EX-OFFENDER REINTEGRATION IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED AREAS OF NIGERIA: PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS, POLICY CHALLENGES, AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES IN MADAGALI AND GWOZA

TAKUR'AMA NEVISON ZIDON
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, ADAMAWA STATE UNIVERSITY, MUBI, nancynevison5@gmail.com

ROGERS ROLAND WAZAKARI
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, BAYERO UNIVERSITY, KANO, KANO STATE-NIGERIA, rogersrolandwazakari@gmail.com

SHARON EMMANUEL NTASIRI
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, ADAMAWA STATE UNIVERSITY, MUBI, emmanuelsharon1@gmail.com

KEYWORDS
Ex-Offender Reintegration, Conflict-Affected Areas, Public Perceptions, Policy Challenges and Social Influences

ABSTRACT
Reintegrating former offenders into society is a global challenge due to its potential impact on recidivism and the associated burden on the criminal justice system and society. The aspiration to lead a fulfilling and meaningful life is a universal goal, irrespective of one's background. However, for offenders released from correctional institutions, re-entry into society can be fraught with significant challenges. These individuals often face socio-cultural, economic, and personal obstacles that can hinder a crime-free lifestyle and the re-entry process itself. In light of this context, our study aims to examine the public perceptions and attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration in Madagali and Gwoza and the political and social factors influencing community acceptance of ex-offenders in the study area. The study adopts social identify theory and boundary theory as the theoretical framework. The study used quantitative method of data analysis for the study. The study discovered that there is negative public perceptions and attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration in Madagali and Gwoza and involvement of political and social factors influencing community acceptance of ex-offenders in Madagali and Gwoza. The study recommends critical need for awareness programs that challenge the perception of ex-prisoners as perpetual criminals. Highlighting the success of Nigerian Correctional Service rehabilitation programs through community outreach in villages, markets, religious centres, and media could foster greater public understanding of the reintegration process and its benefits.

Introduction

Reintegrating former offenders into society is a global challenge due to its potential impact on recidivism and the associated burden on the criminal justice system and society. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the Ministry of Justice (2021) reported that adults released after less than 12 months in custody had a reoffending rate of 59.7%, which rose to 62.0% among those with sentences of six months or less. In the United States, data from the National Institute of Justice indicate that nearly 44% of released offenders return to prison within a year (World Population Review, 2021). In Alaska, around two-thirds of released individuals are reincarcerated within six months, reflecting a long-standing trend: in 2005, 68% of 405,000 released prisoners were rearrested within three years, increasing to 77% within five years (World Population Review, 2021). Similarly, Nigeria grapples with a high recidivism rate, estimated at 52.4% (Abrifor et al., 2012), up from 37.3% in 2005 (Soyombo, 2009). Contributing to prison overcrowding, this issue is further complicated by Nigeria's prison population, which as of 2023, stands at 76,239—over 50% above its capacity of 50,083 (Nigerian Correctional Service, 2023; Mbah, 2021). Given its population of approximately 200 million and high criminality score (7.15/10 according to the Global Organized Crime Index, 2021), Nigeria offers a significant case study for examining public attitudes towards the reintegration of ex-offenders as a means to curb recidivism.

Research has explored numerous factors contributing to recidivism, such as poor prison conditions (Igbo and Ugwuoke, 2003), substance misuse (Chenube et al., 2011), employment discrimination (Ismail, 2022), and the limited role communities play in reintegration (Ike et al., 2021). Existing studies have often concentrated on ex-offenders, the incarcerated, or reintegration programs, such as deradicalization efforts (Barkindo and Bryans, 2016), job training (Salaam, 2013), or democratic reintegration (Uggen et al., 2006). Other programs include amnesty initiatives for former militants (Adebayo and Matsilele, 2019; Ike et al., 2022b) and rehabilitation efforts for former Boko Haram members (Felbab-Brown, 2018; Ugwueze et al., 2022). However, research on how communities perceive these reintegration efforts is often limited to specific crimes, as demonstrated by studies on community resistance to reintegration for ex-Boko Haram members, driven by negative views of the group (Ike et al., 2022b; Owonikoko, 2022).

Additional literature highlights the effects of stigma, discrimination, and the labeling of individuals as former prisoners on reintegration outcomes, suggesting that such barriers can contribute to recidivism (Ahmed, 2015; Moran, 2012; Schneider and Weber, 2020). For example, Moran (2012) found that the physical and emotional imprints of imprisonment complicate reintegration for women in Russia, while Ahmed (2015) noted that criminal records and discrimination based on race or social status increase recidivism risks.

