffending as monthly income of respondents increase.

4.2. Contributory Factors to Recidivism

Introduction

In this study, factors for recidivism are broadly categorized into individual, correctional institution and community related factors. Before hastening into their specific discussion, let's see the respondents' times/rate of reoffending in the study area because it is an indicator of recidivism. Also the types of crime that recidivists commit are described in this brief introduction section. Basically, recidivism is expressed in times/ rate of reoffending which means repeating criminal acts after having prior criminal record/s. Thus, to deal with the factors of recidivism initially it is better to explore the rate of reoffending that is observed in the study area. Since it is a dependent variable, the times/rate of reoffending is used to explicate the significance of relationship with

other independent variables to verify consistency or inconsistency of current finding with pre-existing theoretical assumptions or empirical studies by using chi-square tests. Based on the number of times that respondents have been repeated, the times they were involved in criminal activities were categorized as two times, three times, and four times & above.

Table 4.2: Respondents' times of reoffending

Times/Rate of Reoffending	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Two times	61	53.5
Three times	40	35.1
Four times & above	13	11.4
Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

The above table 4.15 reflected the frequency and percentages of total respondents in relation to their numbers (rate) of reoffending. As a result, out of 114 total respondents 51.8 percent were reconvicted two times, 36.8 percent were reoffended three times and the remaining 11.4 percent were reoffended four times and above.

Based on the above information the majority of respondents repeated criminal acts two times which was followed by reoffenders three times. Thus, the finding shows the respondents' prior criminal conviction /record is a ground to involve in further criminal acts.

It coincides with study which revealed that there is a relationship between criminal records and repeated offending because an offender's past criminal record is often used to predict the probability of recidivating (Antwi, 2015 and Blumstein et al, 1986).

Also it was confirmed with finding of study depicted that the higher the criminal record, the greater possibility of reoffending (Gendreau & Goggin, 1996) because the criminal record poses a major challenge to ex-offenders by preventing them from being trustworthy, getting employment and having a good affiliation with others.

Additionally, based on reports of respondents the basic information pertaining to crimes they had committed was analyzed. Generally, those crimes committed by respondents are categorized into

general terms which include others. These are crime of violence or crime against people (i.e. murder, aggravated assault, forcible rape, human trafficking, and armed robbery), crime against property (i.e. pickpocket, shoplifting, stealing/theft, burglary, deception, and fraud) and white-collar crime (i.e. corruption). Thus, the majority of respondents committed crime against property. The study also found that the majority of crimes committed by the respondents were crimes against property, which was attributed to the reasons due to lack of financial earning or support. Among crimes against property, the widely held crime of theft. It was suggested as the offenders were forced to commit theft due to financial difficulties which were aggravated by other factors. Subsequently, the mass number of crimes reported was crime against person (crime of violence) such as fighting, murder, sex offence, etc.

From the respondents' reports it concluded that mostly criminal activities occurred sequentially in a greater degree of harshness from the first criminal act onward. It means the later criminal activities were more severe than the proceeding. For instance, aggravated assault as the first crime, theft as the second time offence and robbery as the third crime.

Regarding types of crime, the participants of the focus group discussion stated a surprising notion. In Yirgalem correctional center there is a culture of pride in typology of crime they have committed and techniques they have used and vice versa. Those who committed crimes such as murder, potential burglary like bank, etc. are proud of their crime type and also techniques they have used to commit them. Those committed crimes such as pickpocket, rape, etc. are undermined by others inmates and also they themselves ashamed of their deed. As a result, most of them are initiated to commit such gratified types of crime on their discharge. It indirectly was exacerbating the habit of reoffending among prisoners.

In this regard the finding so far discussed is coincides with the finding depicted that most of the time recidivists are involved in economic crime (Antwi, 2015). Therefore, types of crime that respondents' engaged in are identified as contributory factors for recidivism in the study area.

4.2.1. Individual Related Factors for Recidivism

Among individual related criminogenic factors, gender, age, educational level, occupation, marital status, monthly income, mental health problem, drug abuse, and criminal history under the Age of 18 were investigated in this study. They are discussed in the following manner:

A. Gender and Recidivism

As it was described in the demographic section of this study, the gender ratio of respondents was imbalanced, because male are 109(96.6%) and females are 5(4.4%) which is too difficult to compare among respondents. As a result, the researcher found it difficult to employ statistical tools other than percentage or frequency which is too hard to see significance of association between sex and recidivism. Though, based on respondents' percentage or frequency more likely men commit crime than women do.

Laying on its frequency there is visible disparity between male and female recidivists in Yirgalem correctional center which could be attributed to socio-cultural influences.

As it is stated by a female informant, it is believed that gender-based difference in reoffending in Yirgalem correctional center is a role of early upbringing by family. Here, the gender roles and expectations affect reoffending rates of men and women in the study area.

Culturally, from early childhood onward, most girls are more controlled and protected against outside influences, and are also socialized to be less aggressive than boys. As a result, it hampered the tendency of females not to excessively recidivate unlike men. This shows that women are less likely to be involved in reoffending than men because of impact socialization and gender role expectation imposed on them.

The reason why they are controlled and protected from outside influence which makes them less aggressive than man is also another reason that influences them to not be more involved in relapsing criminal acts.

Also concerning the above issue a key informant from prison official acknowledged the following notions:

Both men and women participate in a variety of relapsing criminal acts, but there are some differences in types and extent of offences. The types of crime they commit depend on biological differences manifested in the physical dissimilarity and behavioral nature they develop through their socialization. For instance, males are more likely to commit theft and violent offences. Females more likely commit aggravated assault and killing intimate partners than male counterparts. But, in general terms, the crimes that are committed by females have no regularity as such of male counterparts.

The above data indicate that there is gender difference in committing crime, particularly regarding types of crime they are involved in. This is attributed to dissimilarity of physical nature and behavioral unlikeness of male with female counterparts that related to their effect of socialization. In general, the study displayed that there is gender difference in repeating criminal acts. Among both sex male have a great share due to early socialization, physical and behavioral dissimilarity .

Therefore, the above finding is consistent with the assumption of Life-course Theory which discussed that early trajectories subsisted over life course like gender are risk factors for recidivism (Huntchison, 2011; Siegel, 2010 and Blokland & Nieuwebeerta, 2010). Also it concur with studies revealed that the personal characteristic such as gender is instrumental circumstances for reoffending (Bello, 2017 and Dawe, 2007). Thus, the result of this study shows its evenness with pre-existing theoretical assumptions as well as with findings of numerous studies presented in the above.

B. Age and Recidivism

In this part the monthly income of respondents is discussed in relation to recidivism and their result of chi- square tests is also presented in table 4.2. To make it suitable for application of statistical tool of chi-square for independence, the category of age were reclassified as age group of 16-18 as juvenile, age in between of 19-30 as early/emerging adulthood recidivist, age in middle of 31-50 as adulthood recidivist and above 50 ages as older/aged recidivists.

Table 4.2 Age of respondents and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of Reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Age	16-18	5(4.4%)	5(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	14.374	.010
	19-30	72(63.2%)	33(45.8%)	26(36.1%)	13(18.1%)		
	31-50	34(29.8%)	18(52.9%)	16(47.1%)	0(0.0%)		
	51 & above	3(2.6%)	3(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Based on table 4.2, the following patterns of reoffending by age of respondents are displayed. All juvenile respondents who have the amount of 100 percent repeated crime two times. Within the age category of emerging/early adulthood recidivists, the exceeding amount which counted to 45.8 percent were reoffended two times. Also 52.9 percent of adulthood recidivists were repeatedly offended two times which is the highest number of the category. Also all aged/older age respondents (100 percent) were repeat criminal acts two times.

When we relate each age category by the rate of reoffending, all juveniles and aged recidivists were repeated criminal acts two times more than others age category which had an amount of 100 percent each. Majority those who relapsed three times were the age group of adulthood recidivists which calculated to 47.1 percent. The great share of reoffending four times and above was occupied by early adulthood which holds an amount of 18.1 percent.

To summarize, there is a small rate of recidivism at lower age of juvenile which then highly increases to reach high climax at age of early adulthood. Then, it began to decline sequentially following the rising age of reoffenders. Therefore, early adulthood recidivists are more likely to reoffend than other age categories in the Yirgalem correctional center.

The study has also employed a chi-square test of independence to examine the relationship between age of respondents and rate of reoffending. According to the assumption of chi-square, the variables should be categorical of discrete data which can be nominal or ordinal. Thus, to make it convenient with it, ages of respondents were reclassified as it was explained in the above discussion. Thus, a result of chi-square tests of independence indicates the existence of significant association between age and rate of reoffending which can be stated as $\chi^2 (6, n = 114) = 14.374, P = .010$, (See appendix IV: Table 4.3 for in detail).

In addition to this, one informant of the study gives his idea as following:

On my first conviction I was 24 years old and I was convicted for why I stole some amount of money from my family. At that time I had accomplished my grade 10 education and lacked a passing mark for college or other technical training. Consequently, I remain without any work or education which was a difficult moment for me. Then, I request my family some amount of capital to begin a kind of business but they ignore me. Following their negative responses I become annoyed and leave the home to enjoy with my friends who deal drugs. Later on, I also became a habitual drug dealer and stole some amount of money from my family's shop with my friends to get revenge on them. Then, I was convicted with a sentence of 5 months through which I continued my criminal behavior.

Thus, the above data give us how stage of emerging adulthood is in trouble to control their emotion, unable to resist pressure from associates and in difficulty to foresee the consequences of their action. Thus, this age category is relatively exposed to the problem of reoffending.

As it concluded from the opinion of participants of focus group discussion, unlike other age categories emerging adulthoods exhibit some different traits that are risk factors for recidivism. They are: autonomous/self-dependent from their family/parents, more vulnerable for peer pressure and other external influences, more likely to engage in risky behaviors, less able to control emotions, and less likely to consider future consequences of their actions. Hence, these personal features are more likely displayed in this age category than others. As a result they more likely engage in reoffending than other age categories.

Therefore, the above both qualitative and quantitative findings are supplementary. And, it is consistent with the assumption of life-course theory that discusses the occurrence of changes with age of someone as a risk factor for recidivism (Miller, 2009). Also it coincides with the prior findings of study which revealed that young people are more likely to repeat criminal acts than older people (Siegel, 2000; Sanei & Mir-Khalili. 2015; Bello, 2017). In general, the result of this study is similar to the assumption of life course theory as well as prior empirical studies. Thus, age is identified as a substantial factor for recidivism in the study area.

C. Education and Recidivism

In relation to recidivism the educational status of respondents was examined. The educational status of respondents were categorized into illiterate, read and/or write only, primary school, high school, certificate & diploma, and degree & above. Also the significance of relationship between educational status of respondents and recidivism is tested by using chi- square tests. It is displayed in table 4.4 as below.

Table 4.4: Educational status and recidivism its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of Reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Education level	Illiterate	7(6.1%)	5(71.4%)	1(14.3%)	1(14.3%)	10.229	.380
	Read and/or write only	12(10.5%)	6(50.0%)	5(41.7%)	1(8.3%)		
	Primary school	19(16.7%)	7(36.8%)	9(47.4%)	3(15.8%)		
	High school	44(38.6%)	23(52.3%)	17(38.6%)	4(9.1%)		
	Certificate & Diploma	18(15.8%)	7(38.9%)	7(38.9%)	4(22.2%)		

	Degree & above	14(12.3%)	11(78.6%)	3(21.4%)	0(0.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

As it seen from the above cross-tabulation of educational level of respondents and recidivism (rate of reoffending), the majority of illiterate which covers 71.4 percent of category repeated criminal act two times and 50 percent or half of category those have the ability to read and/or write only were reconvicted two times.

Among educated primary education, the large numbers of 47.4 percent were a recidivist criminal act three times. More than half of respondents among those who have completed their high school education relapsed two times by having the amount of 52.3 percent. Amid respondents received their certificate & diploma, 38.9 percent each reoffended two times and three times. Also the majority of holders of degree & above repeated criminal act two times which amounted to 78.6 percent.

To give a comparative figure of each category by the extent of rate of reoffending, the category that highly repeat criminal acts two times was those holders of degree and above which calculated to 78.6 percent. Relapsing criminal act three times possessed by those educated primary education with 47.4 percent and reoffending four times and above was exceeded by receiver of certificated and diploma by having amount of 22.2 percent.

To look at the relationship between education and rate of reoffending chi-square was employed. As a result, it indicates nonexistence of significant relationship between education and rate of reoffending because the p-value is not fit with standard of significance which means $p > 0.05$. It can be displayed as $X^2 (10, n = 114) = 10.229, P = .380$, (See appendix IV: Table 4.5 for in detail). It shows that there is no difference/variation among educational categories in relation to recidivism.

Relaying on the focus group discussion, some participants confess that they stopped after they completed a certain educational level due to different reasons such as inability of the family to pay college fees, to look for work to support our family, and to escape from our abusive parents. Also

one of the informants stated the following idea: “I attained a better educational level but due to lack of employment I became involved in a criminal way of life”.

Based on the above information respondents were not involved in recidivism due to lack of good/better education rather they attributed the reason to unemployment which forced them to do so. Thus, it indicates that there is no relationship between educational level and reoffending because both educated and uneducated are involved in relapsing criminal activities. Even those educated have some exceeding amount of engagement than those uneducated.

Indeed, the above finding shows that most of educated respondents exacerbated to be a criminal career because unemployment rather than level educational which inverse result with preceding findings and theoretical assumptions. As it is addressed in the review literature section, life-course theory depicts that the low level of education is considered as risk factors on an individual to become reoffending over his/her life course (Miller, 2009). Also different studies found that having educational background reduces the tendency to repeat criminal acts and a lack or low level of education is an influential factor for recidivism (Butorac et al, 2017; Bello, 2017; Dawe, 2007 and Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015).

Therefore, there is no uniformity of this finding with both theoretical assumptions and findings of previously undertaken empirical studies. Because lack of education was not reported as a matter of repeat criminal acts. Moreover, this finding shows that relatively those better educated were exceedingly engaged in reoffending, particularly those holders of certificate and diploma.

