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## **RELATIONSHIP CHALLENGES FACING RE-INTEGRATION OF WOMEN EX-OFFENDERS IN NYERI COUNTY, KENYA**

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**Abstract:** *The comparative rate of women entering the formal correctional system and serving custodial sentences, both in prison and prison remand awaiting trial, is on the increase. This is accompanied by a similarly increasing number of women eventually exiting prisons annually. This study sought to investigate the Relationship challenges influencing re-integration of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County, Kenya. Labeling and the social bond theories provided the theoretical framework. Case study design was used. With the site selection and sampling procedure being purposive, respondents were picked through snowballing until saturation was attained with a sample size of 41 women ex-convicts. The Key informants and Focused group discussants were also purposively selected. Data was collected by use of semi-structured interview schedule orally administered through personal face-to-face interviews and field sheets. The results showed that change in relationships between the ex-convicts, their families and significant members in the community were the major issues that the ex-convicts faced. Some indicated that they had good relationships while others had strained relationships, both before and during incarceration or even after release. Research on methods to smoothen the relationships between female convicts and their families and the communities they are released into is recommended in order to ameliorate the process of reentry and re-integration. Understanding relationships' related challenges is significant in successfully re-integrating back into the community for the women returnees in the Kenyan context.*

**Key words:** *Relationships, offenders, ex-convicts, incarceration, re-integration*

## 1.1 Introduction

Historically jails and prisons for women were rare before mid-1800s and would only find their presence later when crime rates amongst women rose. This has led to increased awareness that female offenders and sometimes together with their children have unique needs and challenges (Gunnison, Bernat & Goodstein, 2016; Kilgore, 2015). The purpose of this research study was to find out the relationship challenges affecting re-integration of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County; specifically before, during and after imprisonment. The latter is central to the study.

## 1.2 Background of the Study

There is a global increase in the number of offenders leaving prisons and back into communities and sometimes without any supervision or reintegration follow up (Stohr, Walsh & Hemmens, 2009). Statistics indicate that the rates of women entering the correctional system between 1980 and 2010 exceeded that of men (Holtfreter & Morash, 2013; Kilgore, 2015). Women offenders however reveal unique characteristics which include; fewer chances of arrest and conviction, tendency to undergo shorter prison sentences, engaging in property and petty crimes or misdemeanors. Poor women spend more time in incarceration compared with those socio-economically advantaged and are likely to be aged between 25-35 years as well as having a child aged below 18 years of age (Gunnison, Bernat & Goodstein, 2016).

Women returning home or reentering back into the communities from prison or jail generally encounter both neutral and gender specific challenges. Women specific challenges include relationships reconnecting with family and communities as well as the care for children, mental health, cultural prejudice and bias, and an abusive past, sexual harassment, poor clothing and absence of women specific health interventions (Holtfreter & Wattanaporn, 2013; Petersilia, & Petersilia, J., 2003).

A study done in Kenya by Kaguta (2015) showed that the majority of women serving imprisonment possess low levels of education, are house wives and casual workers, single and separated. This impairs their post release relationship particularly those connected to their families, friends and partners, neighbourhood community and the bigger society. These relationships cannot be ignored as families and communities play a significant role in the reentry and reintegration process (Bloom & Covington, 2000; Larner, 2017; McIvor, 2004; Pager, 2007; Visher, Vigne & Travis, 2004). Relationships are of central importance to this study as they greatly affect reintegration of the women ex-offenders.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship challenges facing women returning home from prisons in Nyeri County, Kenya. The outcomes of the study are considered significant to policy makers and correctional providers, scholarly research and literature in the field of women criminality, offender rehabilitation, improve the reentry process, community safety and reduce recidivism as well as make the ex-offenders more productive (Creswell, 2014; Immariogon, 2011).

## 1.3 Statement of the Problem

Though, according to Stohr et al (2009), the ultimate focus of the correctional system is re-integration of offenders into their former communities strained relationships with family and community members mangles this endeavour. Difficult relationships further connect with other challenges which may include lack of employment, lack of employment skills, education, housing, shaky family and social support, social stigma, and infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Gunnison et. al., 2016; Holtfreter & Morash, 2013; Kilgore, 2015; McIvor, 2004; Petersilia, & Petersilia, 2003).