Despite the insights these studies provide, they often fall short of exploring public attitudes towards reintegration irrespective of the crime committed, which is a significant gap in understanding societal acceptance. Additionally, the potential positive association between public education levels and openness to reintegration remains under-researched, particularly in Nigeria, as noted in Salaam's (2013) study.

Statement of the Problem

The aspiration to lead a fulfilling and meaningful life is a universal goal, irrespective of one's background. The reintegration process is hampered by socio-cultural, economic, and personal obstacles, with the stark contrast between the structured prison environment and the complexities of mainstream society compounding the difficulty (Ajala & Oguntuase, 2011). These challenges are particularly acute for those returning to communities vastly different from those they left.

In states like Adamawa and Borno, ex-offenders encounter stigma, discrimination, and exclusion due to entrenched societal beliefs, which undermine rehabilitation efforts and heighten the risk of recidivism (Osayi, 2013). Limited access to employment and social support further perpetuates this cycle, with 31.3% of released offenders in Nigeria between 2007 and 2014 reoffending (Idowu & Odivwri, 2019). Public skepticism, as seen in the backlash against presidential pardons for Boko Haram members, reflects deep-seated doubts about the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-offenders (BBC, 2018; Iroanusi, 2021).

Despite some research on offender reintegration challenges and aftercare services (Osayi, 2013; Davis et al., 2012), limited attention has been given to the influence of public perceptions on this process. This study seeks to fill that gap by analyzing the political and social factors shaping attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration in Madagali and Gwoza.

Objectives of the Study

In light of this context, our study aims to examine:

i. The public perceptions and attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration in Madagali and Gwoza.

ii. The political and social factors influencing community acceptance of ex-offenders in the study area.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses guided the study

Ho_1: There is a significant relationship between the public perceptions of ex-offender reintegration and the level of community acceptance in Madagali and Gwoza.

Ho_2: Social factors, including community cohesion, religious beliefs, and historical experiences with crime, significantly affect the acceptance of ex-offenders in Madagali and Gwoza.

Literature Review

The Concept of Reintegration

Imprisonment and reintegration are deeply interconnected, with imprisonment serving as a legal punishment for offenders and reintegration focusing on their re-entry into society. Imprisonment in Nigeria is guided by Decree No. 9 of 1972, emphasizing rehabilitation and training to transform offenders into law-abiding citizens (Ugwuoke & Ojonugwa, 2014). Similarly, the Nigerian Correctional Service is tasked with managing prisoners and facilitating their rehabilitation, although systemic challenges often hinder these goals (Ugwumba & Usang, 2014). Historically, imprisonment emerged as a humane alternative to the harsh punishments of 18th-century Europe, evolving into a tool for both punishment and reform (Walsh & Poole, 1997).

Reintegration is the process through which ex-offenders re-enter society and gain acceptance, resuming normal activities like employment while navigating societal perceptions (Andrews, 2015). However, in Nigeria, ex-convicts face numerous barriers, including social exclusion and limited job opportunities. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2006) defines reintegration as addressing the moral, vocational, and educational needs of offenders, alongside their special challenges such as addiction or mental health issues. Nwune et al. (2019) highlight the interconnected goals of rehabilitation, reformation, and reintegration, with reintegration often seen as the primary focus post-incarceration.

Globally, reintegration is fraught with challenges, such as stigma, fear of rejection, and strained family dynamics, which can push ex-convicts back into crime (Raboloko & Maripe, 2019). In Nigeria's Rivers State, inadequate rehabilitation programs and the absence of effective reintegration strategies contribute to high recidivism rates (Birabil & Harry, 2021). While initial community support for reintegration may exist, it often diminishes once ex-convicts rejoin society (Andrews, 2015). These issues underscore the need for robust, well-designed strategies to support reintegration and reduce recidivism.

Conceptualizing Ex-Convicts

The terms "ex-convict," "ex-prisoner," and "ex-offender" are often used interchangeably, yet there are subtle distinctions. An ex-offender may refer to someone who has committed a crime but has not been incarcerated, whereas an ex-convict specifically denotes someone who has been convicted and sentenced to prison. Collins (2021) defines an ex-convict as a former prisoner. Osayi (2013) describes ex-convicts as individuals released from prison with the goal of leading a successful life in society. However, various factors complicate their smooth reintegration. According to the Homeless Veterans Reintegration Program (HVRP, 2008), individuals who have committed fraudulent or dishonest acts, or demonstrated behaviors that led to their incarceration, may face credibility issues upon release.

The challenge of reintegrating released offenders is closely linked to the risk of recidivism. Without adequate social support, ex-convicts are more likely to reoffend (Idowu & Odivwri, 2019). Ideally, the reintegration process should involve collaboration between the ex-convict, their family, and the community to ensure a successful re-entry into society. However, securing employment and overcoming societal stigma pose significant obstacles for many ex-convicts. HVRP (2008) identifies challenges such as societal perceptions and attitudes, which may hinder successful reintegration, but with proper support, ex-convicts can achieve competitive employment success.

