

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE



**CAN RESTORATIVE JUSTICE BE AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF JUSTICE TO
RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN ZAMBIA? A
CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SECTION 8 OF THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE
CHAPTER 88 OF THE LAWS OF ZAMBIA**

By

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**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
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AFRICAN REGIONAL CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S LAW, FACULTY OF LAW,
UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE, 2016.**

DECLARATION

I, CHRISPIN MUBANGA do hereby declare that this research is my own original work and has not been submitted for a Masters Degree at the Southern and Eastern African Regional Centre for Women’s Law, University of Zimbabwe or at any other University,.

Signed.....

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Date.....

ABSTRACT

In view of the growing prison population and the government's inadequate budgetary funding to the Prisons Service, various options have been explored to find solutions to the problem. The study focuses specifically at the failure by most Magistrates to effectively operationalize Section 8 of the Criminal Procedure Code of Chapter 88 of the Laws of Zambia. The failure comes in the realization that the law under Section 8 of the CPC is a misdemeanor which allows for victim-offender reconciliation to avoid incarceration and consider alternative sentencing options like community sentence, suspended sentence and compensation. Furthermore, although Restorative Justice seems to be a new concept in Zambia, it has been identified worldwide as a new form of effective justice system that promotes reconciliation as opposed to Retributive Justice that increases crimes of revenge. Currently, the United Nations Basic Principles on the use of Restorative Justice are not binding on member countries. This means that any country can adopt these rules if it so wishes. This infringes on the rights of the victim who has decided to reconcile because this is not supported by any compelling law or international instrument.

The writer studied samples of women (and some men) who have been victims of this law. Although several methodologies were employed, the women's law approach which highlights various dynamics in the law that adversely affects women was instrumental. Data collected for the study include a review of the law, policy and literature on the subject and oral evidence obtained from interviews with respondents and key informants within the Criminal Justice System and a Non-Governmental Organization working with the Zambia Prisons Service on Care and Counselling (PRISCCA) of prisoners. In essence, the study finds that: (1). Lack of effective implementation of Section 8 of the CPC by the Magistrates has defeated the spirit of the objective of this law (2). Excessive reliance on custodial sentencing as opposed to other sentencing options has contributed to high prison population and women are the most affected because they are perceived to commit minor offences. Therefore, the writer's suggested solutions to this problem include policy and law reform that should incorporate principles of Restorative Justice in the Criminal Justice System on all minor offences in Zambia. This requires political will on the part of the government to successfully implement this.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family for the support rendered to me from the beginning of this program at SEARCWL up to the end and for inspiring me to work hard, I say, God bless you all.

To all my classmates on this program and for your dedicated support, I say, thank you so much for this.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AOABH.....	Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm
CJS.....	Criminal Justice System
FGC.....	Family Group Conference
PRISCCA.....	Prisons Care and Counselling Association
RJ	Retributive Justice
RJ.....	Restorative Justice
SGB.....	Standard General Body
TC.....	Traditional Court
TRCR.....	Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report
UN.....	United Nations

TABLE OF STATUTES AND CASES CITED

Canada

Cases

R v Moses, 11 C.R. (4th) 357, (1992) 3 C.N.L.R. 116, 71 c.c.c. (3d) 347

Malawi

Statutes

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Statutes

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Anti-Gender Based Violence Act Number 1 of 2011

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Constitution of Zambia Chapter 1, Bill of Rights

Constitution of Zambia Chapter 1 (Amendment Bill Number 16 of 2016) of the Laws of Zambia

Criminal Procedure Code Chapter 88 of the Laws of Zambia

Penal Code Chapter 87 of the Laws of Zambia

Prisons Act Chapter 97 of the Laws of Zambia

Zambia Police Act Chapter 107 of the Laws of Zambia

Cases

Banda v The People (2002) AHRLR 260 (ZaHC 1999)

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HUMAN RIGHT INSTRUMENTS

Council of Europe Framework for the use of Mediation

Council of Europe Recommendation Number R (99) 19

European Commission Framework Decision on the Standing of Victims in Criminal Proceedings

European Directive on the Minimum Standards on the Rights, Support and Protection of Victims of Crime

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

United Nations Basic Principles on the use of Restorative Justice

United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1: Showing Police statistics of various violent crimes reported to police
- Table 2: Showing police statistics on AOABH forwarded to court for prosecution
- Table 3: Showing the number of both female and male prisoners incarcerated at Lusaka Central Prison as at December 2015
- Table 4: Showing the number of Magistrates in Zambia in each Province as at December 2015
- Table 5: Showing respondents who answered to the research question
- Table 6: Showing funding to the Zambia Prisons Service for the period 2009 to 2012
- Table 7: Showing income from Agricultural Production and other activities for the entire Prisons Service

List of figures

- Figure A: Various ways in the use of Restorative Justice and its application before sentencing both at the Police Station and the Court
- Figure B: Various ways in the application of Restorative Justice at different stages of the Criminal Justice System
- Figure C: Prisoners sleeping in an overcrowded prison
- Figure D: The call-out which is a summon addressed to the offender

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research is part of the minimum requirements for the partial fulfilment of the Masters Degree in Women's Law at the Southern and Eastern African Regional Centre for Women's Law, Faculty of Law, University of Zimbabwe, 2016. The research is an overview of the analysis of Section 8 of the CPC and its implementation in relation to the need to consider Restorative Justice as an alternative form of Justice to Retributive Justice. Although the law in Section 8 of the CPC is restorative in nature, there is no policy direction that compels its effective implementation and therefore it is not part of the justiciable rights to which a victim as a citizen can hold government accountable for denying the right to reconcile in exercise of the discretionary powers of a Magistrate who has denied the victim of such a right.