D. Occupation and Recidivism

In this study, the occupation of respondents was studied in relation to recidivism. Based on the occupational status, respondents were classified as unemployed, student, farmer, government employee, non-government employee, and self-employed. Also the result of chi-square tests is presented in table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Occupation status and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of Reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Occupation status	Unemployed	47(41.2%)	14(29.8%)	24(51.1%)	9(19.1%)	21.577	.008
	Student	15(13.2%)	13(86.7%)	2(13.3%)	0(0.0%)		
	Farmer	11(9.6%)	5(45.5%)	5(45.5%)	1(9.1%)		
	Government Employee	7(6.1%)	5(71.4%)	1(14.3%)	1(14.3%)		
	Non-Government Employee	13(11.4%)	10(76.9%)	3(23.1%)	0(0.0%)		
	Self Employed	21(18.4%)	12(57.1%)	7(33.3%)	2(9.5%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Relying on table 4.6, the majority of unemployed respondents (51.1 percent) repeated crime three times, and the dominance of students which hold 86.7 percent repeat criminal acts two times. Large numbers of farmers reoffend two times as well as three times with an amount of 45.5 percent each. Amid the government employees the majority that hold the amount of 71.4 percent reoffended two times and within non-government category a surplus amount of 76.9 percent were reconvicted two times. Likewise, amid a category of self-employed 57.1 percent were convicted two times.

Furthermore, among all categories comparatively the category which repeated crime four times and more was the unemployed category which is 19.1 percent followed by government employees and self-employed by having an amount of 14.3 percent and 9.5 percent respectively. It shows that by frequency of or rate of reoffending relatively unemployed respondents were at high climax.

To check whether the relationship between occupation status of recidivists and rate of reoffending is significant or not chi-square for independence was conducted. Its outcome shows as there is a significant relationship between occupation and rate of reoffending because the p-value is meet the standard of significance, $X^2 (10, n = 114) = 21.577$, $P = .008$, (See appendix IV: Table 4.7 for in detail). This means the variation among the different categories of occupation is substantial for the rate of reoffending.

To conclude the result, based on a table of frequency and cross tabulation of occupational status with rate of reoffending the respondents who occupied a high amount were those unemployed. Similarly, the result of X^2 proves the existence of significant association between occupation and rate of reoffending which means there is a significant variation among occupation status on the issue of recidivism.

Pertaining to an occupation one of the study informant stated the following statements:

I was involved in my first crime accidentally but second and third was because of why I lost an opportunity to engage in any occupation. To continue my education from where I stop, my family has no capacity to support me in fulfilling different facilities for education and school fees. Then, I search a lot to have any type of occupation but I can't get it. If there is no learning or working there is no hope for someone's life. For me, having any type of occupation is an opportunity to be a visionary and to be busy which has certain satisfaction regardless of having high payment. Also if you have a certain occupation you may be respected in the community which as a result gives you meaning for life. I can't realize this all and it's even getting difficult to sustain my life. After this all I created my work of theft for which now I was convicted and serving 1 year and 3 months sentence.

This shows that having an occupation is an opportunity for someone to not repeat criminal acts after their first release. Because they become busy they can free themselves from the criminal arena, having meaning for their life and satisfaction from it.

In addition to the above case, one key informant of the study likes to say the following idea:

Having a certain occupation is an incredibly important component in stabilizing someone's life after release from the correctional center. Because people need to have the stable activity and responsibility in order to avoid falling back into the same behaviors that landed them in the system. It also has the probability of making their mind busy and far from the usual arena of criminal life. More importantly, they need a steady payment/wage to get themselves housing, food and basic necessities in order to survive on their own. But if they remain idle because of inoccupation or unemployed they can easily engage into reoffending.

It indicates that an occupation gives steady life for someone because it is followed with different responsibilities which can calm individuals to not relapse into criminal activity. Since they become busy and get certain payments they can better survive their life which can reduce the probability to reoffend. But if they become unemployed it can inflame the chance to relapse the criminal act. Therefore, the above finding of both quantitative and qualitative discussions exposed as occupation status is contributory factor for recidivism in study area. It is concurrent with the conception of life course theory that revealed that life events such as unemployment or lack of steady employment influence the rate of reoffending (Siegel, 2010 and Miller, 2009). It is also corresponding with empirical studies, for instance, Dawe (2007), Butorac et al (2017), Sanei & Mir-Khalili (2015) and Bello (2017) have discussed that unemployment or lack of stable employment is an instrumental factor for reoffending.

E. Marital status and Recidivism

Relating the issue of reoffending with marital status of respondents this section gives in detail. The respondents' marital status was categorized into single, married, separated, divorce and widowed. Correspondingly the significance of relationship between marital status of respondents and recidivism was tested by using chi- square tests which presented in the table 4.4 as below.

Table 4.8 Marital status and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of Reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Marital status	Single	56(49.1%)	40(71.4%)	15(26.8%)	1(1.8%)	34.894	.000
	Married	39(34.2%)	17(43.6%)	18(46.2%)	4(10.3%)		
	Separated	7(6.1%)	1(14.3%)	2(28.6%)	4(57.1%)		
	Divorced	8(7%)	0(0.0%)	5(62.5%)	3(37.5%)		
	Widowed	4(3.5%)	1(25.0%)	2(50.0%)	1(25.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

The above cross tabulation displayed the patterns of reoffending based on respondents' marital status. Among single respondents the majority which means 71.4 percent of recidivists were reoffend two times. Of married respondents the great portion (46.2 percent) were those reoffending three times which was followed by reoffenders two times by 43.6 percent. The majority of separated segmentation of respondents which calculated to 57.1 percent was a relapsed criminal act four times and above. In relation to divorce classification the great number that 62.5percent were reconvicted four times & above which was followed by reoffenders three times by 37.5 percent. Also within the widowed category those repeated criminal acts three times were held an amount of 50 percent, the highest quantity of the category.

Thus, among all categories which frequently have more repeated criminal acts four times and above were separated categories that counted to 57.1 percent which followed by divorced classification that has the amount of 37.5 percent. It indicates separated respondents were most likely reoffend the highest reoffending rate than other marital category

Also the chi- square tests for independence applied to check the significance of relationship between marital status and rate of reoffending. The result is specified as there is a significant association between the variables under the consideration because the p-value fits the standard of significance, $X^2 (8, n = 114) = 34.894$, $P = .000$, (See appendix IV: Table 4.9 for in detail).

The idea grasped from participants of focus group discussion revealed that strong relationships between spouses decrease the likelihood of reoffending. Because those married people give meaning to their life because of multiple responsibilities imposed on them like care for their family. Inversely those who are unmarried or single and divorced people are exposed to different risk behaviors which as a result leads to the problem of reoffending.

To sum up, the above finding indicates that statistically the majority of single respondents involved in reoffending problems than others which supported the idea emanated from FGD participants. Also statistically marital status is significantly associated with reoffending and thus it is identified as contributory factors to recidivism in Yirgalem correctional centers.

As it is indicated in literature review, life-course theory stated that a marital status is one of life events which risk factor for relapsing criminal acts (Huntchison, 2011, Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2010, Miller, 2009, Siegel, 2010, and Yeager, 2004). The study also depicted that marital status is a significant predictor of reoffending (Sanei & Mir-Khalili (2015). Related study found that having marriage decreases the possibility of subsequent offence than unmarried offenders on their discharge (Wright & Wright, 1992). Therefore, it showed that the theoretical assumption used in this study is properly matched with the finding of this study. Also the above finding was consistent with earlier empirical studies discussed above.

F. Monthly income and Recidivism

In this part the monthly income of respondents is discussed in relation to recidivism and their result of chi- square tests is also presented in the following manner.

Table 4.8 Monthly income and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of Reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Monthly income	Below 500	49(43%)	14(28.6%)	25(51.0%)	10(20.4%)	20.855	.008
	501-1500	33(28.9%)	21(63.6%)	11(33.3%)	1(3.0%)		

	1501-2500	13(11.4%)	10(76.9%)	2(15.4%)	1(7.7%)		
	2501- 3500	11(9.6%)	7(63.6%)	3(27.3%)	1(9.1%)		
	3501- 5000	5(4.4%)	4(80.0%)	1(20.0%)	0(0.0%)		
	5000 & above	3(2.6%)	3(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Concerning their income before their second imprisonment, recidivists were classified as those earned below 500 birr, earned in between 501-1500 birr, 1501-2500, 2501- 3500, 3501- 5000, 5000 & above. Based on the Table 4.8, among the respondents those earning below 500 birr per a month the majority that counted to 51 percent were reconvicted three times.

Regarding respondents those who earned in between 501-1500 birr per a month, 63.6 percent were reoffend two times which is the highest amount from the category.

Also from the respondents those who earned 1501-2500 birr per a month, 76.9 percent were those who repeated criminal acts two times. Similarly, among those who earned 2501- 3500 birr per a month the mass number of recidivists which counted to 63.6 percent were two times.

From the respondents those earned in between 3501- 5000 birr per a month 80 percent were found at twice the rate of reoffending. Pertaining to the category of respondents those earning 5000 birr and above per a month, they all are those who have repeated offence two times only which means within this category no one committed crime beyond two times.

Among all income based categories of respondents, the group which were involved in crime four times and above were those earning below 500 birr per a month which hold the amount of 20.4 percent. This means the group which found the topmost reoffending rate was respondents who earned below 500 birr per a month.

Likewise, chi- square for independence was used to test an association between income and rate of reoffending. As a result, its finding indicated that there was a relationship between the above independent and dependent variables respectively due to p-value is less than 0.05 ($P < 0.05$). Thus, we can conclude that there is a significant association between income of recidivists in study area and rate of reoffending which displayed as $X^2 (10, n = 114) = 20.855, P = .008$, (See appendix IV: Table 4.12 for in detail).

In qualitative part of this study, one informant of the study who was convicted due to offence of fraud and deception expressed the relationship between recidivism and level of income as below:

I had a job and my monthly income was not enough to support my family or even myself. So, what really matters is not whether I have a job or not but my level of income. I have a good educational status and a blameless upbringing within my family but the only factor that led me to commit the first as well as the second offence is lack of sufficient income. This was why I engaged in the crime of fraud as well as deception. Thus, lack of or low income can influence one's inclination to commit crime as well as to reoffend.

It indicates that regardless of education and having a job, low levels of income can also influence an informant's inclination to commit crime. Thus, employed people can also repeat criminal acts due to their low level of income.

In general, the result of this study shows the existence of considerable association between monthly income and recidivism. Individual repeat criminal acts due to insufficiency of monthly income or low level of wage per a month. Thus, low monthly income is taken as a contributory factor for recidivism in the study area.

Therefore, the above result is parallel with different findings of several studies. For instance, Tegeng & Abadi (2018) elucidated that the majority of offenders relapse into criminal acts due to low levels of monthly income to satisfy their basic needs. It also confirmed the study revealed that averagely increasing in monthly wage reduces the probability that offenders return to the correctional center (Agan, et al, 2018).

G. Mental Health Problem and Recidivism

To find out the space of mental health problems in recidivism, the respondents were asked to state whether they have experienced any mental health problem during their prior imprisonment/s in the study area. It presented as below:

Table 4.13: Respondents' Mental health problem and rate of reoffending with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Mental health problem	Yes	42(36.8%)	25(59.5%)	13(31.0%)	42(36.8%)	1.608	.448
	No	72(63.2%)	34(47.2%)	29(40.3%)	72(63.2%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

The results in table 4.13 show that 63.2 percent had no mental health problems but 36.8 percent of respondents reported their experience of mental health problems. It gives the clue to say that most respondents repeat their criminal acts due to the factors unrelated to mental illness in Yirgalem correctional center because the majority reported their health condition.

Also to examine the significance of the relationship between mental health problems and rate of reoffending, statistical tools called chi-square for independence were conducted. Its result shows that there is no significant association between mental health problems and rate of reoffending. The result of X^2 presented as $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 1.608, P = .448$. It indicates that statistically the difference between those experiencing mental health problems and health respondents is not considerable.

Therefore, the above result is not consistent with the assumption of life course theory which shows that recidivism is influenced by a multitude of individual characteristics such as mental health problems (Siegel, 2010). It is also contradictory with prior findings of different studies, for instance, James and Blaze (2006) found that more than half of prison and jail inmates have mental health problems which arise during the period of imprisonment because of the pain of incarceration.

Also Petersilia (2003) shows that by all indicators, prisoners and ex-prisoners are less healthy compared to the general population. The mentally ill offenders are not responsible for their

criminal act and their tendency to reoffend may continue until their mental health problems are addressed (Bello, 2017). Mental health of an offender is most important predictors of recidivism Sanei & Mir-Khalili (2015). Thus, mental health problems are not found to be a significant predictor of recidivism in Yirgalem correctional centers.

H. Drug Abuse and Recidivism

The drug abusing history of respondents was presented in table 4.14 as following with the result of chi- square tests.

Table 4.14: Respondents' drug abusing history and recidivism with its result of chi- square tests.

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Drug abuse	Yes	65(57%)	32(49.2%)	21(32.3%)	12(18.5%)	7.636	.022
	No	49(43%)	27(55.1%)	21(42.9%)	1(2.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Table 4.14 displayed a drug abuse history of respondents which revealed that 57 percent of respondents were identified as having drug abuse histories before their last incarceration and 43 percent were not. Thus, respondents who have criminal history were more likely to relapse into a criminal act than the contrary category.

Also the significance of association between drug abuse and recidivism were tested through statistical tools named as chi- square for independence. The result point-out the existence of a significant relationship between considered variables. It can be expressed as $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 7.636, P = .022$. It shows that there is substantial difference between the above variable's categories in relation to recidivism.

Based on in-depth interviews a number of informants mention that alcohol or drug abuse seems to dull their normal circumstance which is just enough to make potential criminal actions more likely

than would happen at time of non-abusing or during a normal case. One of study's informants has confessed portrait of association between drug abusing and his criminal history as following:

I was addicted and used several drugs within one day one after the other such as chat, cigarettes, alcohol and shisha. I began this while I was an adolescent around the age of sixteen. Before my first imprisonment, I used all these drugs every day. It had automatically altered my former behavior. Doing so influenced me to withdraw from my family and earlier intimate friends that were assumed to be on the right track. Then I have begun to engage in the activity so called in Amharic "haya sost" which means 'twenty-three' meaning that receiving a simple amount of money to provide back a large amount. This was making different business through trickery for economic survival. Specifically, it was made in the form of obtaining the property of others by false pretenses through which the victim is made to part with property voluntarily, as a result of the perpetrator's untrue statements regarding a supposed fact.