In Nigeria, inadequate rehabilitation programs often fail to successfully reintegrate ex-prisoners, contributing to high rates of recidivism (Yekini & Salisu, 2013). The failure to reintegrate ex-convicts effectively perpetuates a cycle of reoffending, undermining societal stability and good governance (Osayi, 2013; Schneider & Weber, 2020). This underscores the need for rehabilitation efforts that extend beyond prison walls and into the communities where ex-convicts are expected to reintegrate.

Public Perception of Ex-Convict Reintegration

Ex-convicts encounter significant challenges in reintegration due to societal rejection and stigmatization. They are often stereotyped, labeled, and discriminated against, which perpetuates punishment even after they have served their sentences (Link & Phelan, 2001). This stigma can erode self-esteem, weaken social cohesion, and potentially lead to further criminal behavior (Kobayashi et al., 2001; Le Bel, 2012).

Key barriers to reintegration include family rejection, societal stigma, limited access to the labor market, and mental health struggles such as inferiority complexes (Chikadzi, 2017). In Nigeria, communities often judge ex-convicts by their past crimes, substance abuse, or mental health histories, which affects their acceptance and support (Obum, Yunusa & Galdi, 2017). In Kogi State, public stigmatization has been found to contribute to recidivism and hinder reintegration efforts, despite claims of rehabilitation by correctional institutions (Ugwuoke & Ojonugwa, 2014).

Employment is a critical component of reintegration, providing ex-convicts with purpose and societal acceptance. However, societal perceptions and stigma make securing employment challenging (Angell et al., 2014). In Ghana, business owners are often reluctant to hire ex-convicts due to offense nature, personal bias, and public perceptions (Wiafe, 2021). Employers frequently stereotype ex-offenders as unreliable or unproductive, further limiting their opportunities and reinforcing marginalization (Ahmed & Lång, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for examining public perceptions and attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration in Nigeria, with a focus on Madagali and Gwoza, draws on *Social Identity Theory (SIT)* and *Boundary Theory*. These theories offer insights into the processes of group dynamics, social categorization, and boundary-making that shape public attitudes and policies related to ex-offenders re-entering society. Both frameworks contribute to understanding how social identity and boundary formation influence community acceptance, political policy, and social perceptions regarding ex-offender reintegration.

Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Tajfel and Turner's (1985) Social Identity Theory posits that individuals derive part of their self-esteem and identity from the social groups they belong to, such as communities, families, nationalities, and religious affiliations. Social identity is thus integral to one's self-concept and can drive attitudes toward others perceived as belonging to different groups. This theoretical approach helps explain the *ingroup versus outgroup* mentality, where individuals identify with and favour those within their own group (ingroup) while viewing those outside (outgroup) as different or even threatening.

In the context of ex-offender reintegration, SIT highlights how communities may view ex-offenders as outsiders or members of an outgroup due to their past offenses. This perception leads to biases, stigmas, and stereotypes against ex-offenders, influencing community members' resistance to or acceptance of their reintegration. Through *social categorization*, community members may label ex-offenders based on their past behaviours, solidifying boundaries between the "law-abiding" and "non-conforming" individuals. These categories inform *social identification*, wherein community members develop shared norms that align with the ingroup's perceived

values, often leading to prejudice and rejection toward the outgroup.

Moreover, *social comparison* within SIT explains the tendency of communities to compare their group's social standing and morality against those of ex-offenders. This process reinforces a hierarchical structure where ingroups view themselves as superior, further fuelling stigmatization. SIT thus offers a framework to analyse how community members derive a sense of self-worth by distinguishing themselves from ex-offenders, potentially hindering reintegration efforts due to persistent stigma.

Boundary Theory

Boundary Theory, an extension of Social Identity Theory (SIT), explores how social actors create, maintain, and contest boundaries between groups to shape social identities and behaviors. It introduces *symbolic boundaries*, which are conceptual distinctions that categorize individuals or groups, such as "law-abiding citizens" versus "ex-offenders," influencing societal attitudes and interactions. These boundaries often lead to *social boundaries*, which manifest as exclusion from social resources, employment, and opportunities.

In this context, symbolic boundaries explain how public perceptions of ex-offenders are socially constructed, reinforcing moral or legal distinctions that hinder reintegration. Communities, like those in Madagali and Gwoza, may view ex-offenders as morally distinct, perpetuating exclusion. Boundary Theory highlights how community members contribute to this exclusion by defining acceptable behaviors and penalizing those seen as "other."