The research study was a case study of two forms of justices, i.e. the Retributive Justice where our Criminal Justice System is anchored and the Restorative Justice which is being advocated for as an alternative form of justice that should be adopted. The main objective of the research was the critical analysis of Section 8 of the CPC. The ultimate aim is to find intervention strategies that would promote reconciliation where women in general would benefit since they usually commit minor offences mainly associated with the offence falling under Section 8 of the CPC. In arriving at the conclusion and intervention strategies, the focus was on the non-implementation of Section 8 of the CPC by the Magistrates.

The second chapter focused on the theoretical framework of the law and policy that offers explanations behind the non-operationalization of the law in Section 8 of the CPC. Particular attention was paid on the discretionary powers of the Magistrates that infringe on the rights of the victim who opts for reconciliation and the Magistrate declines to grant the application. This was the particular focus meant to ascertain how the non-implementation of this law contributes to increase in the prison population. The high prison population shows how important diversion from Retributive Justice to Restorative Justice is for the realization of a justice system that should be more inclined to promoting reconciliation and handing down non-custodial sentences to offenders of minor offences and leave prison for offenders with serious crimes.

The third chapter focused on the methodological framework. This was important because it was imperative to explore the lived realities of women in view of the fact that Section 8 of the CPC mostly affect women who usually commit minor offences. The women's law approach enabled this research to bring out the gaps in the Zambian law and the United Nations non-adoption of the basic principles as an international instrument on Restorative Justice. The research also uncovered how sex and gender determines and affects the plight of incarcerated women. The third chapter also shows the various methods employed to obtain the data from the various respondents and the limitations which were caused by the aspects of the non-implementation of section 8 of the CPC.

The fourth chapter focuses on the main findings of the research. These findings include the nature of the law and its non-implementation. The findings also reveal why implementation is important as opposed to the application of retributive justice on offenders of minor offences. The findings reflect upon the implications of the non-implementation of this law by the Judiciary through policy direction which includes overcrowding in prisons. The fifth and last chapter focuses on the various conclusions and interventions which arose out of this research. The interventions include law reform and policy implementation which should be in line with the Restorative Justice initiatives which consider court diversions and non-custodial sentences on minor offences. The UN Basic Principles on the use of Restorative Justice should be adopted as a guide to the formulation of a national policy on Restorative Justice. Some solutions require political interventions and therefore government should facilitate joint efforts with other organizations advocating Restorative Justice in line with international standards.

The summary is a brief review of the outcome of the research and how important it is for the implementation of Section 8 of the CPC and the incorporation of restorative justice in the Criminal Justice System to be realized for women who are perceived to be inclined to committing minor offences falling under section 8 of the CPC.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
DEDICATION	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	iv
TABLE OF STATUTES AND CASES CITED.....	v
Canada	v
Cases	v
R v Moses, 11 C.R. (4 th) 357, (1992) 3 C.N.L.R. 116, 71 c.c.c. (3d) 347	v
Malawi	v
South Africa	v
Zambia	vi
HUMAN RIGHT INSTRUMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
List of figures	viii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	ix
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the study	2
1.2 Why I chose the topic	3
1.3 Procedure of administering the strokes	4
1.4 Statement of the problem	6
1.5 Objectives of the study	7
1.6 Research assumptions	8

1.7	Research questions	8
1.8	Background of the study area	9
1.10	Limitation of the study.....	9
CHAPTER TWO		11
2.0	RELEVANT FRAMEWORK: REVIEW OF THE LAW, POLICY AND THEORY	11
2.1	Introduction	11
2.2	Discussing Section 8 of the CPC.....	11
2.3	Discretionary powers of the Magistrates	12
2.4	Trial procedure in the Subordinate Courts	13
2.5	Implications of non-operationalization of Section 8 of the CPC.....	18
2.5.1	The Police Act Chapter 107	22
2.5.2	The Prisons Act Chapter 97	22
2.5.3	Practice rules within the Judiciary.....	23
2.5.4	The Chiefs Act Chapter 287.....	24
2.5.5	Case law	24
CHAPTER THREE.....		26
3.0	METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS OF DATA	26
COLLECTION		26
3.1	Methodological framework	26
3.1.1	Women’s law approach	26
3.1.2	Gender and sex analysis	28
3.1.3	The human rights approach.....	31
3.1.4.1	Identified gaps in the enforcement of Restorative Justice Practices.....	32
3.1.5	Actors and structures	35
3.2	Overview of the research sites.....	36

3.3	The sample	36
3.4	Data collection methods	36
3.4.1	In-depth interviews with key respondents	36
3.4.2	Observation	37
3.5	Assessment of the methodology	39
CHAPTER FOUR.....		41
4.0	USE AND APPLICATION OF SECTION 8 OF THE CPC ON RESTORATIVE JUSTICE: SO WHAT?	41
4.1	The retributive nature of the Criminal Justice System	42
4.2	Intentional pain infliction versus awareness of painfulness	42
4.3	Why this retributive attitude by the Magistrates?	43
4.4	Why not consider other alternative forms of punishments?	45
4.5	Results of failure to effectively implement the law in Section 8 of the CPC	46
4.6	Incorporation of Restorative Justice Principles in the new Prisons Reforms	47
4.7	Restorative Justice, What is it and so what?	49
4.7.1	Introduction.....	49
4.7.2	Expectations of the legal process when crime is committed	49
4.7.3	Why women commit the offence falling under Section 8 of the CPC	51
4.7.4	How women would benefit from non-custodial sentences.....	52
4.7.5	The need to incorporate and empower communities in the Criminal Justice System	52
4.8	Restorative Justice and how it works	53
4.8.1	Restorative Justice on recidivism	55
4.8.2	Diversion in Restorative Justice	55
4.8.3	Comparison of receiving justice in the Conventional Court and the Traditional Court	59

4.8.4	Victim – Offender Mediation	60
4.8.5	Benefits of victim-offender mediation	61
4.8.6	When does the process of mediation take place?	62
4.8.7	Family Group Conferencing	62
4.8.8	The Circle	64
CHAPTER FIVE		68
5.0	Conclusion and Interventions	68
5.1	Conclusion	68
5.2	Interventions	69
5.3	The need to consider alternative punishments	69
5.4	Repeal of Section 8 of CPC	72
5.5	Inclusion of the police in Restorative Justice	72
5.6	Domestication	73
5.7	Political intervention	73

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Zehr says that:

'Crime is devastating because it upsets two fundamental assumptions on which we base our lives; our belief that the world is an orderly, meaningful place and our belief in personal autonomy. Both assumptions are essential for wholeness.'