The above case can be considered as 'Confidence Games and Fraud' which means situations where the criminal gains the confidence of the victim by inducing in the victim the expectation of a future gain as to make them part with some property and then abusing the trust that was created.

It indicates that the consequences of drug abuse leads to change from normal behavior, and loss of family and earlier intimate friends which again immersed into drug dependency.

As a result of drug addiction individuals are involved in the life of a criminal career. Thus, as a consequence of drug abuses such as a criminal career by which an individual is unable to cease from the reoffending and in vicious circles of criminal acts.

Likewise, the assumption of life course theory conversed in literature review was discussed in consistency fashion with current finding. It suggested that drug abusing appears to be one of the main instrumental factors for recidivism and being drug abusing influence individuals to be disabled to desist from criminal activities over their life-course (Miller, 2009 and Siegel, 2010). Similarly, Butorac et al, 2017 and dawes (2007) the behavior of re offenders can be linked to life events like substance abuse.

Therefore, relying on the above findings there is an evenness between pre-existing theoretical assumptions as well as numerous findings of different studies.

I. Criminal history under the Age of 18 and Recidivism

The issue of respondents' imprisonment history of under the age of 18 is displayed in table 4.17 as following.

Table 4.17: Convicted history of respondents under the age of 18 and its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Conviction under the age of 18	Yes	23(20.2%)	9(39.1%)	10(43.5%)	4(17.4%)	2.138	.343
	No	91(79.8%)	50(54.9%)	32(35.2%)	9(9.9%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Based on the above information which generated from table 4.17, 79.8 percent of respondents which means more than two out of three were not incarcerated while under their age of 18. But merely 20.2 percent of respondents were admitted as they had been imprisoned while under the age of 18. It indicates that most of the respondents were not relapsing subsequent criminal acts due to conviction history of under the age of eighteen.

The significance of association between imprisonment history under the age of 18 and rate of reoffending was studied by means of chi-square of independence. It displayed that there is no significant relationship between the given issues, $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 2.138, P = .343$.

It shows that there are no statistical significant differences among those who have criminal history under the age of 18 and have not regarding the issue of recidivism. Therefore, the above result demonstrates that conviction under the age of 18 was not the substantial factor for recidivists in the Yirgalem correctional center.

In general, the issue of conviction history under the age of 18 was not seen as a substantial factor for recidivism in the study area. Thus, the result of this study is contrary to the prior study's finding which claimed that amid influential factors for recidivism one is criminal history; particularly someone's conviction history of under the age 18 is risk factor for reoffending (Dadashazar, 2017).

4.2.2. Correctional Institution Related Factors for Recidivism

Of correctional institution related criminogenic factors, time spent in correctional center, criminal peers and their influences, and attracting (pulling) issues from correctional center were examined in this study.

A. Time Spent in Correctional Center and Recidivism

Figure 4.1 stressed on the subject of time spent in correctional center and its association with rate of reoffending.

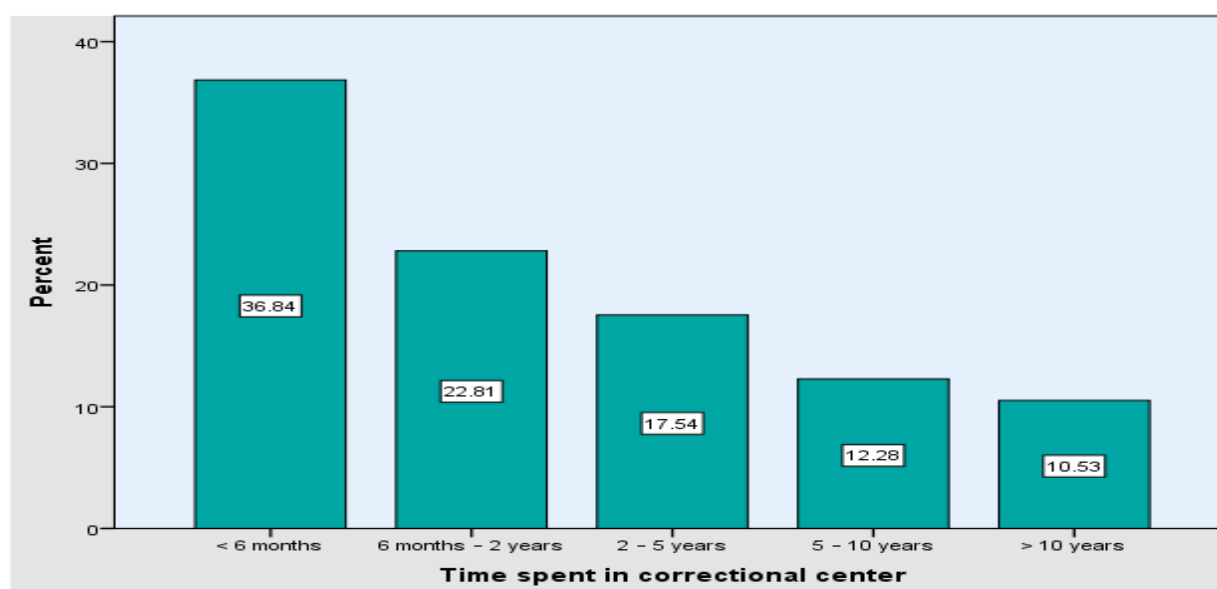


Figure 4.1: Time spent in correctional center

The data in figure 4.1 represents the time that respondents spent in the correctional center on their last incarceration. Accordingly 42(36.8%) of respondents were those spent their time in CC less than 6 months, 26(22.8%) of them were reported as they were kept in CC from 6 months – 2 years, 20(17.5%) of them were stated as they were stayed in CC from 2 – 5 years, 14(12.3%) of respondents were held in CC from 5 – 10 years and lastly 12(10.5%) of them were detained in CC more than 10 years.

Based on the above information, among total respondents, most of them held in CC for less than 6 months followed by those who spent their time from 6 months – 2 years. Also the above figure indicates the sequentially decreasing frequency of respondents with the rising of years spent in correctional centers. Thus, it stipulates that respondents held less than 6 months in a correctional center were more likely to repeat criminal acts than those who stayed beyond that time in the study area.

To make the discussion more in-detail, the study also examined whether shorting of sentences has a tendency to influence respondents' to repeat criminal acts. It is also supported by chi- square tests to check the significance of the relationship between shortening of sentence and rate of reoffending.

The following table 4.16 further elaborates the issue under the consideration.

Table 4.16: Shortening of sentence and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Shortening of sentence	Yes	65(57%)	40(61.5%)	18(27.7%)	7(10.8%)	6.287	.043
	No	49(43%)	19(38.8%)	24(49.0%)	6(12.2%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Table 4.16 articulates that out of total respondents, 57 percent were reported as shortening of sentence have influenced them to repeat criminal acts but 43 percent were not. It indicates that prisoners who served shorter sentences are more likely to reoffend than those who served long sentences. Thus, a larger number of respondents were confirming that the shorting of sentences is one of the instrumental features for reoffending.

The relationship between shortening of sentences or time spent in a correctional center was scrutinized through chi- square tests for independence. As we can observe from the above table there is a significant relationship between shortening of sentences and rate of reoffending. A p-

value confirms the standard of significance which means $p < 0.05$. It can be displayed as $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 6.287, P = .043$.

To summarize the above results, the majority of respondents reported their release earlier to spend 6 months in CC on their last imprisonment and the result of chi-square tests also indicate the significant association between shortening of time spent in CC and rate of reoffending.

Therefore, the above finding coincides with the finding of prior study which stated that less time in correctional center can limit access to treatments and lessen supports offered to offenders in correctional center which due to the case ex-prisoners can reoffend (Butorac *et al*, 2017). It also confirm with the principle of article 67 & 188(2) of the FDRE Criminal Code (2005) claimed that for the purpose of desist offenders from further reoffending, the court shall aggravate the penalty on ground of recidivism and where the criminal is a persistent recidivist the court shall aggravate the sentence by going beyond double the penalty prescribed for the fresh criminal.

Therefore, shortening of time spent in the correctional center was a contributory factor for recidivism in the study area. And, length of sentence particularly for recidivists is one way of deterring individuals from further committing crime.

B. Criminal Peers and Recidivism

A table 4.18 elucidates the relationship respondents have had with inmate peers at time of their prior incarceration/s and the extent of influences they placed on them to reoffend was elucidated in table 4.18 as below.

Table 4.18: Criminal peers and their influence on subsequent criminal acts

Did you have any associate amid the prisoners who were on correction during your prior incarceration/s?	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	108	94.7
	No	6	5.3
	Total	114	100

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Table 4.18 displayed that out of total respondents 94.7 percent had established friendship with prisoners in the correctional center, but the only 5.3 were confessed as they have remained without

relationship with other inmates. It shows that having associated with inmates in a correctional center are more likely to reoffend than those who are not associated.

In addition to the above result the statements of one of key informants was supportive of the above scenario. He confessed like this:

Basically, in the Yirgalem correctional center there is no separation of accommodation for prisoners based on their category or types of sentence except for female and juvenile delinquency. It created a convenient situation for prisoners to maintain intimate affiliation with prisoners of every category of sentences such as prisoners of life sentence, recidivist, full-time sentence, serious criminal record prisoners, etc. and also with offenders of every type of crime. Thus, their friendships with other offenders intensify their criminality and create an opportunity for first time offenders to learn different modus operandi (i.e. diversified and complicated crime commission techniques). Mostly the time they shared varied modus operandi is during night; the time at which they will be more free. It is considered as sharing the experience of success among them.

The above data specifies that prisoners' unimportant criminals association emerged due to coercive factors of non-separation of accommodation according to their sentence classification which resulted in learning different and new modus operandi from each other which more exacerbating their criminal behavior.

Additionally, to examine the significance of relationship between criminal inmates and recidivism, chi- square for independence was conducted. Moreover, the study examined whether having an intimacy with inmates influenced their subsequent offence. Its result presented in the table below:
Table 4.19: Chi- square tests for criminal peers influence on subsequent offence and rate of reoffending.

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
	No	61(56.5%)	28(45.9%)	22(36.1%)	11(18.0%)	9.767	.008
	Yes	47(43.5%)	29(61.7%)	18(38.3%)	0(0.0%)		

Influence of criminal inmates	Total	108(100%)	57(52.8%)	40(37.0%)	11(10.2%)		
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Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Also table 4.18 stated that 56.5 percent of respondents admit as they were influenced by their criminal peers to reoffend their subsequent offences and 43.7 percent of respondents committed their subsequent crime by factors unrelated to criminal peer influence. It shows that beyond having relationships, the great number of respondents reported that they were influenced by criminal peers to repeat their subsequent criminal acts.

As it is seen from table 4.19 there is significant association among influence of criminal peers for subsequent offence and rate of reoffending, $X^2 (2, n = 108) = 9.767, P = .008$. This means there is significant variation among the category of respondents those influenced by their criminal peers to reoffend subsequent offence and not were influenced to do so.

Likewise the above issue is specified by informant of the study as below:

This correctional center is a tricky environment as a result of overcrowding. The issue of separation of accommodation is unthinkable; rather it is an area also serving as remand for suspects: those who are waiting for trial, even for pit offence. If the court does not pass the sentence on those suspects due to insufficiency of evidence they release. But they discharge with a contaminated mind that grasps different techniques on how to commit crime which later can inflame reoffending situations. Thus, for me it is not a correctional center rather a school of crime.

It shows that prisoners are relapsing criminal acts due to mass incarceration or overcrowding, which is convenient to easily share about their experiences of criminal success among themselves.

The recipients of focus group discussion confirm that the correctional center is a stage where prisoners learn different techniques on how to commit crime and how to become advantageous. They raised one example of techniques they had shared from each other that was a tactic on how to escape from sentences after they have done illegal acts. Here, while they were investigated by

police they plead guilty about the scenario but they reversed it by showing as police have confessed them forcefully to make it inadmissible evidence in the court of the law. Thus, there are a lot of behavioral contaminations in correctional center

Also one of the study's informants gives his statements through in-depth interview as following:

In my first conviction, I had committed a crime of car robbery with certain of my friends for which I received a sentence of four years. But my criminal peer during my first incarceration taught me which crime has amnesty, pardon, parole and penalty of short sentence. Specifically, he told me that crimes such as theft and deception or fraud have the above circumstance and have a rare probability of being caught. Then, after I accomplished my first sentence, I went on committing the crime of thief. Then, after a lot of business, I was convicted by it and only received a sentence of 9 months.

It shows that prisoners taught one another not only techniques of crime committing but also the different drives, rationalizations, types of crime that have shorter sentences and those followed by other prospective benefits.

As seen from the above results, the presence and influence of criminal associates is thus a contributory factor to recidivism. It coincides with the claims of differential association theories that the interaction among criminal peers plays a major role in leading offenders towards reoffending (Newburn, 2017).

Similarly with above results, theory also suggested that while in prison, inmates can learn techniques of committing crime that are very complicated and the specific direction of the motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes (Bernard et al, 2010; Mitchell, 2009 and Carrabine et al., 2009). This finding also confirms with findings of numerous studies indicating that individuals become motivated toward criminality due to an excess of contacts that promote criminal behavior inside correctional centers (Hagan, 2008 and Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015).

Related study identified that a correctional center is a negative environment in which offenders continue their destructive habits and lifestyles (Kenemore & Roldon, 2005). Thus, central to this idea is offenders who associated with other criminal inmates are more likely to become recidivists than those who do not have association with other inmates which also concur with preexisting theoretical assumptions and prior empirical findings.

C. Attracting (Pulling) Issues from correctional center and Recidivism

The following observed data notify if any interesting (attracting) situation exists in a correctional center that provokes an individual to repeat criminal acts.

Table 4.20: Attracting issues from CC and its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Attracting issue from CC	Yes	16(14%)	9(56.2%)	6(37.5%)	1(6.2%)	.508	.776
	No	98(86%)	50(51%)	36(36.7%)	12(12.2%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

According to information presented in table 4.20, 86 percent of respondents reported that they were not attracted by any situation that is available in the correctional center to relapse criminal acts. However, a small number of respondents which counted to 14 percent admitted that they were attracted by some interesting situation that was available in the correctional center which as a result they incited to recidivate.