Combining SIT and Boundary Theory provides a framework to analyze the socio-political dynamics of ex-offender reintegration in Nigeria. SIT's cognitive processes—such as social categorization and comparison—drive boundary creation, while Boundary Theory explains how these distinctions become entrenched within social structures. For successful reintegration, communities and policymakers must address these symbolic and social boundaries, dismantling stigmas and fostering inclusive identities. This approach offers a foundation for designing more effective, supportive reintegration policies.

Methodology

This study adopts a quantitative research design to assess public attitudes towards the reintegration of ex-offenders in the conflict-affected regions of Madagali and Gwoza. The focus on quantitative data collection allows for measurable, statistical insights into the population's attitudes, offering a clear, empirical basis for analysis.

A cross-sectional survey was conducted to gather data, focusing on individuals aged 18 years and above who are residents of Madagali and Gwoza. This design is chosen to capture the current public perceptions within these communities, especially given the recent history of insurgent activities and the challenges of reintegrating ex-combatants.

Participants were recruited via a structured online survey. In cases where internet access was limited, trained field assistants facilitated in-person completion of the survey using electronic tablets. A total of 500 respondents were targeted across both regions to ensure a representative sample of various demographic backgrounds, including gender, age, education level, employment status, and religious affiliation. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained from all respondents before they completed the survey.

The primary data collection instrument was the adapted Public Attitude towards Ex-offenders and their Reintegration (PAER) scale, informed by the Melvin et al. (1985) Attitude Towards Prisoners scale. The PAER is a 13-item Likert-type scale with responses ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree," capturing public attitudes toward the treatment and acceptance of ex-offenders. Statements included: "Ex-offenders should be given housing and support to aid reintegration", "Ex-offenders are bad people", and "Ex-offenders should be given the opportunity to reintegrate positively into society." The survey also included demographic questions (e.g., age, education level, employment, and religious affiliation) to assess whether these variables correlate with attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration.

Data from the PAER scale were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics provided a general overview of the attitudes within the population, including means, frequencies, and standard deviations of

responses. Inferential analysis included Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (Spearman's ρ) to measure the association between demographic factors and attitudes towards reintegration. The use of Spearman's ρ is appropriate as it accommodates ordinal data and non-linear relationships, allowing for the examination of correlations between variables like education level or employment status and punitive attitudes toward ex-offenders.

Result and Discussion

Based on descriptive statistics, a punitive attitude towards offenders appears prevalent in the quantitative dataset, as illustrated in Table 1.

The study on public perceptions of ex-offender reintegration in Madagali and Gwoza reveals significant community resistance and skepticism. A majority of respondents (51%) strongly opposed providing housing and funding support to ex-offenders, reflecting a deep reluctance to facilitate their reintegration. This aligns with previous research showing community resentment toward reintegration programs, especially for individuals linked to high-profile cases like former Boko Haram members or Niger Delta militants (Felbab-Brown, 2018; Ike et al., 2022a, 2022b; Owonikoko, 2022; Adebayo and Matsilele, 2019).

Additionally, 53% of participants doubted the potential reform of ex-offenders, believing they are likely to reoffend, mirroring skepticism highlighted in existing literature (Ugwueze et al., 2022). Even when presented with a positive framing of ex-offenders leading productive lives with support, 47.7% strongly disagreed, underscoring persistent social stigma. This negative perception is likely influenced by societal views of crime as a grave offense and the enduring stigma associated with criminal convictions.

Interestingly, the study found no correlation between educational level and positive attitudes toward reintegration, suggesting that such negative perceptions are widespread and resistant to change, regardless of education.

Table 1: Societal perception and attitude towards ex-offenders' reintegration

Variable	SD	D	A	SA
I would be willing to volunteer my time or contribute financially to an organization that advocates for stricter sentencing laws in Nigeria.	661 (56%)	97 (8.2%)	117 (9.9%)	306 (25.9%)
For the majority of offenders, there is a need to focus more on condemnation than on understanding.	170 (14.3%)	176 (14.8%)	200 (16.9%)	640 (54%)
My overall perspective on offenders is that they should be subjected to strict treatment.	171 (14.4%)	174 (14.7%)	238 (20.1%)	603 (50.8%)
Incarcerated individuals should be provided with access to television or gym facilities.	593 (50.1%)	237 (20%)	90 (7.6%)	264 (22.3%)
Individuals with past criminal convictions should face strict treatment.	202 (17%)	144 (12.2%)	228 (19.2%)	611 (51.6%)
Housing and financial support should be provided to ex-offenders to facilitate their reintegration into society.	605 (51%)	228 (19.2%)	95 (8%)	258 (21.8%)
I have no objections to residing and collaborating with an individual who has a criminal history.	631 (53.2%)	213 (18%)	118 (9.9%)	224 (18.9%)
Ex-offenders are often perceived negatively due to their past criminal behaviour.	189 (15.9%)	152 (12.8%)	200 (16.8%)	646 (54.4%)
Ex-offenders may reoffend if given the opportunity or under certain circumstances.	187 (15.8%)	130 (11%)	241 (20.3%)	628 (53%)