The relationship challenges afore mentioned and others which characterize the original entry into prisons remain unmet within the prison system and become harder to satisfy on departure from prison (Gunnison et. al., 2016). Relationship challenges women returning home from prisons face in Nyeri County has been identified as a peculiar problem by the Catholic Chaplaincy in King'ong'o prison, Nyeri Caritas (the charitable arm of Nyeri Catholic Archdiocese) and the researcher. If this problem is not addressed the ex-convicts would remain stigmatized in all aspects of living, families and communities broken, the moral formation of children endangered, severe mental issues for women arise, and increased chances of recidivism.

According to Knepper (2007) few studies have been done for women exiting the prison system and re-integrating back to the communities. This is a generally neglected topic in the treatment of offenders. No written policies and practices exist in Kenya that addresses the difficulties faced by ex-offenders, particularly women, on re-entry. No known studies focusing on relationship challenges women returning home from prison face has been conducted in Kenya or Nyeri County. Majority of existing studies in Kenya such as by Mutabari and Wanjohi (2017) and Kaguta (2014) are prison based and anticipatory of release.

#### **1.4 Study Objectives**

The main objective of the research was to find out the relationship challenges affecting re-integration of women ex-offenders in Nyeri County. It was guided by the following specific objectives;

- i) To find out the relationship challenges women ex-offenders face before imprisonment in Nyeri County.
- ii) To find out the relationship challenges women ex-offenders face during imprisonment in Nyeri County.
- iii) To find out the relationship challenges women ex-offenders face after imprisonment in Nyeri County.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

The research sort to answer three specific questions;

- a) What relationship challenges do women ex-offenders face before imprisonment in Nyeri County?
- b) What relationship challenges do women ex-offenders face during imprisonment in Nyeri County?
- c) What relationship challenges do women ex-offenders face after imprisonment in Nyeri County?

#### **1.6 Study justification**

Owing to the destruction of the coffee based masculine economy in the late 1990's and early 2000's men in Nyeri County resulted to alcoholism. This occasioned much frustration among the females in the region thus escalating domestic violence, sour relationships as well as increased burden on women who are tasked to raise children on their own. As a result, Nyeri woman has been socially profiled, both in mainstream and social media as independent, violent and more predisposed to engage in domestic and property crimes (Mose, 2016; Wambugu, 2016).

Female headed households account for 32% of the households in Kenya and mainly in rural areas (KNBS, 2017). Given the vital role of women in the society, any disruption at their prime life due to incarceration would lead to collapse of families and challenges in establishing new intimate relationships. Their dependents especially children are left vulnerable and the community also suffer loss of economically productive members of the society a phenomenon also extended after prison life owing to stigma and suspicion. Review of existing literature has not revealed any research study done to investigate the nature of relationship challenges encountered by women released to return home from prison in Kenya.

### **1.7 Limitations and de-limitations of the study**

The scope of the study covered women aged above 18 years of age who had served imprisonment and had been released to return home within any place in Nyeri County without any form of correctional supervision. The research investigated women who had been incarcerated either in a prison or remand prison for a period exceeding three months. The ex-offenders had been released from prison and returned to a Nyeri home within a period not exceeding six years prior to the interview but not less than three months prior to the interview. This generally covered the period between 2013 and 2018. The study did not look at recidivism and evaluation of prison or reentry programmes.

The survey experienced several limitations which included language barrier as some of the ex-offenders were semi-literate and the instruments had to be clarified in vernacular, difficulties in locating respondents as some had already changed their phone contacts and residence, other had fears they were being tracked by authorities in relation to their offending past.