Also to crosscheck the significance of the relationship between attracting situations available in the correctional center and rate of reoffending, chi- square were utilized. Its result indicates non-existence of significant association among variables under the tests, (X^2 (2, n = 114) = .508, P = .776).

It can be summarized as the majority of respondents relapsed into criminal acts due to the factors unrelated to attraction from the correctional center. Moreover, the result of the chi- square test also presented an absence of significant association between attracting situations from CC and rate of reoffending, which support the proceeding assumption.

Regarding the above issue one of the study informant give his idea as follows:

I was imprisoned due to my behavioral problem rather than any attraction from the correctional center. I am even surprised with this type of question. How can a normal person willingly come to this perdition environment which is full of restriction, unhealthy

treatment, and life which is better than death. Thus, it is difficult to me that there are attraction issues rather than pushing issues to escape from it.

The above information suggests nonexistence of attraction issues from correctional centers due to availability of difficult situations to survive and limited mode of life in the environment of CC. However, issue which is contrary with above finding was quoted by one of the study informant as below:

I moved from rural to urban 8 years ago due to lack of support from my family. I had engaged in professional theft to survive with. Currently, it is my third time to serve at a correctional center. All three of the crimes I committed were crimes of theft. But such businesses are not adequate during the summer season. Especially, during last summer life became too tough to survive. Then, since I know a pickpocket followed by short sentences I had committed the crime by perception of fifty-fifty (i.e. if I would be caught it followed by short sentence, if not it is a business). Unfortunately, I was caught while I was picking up my mobile phone and convicted with a sentence of 8 months which I am now serving. Relatively speaking, during summer time prison is better than life outside a correctional center, because here everything is free of payment. Now I am envisaging how to steal and become a wealthy man after my discharge.

From the data conversed above, we can conclude that there is seasonal based attraction from correctional centers that incited ex-criminals to relapse criminal acts. During summer time when cost of living is becoming difficult some individuals prefer to commit crime and serve sentences to enjoy life without any payment in the correctional center.

However, one dimension of qualitative results on behalf of availability of attraction from CC is something peculiar in this study because the very significant number of respondents that 86% were reported as there is no any attracting issue from CC which can influence someone to reoffend. In addition to this the result of chi- square test determined nonexistence of substantial relationship between attraction from CC and recidivism. Another dimension of qualitative result also supported the quantitative part of the study by confirming the absence of attracting situations from CC. Also

the subjectivity of qualitative data is another considerable issue. Due to the above reasons the researcher stands alongside a quantitative result which shows non-existence of significant association among variables under the study.

Therefore, the above quantitative finding is contradictory with previous finding of Antwi (2015) which revealed the existence of attracting situations as offenders come back to CC due to factors such as free meals, free accommodation, the absence of utility payments such as water and light, and recreational activities. Thus, due to the proceeding reasons attracting issues from the correctional center is not a substantial factor for recidivism in the study area.

4.2.3. Community Related Factors for Recidivism

Assumed community related factors were scrutinized across this study. It includes issues such as unemployment, residential area, housing problem, family criminal record, ex-criminal peers post release, family attitude toward criminality and their economic support, and stigmatization/social exclusion. They are presented here below:

A. Unemployment and Recidivism

Table 4.21 illustrates whether respondents have obtained a job after they had been released from first incarceration simultaneously with results of chi-square tests between unemployment and rate of reoffending.

Table 4.21: Unemployment and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Unemployment	Yes	30(26.3%)	10(33.3%)	17(56.7%)	3(10%)	7.083	.029
	No	84(73.7%)	49(58.3%)	25(29.8%)	10(11.9%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

The table indicates that the respondents who did not get the opportunity of employment on their releases were 73.7 percent and those who were employed after their releases were 26.3 percent. Thus, the study found that the majority of respondents had never been employed on their first release.

To examine the significance of association between unemployment and frequency of reoffending a chi-square for independence had been conducted. It ascertains the existence of significant association between unemployment and recidivism. As we can observe from Table 4.21, the association between independent variable (i.e. unemployment) and dependent variable (i.e. frequency of reoffending) fits the standard of significance which means p-value is less 0.05. It can be expressed as $X^2(2, n = 114) = 7.083, P = .029$. This indicates that there is a significant difference between unemployment and frequency of reoffending (recidivism).

Additionally, pertaining to unemployment to have in-detail understanding, the following Figure 4.2 presented the reasons that respondents attributed to their problem of unemployment.

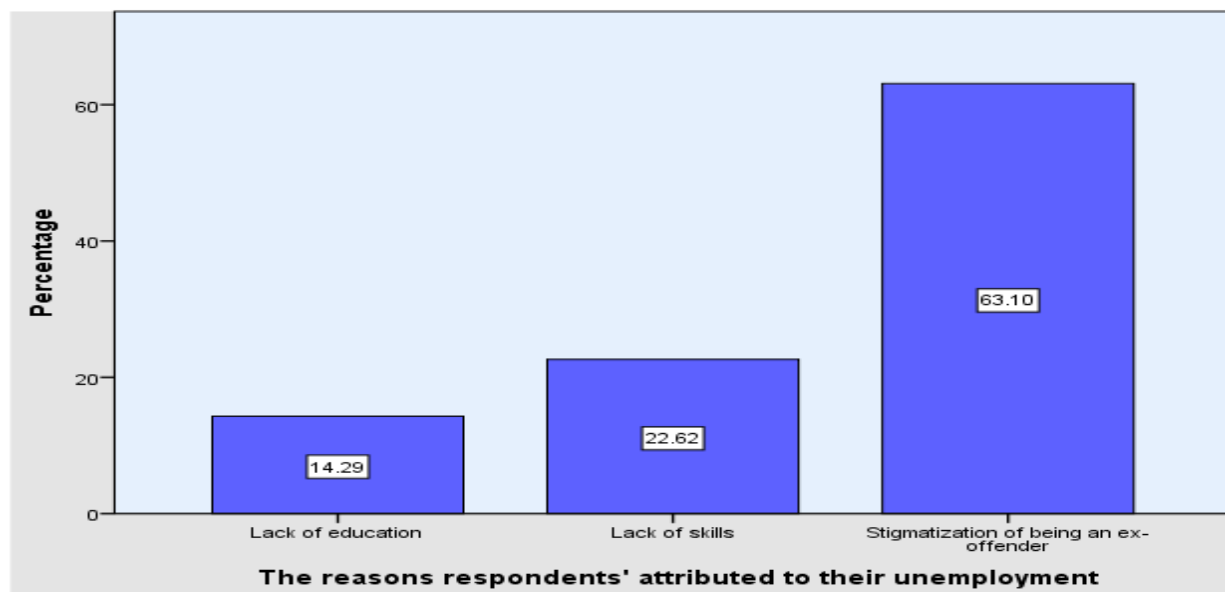


Figure 4.2: Reasons respondents attributed to their unemployment

To specifically understand the magnitude of the problem, Figure 4.2 displayed the unemployed segmentation of respondents with their corresponding reasons they attributed to it. Among 73.7% percent of unemployed respondents that presented in Table 4.21, 46.5 percent of the respondents were unemployed due to stigmatization of being an ex-offender, 16.7 percent of them were

unemployed due to lack of skills and 10.5 percent of them were unemployed due to problems related to lack of education.

On the other hand, a notion generated from in-depth interviews indicated that ex-criminals faced a number of difficulties to obtain employment opportunities post their release. Such unfortunate conditions were attributed to multiple factors. First, many employers are reluctant to hire these ex-prisoners due to the stigma imposed by their previous criminal records. Second, most of the ex-offenders may simply lack the necessary job skills for specific positions, keeping them from those usually higher paid and more stable jobs.

Among the informants of this study, one admitted that the major influential features for reoffending are unemployment.

The following statement summarizes his quotes about how he described unemployment in relation to reconviction.

I am from a low income family background. I did not have any source of income and also I haven't got any opportunity to get educated as well as to be employed. Consequently, I cannot get sufficient money to satisfy at least to fulfill my basic needs. As a result, being involved in a criminal career was the only choice I had to fulfill my basic needs.

The above discussion indicates unemployment is a contributory factor for difficulty of life to survive which as a result leads people to engage in further committing criminal acts. They are forced to be involved in a criminal way of life, a basic need to survive.

In addition to the above notions, one of the study's key informants is quoted as follows:

Most of the prisoners in Yirgalem correctional center are imprisoned without any jobs, education or vocational training which may assist them on releases. Thus, when they are released, it becomes very hard for them to obtain a job; as a result they are left idle in the community. When they have nothing to use as a basic necessity, they are provoked to relapse criminal acts.

From the above information we conclude that no skill based training is provided in correctional centers which can enhance prisoners to obtain jobs on their releases. This is another factor for recidivists to relapse criminal acts.

In general, based on the above evidence, unemployed people reoffend because they do not have any source of income to satisfy their basic needs. And, unemployment after releases is due to stigma imposed by their previous criminal records; lack the necessary job skills for specific positions and lack of related education for positions.

Therefore, the above results show that unemployment was a substantial factor for respondents in the study area. It is consistent with preexisting assumption of Life-course theory which specifies that different life trajectories such as unemployment were predictors for relapsing of criminal act (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2010; Farrington, 2003; Siegel, 2010 and Yeager, 2004). It also concur with the previous findings of different studies which recognized that unemployment has a positive association with recidivism and employment reduce frequency of reoffending (Dawe, 2007 and Butorac et al, 2017) and employment of ex-prisoners helps to extend their time of crime-free life in the community (Tripodi et al., 2009).

To conclude, as we can see from the above discussions, findings of this study showed that there is an evenness of the results with the pre-existing theoretical assumption and also with previous empirical findings.

B. Housing problem and Recidivism

To illustrate the challenges that respondents encounter to secure the problem of accommodation on their first release Table 4.22 is utilized.

Table 4.22: Respondents' housing problem post their release

	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
After you were released from the first incarceration, did you find any problem to secure housing?	Yes	80	70.2
	No	34	29.8
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

The study strived to scrutinize how the released ex-prisoners settle back into the community by securing housing. Table 4.23 shows that securing a house was an elevated problem to ex-prisoners on their first release. It can be articulated as 70.2 percent of discharged inmates encountered an accommodation problem but only 29.8 percent secured their accommodation. It indicates that among recidivists currently found in the Yirgalem correctional center, only one out of three could secure housing upon their first release from the prison. .

Additionally, depending on the opinion of participants of focus group discussion the following notions were summarized. During the discussion session with groups of both male and female recidivists, the problem of securing housing was a great concern among all participants. They suggested that having access to housing is considered as a cornerstone to securely re-enter into community and if not, it is another instrumental factor for reoffending. Otherwise, it can expose discharged ex-prisoners to put up with friends, who may be ex-criminal peers. In addition to this one informant gives his statement as following:

I am now convicted for the crime of burglary and it is my third sentence. I have experienced a lot of problems regarding housing on my previous discharges. To get access to the house through rental mode, I just have to hide my history of criminal record. On my releases I always live with unrest due to the suspicion whether the owners of the house know my history or not. Because at a time they are aware of it, they immediately pull me out from their premise. Hence, getting access to housing after discharge from a correctional institution is a great problematic issue in our society.

This indicates that offenders are facing housing problems post their releases due to stigma imposed by their previous criminal records which also affects their quality of reintegration. As a result, the problem of housing contributed to repeating criminal acts in the study area.

In addition to this, participants of FGD addressed that securing adequate and permanent housing for ex-prisoners is a serious challenge for two reasons. Firstly, economically incapability of released individuals to pay rental cost because immediately they can't secure a source of their income on the day they are discharged. Secondly, because of stigma or social exclusion emanated from their prior criminal history.

Therefore, the finding is an indication of impotent to secure the problem of housing is one of the obstacles to safe reintegration for a number of inmates on release. The sources of the problem are mainly specified as social exclusion/stigma and lack of economic capacity to overcome the problem. The accumulation of those problems resulted in an exacerbated problem of reoffending. Hence, the above result coincides with findings of Sanei & Mir-Khalili (2015) and Visher et al (2003) which revealed that obtaining and maintaining housing is one of the major tricky that encountering ex-prisoner upon discharge. Thus, this study identified housing problems as a contributory factor for recidivism.

C. Residential Area and Recidivism

Background of recidivists by their residential area is categorized as rural and urban dwellers. Table 4.24 elucidates respondents' area of resident in relation to recidivism.

Table 4.24 residential area and recidivism with its result of chi- square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Residential area	Rural	34(29.8%)	20(58.8%)	12(35.3%)	2(5.9%)	1.630	.450
	Urban	80(70.2%)	39(48.8%)	30(37.5%)	11(13.8%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Based on their proportion, respondents from rural areas counted 29.8% and those from urban areas were 70.2%. As it seen from Table 4.24, among respondents from rural background more than half of them, which means 58.8 percent, were reoffend two times. Also 35.3 percent were among those reconvicted three times, and the remaining amount 5.9 percent were repeated crime four times and above. Concerning urban dwellers the majorities that are calculated to 48.8 percent reoffended two times, 37.5 percent repeated crime three times and 13.8 percent relapsed crime four times and beyond it.

Relatively speaking, the category which held a high ratio in repeating crime more than four times were urban dwellers which counted to 13.8 percent than rural inhabitants which amounted to 5.9 percent of the category.

In this issue, a chi-square was employed to test the significance of association between recidivists' residential area and rate of reoffending. Though, it suggested that there was no significant association between two variables due to p-value was greater than customary of significance which expressed as, $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 1.630, P = .450$, (See appendix IV, table: 4.25 for in detail).

The summarized idea of participants of FGD is that in rural areas people in the community are known by its inhabitants which means there is a little privacy among dwellers. Even though living in a close interweaved environment is advantageous to handle different problems that are exhibited in the community, in certain situations lack of such privacy is destructive. For instance, offenders on their first conviction are from a rural background reluctant to turn back home on their release for fear of being labeled by others in the community because everyone is aware of his/her previous transgressions. As a result they remain in urban areas with a high probability to continue their criminal behavior. In this case, being a criminal from a rural area background is a risk factor for reoffending.