Ex-offenders should be provided with opportunities for successful reintegration into society.	587 (49.7%)	227 (19.2%)	97 (8.2%)	271 (22.9%)
With adequate support and effort, the majority of offenders have the potential to lead productive lives.	566 (47.7%)	261 (22%)	86 (7.2%)	274 (23.1%)
Even individuals who have committed serious offenses have the potential to overcome criminal behaviours with the right intervention and support.	597 (50.4%)	226 (19.1%)	106 (8.9%)	256 (21.6%)
Rehabilitation opportunities should be accessible to individuals regardless of the severity of the crime they have committed.	642 (54.3%)	117 (9.9%)	113 (9.6%)	311 (26.3%)

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Key: SD: Strongly Disagree, D: Disagree, A: Agree, SA: Strongly Agree

The analysis using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (r = .025) indicates a very weak correlation between education level and public attitudes toward the reintegration of ex-offenders in Madagali and Gwoza. This suggests that education does not significantly influence community support for reintegration measures, such as providing housing or financial assistance. The data imply that societal attitudes toward ex-offenders are shaped more by cultural, social, and political factors than by educational background. Negative perceptions of ex-offenders persist even among educated individuals, reflecting a broader societal skepticism and stigma rooted in viewing criminal behavior as a moral failing rather than a rehabilitative opportunity.

The findings highlight those societal attitudes in these areas remain punitive and resistant to policies supporting ex-offender reintegration, aligning with existing literature on public resistance in Nigeria, especially in high-profile cases such as those involving Boko Haram or Niger Delta militants. The minimal impact of education suggests that changing public opinion may require community-based interventions and dialogue that address underlying cultural and social narratives about ex-offenders, beyond formal education efforts. Without addressing these deep-rooted concerns, reintegration policies may continue to face resistance and hinder successful societal reintegration of former offenders.

Table 2: Nonparametric correlations

Spearman's ρ	**Level of education**	**Reintegration of Ex-offenders in Madagali and Gwoza**
Level of education		
Correlation coefficient	1.000	.025
Sig. (2-tailed)		.591
N	987	457
Reintegration of Ex-offenders		
Correlation coefficient	.025	1.000
Sig. (2-tailed)		.591
N	457	595

Source: SPSS Output, 2024

Major Findings

Based on the analysis of the research, the following major findings were discovered thus

i. There is negative public perceptions and attitudes toward ex-offender reintegration in Madagali and Gwoza.

ii. There is political and social factors influencing community acceptance of ex-offenders in Madagali and Gwoza.

Conclusion

In conclusion, public perceptions and attitudes in Madagali and Gwoza reflect deeply rooted cultural and social beliefs that view ex-offenders with suspicion and often as permanent threats. These attitudes are shaped by longstanding social norms, practices, and fears that hinder rehabilitation efforts and reinforce stigmatization, limiting the effectiveness of correctional services and reintegration programs. The prevailing belief that associating with ex-prisoners may bring harm undermines community acceptance and risks driving ex-offenders back into criminal behaviours due to isolation and limited social or economic opportunities.

Recommendations

To address these issues, this paper recommends:

i. There is a critical need for awareness programs that challenge the perception of ex-prisoners as perpetual criminals. Highlighting the success of Nigerian Correctional Service rehabilitation programs through community outreach in villages, markets, religious centres, and media could foster greater public understanding of the reintegration process and its benefits.

ii. Legislative measures should address and discourage harmful cultural beliefs, such as the notion that interacting with ex-offenders can bring bad fortune or divine retribution. Correcting these misconceptions could help reduce societal fears and encourage community support for reintegration.

iii. Allowing ex-prisoners to participate fully in civic life, including the right to vote and hold public office if qualified, is essential. Recognizing them at social events alongside other citizens would also help to diminish the stigma associated with their past and aid in their social reintegration.

iv. There should be fair hiring practices that do not disqualify individuals based on their criminal records alone. Denying employment on such grounds not only dehumanizes ex-offenders but also threatens their successful reintegration by depriving them of essential economic stability.

References

Abrifor CA, Atere AA and Muoghalu CO (2012) Gender differences, trend and pattern recidivism among inmates in selected Nigerian prisons. *European Scientific Journal* 8(24): 25–44.

Adebayo JO and Matsilele T (2019) Nigerian experience with post-conflict peacebuilding: Examining operation safe corridors and the Niger Delta amnesty programme. *Journal of African Union Studies* 8(3): 135–156.