(Zehr, 1999).

The quote is a true reflection of how crime is viewed in society and therefore calls for retribution as a way to restore order and create a meaningful place to achieve the desired personal autonomy in the world. Society's reaction to crime victims has not changed much. When a crime is committed, society's energies and resources are mobilized to find, catch and punish the offender. Very little is done to help the victim recuperate from the traumatic effects of victimization or recover the material losses incurred as a result of the crime. And as Ezzat puts it that:

'The millions and millions of money society willingly spends on punishment and incarcerations are in sharp contrast to the token amount devoted to compensate the victims. Society has failed the victims of crime, has ignored, neglected and often mistreated those who are criminally victimized.'

(Ezzat, 1986: 1)

The emphasis of this study is on minor criminal offences which are committed in the Zambian society to which courts have continued to apply Retributive Justice (RJ) without looking at other alternative options of sentencing which are restorative in nature. In Zambia, many offenders of minor criminal offences have ended up being incarcerated in prison yet there is a law that can be operationalized to incorporate principles of Restorative Justice (RJ) as one of the ways of decongesting prisons. The law would work much to the advantage of the women who are still perceived as being less threatening to society and not as involved in deviant behavior when compared to men. Women's involvement in crime is less than men. That of women are mainly in

petty crime although some women are now involved in more serious offences like murder, forgery, drug trafficking and others which are not the subject of this discussion (*Ronald, 1987*).

The official rhetoric from those working in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) with consistent emphasis on Retributive Justice as an apparent concern for reducing crime coupled with the effectiveness of dispensing justice still remains questionable. This has led to the mushrooming of organizations that now advocate for Restorative Justice as an alternative form of justice to address this vice. It is the understanding of these advocates that once Restorative Justice becomes the alternative form of justice to Retributive Justice, the human rights aspect of offending would also be addressed in line with the required international minimum standards.

1.1 Background of the study

The Criminal Justice System in Zambia follows a retributive and adversarial system of dispensing justice based on its colonial legacy. The background to this is that when the British colonized Northern Rhodesia now called Zambia, they came with their own laws and the idea of prisons modelled upon those in England (*Hara, 1984/85*). Before colonization, prisons were unheard of and the indigenous African tribes enforced customary laws through their own Traditional Courts using Restorative Justice Principles. Penalties in cases involving safety of the community, witchcraft and persistent offenders was death or exile and compensation redressed costs in cases of murder, assault and property. Penal sanctions were only provoked when the stability of the community as a whole was threatened (*Clifford, 1960*).

During the colonial era (and the period up to the present day Zambia), the deterrent theory of punishment was introduced and applied on offenders who committed prohibited acts in society. It had different theories about the nature and purpose of punishment which in turn had different implications for sentencing and for penal policy in general. It was reflected in four main approaches to the issue of punishment based on the ideas of retribution, deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation of the offender using punitive means (*Elizabeth, 2006: 429*).

1.2 Why I chose the topic

The choice of my topic has come from personal observational experience of the attitude of Magistrates in the way they handle minor offences in respect of the existing laws. In 1984, I developed interest in attending criminal court sessions at the Luanshya Subordinate Court situated on the Copperbelt Province because of the large number of remandees that I used to see being escorted to court by the police every day. I observed that most of the offenders who used to appear in court were young and middle aged adults facing minor offences mainly of assault and petty theft. The majority of them were from shanty compounds found within the District. During trial, I also used to observe that Magistrates never tolerated applications for withdrawing cases even if the victim was willing to reconcile with the offender. I also noticed that the common punishment of sentencing was for the offender to receive strokes of the cane. During school holidays, I could go to other Copperbelt towns and continued to attend court sessions and discovered that the trend was almost the same.

The interest developed further when a close friend of mine I had completed Secondary school with aged twenty years old then, was sent to prison for threatening violence at a bar in Luanshya. Although the victim he had threatened violence against had applied to the Court to stand down the matter in order for them to reconcile, the Trial Magistrate declined and proceeded to hear the matter leading to his conviction. In doing so, the Magistrate noted that ‘although the offender was young and in his last grade of Secondary School, the offence he had committed was prevalent in the area and he had a duty to punish offenders so as to deter would-be offenders from committing similar offences.’ He was sentenced to receive 12 strokes of the cane or to serve three months in default but since he was found to be medically fit, he had to be caned. I came to understand later during my study of my law Degree that Section 24 then, of the Penal Code Chapter 87 of the Laws of Zambia listed Corporal punishment as one of the legal punishments a court could impose on an offender and that Section 27 of the same Act also gave powers to the Magistrates to sentence people who committed assault cases and other offences falling under the 1st Schedule of the Penal Code to receive strokes of the cane. The maximum number of strokes the court could give to anyone of the age of 21 and below was 12 and any number to anyone above this age limit. The prison sentence would first be pronounced and then the court would in its discretion, order strokes to be administered in addition to or in substitution for such imprisonment. As for those who were found to be medically unfit to receive the strokes

of the cane, they would be ordered to serve the sentence that was handed down by the Magistrate in default. This was the most preferred sentence among many Magistrates in Zambia then who felt that the best punishment to hand down to such offenders was one that was punitive and inflicted maximum pain as a way of rehabilitating an offender. It was so retributive, degrading and cruel in its application but that was the law then. Section 27(5),(a – h) of the Penal Code listed the procedure of administering corporal punishment through caning as follows:

‘That when a person is sentenced to undergo corporal punishment, such sentence shall be a sentence of caning and shall be in accordance with the following provisions as stated in (a – h).’