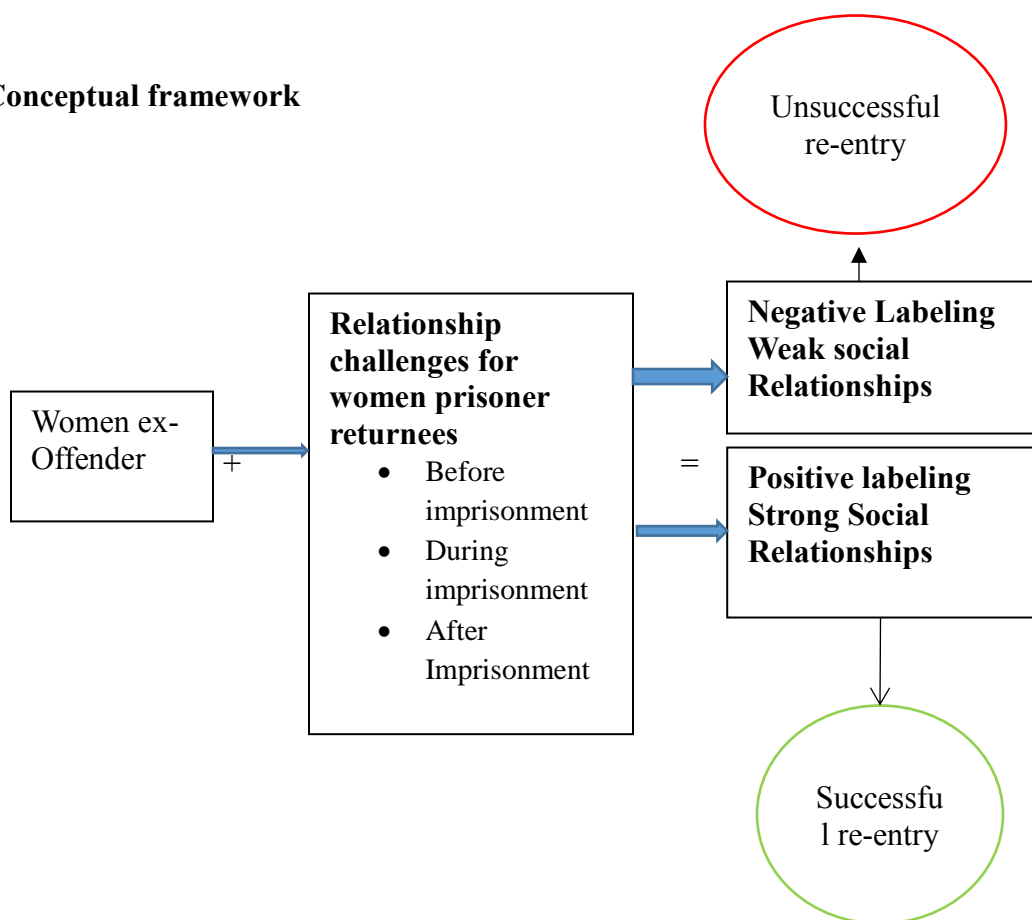
### **1.8 Theoretical review**

Grommon (2013) states that existing literature on prisoner reentry is atheoretical and depend mostly on unclear patchwork of existing theories of crime. Labeling and the social bond theories were however selected to provide a theoretical framework for this study as they have a symbiotic relationship which supports either unsuccessful or successful reentry for women ex-offenders. The theories capture the reentry process to periods predating their incarceration, during imprisonment and periods after imprisonment thus a holistic theoretical underpinning.

For Winfree and Abadinsky (2003), Barlow and Decker (2010), Triplet and Upton (2015) and Williams (2012) labeling theory explains the role of social institutions in allocating people, their actions, beliefs and values some negative reactions such as criminalization. Unfortunately, the labeled person(s) occasionally reshape their behaviour based on societal reactions and react to society on account of this negative label leading to secondary deviation. Travis Hirsch's social bond theory is a social process theory which emphasizes that deterrence to crime is a major dependent of the totality of the social and physical environment forces that connects a person to the society and its moral constraint (Barlow et al., 2010; Siegel, 2010; Winfree & Abadinsky, 2003). For Bost (2010), Winfree and Abadinsky (2003) man's propensity to crime is markedly reduced through bonds of affectionate relationships to social institutions such as the family and religious formations.

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

## 1.9 Conceptual framework



**Figure 1: The Conceptual Framework on Women re-entry**

Source: *Own Conceptualization, 2019*

The Pathway to successful reentry and reintegration as captured in the conceptual framework (Fig 1.1.) is dependent on how the relational challenges at family and community levels are addressed. If societal reaction for example to the women returning home is supportive the label and stigma by families and communities would be reduced and the social bond enhanced leading to improved relationships as well as access to legitimate opportunities such as education, employment, housing and marriage.

## 1.10 Literature Review

### *Relationship challenges*

Mclvor (2004) notes that how women relate to their families, friends and partners, neighbourhood, community and society is important to reentry, desistance from crime and successful reintegration. Successful marital and family relationships provide emotional support after release from prison, the motivation to succeed, economic help, finding work, desistance from drug use and reduced recidivism.