Adekanmbi G and Ezikpe U (2021) Prison education in Nigeria. In: *Research Anthology on Rehabilitation Practices and Therapy*. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, pp. 1723–1736.

Ahmed AM (2015) Social discrimination as a predictor of criminal recidivism: A study of exprisoners in metropolitan Kano-Nigeria. *Journal of Social and Development Sciences* 6(3): 58–68.

Ahmed, A.M. & Lång, E. (2017). The employability 1. of ex-offenders: A field experiment in the Swedish Labor market. *Journal of Labor Policy, 6(6), 1-23.*

Angell, B., Matthews, E., Barrenger, S., Watson, 5. A.C. & Draine, J. (2014). Engagement processes in model programs for community re-entry from prison for people with serious mental

illness. *International Journal of Law & Psychiatry, 37(5), 490–500.*

Andrews, C.B. (2015). Community attitudes toward 4. the reintegration of ex-prisoners. A Thesis Submitted to Deakin University for the award of Doctor of Psychology (Forensic).

Alvarez P, García-Carrión R, Puigvert L, et al. (2018) Beyond the walls: The social reintegration of prisoners through the dialogic reading of classic universal literature in prison. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 62(4): 1043–1061.

Babatunde-Lawal A (2022) Increasing Nigeria's defence budget to improve security. *Business Day*, 20 May. Available at: https://businessday.ng/research-post/article/increasing- Nigeria defence-budget-to-improve-security/

Barkindo AB and Bryans S (2016) De-radicalising prisoners in Nigeria: Developing a basic prison based de-radicalisation programme. *Journal for Deradicalization* 7: 1–25.

Baron RA and Byrne D (2000) *Social Psychology*, 9th end. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Braun V and Clarke V (2013) *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. London: Sage.

Bregoli I (2013) Effects of DMO coordination on destination brand identity: A mixed-method study on the city of Edinburgh. *Journal of Travel Research* 52(2): 212–224.

Brewer MB and Brown RJ (1998) Intergroup relations. In Gilbert DT, Fiske ST, and Lindzey G (eds) *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 2. New York: McGraw-Hill, pp.554–594.

Birabil, B.N. & Harry, A.T. (2021). Workers 7. perception of rehabilitation programmes on behaviour reformation of correctional inmates in Rivers State. *Journal of Public Administration & Social Welfare Research, 6(1), 30-48.*

Bryman A (2016) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Centre for Democracy and Development, (2017). Prospects for Transitional Justice Initiative in North East Nigeria. CDD. http://cddwestafrica.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/09/TransitionalJustice-In-North- East.pdf (accessed 15 June 2022).

Chen PY and Popovich PM (2002) *Correlation: Parametric and Nonparametric Measures* (p. 139). Thousands of Oaks, California: Sage.

Chenube O, Dosumu S, Omomoyesan M, et al. (2011) A survey of alcohol vulnerability of male prison inmates in Nigeria. *Gender and Behaviour* 9(2): 4298–4306.

Choi J, Peters M and Mueller RO (2010) Correlational analysis of ordinal data: From Pearson's r to Bayesian polychoric correlation. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 11: 459–466.

Chikadzi, V. (2017). *Challenges facing ex-offenders 8*. when reintegrating into mainstream society in Gauteng, South Africa. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 53(2), 288-300.

Collins (2021). Ex-convict. Retrieved from 9. *https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ex-convict*

Clubb G and Tapley M (2018) Conceptualising de-radicalisation and former combatant re- integration in Nigeria. *Third World Quarterly* 39(11): 2053–2068.

Easton S (2022) Not just another brick in the wall? Protecting prisoners' right to education. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 69: 100530.

Epstein CF (1992) Tinkerbells and pinups: The construction and reconstruction of gender boundaries at work. *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality* 232: 233–238.

Felbab-Brown V (2018) *'In Nigeria, we Don't Want Them Back': Amnesty, Defectors'*

Programmes, Leniency Measures, Informal Reconciliation, and Punitive Responses to Boko Haram. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University, pp. 1–6.

Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime (2021) Global organized crime index. Available at: https://ocindex.net/assets/downloads/global-ocindex-report.pdf (2021, accessed 20 May 2023).

Hassan I and Tyvoll J (2018) *After Boko Haram: Prospects for transitional justice in North East Nigeria*. Nigeria: Centre for Democracy and Development.

Harish, F., Chittoo, H. B., & Bholoa, A. (2011). Trends 15. in incarceration and recidivism in Mauritius: Raising the alarm. *Global Journal of Human Social Science, 11(7), 52 - 64.*

Hinkle DE, Wiersma W and Jurs SG (2003) *Applied Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*, 5th edn. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Horgan J and Braddock K (2010) Rehabilitating the terrorists? Challenges in assessing the effectiveness of de-radicalization programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22(2): 267– 291.