1.3 Procedure of administering the strokes

The law provided that once an offender has been found guilty of an offence under Section 8 of the CPC or any other offence falling under the First Schedule of the Penal Code, the court normally would order caning. The offender would be taken to the hospital where the doctor would examine and give a medical certification to receive the strokes. The offender would then be taken back to prison where he would be made to strip naked and handcuffed on both arms and legs to avoid any unnecessary movements while lying down facing the ground. A cloth soaked in salt water would then be placed on the buttocks and the Prison Officer assigned to administer the strokes would then start whipping the offender. The idea of putting a cloth soaked in salt water was to ensure that as the buttocks started to crack, the salt would enter into the wounds and inflict more pain in the prisoner. After administering the strokes, the prisoner would then be taken to hospital if the wounds were severe for admission. This is the stage where relatives and friends like me would visit, see the wounds and hear the story of how the corporal punishment was administered. I came to realize later in life as I continued with my study of the law that despite corporal punishment being law in Zambia then, it used to contravene international instruments to which Zambia was a party including its own Constitution which in Article 15 states that:

‘No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading punishment or other treatment.’

Further, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights under article 5 states that:

'No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.'

This Declaration is further supported by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which in Article 7 states that:

'No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.'

From experience, this punishment was always handed down to the underprivileged members of the society from shanty compounds. Affluent members of the society who used to commit similar or even more heinous crimes were never subjected to corporal punishment. This was a clear case of discrimination though the exclusion of women from being caned was acceptable because it was prohibited under the law. During the same period, I came to realize that the Constitution of Zambia under Article 23 (2) provides that:

'A person shall not be treated in a discriminatory manner by any person acting by virtue of any written law or in the performance of the functions of any public office or any public authority.'

In my own opinion, these were serious human rights violations backed by law in a country predominantly declared a Christian nation that upholds Christian values (*Constitution, Preamble*).

In 1999, I read a land mark judgment passed by then high court Judge Chulu who outlawed the provisions of Section 24(c) and 27 of the Penal Code on corporal punish and ruled that:

'The said sections were barbaric, inhuman and degrading because they were in direct conflict with article 15 of the constitution and declared them unconstitutional and ordered that they be severed from the Penal Code.'

Brief facts of the matter in this case were that police were patrolling Mulamba Street in Libala Stage 4B Township in their motor vehicle, a Jetta. They met and challenged the appellant, who was in the company of his friend to stop. They did not stop but ran in different directions. Police

gave chase and apprehended the appellant. In the process of executing an arrest, the appellant became violent and broke the rear window of the police vehicle. This was a matter in which the victim could have been made to pay for the damage he caused to the vehicle and give him an alternative non-custodial sentence like a suspended sentence on condition that he does not commit a similar offence.

When I moved to Lusaka Province, I continued with the habit of attending Court sessions and noticed the same trend among Magistrates citing the same reasons of the offence being prevalent in the area and trying to deter would-be offenders from committing similar offences. Their approach on sentencing following the repeal of Sections 24(c) and 27 of the Penal Code changed. Most Magistrates started giving custodial sentences on minor offences they used to send offenders to receive strokes of the cane instead of giving alternative sentences like suspended sentence or to allow reconciliation between victim and offender. I realized that our courts of laws that handle minor criminal offences concentrated on punishing the offender through custodial sentence which was punitive. Having explored this, led me to choose this topic in order to research more on the powers of the Magistrates and reasons as to why they exercise their judicial powers in that manner in relation to Section 8 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

1.4 Statement of the problem

The spirit of the law in Section 8 of the CPC is meant to promote reconciliation between the offender and the victim through restorative means. Although crime needs to be punished when it has been committed, where the two parties are receptive to reconciliation and the offence is minor, this law needs to be operationalized to create harmony in communities. It provides for the Magistrate to stand down the proceedings and refer the matter for reconciliation. However, the discretion to decide whether to refer the matter for reconciliation or not lies with the Magistrate and this is where the problem is as most Magistrates are usually reluctant to do so and would rather proceed to hear the case so that the offender is incarcerated.

In some parts of the world where Restorative Justice is practiced, it has helped to heal victims of crimes and shamed offenders not to re-offend. This has become another way of decongesting prisons by considering other alternative sentencing options that are available. Restorative Justice

is more suited for women because most women usually commit minor criminal offences such that if implemented, it would benefit them greatly.

There is need therefore to interrogate whether initiating judicial reforms would see the effective implementation of Section 8 so as to compel Magistrates to first refer all minor criminal offences for mediation before deciding to proceed to hear the matter. There would be need to furthermore, provide policy direction to compel Magistrates to ensure that other alternative sentencing options are considered that are restorative in character.

The research is about interrogating whether Restorative Justice should be the alternative form of justice to Retributive Justice since the law is already in place but just needs effective implementation.

1.5 Objectives of the study

The main objectives of my research were the following:

1. To interrogate the discretionary powers of the Magistrates under Section 8 of the Criminal Procedure Code.
2. To establish reasons as to why Magistrates are in most cases reluctant to consider other alternative sentences on minor offences.
3. To establish why custodial sentence seem to be the preferred option for punishing offenders.
4. To establish whether Restorative Justice can be an alternative forms of justice to Retributive Justice in the Zambian Criminal Justice System on minor criminal offences.
5. To explore whether communities can be incorporated into the Criminal Justice System in the dispensation of justice.
6. Establish whether there would be need to provide policy direction and then law reform in implementing the law in Section 8 of the CPC.
7. Establish how the reforms should be initiated and implemented.