To sum-up, the above finding displayed that there is no significant relationship between residential area and recidivism which is dissimilar with preexisting assumptions. But the qualitative finding indicates that rural inhabitants have the tendency to be involved in the problem of reoffending.

However, it is not congruent with the findings of several studies. For instance, Kling et al, (2005) revealed that area of origin is risk factors to recidivism which relies on neighborhood

circumstances and residential mobility (Kling et al, 2005) and offenders from urban areas are 2.4 times more likely to recidivate than those from rural (Staton-Tindall, 2015). A related study depicted that criminality originates from the rural-urban migration trends that result in unemployment which exposure to such economic disadvantage resulted in criminal behavior and reoffending (Dube-Mawerewere and Chiborise, 2017).

But the qualitative finding is concedes with prior finding displayed that the presence of some risk factors for recidivism, particularly for sex offenders in the rural area (Staton-Tindall, 2015)

Therefore, since the study follows the QUAN (qual) sequential analyzing design, the researcher has the stand to accept the quantitative result. However, it is better to suggest further research on this area. Therefore, in this study residential area is not considered as a contributory factor for recidivism in Yirgalm correctional center.

D. Family's Criminal Record (History) and Recidivism

Regarding the issue related to criminal history of respondents' family, Table 4.26 presents as below.

Table 4.26: Family criminal history and frequency of reoffending with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Family criminal record	Yes	33(28.9%)	21(63.6%)	9(27.3%)	3(9.1%)	2.639	.267
	No	81(71.1%)	38(46.9%)	33(40.7%)	10(12.3%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Table 4.26 provides the information pertaining to respondents' family criminal record. Among the total respondents, 71.1 percent reported that their families have no criminal history. But 28.9 percent of them were affirmed as their families/parents have criminal records. It indicates that among total respondents the majority stated that no one of their family's members was involved in criminal activity that is recognized by the criminal justice system.

Among respondents those who admit the criminal history of their family, the high amounts were traced to their fathers which were followed by close relatives. It shows that among recidivists whose family has criminal records, respondents that their fathers have criminal histories most likely reoffended than others in study area.

The significance of association between respondents' family criminal record and the frequency of reoffending was examined through a statistical tool called chi-square of independence. As its result indicated, there is no significant variation among respondents whose families have criminal records and those who do not have criminal history regarding recidivism. It displayed as $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 2.639, P = .267$.

As it is seen from the above discussion, the exceeding percentage of respondents reported as their family have no criminal records, the result of chi-square tests also showed no significant relationship between the two variables. Therefore, it is inclined to show that the problem of family criminal record was not a contributory factor for recidivism in Yirgalem correctional center.

However, the above result is inconsistent with prior findings of different studies. For instance, Mendes et al (2009) revealed that familial dispositions to criminal inclinations are related to genetic, biological and socio-environmental exposure.

Also Christian (2009) portrayed that children of incarcerated families are six times more likely to be incarcerated as compared to children whose family had never been imprisoned.

Therefore, in the case of Yirgalem correctional center, the problem of respondents' family criminal history is not a vivid problem that influenced respondents to reoffend. Therefore, this study does not identify the issue of family criminal history as a contributory factor for recidivists in study area.

E. Ex-criminal peers Post Release and Recidivism

The following collected data displays ex-criminal associates of respondents during their reintegration into the community.

Table 4.27: Ex-criminal peers and recidivism with its result of chi-square tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Ex-criminal peers post release	Yes	77(67.5%)	36(46.8%)	28(36.4%)	13(16.9%)	7.408	.025
	No	37(32.5%)	23(62.2%)	14(37.8%)	0(0.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Based on the testimonies given in Table 4.27, the respondents those who have ex-criminal peers during life in the community, following their first discharge, were 67.5 percent which covers a great magnitude of respondents. Though, 33.5 percent responded “no”, which means they did not have ex-criminal associates in their life after the first release. Thus, those who have an association in a correctional center are more likely to reoffend than those who have not criminal peers.

In addition to this, the outcome of chi- square tests also showed the significance of association between ex-criminal peers and rate of reoffending, $X^2 (2, n = 114) = 7.408, P = .025$. It shows that there is a significant relationship between ex-criminal associates and recidivism.

Also a view which is compatible with proceeding ideas was received from participants’ of focus group discussion. They said that a relationship with other criminals formed in the correctional center did not end there; some of the participants mentioned that they had continued their friendship with such criminals outside the correctional center to support one another. But the immediate consequence of associating with some ex-criminal peers encourages involvement in other illegal activities.

Similarly, the story of one informant was suggestive of the influence of ex-criminal peers on their tendency to reoffend. He indicated that his ex-criminal associate led him to repeat criminal acts. The opinion of interviewee presented like this:

When I was released from my first sentence, I decided to find a certain job to sustain my life and not to come back to the correctional center. But I could not realize it because of my criminal history tag to me in the community. Consequently, I lost different community's

assets such as public confidence, trust to be employed and access to housing. After other possibilities were locked I found my prior friend who we were associated with during my first imprisonment. Then he gave me directions on how to steal different portable things and submit them to him to get certain benefits. Then, I was easily immersed in the evil deeds of my ex-criminal associate. Subsequently, now I am serving my second time imprisonment with a sentence of 1 year and half.

From the above data we can conclude that ex-criminals' peers have the great power to influence someone who again continued their relationship outside of the correctional center.

To sum up, the result of the above discussion stipulates that most ex-prisoners relapsed due to influence from ex-criminal associates which is also supported with the result of chi-square test. It also displayed a significant association between the considered variables. Therefore, an ex-criminal associate is found to be a contributing factor for recidivism in Yirgalem correctional center.

In a similar manner with the above finding, the differential association theory revealed that relapsing criminal activity is more intensified when criminals are socialized into a criminal way of life (Newburn, 2017) and reoffending behavior occurs within intimate personal groups, particularly ex-criminal associates (Mitchell, 2009). Also it confirms with the findings of studies that suggested ex-criminal friends have significant influence on recidivism (Zamble & Quinsey, 1997 and Genreau et al, 1996). A related study showed that the offender may withdraw his or her stakes in conformity, reject the institutions that they feel rejected them, and seek out criminal peers who may be seemingly less judgmental and willing to provide a system of social support (Ascani, 2012). Therefore, the above findings confirm with preexisting assumption of differential association theory as well as with certain findings of different studies.

F. Family's Attitude toward Respondent's Criminality and their Economic Support

The approaches that families have exhibited to respondents on their first release are displayed in table 4.28. Also it presents the extent of respondents' economic support that is provided by their families on their first discharge.

Table 4.28: Attitude of family toward respondents' criminality and their economic support

	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
What were the attitudes of your family toward your criminal behavior on your first release?	Accepted with advise	73	64%
	Rejected/Excluded	41	36%
	Total	114	100%
	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
Did you receive any economic support from your family after your first discharge?	Yes	42	36.8%
	No	72	63.2%
	Total	114	100%

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Relying on the evidence that presented in Table 4.28, most of the respondents, which calculated to 64 percent, were not rejected by their families or parents rather they were accepted with advice. Inversely, 36 percent of respondents were rejected or excluded by their own family or parents. However the majority of respondents accepted advice from their family/parents, about 63.2 percent of respondents did not obtain any economic based support that enhances them economically to self-upkeep. In this case, about 36.8 percent of respondents only reported that they have received economic support following their first release.

On the other hand, one of female informant who emphasized on importance of the role of the family had the following to say:

I was convicted for violence with my co-worker and sentenced for 3 years. I was the mother of two children whose ages are fit for education. My husband passed away 3 years ago from the time of my first conviction. Then my children remained without my support. My mother and brother attempted to support only about feeding without education as they are also in need of economic support. Additionally, my shop was burglarized and everything was stolen. Consequently, on my release, I remained without any economic support from

anybody unless simple advice from my mother and brother. Then, I became overwhelmed and again avenged my first accuser for which I was sentenced with 4 years and 6 months. Thus, however, my family lacked economic capability to support me, emotionally I was not ignored and also they delivered me a rest, particularly by treating my children.

The idea conversed above is confirmed with the result discussed so far that families of ex-prisoners were not emotionally rejected by them. However, economically they did not obtain any support from their family.

Therefore, the above findings point out that the family's attitude towards respondents' criminality is not seen as such a big deal in the study area because the majority did not face an assumed problem. But regarding economic support from family, most respondents reported challenges which are seen as contributory factors for their reoffending.

Different findings of previous studies stated that one of the factors for ex-prisoners to reoffend is lack of family acceptance (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015) which is contrary to the above finding of this study. Another study found that economically non-supportive and coercive interpersonal relationships from their family is an influential factor for reoffending (Antwi, 2015) which is consistent with another result of this study regarding economic support expected from families of ex-prisoners on their discharge. Therefore, lack of economic support of recidivists from their family on their discharge identified as contributory factories in this study regardless of emotional acceptance from family.

G. Stigmatization/Social Exclusion and Recidivism

Table 4.29 presents issues pertinent to stigma that respondents faced during their prior discharge/s due to their previous criminal history.

Table 4.29: Stigmatization on the basis of being ex-criminal and Its Result of Chi-Square Tests

Variable	Categories	F (%)	Times/Rate of reoffending			χ^2	P
			Two times	Three times	Four times & above		
Stigmatization	Yes	74(64.9%)	38(51.4%)	23(31.1%)	13(17.6%)	8.934	.011

	No	40(35.1%)	21(52.5%)	19(47.5%)	0(0.0%)		
	Total	114(100%)	59(51.8%)	42(36.8%)	13(11.4%)		

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

The information presented in Table 4.29 revealed that 64.9 percent of respondents stigmatized whereas 35.1 were not faced any stigma or exclusion problems due to their former criminal history. It indicates that the majority of ex-prisoners were excluded from certain social aspects due to their prior criminal behavior. Also the product of chi-square tests indicates that there is strong association among stigma and rate of reoffending ($X^2(2, n = 114) = 8.934, P = .011$).

Concerning the issue of stigma a psychologist key informant, serving in the institution, mentioned that,

Most ex-prisoners in Yirgalem correctional center faced exclusion even by their own families or parents and their prior friends. Emotionally, they were affected since the above entities restrict/ distanced their relationships because of their past criminal act. The stigma tagged to them affected their habitual life in the community. For instance, lack of housing, spouse (i.e. marital partner) and employment are some of the major ones. It is an immense factor to exacerbate ex-offenders to reoffend.

This shows that offenders are affected by different entities like friends because of prior criminal records. Such stigmatization affected their usual life in the community that influenced them to repeat criminal acts.

Due to their prior criminal history, most of the respondents faced stigma from numerous entities; families, relatives, friends, community and governments. On the same issue, participants of focus group discussion cited that they faced a vicious circle of stigma which means their families were stigmatized by their neighbors or community members, and they were also stigmatized by their family and other community members. They reported as they were seen as dishonest people who could not be trusted anymore. Due to the fact they felt repentance and developed a bad self-image about themselves and had accepted the image of being immoral individuals that was reflected back to themselves.

Problems that ex-offenders faced during their re-entry were also examined in this study. As a result, Table 4.30 reveals the magnitude of challenges they encountered during reintegration into the community.

Table 4.30: Respondents reintegration challenge

Did you face any reintegration challenges after your first discharge?	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	72	63.2
	No	42	36.8
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

As seen from table 4.30, a majority of respondents, which is counted to 63.2 percent, reported that they had faced a problem of reintegration into the community. However, 36.8 percent were reintegrated without any challenge. It shows that most respondents experienced a problem of re-entry.

Following the stigma that was described in the above discussion, a number of respondents faced the challenge of re-entry by different segments of the community. Regarding the issue, one informant of the study suggests the following opinion:

Ex-prisoners, particularly those who have served long sentences in correctional centers, face difficulty to rebuild themselves upon discharge. Because everything is not as normal as the time they were free (prior to imprisonment). Their life needs begin from initial points in every aspect (i.e. economically, socially, etc.). But the community, governments, even friends and family do not understand these difficulties. Due to the above facts, they were again engaged in illegal practices in an attempt to satisfy their needs.

It gives information about offenders' lack of support on their discharge and its relationship with furthering criminal acts. Due to stigma there is a behavioral incompatibility between released prisoners and large society. Even if the ex-prisoner is in need, no one can understand and support him due to previous criminal history.

Thus, we can say that reoffending is incited by the difficulties that individuals face on reentry and lack of supporting mechanisms to enhance them as productive citizens. Results of this study show that stigmatization is seen as a major problem reported by respondents which as a result they faced a problem of re-entry. As a consequence of proceeding premises, ex-offenders provoked the problem of reoffending in the study area.

In the review literature, labeling theory stated that social systems tag an individual as a criminal and encourage themselves to accept this criminal identity (Lanier et al, 2015). This negative identity or behavior increases the tendency to label themselves and act accordingly (Esmaili, 2011). Studies show that lack of social acceptance is among factors for prisoners to relapse criminal acts (Sanei & Mir-Khalili, 2015) and there are community push factors (i.e. social rejection) which indicate that the social system outside the prison is coercive (Antwi, 2015). Therefore, the above findings are congruent with preexisting theory of labeling and also with some studies' findings discussed above.

4.3 Treatment Related Issue of Recidivism

In this study treatments that provided for prisoners, particularly for recidivists were examined. These are: academic education, vocational training, counseling services, accommodation, maltreatment and their awareness regarding regulation on prisoners' treatment. They are discussed as follows:

A. Formal Education and Vocational Training

The issue pertaining to formal education as well as vocational training that respondents obtained in the study area presented in the table 4.31.

Table 4.31: Formal education and vocational training

Have you ever received formal education during your prior incarceration/s?	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	25	21.9
	No	89	78.1

	Total	114	100.0
Did you obtain any form of vocational training during your prior incarceration/s?	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	32	28.1
	No	82	71.9
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

From table 4.31, we observe that 78.1 percent of respondents never attained formal education during their stay in the correctional center. But only about 21.9 percent attained education during their imprisonment. Additionally, regarding vocational training respondents, 71.9 percent did not obtain any kind of training throughout their prior life in the correctional center. However, merely about 28.1 were admitted vocational training during prior incarceration/s.