Huaiquián-Billeke C, Sánchez Toledo-V, Quilodrán Contreras-R, et al. (2021) Education in confinement: The Reintegration of young people in prison in La Araucanía, Chile. *Social Inclusion* 9(4): 60–68.

HVRP (2008). Ex-offenders and employment. 16. National Technical Assistance Centre at Virginia Commonwealth University. Fact Sheet #6. *Retrieved from https://worksupport.com/documents/HVRPFactsheet6.pdf*

IBE (2021) *Agitations of the Indigenous People of Biafra and the Right to Self Determination*. Okija, Nigeria: Faculty of Law, Madonna University, Nigeria.

Igbo, E.U.M (2007). *Introduction to Criminology*. 18. Nsukka: Afro-Orbis Publication Ltd

Idowu, O.A. & Odivwri, E.J. (2019). Re-integration 17. of released offenders: A panacea to vicious circle of recidivism in Ondo State, Nigeria*. Gouni Journal of Faculty of Management & Social Sciences, 7(1), 32-51.*

Igbo EUM and Ugwuoke CU (2003) Recidivism in Enugu state prison. *Nigeria Journal of Research and Production (NIJOREP)* 3: 33–34.

Ike TJ, Jidong DE, Ike ML, et al. (2022a) Reintegration of former Boko Haram members and combatants in Nigeria: An interpretative phenomenological analysis of community members' experiences of trauma. *Third World Quarterly* 43: 2811–2829.

Ike TJ, Singh D, Jidong DE, et al. (2021) Rethinking reintegration in Nigeria: Community perceptions of former Boko Haram combatants. *Third World Quarterly* 42(4): 661–678.

Ike TJ, Singh D, Murphy S, et al. (2022b) Community perspectives of former terrorist combatants, militants and reintegration programmes in Nigeria: A systematic review. *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 14: 142–168.

Ismail H (2022) *Hiring nonviolent African American male ex-offenders: A phenomenological investigation on employment discrimination*. Doctoral Dissertation, Northcentral University, Scottsdale, AZ.

Jengeleski JL (1984) Reintegrating the ex-offender: A critique of education and employment programs. *Journal of Correctional Education* 35: 90–95.

Kendall MG and Gibbons JD (1990) *Rank Correlation Methods*, 5th edn. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kubrin CE and Stewart EA (2006) Predicting who reoffends: The neglected role of neighbourhood context in recidivism studies. *Criminology* 44(1): 165–197.

Lamont M and Molnár V (2002) The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 167–195.

Lamont RA, Swift HJ and Abrams D (2015) A review and meta-analysis of age-based stereotype threat: Negative stereotypes, not facts, do the damage. *Psychology and Aging*, 30(1): 180.

Leone P and Wruble P (2017) *Prison education: Maximizing the potential for employment and successful community reintegration*. The Abell Report, no. 6. Baltimore, MD: Abell Foundation.

Logan JA (1996) "Rules of Access and Shifts in Demand: A Comparison of Log-Linear and TwoSided Logit Models." *Social Science Research* 25: 174–199.

Lyon AR, Pullmann MD, Dorsey S, et al. (2021) Protocol for a hybrid type 2 cluster randomized trial of trauma-focused cognitive behavioural therapy and a pragmatic individual-level implementation strategy. *Implementation Science* 16(1): 1–15.

Mbah C (2021) Nigeria's correctional centres are overcrowded by 37% but 7 out of 10 inmates are awaiting trial. *Dataohytes*, 26 October. Available at: https://www.dataphyte.com/latestreports/security/nigerias-correctional-centres-are- overcrowded-by-37-but-7-out-of-10-inmates-are-awaiting-trial/ (accessed 20 May 2023).

Melvin KB, Gramling LK and Gardner WM (1985) A scale to measure attitudes toward prisoners. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour* 12(2): 241–253.

Moran D (2012) Prisoner reintegration and the stigma of prison time inscribed on the body. *Punishment & Society* 14(5): 564–583.

National Bureau of Statistics (2021) Labour force statistics: Unemployment and underemployment report. https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary/read/1238

Nwune, E.C., Ajah, B.O., Egbegi, F.R. & Onyejegbu, 26. D.C. (2019). Across the wall: The perception of rehabilitation, reformation and reintegration programmes in Anambra State Prison Command. *Journal of Law & Judicial System, 2(2), 13-22.*

Nigerian Correctional Service (2023) Statistics summary: Summary of inmate population by convict and awaiting trial persons as at 15th May 2023 total inmate population. Available at: https://www.corrections.gov.ng/statistics_summary (accessed 20 May 2023).