1.6 Research assumptions

The following below underlined my research assumptions:

1. There is no government policy direction on Restorative Justice Mechanism in the Criminal Justice System.
2. The prison population has continued to grow in Zambia because of the Criminal Justice System which is retributive and adversarial in nature.
3. That Restorative Justice does not play a significant role when left under the discretion of the Magistrate as provided for under Section 8 of the Criminal Procedure Code Chapter 88 of the Laws of Zambia.
4. The new Prison Reforms as announced by the government through the Commissioner-General of Prisons (CGP) have not incorporated principles of Restorative Justice.
5. That if Restorative Justice was to be introduced as a model of addressing minor criminal offences, women will greatly benefit since they do not usually commit serious offences.
6. Restorative Justice will empower and incorporate communities in the Criminal Justice System by addressing minor criminal offences that should generally be handled by the Conventional Courts and the Police.

1.7 Research questions

The following were the research questions:

- 1 Is there any government policy direction on Restorative Justice Mechanism in the Criminal Justice System?
- 2 Has the prison population continued to grow in Zambia because of the Criminal Justice System which is Retributive and adversarial in nature?
- 3 Does Restorative Justice play a significance role when it is left under the discretion of the Magistrate under Section 8 of the CPC?
- 4 Have the new Prison Reforms announced by the government through the Commissioner-General of Prisons incorporated principles of Restorative Justice?
- 5 Will women who usually do not commit serious offences greatly benefit if Restorative Justice was to be introduced as a model for addressing minor criminal offences?

- 6 Will Restorative Justice empower and incorporate communities in the Criminal Justice System by addressing minor offences that should generally be handled by the Conventional courts and the police?

1.8 Background of the study area

The research was carried out at Lusaka Central Prison at the female section. In order to triangulate the data collected, it had to be extended to the male section at the same prison. Lusaka Central Prison is situated in Lusaka Province which is the capital city of Zambia. It was built in 1924 mainly to incarcerate freedom fighters who were advocating for independence and black majority rule then. It was a relatively small prison meant to accommodate a small number of male prisoners of about 160-200 (*New York Times, 2010*). The size of the prison has remained the same and now accommodates more than a thousand prisoners and at the time when the research was conducted in December 2015, there were 1,450 prisoners.

Over years, the number of female offenders started to grow and government had to turn one of the buildings which was a storeroom into a prison facility for women. There has been no further expansion made to this building and as the number of women being remanded and incarcerated increases, congestion becomes unbearable.

Women from all the surrounding districts where there are no prison facilities are incarcerated at this prison and this may explain why there is congestion. Women facing serious offences are transferred to Kabwe Maximum Prison situated in Central Province. Therefore, the female prisoners incarcerated at this prison suited the type of inmates this research was targeting hence its choice.

1.10 Limitation of the study

The main limitation of this research was that it was a study case of only one area within the Lusaka Central Prison which was the female section. So, the findings from this prison may not generally represent the whole outlook of the women in Zambian prisons facing similar problems. This may result in some inaccuracies in certain instances.

As already stated, although the concentration of the research was mainly on women offenders, male prisoners incarcerated at the same prison on similar offences were also targeted. Again, this does not capture other prisoners incarcerated on other minor offences not related to Section 8 of the CPC and therefore, some of the other concerns were not captured. These could have a bearing on the women who still face incarceration on other minor offences not covered under Section 8 of the CPC. The study concentrated on women incarcerated on minor offences falling under Section 8 of the CPC thereby leaving out those with other minor offences and those with serious offences. The next Chapters will discuss the findings and intervention strategies which have emerged from the research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 RELEVANT FRAMEWORK: REVIEW OF THE LAW, POLICY AND THEORY

2.1 Introduction

Various scholars and other interest groups have written books and presented papers on the need to review and possibly shift judicial policy on the current penal system which is Retributive to a more encompassing form of Restorative Justice. These writings have concentrated on the rights and interests of both the victim and the offender to ensure that communities are healed through reconciliation. These measures are meant to ensure that communities themselves should have a bigger role to play in this system of criminal justice where conventional courts need to stand down cases and refer them for reconciliation. As one headman in Chongwe District said:

'That if a case has been referred to us by the court to resolve or if someone within the Chiefdom has committed a minor criminal offence, we convene and sit to preside over the matter. The victim and offender are then reconciled and the victim compensated.'

Section 8 of the CPC is one of the laws that encompass Restorative Justice Principles though the problem comes with the implementation.

2.2 Discussing Section 8 of the CPC

In order to find the answer to the research question as to whether Restorative Justice can be an alternative form of Justice to Retributive Justice in the Zambian Criminal Justice System lies in interrogating Section 8 of the CPC which is being used as a study case. It states that:

'In criminal cases, a Subordinate Court may promote reconciliation and encourage and facilitate the settlement in an amicable way, of proceedings for assault or for any other offence of a personal or private nature, not amounting to a felony and not aggravated in degree, in terms of payment of compensation or other terms approved by such Court and may thereupon, order the proceedings to be stayed.'

The interpretation Section under Part II of the Penal Code, defines a misdemeanor which is a minor offence to mean 'any offence which is not a felony' and classified as such under the

1stSchedule of the Penal Code to which the offence of assault also falls. Section 248 of the Penal Code deals with Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm (AOABH) which is a misdemeanor though it carries a maximum sentence of five years and it looks like Section 8 of the CPC was legislated to deal mainly with this type of an offence. This makes me interrogate the exercise of the discretionary powers of the Magistrates under this section.