### *Relationships challenges before imprisonment*

According to Visher (2004) families play a significant role in the reentry and reintegration process. Further, it is observed that strategies and resources which enhance the contribution played by families both in prison and after prison experiences be supported. The observation of Coll and Duff (2011) is that a significant number of incarcerated women are likely to have lost family members

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

### ***Relationship challenges during imprisonment***

One unique characteristic for women offenders compared to men concerns to their status as care givers and mothers (Davies, 2011). In majority of the cases, women are far more likely than men to be the primary care givers to young children leading to a very different prison experience (Petrillo, 2007; Lawston & Lucas, 2011). Figures for Western Australia in 2005, for example, indicated that nearly three quarters of women in prison were mothers (WADCS, 2008). Imprisoned women according to Goulding (2004) rely heavily on temporary care providers to look after their children during their incarceration. Those women incarcerated but lacking anyone such as family and supportive relationships to take care of their children find their children taken into local authorities or foster care facilities (Caddle & Crisp, 1997). Furthermore, children of incarcerated mothers are extremely vulnerable, traumatized by the mother's absence and re-establishing child-mother relationship after release is often difficult (The Urban Institute, 2008).

### ***Relationship challenges after imprisonment***

Prisoners' expectation in the period immediately after release is that their families would provide emotional, financial, problem solving advice, social and psychological assistance, social capital to exit criminal activities and accommodation support (Larner, 2017; McIvor, 2004; Pager, 2007; Visser et. al, 2004). Women returning home find greatest support in their own mothers while men have both their mothers and intimate female partners for support (Hattery & Smith, 2010). Family support is nevertheless not guaranteed when women leave prison and return home. Family members remaining behind may still find it extremely difficult to relate well with relatives who have been physically absent for a long period despite retaining some residual relationship. This is called ambiguous loss (Bocknek, Sanderson and Britner, 2009). Ambiguous loss may explain why families may face challenges in re-establishing relationships with ex-offenders and in reallocating them familial roles during the reentry period (Few-Demo & Ardith, 2004).

Women returning home from prisons back into communities also require a lot of societal support for successful reentry and reintegration. For example, women returnees have probation or parole terms to comply with, struggles for financial stability; health care needs, locating housing and reuniting with their family's struggles. Similarly, the women returnees must obtain employment (often with few skills and a sporadic work history), find safe and drug-free housing, and, in many cases, maintain recovery from addiction (Bloom & Covington, 2000). Bloom and Covington (2000) further opine that communities require to increase their caring capacity and create a community response to address the needs of women leaving prison including housing, physical and psychological safety, education, job training and opportunities, community-based substance-abuse treatment, economic support, positive female role models and a community response strategy to violence against women (Bloom & Covington, 2000).

## **1.11 Research Methodology**

Case study research design was used in this study based on the fact that it is common in criminology research (Crow & Semmens, 2007). The study was conducted in Nyeri County,

Kenya and respondents drawn from all the sub-counties. Majority of the study respondents had been released from Nyeri women prison which is part of King'ong'o Prison located in Nyeri County.

The research investigated women who had been incarcerated either in a prison or remand prison for a period exceeding three months and had been released within a period between three months and six years prior to the interview. These ex-offenders considered Nyeri County their ordinary residence. The narratives were generated by interviewing female women ex-offenders and key informants comprising of the prison chaplain, prison officials, government and community leaders. Other narratives were made from three Focused Group Discussion raised from three cohorts namely family members of ex-offenders, prison welfare staff and eight select christians conveniently picked from each of the sub-counties forming Nyeri County.

A non-probability sampling (purposive) was adopted in gathering the data. Through working with the local administration and CARITAS Nyeri who had some contacts, the survey sought to reach out to the identified ex-offenders. Further, snowballing exercise was conducted where the contacted ex-offenders referred the researcher to other ex-offenders until saturation was reached. In total, 41 female ex-offenders were interviewed for the survey.

The research employed qualitative research methods of data collection through In-depth one-on-one interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Unlike Focus Groups, the Key Informant Interviews (KII) was conducted among experts who on regular basis interact with women in prison and exiting prisoners as well as their families. In total, nine KII were conducted and represented prison chaplain, County commissioner, probation officers, officer in charge Nyeri women prison, In-charge CARITAS Nyeri, and local administration involving a chief and *nyumba kumi* representative. The method of data capture included reading questions, audio-digital recording and field notes. Qualitative data was processed through content analysis. The audios were transcribed in order to identify themes and patterns. The themes were organized into coherent categories and used to bring meaning to the text. In order to organize the data into themes and coherent categories, NVivo software was used

## 1.12 Results and Discussion

Forty-one (41) women ex-offenders met the criteria of having served time in a prison or remand prison for a period exceeding three months and had been released within a period between three months and six years prior to the interview. The women considered Nyeri County as their ordinary domicile.