O'Reilly MF (2014) Opening doors or closing them? The impact of incarceration on the education and employability of ex-offenders in Ireland. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 53(5): 468–486.

Odalonu BH (2022) Worsening Insecurity in Nigeria and its implications on governance and national development. *African Journal of Humanities and Contemporary Education Research* 5(1): 31–49.

Onuoha FC, Okafor JC and Femi-Adedayo OO (2021) Nigeria: Militancy, insurgency and the proliferation of small arms and light weapon. In: Tar UA and Onwurah CP (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Small Arms and Conflicts in Africa*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 777–802.

Osayi, K.K. (2013). Socio-cultural factors affecting 29. reintegration of discharged prisoners in Anambra State, South-East, Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 4(10), 775-780.*

Osayi KK (2015) Socio-cultural factors affecting reintegration of discharged prisoners in Anambra State, South East, Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 5(1): 39–43.

Owonikoko SB (2022) "Take them to Government House or Aso Rock": Community receptivity to reintegration of operation safe Corridor's deradicalized Ex-Boko Haram members in Northeastern Nigeria. *Cogent Social Sciences* 8(1): 2015884.

Raboloko, B.M. & Maripe, K. (2019). Perceptions 31. of ex-convicts on rehabilitation programmes in

preparation for reintegration in Botswana. *Current Journal of Applied Science & Technology, 35(6), 1-5.*

Salaam AO (2013) 'Locked up but shouldn't be forgotten': Basic educational training and career placement as potential tools for the reintegration and rehabilitation of former prisoners in Nigeria. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 52(6): 438–450.

Schneider CR and Weber EU (2020) Reducing discrimination and fostering prosociality towards ex-prisoners in Nigeria and the United States. *Journal of Social Issues* 76(1): 172–199.

Soyombo O (2009) *Sociology and crime control: That we may live in peace. University of Lagos Inaugural Lecturer Series*. Lagos, Nigeria: University of Lagos Press.

Stephen EN and Dudafa UJ (2016). Prisons rehabilitation programmes in Nigeria: A study of inmate's perception in Okaka prison, Bayelsa State. *Studies in Sociology of Science* 7(6): 1–12.

Stinchcombe AL (1995) Sugar Island Slavery in the Age of Enlightenment: The Political Economy of the Caribbean World. Pinceton: Princeton University Press.

Tajfel H and Turner J (1979) An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: Austin W and Worchel S (eds) *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/ Cole, pp. 33–47.

Tajfel H and Turner JC (1985) The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In: Worchel S and Austin WG (eds) *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, pp.6– 24.

Tayo T (2022) Can Nigeria finance its war against insurgents? *Pretoria*, South Africa: Institute for security studies, 24 August.

Usang, E.E. (2019). The prisoners and the agony 38. of rehabilitation: an exposition of integration of ex-convicts into the Nigeria society. *International Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities Reviews, 9(1), 352- 360.*

Ugwumba, N.C.F. & Usang, E.E. (2014). The 34. challenges of rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-convicts from Nigerian prisons. *Journal of Science, Engineering & Technology, 3(2), 59-64.*

Uggen C, Manza J and Behrens A (2013) 'Less than the average citizen': Stigma, role transition and the civic reintegration of convicted felons. In: Marina, S. and Immarigeon (eds) *After Crime and Punishment*. Willan Publishing, pp. 279–311.

Uggen C, Manza J and Thompson M (2006). Citizenship, democracy, and the civic reintegration of criminal offenders. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 605(1): 281–310.

Ugwueze MI, Ngwu EC and Onuoha FC (2022) Operation safe corridor programme and reintegration of ex-Boko Haram fighters in Nigeria. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 57(6): 1229–1248.

Ugwuoke CU (2010) *Criminology: Explaining Crime in the Nigerian Context*. Nsukka, Nigeria: Great AP Publishers Ltd.

Ugwuoke, C.U. & Ojonugwa, A.S. (2014). 35. Rehabilitation of convicts in Nigerian Prisons: A study of Federal Prisons in Kogi State. *Research on Humanities & Social Sciences, 4(26), 33-43.*

UNODC. (2006). *Custodial and non-custodial 37. measures, social reintegration - criminal justice assessment toolkit.* New York: United Nations.

Varin C (2016) *Boko Haram and The War on Terror*. California: ABC-CLIO.

World Population Review (2021) Available at: *https://worldpopulationreview.com/state- rankings/ recidivism-rates-by-state (accessed 5 January 2022).*

Wiafe, E.A. (2021). Willingness of employers to 39. employ ex-convicts among selected SMEs in the western region of Ghana. *Cogent Social Sciences, 7(1), 1-17.*