2.3 Discretionary powers of the Magistrates

The law in Section 8 of the CPC gives powers to the Magistrate to decide whether to proceed with the matter or to allow for mediation to take place in order to promote reconciliation between the victim and the offender. Where the parties are ready in court to reconcile, that may be done in his/her presence but where the two may prefer to have a third part to mediate, the court can stand down the matter and adjourn to a later date so that the court facilitates reconciliation after getting a report of the agreement. In an event that the Magistrate proceeds with trial, the following have to be considered before sentencing and these are:

- a. Since the offence is a misdemeanor, it should not call for a harsher sentence. The Magistrate must always think of other alternative optional sentences like community sentence, suspended sentence, compensation or a fine and that imprisonment should be the last resort. This is also provided for in Sections 339 and 340 of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Code of Chapter 8:01 of the Laws of Malawi and under principles of sentencing in Zambia.
- b. That the court should look at the circumstances of the offender. Thus, in the case of *Rep v Tomasi (1977) 2 MLR 70*, the High Court of Malawi held that:

‘.....old and first offenders, where appropriate, should be diverted from prison to avoid them mixing with hard-core criminals and that the aim should be reform, and rehabilitation.’
- c. That in circumstances where there is a plea of guilty, the Magistrate should be obliged to take this as a demonstration of remorse and contrition on the part of the offender. Thus, when handing down punishment, reference should be made to the case of *The State v Khumalo (1973) 35A 698* where the South African High Court held that:

'Generally, the punishment must fit the offence committed, the offender and also the society. It has to depend on what makes the offence a serious one (the aggravating factors) and also what makes it not a serious offence (mitigating factors).'

- d. Further reference may be made to the case of *Lawe v Rep* (1997) 2 MLR 25 where the High Court of Malawi held that:

'Maximum sentence should be reserved for the worst offender.'

These are good factors that are restorative in nature and provide guidance to the Magistrate in the interpretation of the law.

2.4 Trial procedure in the Subordinate Courts

The common practice in the Subordinate Courts is that at the commencement of the trial on a case falling under Section 8 of the CPC, the complainant who is the victim of the crime is supposed to make an application to the Court willingly after discussing and giving reasons to the Public Prosecutor to withdraw the case. In some instances, discussions for reconciliation would have taken place with family members of both parties or the victim and the offender but this has to be formalized with the court by informing the Magistrate the terms of agreement in order to end the case.

The Prosecutor should then inform the Magistrate that the complainant has an application to make before Court. In line with the provisions of Section 8 of the CPC, the Magistrate is then supposed to stand down the matter and refer it for mediation and reconciliation but in most instances, they tend to decline and proceed to hear the matter. Reasons that are normally given are that:

1. The Magistrate has discretionary powers to decide whether to stand down the matter and refer it for reconciliation or not.
2. The offence is prevalent in the area and there is need to punish the offender so as to deter other would-be offenders.
3. Custodial sentence seems to be the best form of punishment because they offenders deserve to be incarcerated in prison. The offender should have thought seriously

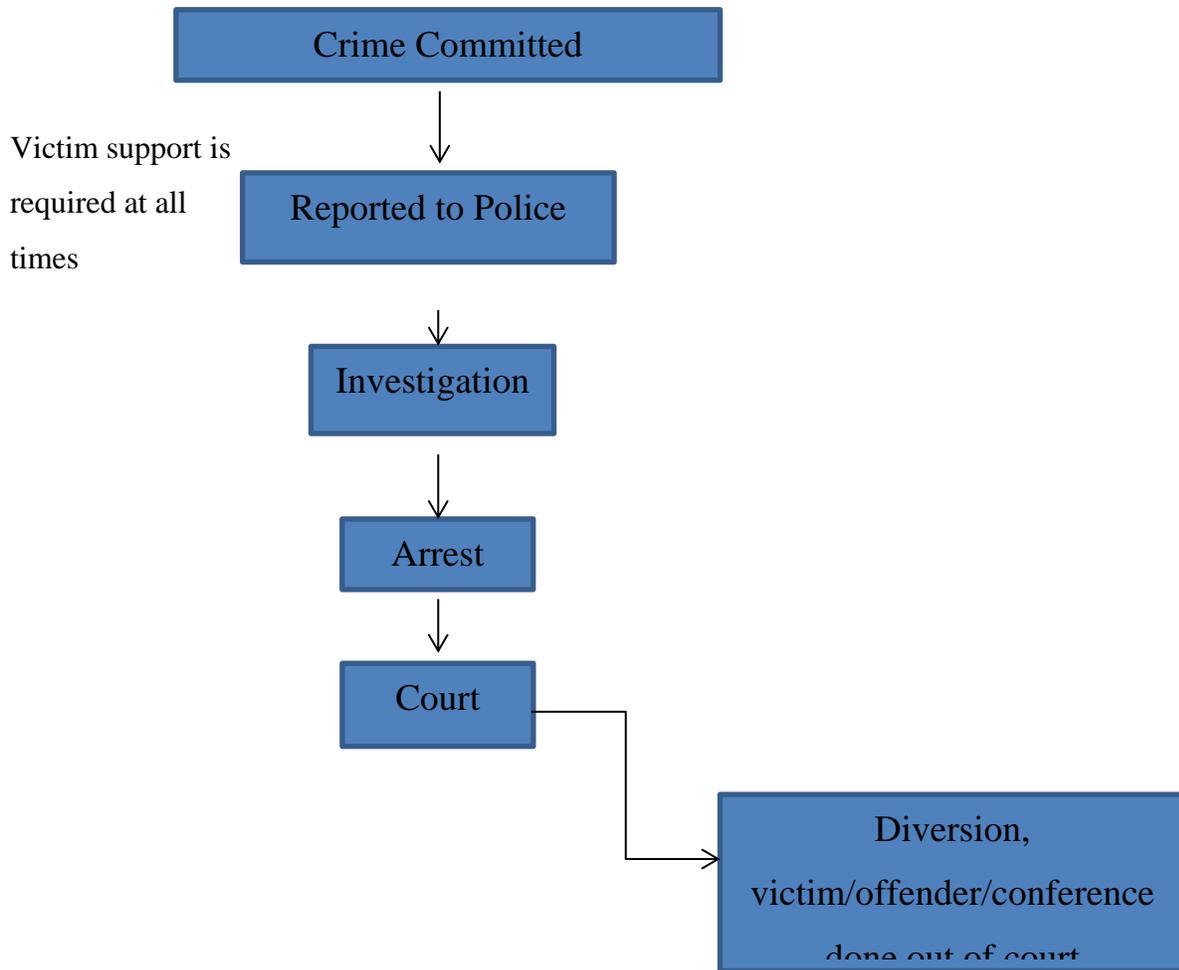
before committing the offence and should not expect leniency from the courts. The Senior Resident Magistrate as a key informant put it aptly during the interview that:

'Retributive Justice still remains the best way to deal with criminal offenders falling under Section 8. Incarceration is the only option to deter would-be offenders.'