The following personal descriptions were generated from the general profile of the research participants. The women's age ranged between 22 to 70 years old. The overwhelming majority – 39 of them had been incarcerated in Nyeri women prison, one in Nanyuki and Murang'a women prison respectively. 11 were currently married, 10 widowed, and 14 separated. 6 had never been married. Nine key informants including the in charge Nyeri women prison, The Roman Catholic Chaplaincy who is also an assistant director of Kenya Prison Services, The Nyeri County Commissioner, Central Region Probation Coordinator, County probation director, Sub-County Probation officer, CARITAS officer in charge rehabilitation program, Chief and Nyumba Kumi elder. Three focus group discussions were made. The groups had representation of prison welfare staff, family members and relatives and an ecumenical christian formation group comprising of eight select christians conveniently picked from each of the sub-counties forming Nyeri County. Two women ex-offenders strongly declined to be interviewed on the basis that their prison experiences were too traumatizing to be recounted. Summary of the profiles of the respondents is

given in Appendix I attached.

### 1.13 Discussions

According to the ex-offenders, the relationship with their close family members before incarceration varied. This is because some women may have lost family members and may have had a history of verbal, physical, and/or sexual abuse (Coll & Duff, 1996) whether in the family or other relationships. Some indicated that they had good relationships while others had strained relationships. For instance, Hanah who was detained for conspiracy in the murder of her husband had a strained relationship with her in-laws yet she felt she had acted out of grave provocation where she complained

“I can say that we used to argue with my hubby a lot for a long time because he was a drunkard and he never contributed anything at home. I used to hustle but he won’t let us enjoy in peace. Sometimes, we could offer him food but instead throw it to the cows.” (EX. CON. 15./‘Hannah’, 10<sup>th</sup>, January, 2019 Village OS).

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

“His mother despised me. She used to see me as someone who came from a poor family and so I wanted to show them the opposite” (EX. CON. 36./‘ Shelomit’, 30<sup>th</sup>, January, 2019 Village MS).

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

“If you go back to your parents, your brothers and sisters start seeing you as another burden. Even getting married again is a problem so you are forced to move out to avoid conflicts with your siblings” (EX. CON. 35./‘Sapphira’, 28<sup>th</sup>, January, 2019 Village NTS).

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

“My father once came to prison and told me... the fact that you are in prison, you still remain my daughter. This made me go back to our home. You know they did not also think I would go to jail at first” (EX. CON. 6./‘Candace’, 8<sup>th</sup>, January, 2019 Village TS).

The research findings indicated that relationship are a great challenge for the ex-offenders and their families and the community. According the Central Region Probation Coordinator who the survey sought his opinion “suspicion and mistrust are their biggest challenge and it takes time before ex-offenders can prove that they are not what the community allege they are.” (4<sup>th</sup>, February, 2019 Village NTS). This was supported by Mathira sub-county probation director who said the effects of incarceration are they do not get a suitor in the community and if seen courting



an ex-convict, the community will ask “*Kwani humjui... Alikwambia alikuwa jela?* (You mean you don’t know her...Did she tell you she was in jail)” (18<sup>th</sup>, March, 2019 Village MS).

Unlike before the conviction, where the community had no major issues with the offenders like their families, the reverse became the norm after their release. The community and families of victims became largely hostile to the ex-offenders whereas their immediate families were more welcoming to an extent of arranging for home coming parties. Writing on the social bond theory Bost (2010), Winfree and Abadinsky (2003) opine that this support is significant in reintegration as propensity to crime is markedly reduced through bonds of affectionate social ties to conventional others like parents, peers, teachers, and friends. Merab, who was convicted of forgery for 3 years, had the following to say about her immediate family reception; “My parent’s side received me well. A party was organized where collective reconciliation was advocated for anyone who may have talked ill of me” (EX. CON. 26./‘Merab’, 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2019 Village MS).

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

Unlike Merab, Hanah, who was accused of murdering her husband following domestic violence, had a completely different experience with her in-laws who she claimed “My hubby’s parents clearly showed that they had no business with me, because they said the children belong to them but not me” (EX. CON. 15./‘Hannah’, 10<sup>th</sup>, January, 2019 Village OS).

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

“I was deregistered from all the community groups I was in – from churches and all the self-help groups....no one wanted to talk to me. I was treated like an outcast” (EX. CON. 8./‘Damaris’, 8<sup>th</sup>, January, 2019 Village OS).