As it is indicated in the preceding paragraph, in Yirgalem correctional center, there is an academic school for formal education which serves from a grade one up to grade eight. However, there are several problems pertaining to formal education that the institution provides for inmates. As it is stated by on key informant, who is serving an institution as teacher,

There is a school which seems open for every inmate who has interest to learn and those who did not get access to learning up to grade 8 only. But there are numerous problems that are hindering the provision of quality education here. Firstly there is a problem of inclusiveness, for instance it does not include inmates that stay for a short period of time in CC because of mismatching of educational season with their time of sentence. Secondly, inmates lack the interest to follow education attentively because the environment is not convenient for formal education. Lastly, lack of resources and facilities is another major problem exhibited in CC. It leads to other problems such as shortage of desk or chairs, textbooks, shortage of time to use library, lack of laboratory, teaching aids and uncomfortable learning classes. The other one is lack of attention and priority from governments or any other concerned bodies. Thus, extending from these all problems, the education here does not go in line with the standards of education provided outside the correctional center.

To summarize it, there is a problem of inclusiveness and lack of sufficient resources (i.e. material and personnel) for education in correctional institutions as concerned bodies are not giving the attention for it which in turn resulted in a shortage of numerous facilities that contributed to the low quality of education in the school. Also inmates' lack of interest in learning was another major problem exhibited in the study area. Therefore, it is possible to say the correctional education is not provided in accordance with its intended goal, particularly in a manner that shapes inmates to not reoffend. Also there is no special attention given for recidivists pertaining to formal education in this correctional center.

Pertaining to vocational training, dominantly there is training of woodwork for male inmates, and hair dressing for female inmates. But inmates were not satisfied with named training because they suggested that it is simply simulation. There is no training in reality rather they simply named it training but they have no formal trainer/teacher. But they learn from one another, particularly from those who have certain prior experience.

One interviewee stated his notion as below:

After we applied our interest to obtain training, they collected us by the name of woodwork training of woodwork. But there was no training and trainers, rather sharing experience from our best. Surprisingly, after 9 months, the correctional administration organized a ceremony by the name of our graduation and different media were presented. The good thing was we were certified on the program. Lastly, I had faced some problems on my second discharge. I lost a lot of work due to the source of the certificate which was authorized by the correctional administration. Because the certificate indicates that I obtained the training while I was on correction for my wrong deed.

From the above discussion, the study summarized that there is no such vocational training which is provided for inmates particularly for recidivists. Some of them were at principle level but not in practice. Even those considered to be present are not provided in adequate manner because they have no the expected facilities.

Likewise, the notion of participants of focus group discussion directed that with intention to make inmates productive and increase their job opportunities, correctional administration gives a certificate for those who were considered as the trainees of woodwork, hairdressing, and others. But due to the certificates having the name and logo of correctional administration, the ex-

prisoners lack trust by employing organizations. As a result, it contributed to labeling ex-prisoners by the name of their previous illegal act which they assumed as they have already altered and then more intensified their reoffending problems.

In general, the so far discussion points out that the scanty of inmates have got the access for formal education and vocational training, but the majorities were out of this arena especially those who were convicted with short sentences. Thus, rehabilitating convicts to help them to become law abiding and productive citizens is a failed practice in the Yirgalem correctional center due to lack of interest among prisoners, scarcity of resources, and even lack of inclusiveness in existing scanty services.

This finding show that the existing practice regarding correctional educational and vocational training in Yirgalem correctional center is not in-line with principles of article (23-26) of FDRE Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners (2007) and article 6(4) of FDRE Federal Prisons Commission Establishment Proclamation (2003) which declared that prison institution has a responsibility to provide prisoners with academic education and vocational training to facilitate their post-release rehabilitation and respect for the law. Additionally, the above finding is not consistent with prior findings that were revealed as correctional education and skills training used to undertake meaningful employment which as a result facilitate prisoners' reintegration into society after their release and then also reduce re-offending (UNODC, 2018 and Dawe, 2007).

However, it is consistent with the finding of the study that revealed that a correctional education occurs in a coercive environment unlike the mainstream education, as a result of this difference, correctional students may have more possibility to lack an interest to learn (DelliCarpini, 2008). It is also corresponding with findings the study displayed that due to institutional and inmate related factors, the correctional facility failed to fulfill its primary function of correction, rehabilitation and reform (Fitsum, 2018). Similarly, it confirm with finding that have shown as prison-based interventions are ineffective in transforming the inmates into law-abiding citizens because governments are not obliged to finance rehabilitation programmes (Antwi, 2015)

B. Counseling Services

The issue pertaining to counseling services provided for respondents during their time in the correctional center is conveyed by Table 4.32 in the following fashion.

Table 4.32: Counseling services

	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
Have you ever received any form of counseling service during your prior incarceration/s?	Yes	36	31.6
	No	78	68.4
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, May, 2023

As seen from table 4.32, only 31.6 percent of respondents attained counseling service programs whereas the majority of respondents (68.4 percent) did not. In relation to recidivism, respondents those who do not receive counseling services are more likely to reoffend than those who are received.

Some counseling services are available in the Yirgalem correctional center but accessibility is scarce. The services are provided based on the application of prisoners that show their seeking for the services. Here one informant described his opinion by saying:

Unless we report our interests to the concerned body to attain the counseling services, none is provided to us. Amazingly, there are a number of prisoners who do not even know the existence of counseling services in the center. But religion based treatment is better than other formal counseling. There is better treatment for all religious followers at their church or mosque.

The above statements clarify that infrequency of counseling service which provided for those requested for through application only. It indicates how much those who are in fear to talk about their problem and those who are not aware of the existence of counseling services are in danger. However there is better religious based treatment in CC.

Likewise, a psychologist (counselor) who was a key informant for this study attributed the lack of counseling services to scarcity of counseling professionals. He stated like this:

There are only two counselors in this center who have responsibility for counseling for more than 2500 inmates. Thus, we do not have enough manpower to help all inmates one by one. This is a reason why we make it through the interest of inmates who seek our services. The problem emanated from lack of budget as result of lack of attention by the concerned body.

He also verified the shortage of counseling services in the correctional institution which happen due to lack of manpower who can serve in the area that emanated from a deficiency budget and lack of attention for the concerned body.

Some other informants addressed that the problem is not only the issue of inadequacy of services but also lack of specific treatments for offenders with specified problems. For instance, criminals face issues that are quite specific to their type of wrongdoing such as sex offenders, murder offenders, substance abusers and also others who need specific treatments in-line with their particular problem.

One of the key informants stated his idea in the following manner:

Even though the correctional center attempted few efforts to create awareness on developing good personality traits with existing professionals, there are no any attempts to offer counseling services for prisoners before their release on how to re-integrate into the society. Thus, inmates are discharged without help of behavioral adjustment to survive in their community without any challenges.

Additionally, the above data provides evidence about the absence of counseling services that should be provided for inmates to minimize their reintegration challenges. Thus, based on the above discussions, the majority of respondents did not obtain the chance to get counseling services throughout their life in prior incarceration/s. It is due to shortage of counseling professionals which brought up another problem of lack of specific treatments for specific issues that inmates are in need of. Also the study examined the accessibility of religious based treatment in an exceeding manner than formal one. Lastly, the study has come up with the conclusion that recidivists have no space or special attention in relation to counseling service to handle the continuity of reoffending.

Therefore, practices that available in the study area concerning the subject of counseling service is not corresponding with the principle of article (23-26) of FDRE Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners (2007) and article 6(4) of FDRE Federal Prisons Commission Establishment Proclamation(2003) which declared that prison system has a responsibility to reform the prisoners it admits and has an obligation to provide prisoners with social work and counseling services to simplify their post-release rehabilitation and respect for the law.

Therefore, findings show that the existence of limited practices of counseling service in which a mass number of respondents were in need for the service. Hence, this study point out inconsistency of observed practice and claimed principle pertaining prisoners treatments in different national instruments among which some conversed above

C. Separate Accommodation

The following data address the extent of respondents' separate accommodation from other prisoners of other sentence classification.

Table 4.33: Separation of accommodation

	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
Was your accommodation separate from prisoners of other sentence classification?	Yes	0	0.0
	No	114	100
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

As clearly indicated in Table 4.33, all respondents which hold the amount of 100 percent reported non-existence of separation of accommodation based on prisoners' sentence classifications. Thus, entirely they give their witness as there is no separation of accommodation based on their sentence category in Yirgalem correctional center.

It is also confirmed by participants of focus group discussion who admitted that the issue of separation of accommodation is the problem that they already internalized. They are in the extreme problem which is beyond the separation of accommodation. Their question is about having a sleeping sponge, not even a bed. Also their question is about crowdedness in which they are

incarcerated in mass whereby 68 prisoners sleep in a very small room and in rooms considered as large 250 inmates sleep. Therefore, they consider that as top priority and asking them about separation of accommodation is contemplated as a joke on them.

It suggests that there are extreme problems which are beyond the issue of separate accommodations in the correctional center. Thus, beyond assurance of nonexistence of separate accommodation they show as they are in need of urgent response for issues such as sleeping room, sleeping sponge and the like.

Also one of key informant official testified his opinion in the following mode:

Actually the problem of separation of inmates' accommodation which should be based on regulation of prisoners' treatment is not realized in our center. It is a problem beyond our capacity, because it should be answered by the regional correctional administration commission. We have no sufficient budget to do so. However, the issue of overcrowding will be resolved in the near future because we have an action plan to expand the building of institutions.

It also confirms the absence of separate accommodation which is attributed to lack of budget and attention by the concerned government body.

Also one informant of the study gives his statement like this:

“Due to overcrowding and lack of separate accommodation sometimes we are facing a problem of homosexual (i.e. gays). Since the area is crowded all night we sleep with suspicion of the problem to be happening and living with trauma.”

This indicates that due to the problem emerging from overcrowding and non-separated accommodation respondents are emotional in upset which is contrary with the idea of reform and rehabilitation.

The correctional officer's focus group discussion find out that the overcrowding of prisoners in Yirgalem correctional center is resulting in further problems such as inadequacy of service delivery, shortage of treatment of inmates, problematic protection of human rights of prisoners, divert the ultimate goal of rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders, and lack of separation of accommodation. It is also another factor for incapability of the institution to alter the behavior of offenders which is easily resulting in further committing crime.

Therefore, the results presented above numerically as well as in words indicate that there is no separation of accommodation for different categories of prisoners' sentences in the Yirgalem correctional center. This is because of lack of budget and low attention from the concerned body were some reasons behind the problem which consequently leads to overcrowding.

In contrast to the above finding, article (5-11) of FDRE Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners declare that prisoners' accommodation shall separate on the basis of their similarities of sentence classification to simplify their social rehabilitation. For instance, based on gender, recidivists and indecent prisoners, prisoners on death roll, juvenile, prisoners with records of serious crimes, and prisoners with communicable disease and mental cases shall have separate accommodations. However, it is consistent with findings that, due to prison overcrowding, prisoners lack sufficient services that should have been provided for them (Andargachew, 2004).

Therefore, the actual practice of separation of accommodation in the study area is not according to the prescribed rules. Consequently, there is a possibility of linkage between separation of accommodations and recidivism. Because mass incarceration is the first stage where prisoners learn different modus operandi; a technique of how to further commit crime.

D. Abusive Treatment

The issue of ill-treatment related to respondents' of the study was visualized in Table 4.34. It more elucidated the magnitude of maltreatment comparatively with non-abused segmentation of respondents.

Table 4.34: Abusive treatment in study area

Have you ever encountered any type of abuse during your prior incarceration/s?	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	78	68.4
	No	36	31.6
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Based on information provided in Table 4.34, the majority of respondents, 68.4 percent of total respondents, experienced a problem of ill-treatment or they were abused and 31.6 percent replied as they haven't encountered ill-treatment during their time in the correctional center. Thus, the prisoners those faced abusive treatment are more likely to reoffend than those not faced ill-treatments during their life in CC.

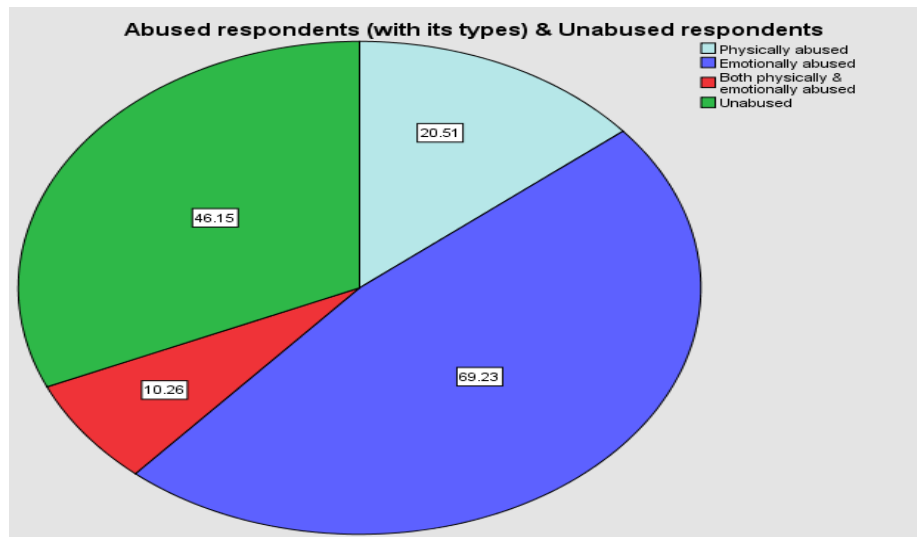
Through their focus group discussion participants stated that, however, there are some improvements; still there is maltreatments of prisoners in the institution at night. Such corporal punishments take place by warden officers and inmate leaders, those who are selected from inmates by prison officials by the name of discipline leaders.

They are the functionaries of the warden officers and other officials. If someone opposes them they can punish them physically as well as emotionally.

The maltreatment is executed through mechanisms such as denying sleeping space, putting them near a toilet, denying different recreation services and punishing them by stick if it deemed necessary for them. If the magnitude of the opposition is high, the discipline leaders inform warden officers and they punish those who oppose by stick at night and they can also deny medication service or the inmates can be consequently transferred to another remote correctional center.