However, a week later after he gave this interview, he was arrested on two counts of assault occasioning actual bodily harm and threatening violence to his wife contrary to Section 248 of the CPC and detained in police custody. Mediation took place and he was reconciled with his wife which is the essence of Section 8 of the CPC. With this kind of experience, it is the expectation of this research that Magistrates should understand the value of reconciliation in minor criminal offences.

In some countries like South Africa, the police and courts have mandatory powers to encourage people to resolve certain disputes including those of a criminal nature bordering on minor offences through mediation either before arrest or before trial. Similarly, police led restorative justice processes positioned prior to trial are also evident in England and Australia (*Morris et al., 2001*). In the South African case, diversion is already being used as an alternative remedy in criminal trials through prosecutors in making decisions that promote reconciliation. Some of the diversion options currently being utilized are restorative in nature and this is an area where there could be need for further development of the initiative. The prosecutor might decide not to take a matter to court but instead refer it to an alternative forum for a restorative dispute resolution process. The charge can be withdrawn once the parties have achieved agreement. Cases in which there is an identifiable victim, especially in crimes of violence like those falling under section 8 of the CPC are the most suitable ones for Restorative Justice Processes. If the intervention is one that involves a direct encounter such as the victim – offender conference or family group conference, the victim willingness to participate is essential. The understanding of these processes is that they bring together all the parties affected by an incident. The assessment of whether a case is suitable for invoking Restorative Justice Options should focus not only on the seriousness of the offence but also on the circumstances surrounding the offence. The diagram below shows that RJ can be used at different stages of the CJS.

Figure A showing various ways in the use of Restorative Justice before sentencing both at the police station and the court



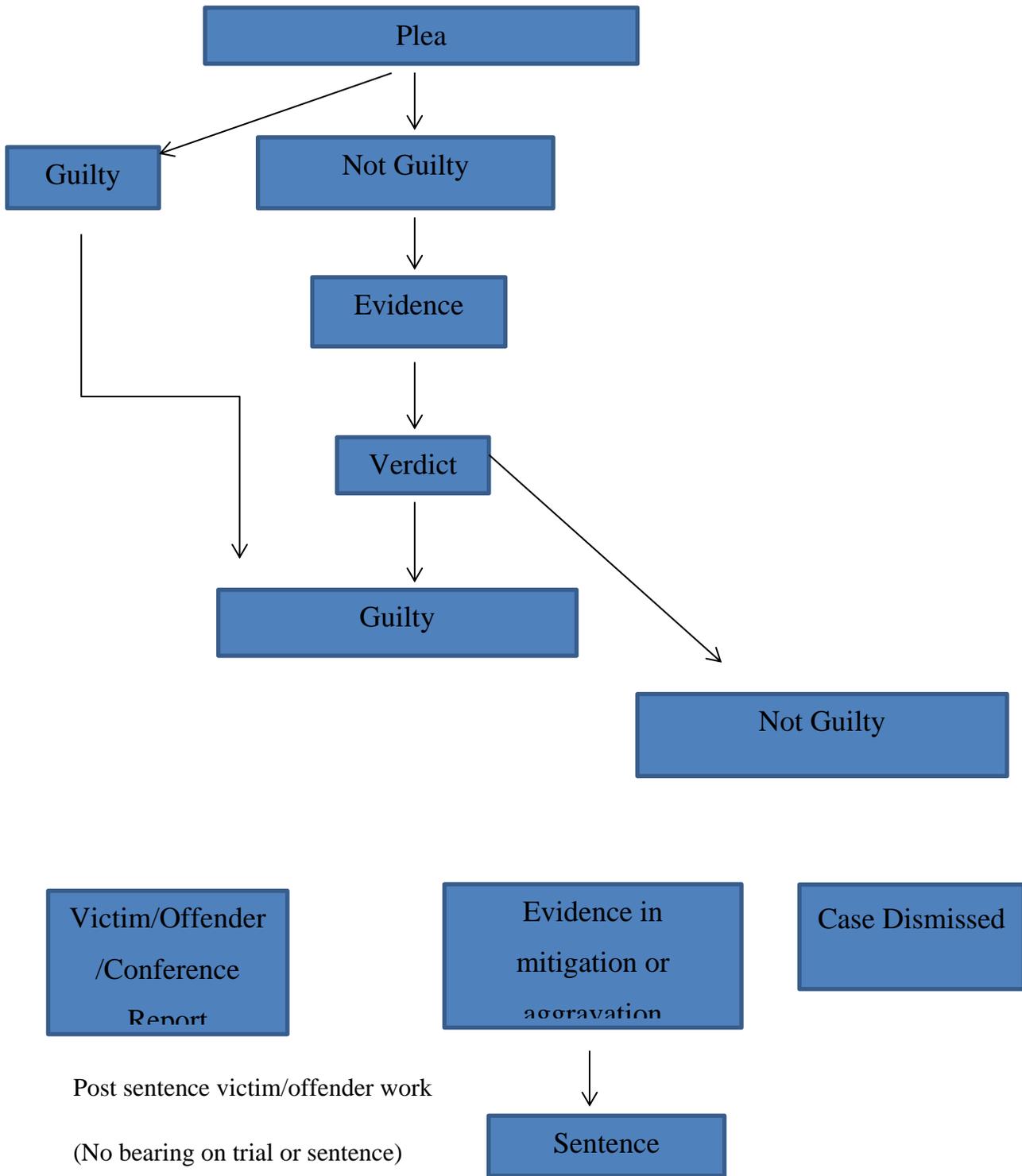
Graph: Courtesy of the South African Institute for Security Studies