This made Damaris feel extremely isolated and unwanted in her community. It’s not until her priest intervened that she was admitted back into the church groups. The community groups have however remained hesitant to accommodate her back. At some point she had contemplated selling off her land and relocating to an area in which people did not know her or her previous criminal history. Communal responses match with the tenets of the labeling theory whose concern is on how societies react to criminal behaviour rather than the causes of crime and how this reaction affects the rule-breaker (Miller, 2009; Triplet and Upton, 2015).

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

“The community promotes stigmatization more than the family for they never visit the prisoners. The family members may visit and have time to reconcile. Furthermore, the crimes committed could be mainly involving the society thus hard for them to forgive. Majority of the ex-offenders also fear the community after jail term” (20<sup>th</sup>, February, 2019).

### 1.14 Conclusion

Successful re-integration into society is a major goal of the prisons systems. It is expected that after serving time, the ex-offenders would have the appropriate skills to integrate back into the society. However, it is clear from this study that this is often not the case. The results showed that the ex-offenders faced serious difficulties in restoring broken relationships with their families,

communities or in founding new intimate relationships. The relationships with close family and community members before incarceration, during incarceration and after release from prison varied and appear to have been affected by the nature of the crime(s) committed. This also influenced how the returnees were received, whether friendly and welcoming or in hostility and stigmatization.

A possible area for future research is on ways in which the process of re-integration can be enhanced by improving the relationships between female convicts and their families and the communities they are released into. It would be imperative also to ask whether the experiences have semblance to male ex-offenders. This paper has made significant steps in understanding relationship challenges facing female ex-offenders especially in the Kenyan context.

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### Appendix I: Biographical Profile of the Ex-offenders

Pseudo Name	Age	Highest Education Level	Crime	Years in Jail
Abigail	Above 60 years	Primary Incomplete	Forgery	2 years
Asenath	Above 60 years	No Education	Drugs	3 years
Athaliah	30-39 years	Primary Incomplete	Drugs	Below 1 year
Bethsheba	50-59 years	Secondary Incomplete	Drugs	2 years
Bilhah	50-59 years	Secondary Incomplete	Drugs	2 years
Candace	30-39 years	College Incomplete	Child Neglect	1 year

<b>Pseudo Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Highest Education Level</b>	<b>Crime</b>	<b>Years in Jail</b>
Claudia	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	more 5 years
Damaris	30-39 years	College Complete	Child Neglect	1 year
Deborah	40-49 years	Secondary Incomplete	Drugs	5 years
Delilah	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	1 year
Dinah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Illegal possession of ammunition	1 year
Dorcas	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	4 years
Eve	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Drugs	4 years
Gomer	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Stealing	3 years
Hanah	40-49 years	Secondary Complete	Murder	more 5 years
Hodesh	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Child Neglect	1 year
Jael	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Murder	Below 1 year
Jehosheba	30-39 years	Secondary Complete	Assault	2 years
Jemima	Above 60 years	Secondary Incomplete	Murder	5 years
Jeneth	30-39 years	Secondary Complete	Arson	3 years
Jerusha	30-39 years	Secondary Complete	Murder	3 years
Jezebel	50-59 years	Primary Complete	Murder	2 years
Jochebed	50-59 years	No Education	Drugs	1 year
Keziah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Concealing crime	Below 1 year
Mehetabel	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Murder	more 5 years
Merab	40-49 years	Secondary Incomplete	Forgery	3 years
Milcah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Child Neglect	3 years
Miriam	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Bribery	2 years
Naarah	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	handling stolen property	2 years
Noah	30-39 years	Secondary Incomplete	Stealing	1 year
Orpah	20-29 years	Primary Complete	Stealing	Below 1 year
Rizpah	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Child Neglect	Below 1 year
Ruah	30-39 years	Primary Complete	Assault	2 years
Ruumah	30-39 years	Primary Incomplete	Murder	2 years
Sapphira	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Assault	4 years
Shelomit	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Assault	Below 1 year
Tabitha	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Illegal Charcoal burning	Below 1 year
Tamar	40-49 years	Primary Complete	Robbery with	3 years

<b>Pseudo Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Highest Education Level</b>	<b>Crime</b>	<b>Years in Jail</b>
			violence	
Zipporah	40-49 years	Primary Incomplete	Assault	Below 1 year
Phoebe	50-59 years	Secondary Complete	Assault	Below 1 year
Vushti	50-59 years	Primary Complete	obtaining money by false pretense	2 years