Additionally, to understand more about maltreatment of respondents, the types of abuses they encountered were also examined in this study. For the sake of convenience, to apply statistical tools the categories of the variable were reclassified as physically abused, emotionally abused, both physically & emotionally, and not abused. Consequently, Figure 4.7 gives us a comparative image within their types and with those who were not abused.

Figure 4.3: Types of maltreatment of respondents



Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

Figure 4.3 portrayed that 54(47.4%) of respondents were emotionally abused, 16(14%) of them were physically harmed and 8(7.0%) of them were both physically & emotionally ill-treated. The remaining segmentation of respondents which counted to 36(31.6%) were not abused in any aspect. It indicates that among the abused respondents, the greater number consist of those who were emotionally abused which is followed by physically abused ones.

From participants of FGD the study concluded that stigma or social exclusion is not only in the community but also appears in the correctional center. Because of their previous criminal history they are not trusted by the members of correctional administration and other criminal associates. Due to the fact they died, different services were provided in the center. For instance, when they are sick they are not admitted, because warden officers/other concerned bodies are assumed as prisoners cheating them. Even they exclude most of the scanty services provided there. Also they pushed for certain wrong events more than double of fresh criminals.

Therefore, from the proceeding discussions, we can conclude that the problem of ill-treatment of prisoners is exhibited in the Yirgalem correctional center. Some of these are due to malpractice of institutions and some others are due to their prior criminal history. These types of treatments are not congruent with existing international and national instruments intended on prisoners'

treatment. The physical, emotional, and both abusive treatments are prohibited by those tools. To make it more specific ignoring sleeping space, placing inmates near a toilet, corporal punishment, denying medication service, etc. are considered as in human treatment by Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), FDRE Constitution (1995), and some others.

As it is stated in the review of literature, article (5, 9 & 25) of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) declare that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being. Also article 21 of FDRE Constitution (1995) proclaimed that imprisoned persons have the right to treatments respecting their human dignity.

Similarly, Federal Prison Commission Establishment Proclamation No. 365/2003 stated that the aim of correctional centers is to provide prisoners with reformatory and rehabilitative service in order to enable them to make attitudinal and behavioral changes as to become law abiding and productive citizens. However, this study has come up with findings that reveal practices contending with the above decree, rule and regulation.

However, it is in consistent fashion with the assumption of Labeling Theory which depicts that initially people commit criminal acts for a number of reasons for which they may be detained by the justice system and labeled as criminals, troublemakers and so by significant others. Then, they accept tagged stigma and are locked into a criminal career (Lanier et al, 2015). Furthermore it suggested that disadvantaged offenders often entail images of criminal career and dangerousness (Bernburg, 2009). It also concurs with the finding of study which displayed that harsher prison treatment does not reduce former inmates' criminal behavior rather intensifying subsequent criminal possibility (Drago, 2008).

E. Awareness of Regulation of Prisoners' Treatment

The concern on the subject of respondents' awareness on prisoners' treatment regulation is presented in Figure 4.35.

Table 4.35: Awareness of regulation of prisoners' treatment

Have you ever trained/informed about the regulation and proclamation of prisoners' treatment?	Response Options	Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	41	36.0
	No	73	64.0
	Total	114	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2023

As seen in Table 4.35, 64 percent of respondents did not get any kind of awareness regarding regulation/proclamation of prisoners' treatment; only about 36 percent of the respondents reported as having obtained awareness regarding regulation. This means the majority of the respondents were not informed about their rights and duties expected from them in the institution.

Similarly, participants of focus group discussion are addressed as sometimes there is a few minutes orientation which is given to inmates upon their admission. Except that they do not obtain as such programmed awareness or training pertaining to the prisoners' treatment regulation.

On the other hand, even those who were admitted to the awareness of regulation reported that it seems it is simply a written document or principle because there is no adequate and envisaged practice on the ground. For instance, the document states about hygiene of prison environments, fresh air in sleeping rooms and separate accommodation but nothing exists in practice. Generally, the great portion of respondents admits nonexistence of awareness creation pertaining to prisoners' treatment regulation as to equip them with their rights and duties. This is also partly confirmed by qualitative data that shows that unless occasionally, the absence of such training/awareness creation programs. Therefore, relying on the above discussion there is a high extent of problem concerning prisoners' awareness on the issue of regulation of prisoners' treatment. Consequently, it is mismatched with the principle of article 4(4) of Federal Prison Commission Establishment Proclamation no. 365/2003 which stated that prisoners shall be informed of their rights and duties during their stay in a correctional center.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

Based on statistically significant outcomes, the study soundly endeavored to identify contributory factors for recidivism. Specifically, the results established through chi-square (χ^2) tests identified criminogenic factors for reoffending in the study area.

Actually, study proved that there is no single personal related factor that is accountable for reoffending; rather, interplay of characteristics appeared to be associated with their tendency to recommit criminal act. Among those factors: age, gender, occupation, marital status, monthly income, and drug abuse were identified as contributory factors for reoffending in Yirgalem correctional center, Sidama National regional state.

Of boldly identified contributory factors for recidivism that emanated from correctional institutions are shortening of time spent in correctional centers, criminal peers and their influences are the major ones. One of these factors refers to the fact that the short sentences reduce the deterrence capacity of imprisonment imposed on prisoners. Consequently, offenders advise each other to intentionally reoffend since the punishments for their crime are short.

Also some of the reoffenders had established an association with other habitual offenders (criminal careers), and these relationships created a chance for beginner criminals to learn new and diverse modus operandi and be exposed to the influence of successful criminal models that made them acquire a favorable perception of crime. It is obvious that the recidivists are high risk offenders but they were accommodated in the same facility with low risk offenders such as simple sentence prisoners, suspects on trial and others. Placing low risk prisoners in the same environments with high risk prisoners may encourage new behavior and characteristics to develop in low risk offenders.

This association with criminal peers is one of differential associations producing new talents in criminal behavior. Thus, due to lack of classification based on prisoners' sentence category, novice criminals have a chance to intermingle with recidivists and thus likely to be sucked into a vicious circle of offending.

This study concludes that offender's sentence seemed to continue within the community due to the stigmatization/social exclusion that was statistically significant and also the majority of recidivists reported experiencing as a result of being labeled. Indeed almost all recidivists believed that their ex-prisoner identities in some way or the other, led them to exclusion. Stigmatization is an inclusive challenge that recidivists face on their discharge which in general prevent them from satisfying their emotional, spiritual and material needs. Therefore, it was a ground for others to identify community related factors such as unemployment, housing problems and ex-criminal peers post release.

It believed that rehabilitation and correction of prisoners is to make them law abiding and productive citizens. But the study concludes that the only look is the principle of rehabilitation and correction without its visibility in practice, because only a fraction of the convicts participate in these programmes.

During their incarceration prisoners simply kept in the total institution; most recidivists did not learn anything useful that can change their behavior and means of income on their discharge. No more formal education, vocational training and counseling service and inmates just kept in the institution until their time of sentence complete. So, is it rehabilitation or held under warden? Of course, it is attributed to the lack of human and material resources but nothing is attempted by the institution itself also. Similarly the answer for the question: did recidivists obtain specific counseling service for specific offences? Is not responded to in the study area. Furthermore, the study digs out that offenders are serving their sentence without any awareness of their rights and duties which are described in regulation of prisoners' treatment.

In general, due to the ineffectiveness of rehabilitation which implies that offenders coming home have not been transformed into productive citizens and they find it difficult to survive immediately after their release. As a result, they are facing reintegration difficulty which again catalyzes further committing crime of offenders. Moreover, there is no special attention to rehabilitate and reform the behaviors of re offenders in the correctional institution as well as after discharge in the community.

5.2. Recommendation

A. Policy and practical implication

Based on the findings presented above, some recommendations which may assist in dealing with identified problems are discussed. The criminal justice systems use imprisonment to handle, correct and alter wrong behavior of offenders. Imprisonment and corrections policies should therefore aim at preventing offenders from reoffending or criminal career. Also the policies should be directed at reducing high risk factors for recidivism. Hence, the following arguments give certain direction regarding rehabilitation and correction policy/regulation of Ethiopia.

- In Ethiopia, particularly in study area the issue of recidivism is one of the most neglected arenas of research. To definitely overcome the problem of recidivism, its contributory factors should be further studied. Thus, the government and academic institutions' professionals should pay much attention for the problem in order to trace the root sources of recidivism based on the nature of factors, then it can possible to organize the welfare measures.
- Correctional institution should modify treatment in the fashion to overcome reoffending problem that emanate from individual characteristics. For this, a better healing system is specific treatments (counseling service) for specific problem that inmates encountered in relation to crime they have committed. For instance, violence prevention, drug rehabilitation, sex offender treatment, anger management and relapse prevention counseling programs should be launched in the institution.
- Above all separation of accommodation based on prisoners' sentence classification should get a great attention to minimize offenders' tendency to reoffend. Mass incarceration in the same vicinity may create opportunities for offenders to learn new criminal activities and complicated technique as a result they will become recidivists. Separation is also important that low risk offenders have minimal contact with high risk offenders. One respondent said mentioned it as: *"it is not correctional center rather school of crime which reincarnates recidivists."* Therefore, Yirgalem correctional administration, regional and federal correctional administration commission and other concerned bodies found at every chain of responsibility should pay

attention for this problem of behavioral contamination that leads to reoffending. Moreover, government should support through allocation of sufficient budget that enhance in creating of productive citizen those who can help themselves, family and society.

- A lot of recidivists deteriorate their productive force/power by staying idly in the institution without fruitful work for themselves as well as country. Thus, they should provide free service or with minimal payment in different governmental company like Sugar Corporation, which can contribute a lot for themselves and country's development because it minimizes a vast amount of expenditures for government. It is also better work experiences and mechanism of busy mind which minimize time to exchange modus operandi to reoffend. Also correctional center should cooperatively work with such like company to get their access near to institution for effective follow-up of inmates.
- To lessen the stigmatization/ social exclusion of offenders after their release and to help them on their re-integration, correctional institution and other concerned body should establish aftercare follow-up program that run by social workers, sociologists, psychologists and other related experts having two objectives. Firstly, to support ex-prisoners for the purpose of post-release adjustment, case management and the full resettlement within community. Secondly, awareness creation to community on different public stages regarding behaviorally alteration of ex-prisoners and create linkages with different organization to provide institutional based support as to obtain steady employment and others social supports.
- Treatment programs such as educational and vocational training should be feasible and made more accessible to prisoners by escalating offering capability and removing the obstacles and restrictions in enrollment as this will go a long way to lessen the extent of reoffending. This program should be delivered based on employment market demand and public safety requirements for successful reintegration into the community.
- Above all the practice of existing policy/regulation is now at worsen level which need a great attention and follow-up from concerned body to make it feasible. Specifically, the government should increase the budgetary allocation to the correctional institution that can make possible the treatment programs designed on the regulation of prisoners' treatment such as separation of accommodation, formal education, vocational training and counseling services that described on the document. Thus, for its quality of implementation the regulation should include supervision and follow-up committee from neutral organ of criminal justice system.

This would ensure that the majority of convicts participate in skills training and treatments of their needs which consequently diminish reintegration challenges.

- The policy or regulation should improve in the manner to reduce an excessive use of imprisonment and further behavioral contamination on the arena of crime. Thus, including certain feasible non-custodial sanctions are best way than making imprisonment the only options, particularly for petty offences. For, instance, community based supervision, community services, work release, halfway house, etc. are facilitate the rehabilitation and social integration of offenders and contribute to public safety. It is also important to reduce government expenditures for correction, increase productivity of individual and minimize risk behavior of offenders to reoffend.
- Lastly, FDRE Prisoners' Treatment Regulations (2007) articles (5-11) declare the separation of prisoners' accommodation on the basis of their sentence category. However, it merely emphasized on the issue of separation of premises or accommodation but not consider the issue. For instance, homosexual (gay/lesbian) offenders are mixed up within the same sentence category which can affect the behavioral correction of offenders. Thereof, it should modify in the fashion to incorporate this serious problem of correction center.

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MA Program

Appendix I: Questionnaire Prepared for Recidivists

Dear respondent

This questionnaire is prepared by researcher who is a Masters student at department of Sociology, in Hawassa University. The aim of this survey is to examining factors, patterns and treatments of criminal recidivism in case of Sidama Nation regional state at Yirgalem correctional center. Thus, I request your kind cooperation to complete this questionnaire properly, and your genuine response is expected to address the issues under investigation.

Instructions

- ✓ No need to write your name
- ✓ Please put (✓) inside the box for an alternative you think is right.

Thank you for your cooperation!!

Part I: Personal Information

1. Sex: 1) Male ☐ 2) Female ☐
2. Age: 1) 16-18 ☐ 2) 19-30 ☐ 3) 31-50 ☐ 4) 51 & above ☐
3. Level of Education:
 - 1) Illiterate ☐ 2) Read and/or write only ☐ 3) Primary Educated ☐
 - 4) High school Graduate ☐ 5) Certificate & Diploma ☐ 6) Degree & above ☐
4. Occupation status:
 - 1) Unemployed ☐ 2) Student ☐ 3) Farmer ☐ 4) Government Employee ☐
 - 5) Non-Government Employee ☐ 6) Self Employed ☐If others, please specify:
5. Marital status:
 - 1) Single ☐ 2) Married ☐ 3) Separated ☐ 4) Divorced ☐ 5) Widowed ☐
6. Background by residential area: 1) Rural ☐ 2) Urban ☐
7. What was your monthly income before your second incarceration?
 - 1) Below 500 ☐ 2) 501-1500 ☐ 3) 1501-2500 ☐
 - 4) 2501- 3500 ☐ 5) 3501- 5000 ☐ 6) 5000 & above ☐

Part II: Individual Related Factors for Recidivism

1. How many times did you repeat criminal acts?
 - 1) Two times ☐ 2) Three times ☐ 3) Four times & above ☐
2. What were the types of crimes that you convicted for: for the first time, for the second time, for the third time...etc. respectively?
.....
3. How long was your last sentence in months/years?
 - A. < 6 months ☐ 2) 6 months – 2 years ☐ 3) 2 – 5 years ☐
 - 4) 5 – 10 years ☐ 5) > 10 years ☐
4. Did the shortening of sentence have influenced you to repeat criminal act?
 - 1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

If yes how?
.....

5. Have you ever experienced any mental health problem during your prior incarceration/s?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

If yes, what type of mental health problem did you experienced?
.....

6. Have you ever used a drug prior to second imprisonment?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

7. If your answer for question number 6 is yes, what type of drug you have used?

A. Chat ☐ 2) Smoking Cigarette ☐ 3) Shisha ☐ 4) Hashish ☐

If others, please specify

8. After you released from first incarceration, did you find any problem to secure housing?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

9. Did you get any opportunity for employment after your first discharge?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

10. If your answer for question number 9 is no, what are the reasons you attribute to it?

A. Lack of education ☐ 3) Stigmatization of being an ex-offender ☐

B. Lack of skills ☐

If others, specify.....

Part III: Correctional Institution Related Factors for Recidivism

1. Have you experienced any conviction/arrest while under age of 18?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

2. If your answer for question number 1 is yes, does your prior delinquency have any relationship with your subsequent criminal acts?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

3. Did you have any associate/friend within the prisoners those who were on correction during your prior incarceration/s?

1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

4. If your answer for question number 3 is yes, your associate was found in which sentence classification?
- 1) Simple sentence prisoner ☐
 - 2) Serious crime record prisoner ☐
 - 3) Recidivist prisoner ☐
 - 4) Full-time sentence prisoner ☐
- If others, please specify.....
5. If your answer for question number 3 is yes, having an intimacy/relationship with inmates have been affected your reoffending situation?
- 1) Yes ☐
 - 2) No ☐
6. Were there any attracting situations in the correctional center that influenced you to repeat criminal act/s?
- 1) Yes ☐
 - 2) No ☐
7. Do you think that your first incarceration have damaged your social networks?
- a. Yes ☐
 - 2) No ☐
8. If your answer for question number 6 is yes, does it associated with your second offence?
- a. Yes ☐
 - 2) No ☐
9. Were there any negative influences (push factors) of correctional center toward your second reoffending? 1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
- If yes, what are they?
-

Part IV: Community Related Factors for Recidivism

1. Did anyone of your family have a criminal record?
- a. Yes ☐
 - 2) No ☐
2. If your answer for question number 1 is yes, who has a criminal record?
- i. Father ☐
 - 2) Mother ☐
 - 3) Brother/Sister ☐
 - 4) Spouse ☐
 - 5) Close relative ☐
- If others, please specify.....
3. What were the attitudes of your family toward your criminal behavior on your first release?
- A. Accepted with advise ☐
 - 2) Rejected/Excluded ☐

If others, please specify.....

4. Did you have any ex-criminal peers in your community after your first release?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
5. If your answer for question number 4 is yes, does it influence your relapsing situations?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
6. Do you think that you were stigmatized/ excluded in any aspect on the basis of being an ex-offender after your first discharge from prison?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
If yes how?
7. Did you receive any economic based support from your family after your first discharge?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
8. Did you face any reintegration challenges after your first discharge?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
9. If your answer for question number 8 is yes, with whom do you face challenges/problems?
1) Family ☐ 2) Friend/s ☐ 3) Community ☐ 4) Government organization ☐
If others, please explain.....

Part V: Treatment Related Issue of Recidivism

1. Have you received an academic education during your first incarceration?
b. Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
2. Did you obtain any form of vocational training during your first incarceration?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
3. If your answer for question number 2 is yes, what type of training did you obtain?
1) Metal work ☐ 2) Wood Work ☐ 3) Information Communication Technology ☐
4) Hair Dressing ☐ 5) Electricity & Auto-mechanic ☐ 6) Garment ☐
If others, please specify.....
4. Have you ever achieved any form of treatment/Counseling service during your first incarceration?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐

5. If your answer for question number 4 is yes, what type of treatment did you obtain?
.....
6. Did you find that skills acquired from education, training & treatments while imprisoned useful at discharge?(if any)
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
7. If your answer for question number 6 is yes, why do those education, training and treatments were unable to cease/stop you from further committing crime? Justify.....
.....
8. Did your accommodation separated from prisoners of other sentence classification?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
9. Have you ever punished for institutional misconduct in correctional center during your first incarceration? 1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
10. If your answer for question number 9 is yes, does it related with your second offence?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
If yes how?
11. Have you encountered any type of abuse during your first incarceration?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
12. If your answer for question number 11 is yes, what types of abuse did you faced?
1) Physical abuse ☐ 2) Emotional/Verbal abuse ☐
If others, please specify.....
13. Have you ever trained/informed the regulation and proclamation of prisoners' treatment?
1) Yes ☐ 2) No ☐
If yes, how do you get its practices?
14. From your points of view what would you like to see being corrected regarding to prisoners treatment that institution providing?
.....

Appendix II: In-depth and Key Informant Interview Guidelines

Part One: In-depth Interview Guidelines for Recidivists

1. Questions on Individual Related Factors for Recidivism

- A. What is your education level? Marital status? Employment status?
- B. How many times do you convicted? How long was your first sentence in month/year? Did the time you spent in correctional center have influenced you to repeat criminal act? What are the types of crimes that you convicted for?
- C. Have you experienced any psychological/mental health problem after your first release? If yes, what are they? How did it affect your reconviction?
- D. Have you ever used drug/alcohol? Did you experience any types of addiction before your second sentence? If yes, which types of drug? Did you commit your current offence while under the influence of drug/alcohol? If yes, which drug/alcohol you have used?
- E. Have you ever employed prior to the first criminal act? If yes, did you get the chance to return back to your prior job/position after your first discharge? If no, why? After your first release, your income was enough for your survival? Did you get any opportunity for employment after your first discharge from prison in general? If no, what are the reasons that you attribute to it?
- F. Have you experience any problem to secure housing?

2. Questions on Correctional Institution Related Factors for Recidivism

- A. Have you ever arrested under the age of 18? If yes, what was a reason? Does your prior delinquency have any relationship with your subsequent criminal acts?
- B. Did you associate with any inmate/s of other sentence classification during your first time imprisonment? How it influence you?
- C. Do you think that your being incarceration damaged your social networks during your first time imprisonment? If yes, does it associated with your second offence?
- D. Are there any attracting situations in the prison that influence you to repeat criminal act/s? Are there any negative influences (push factors) of prison toward your reoffending?

- E. As your points of view what would you like to see being added to prison programmes that enhance rehabilitation of prisoners?

3. Questions on Community Related Factors for Recidivism

- A. Does anyone in your family have a criminal record? If yes, who has a criminal record? What were the attitudes of your family toward your criminal behavior on your first release?
- B. Did you have any ex-criminal peers in your community after your first release? If yes, did it influence your relapsing situation?
- C. Do you think that you were stigmatized/ excluded in any aspect on the basis of being an ex-offender after your first time discharge from correctional center? Did you face any challenges to reintegrate after your first time discharge? If yes, with which segment of community?
- D. Did you receive any economic based support from your family after your first discharge? If yes, what support do you get and if no, what the reason do you think? Do you think lack of social support contribute for re-offending? If yes how?

4. Treatment Related Questions

- A. Have you received formal education during your first incarceration? Did you obtain any form of vocational training during your first incarceration? If no, why? If yes, what are they?
- B. Have you ever achieved any form of treatment/Counseling service during your first incarceration? If no why? If yes, what type of treatment did you obtain? If you have received the treatment, how often they were? Did you find skills acquired from treatment/training while imprisoned useful at discharge?
- C. Why do those education, training and treatments were unable to cease/stop you from further crime committing? Do you think absence of those treatments/trainings in prison can contribute for criminal re-offend?
- D. Have you accommodated separately from prisoners of other sentence classification? If no why?

- E. Were you ever punished for institutional misconduct in-prison during your first time incarceration? Have you encountered any type of abuse during your first incarceration? If yes, what are they?
- F. Have you ever obtained awareness or trained the regulation and proclamation of prisoners' treatment? If no why? If yes, how do you get its practices?
- G. Why you unable to stop engaging in criminal activity after you imprisoned to alter criminal behavior and discharge? What do you think if could be done that will help to stop or minimize reoffending?
- H. From your points of view what would you like to see being corrected regarding to treatment that institution providing?
- I. Is there anything you may add that I missed?

Part Two: key informant's Interview Guidelines for Prison Officials

1. How your institution address the offenders' behavior particularly recidivists? Does they are accommodated separately? If not why?
2. What programs are provided to support recidivists on their reintegration (academic education or training and counseling services)? In what manner it deliver to them? How often it would provide (daily, weekly and monthly)? How do you evaluate the trainings and treatments successfulness in reducing recidivism? What is the status of recidivism: does it increasing or decreasing?
3. What is the prisoners' treatment regulation/proclamation declare regarding recidivists? Did the prisoners were informed this regulation/proclamation? What its practice looks like? What are the challenges?
4. Do you believe that association with other inmates in the prison has influences on offender to reoffend? If yes, how it is possible to handle such like association problems in prison? Do you think that prisons system influence offenders to reoffend?
5. What do you think as barriers to deliver correctional services for recidivists (i.e. inmate interests, fund, professionals or personnel, etc.)?
6. Do you provide any aftercare programs for offenders/recidivists (follow-up)?
7. What do you experienced about the influencing factors for recidivists to reoffend (individual, prisons & community related factors)?

Part Three: key informants Interview Guidelines for correction professionals

1. What are correctional services do you providing for offender particularly for recidivists?
2. From your profession points of view why ex-offenders relapse criminal acts (why some of offenders unable to be crime free citizen after they corrected in prison)?
8. What are the rehabilitations and reforming programs that were delivering for recidivist? How do you get the trainings and treatments successfulness in reducing recidivism? What is the status of recidivism: does it increasing or decreasing?
3. Do you think that prisons system influence offenders to reoffend? If yes, how does imprisonment grounds for recidivism? Do you believe that association with other inmates in the prison has influences on offender to reoffend? If yes, how could possible to handle?
4. Did the regulation/proclamation on prisoners' treatment applicable in your institution particularly pertaining to recidivists' treatment?
5. What program or any else issue you would like to see if included to alter recidivists' behavior?

Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion Guidelines for Recidivists and Correction professionals

Part One: Focus Group Discussion Guidelines for Recidivists

1. Do you think that personal factors can contribute for recidivism? If yes, what are they? How they may occur?
2. Do you believe that incarceration influence recidivism? If yes, how? Do you think associations with other inmates in prison influence recidivism? If yes, how? Did you face any challenges during your first imprisonment in correctional center? If yes, what are they and how you manage them? Did they have any relation with your reoffending?
3. Were you ever experienced any challenges during your first reintegration into community? If yes, what are they? Do they contribute for your relapsing of criminal acts? If yes, how and discuss them? Did you get any supports after release? If yes, what are those supports and from whom?
4. Did you face any exclusion problems in any instances after your first release? What was your income earning situation on your first release? Did you get any chance for employment after your first release? If no, why?

5. What are correction programs did you received during your first imprisonment (education, training and counseling services)? Did you believe the correction programs that provide in prison able to empower offenders to abstain from crime? If not, why?
6. Why you unable to abstain from criminal activities? Are there any pulling/pushing factors in prison that contribute for recidivism?
7. Is there any point that you may add what I missed?

Part Two: Focus Group Discussion Guidelines for Correction Officers

1. Why some of offenders unable to be ceased from criminal career throughout their lifetime while some ceased from criminal activity after they corrected in correction center?
2. How do you discuss the issue of recidivism particularly to individual related contributing factors from your experience?
3. What are the corrections programs delivered to rehabilitate and reform offenders in this correctional center? What are your views regarding correction programs and its role in empowering offenders to cease them from crime?
4. What do you suggest on the relationship between being in-custody & recidivism, and/or in-prison inmates association & recidivism? Do imprisonments affect recidivism?
5. How do offenders pushed to reoffend after they corrected and reintegrated in community?
6. How do you evaluate regulation/proclamation on prisoner's treatment and its practices in your institution by targeting recidivists?
7. As of your understanding which segmentation of offenders is most have probability to reoffend? Why?
8. Is there any point that you may add what I failed to rise?

Appendix IV: List of Tables

The following tables are cross-tabulation of independent variables with dependent variable and their result of chi-square tests.

1. Age and Recidivism

Table 4.3: Result of chi-square tests for age and rate of reoffending

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.599 ^a	6	.016	.018
Likelihood Ratio	22.074	6	.001	.001
Fisher's Exact Test	14.374			.010
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.250 ^b	1	.264	.304
N of Valid Cases	114			

a. 7 cells (58.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .34.

b. The standardized statistic is -1.118.

2. Education and Recidivism

Table 4.5: Result of chi-square tests for education and rate of reoffending

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.567 ^a	10	.392	.399
Likelihood Ratio	11.974	10	.287	.382
Fisher's Exact Test	10.229			.380
Linear-by-Linear Association	.412 ^b	1	.521	.541
N of Valid Cases	114			

a. 8 cells (44.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .80.

b. The standardized statistic is -.642.

3. Occupation and Recidivism

Table 4.7: Result of chi-square tests for occupation and rate of reoffending

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.822 ^a	10	.011	. ^b
Likelihood Ratio	26.372	10	.003	.005
Fisher's Exact Test	21.577			.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.180 ^c	1	.013	.013
N of Valid Cases	114			

a. 9 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .80.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. The standardized statistic is -2.486.

4. Marital status

Table 4.9: Result of chi-square tests for marital status and rate of reoffending

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.341 ^a	8	.000	.000
Likelihood Ratio	36.996	8	.000	.000
Fisher's Exact Test	34.894			.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	25.986 ^b	1	.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	114			

a. 10 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .46.

b. The standardized statistic is 5.098.

5. Monthly Income and Recidivism

Table 4.11: Result of chi-square tests for monthly income and rate of reoffending

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.806 ^a	10	.011	.012
Likelihood Ratio	25.608	10	.004	.006
Fisher's Exact Test	20.855			.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.686 ^b	1	.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	114			

a. 11 cells (61.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .34.

b. The standardized statistic is -3.699.

6. Residential Area and Recidivism

Table 4.25: Result of chi-square tests for residential area and rate of reoffending

Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.794 ^a	2	.408	.450
Likelihood Ratio	1.957	2	.376	.416
Fisher's Exact Test	1.630			.450
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.624 ^b	1	.203	.235
N of Valid Cases	114			

a. 1 cell (16.7%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.88.

b. The standardized statistic is 1.274.