Furthermore, the Plea and Sentence Agreements in terms of Section 105A of the South African Criminal Procedure Code as amended gives opportunities for consultation with the victim of the crime and provision of compensation. Restorative Justice Processes can therefore be part of the plea and sentence agreements and are likely to be of benefit to both victims and offenders. In matters that go through the trial process, Restorative Justice can be used as a method in arriving at an appropriate sentence. Mediators can use Restorative Justice in the pre – sentence phase and

report to court on the outcome of such processes in their pre-sentence reports. Presiding Officers can defer sentence by postponing cases in favour of a date which is a few weeks in future and refer the matter for a victim-offender conference or family group conference and then make the agreement part of the court order and perhaps linked to either a postponed or suspended sentence. Sentences of correctional supervision could be made more meaningful by adding Restorative Justice Elements to suitable cases. Through creating more varied options of alternative sentences, Restorative Justice has the potential to relieve prison congestion particularly in relations to those offenders who are currently receiving sentences of relatively short duration on minor offences. Even in those cases where people convicted of crime have been sentenced to imprisonment, Restorative Justice Processes can be utilized whilst they are in prison. They can also be used prior to release on parole as part of integration into society and healing work. Zambia can copy from this to enhance its justice dispensation.

The diagram above does not specifically mention the possibility of referral from the Criminal Justice System to non-state justice systems such as the Traditional Courts. As an area with scope for development in South Africa is the question of creating more linkages between the informal criminal justice system and the courts run by the traditional leaders. Such courts may be a source for a more restorative approach to be followed in a wider range of cases. This could be achieved through referrals by the formal courts to traditional leaders' courts in some cases especially those which are minor. The details relating to which cases and at what stage such referrals could take place will have to be negotiated by the prosecuting authority, the judiciary, the traditional leaders and other relevant role-players. In cases where matters go to trial, the figure below illustrates graphically the various points in the system where Restorative Justice may be applied in the CJS.

Figure B: showing the various ways in the application of Restorative Justice at different stages of the Criminal Justice System

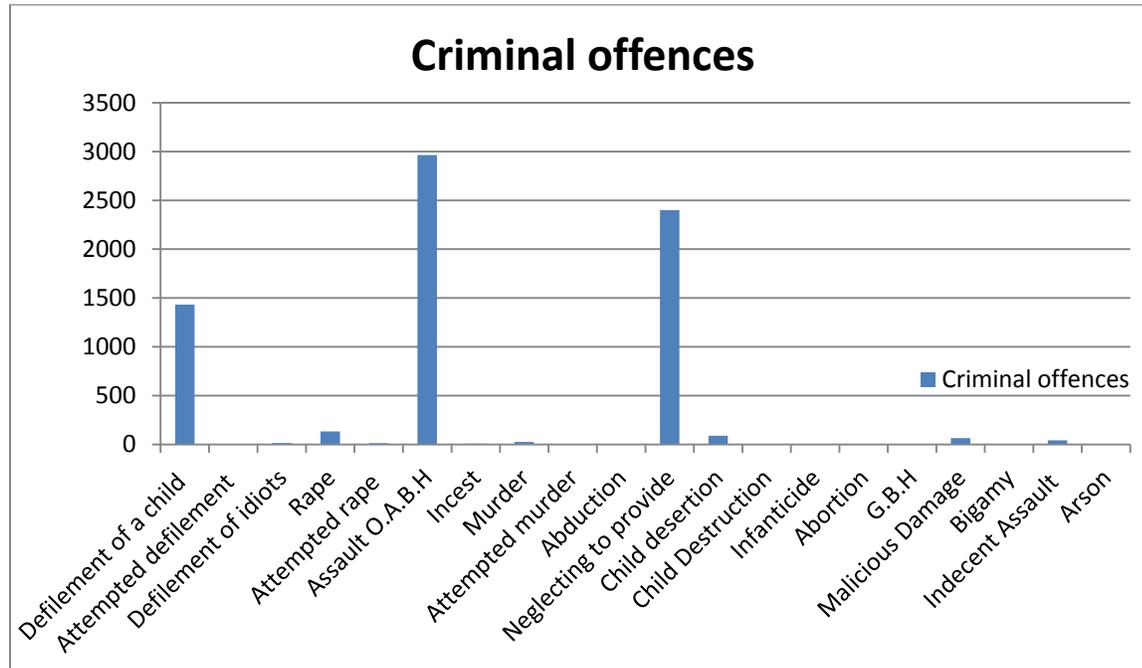


The Graph: Courtesy of the South African Institute for Security Studies

2.5 Implications of non-operationalization of Section 8 of the CPC

In 2012, the crime of AOABH topped the list on violent crimes committed and reported to police (*Zambia Police statistics, 2012*).

Table 1: Police statistics for 2012 showing various violent crimes reported to police



In the same year, the only available data at the time of the research showed that more than 70 percent of offenders of minor criminal offences of Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm (AOABH) who appeared in court were convicted (*Zambia Police statistics, www.zambiapolice.gov.zm*). This means that there were more offenders of this crime who were sent to prison but could have avoided being in prison if restorative initiatives were applied. These figures are reflected in the table below.

Table 2: Police statistics - AOABH (2012) cases which were forwarded to court for prosecution

Total Number of Offenders	Total Number of convictions	Total Number of acquittals	Total Number of withdrawals
870	540	41	289

The failure by the Magistrates to operationalize Section 8 of the CPC in line with Restorative justice initiatives has implications in the administering of the Criminal Justice System. In the first place, the Penal Code provides for various punishments among them those which are restorative in nature which most Magistrates are reluctant to look at in preference to custodial sentencing (*Penal Code, Section 24*). These include suspended sentence, Community sentencing, Compensation, Fines, Reparation and Restitution.

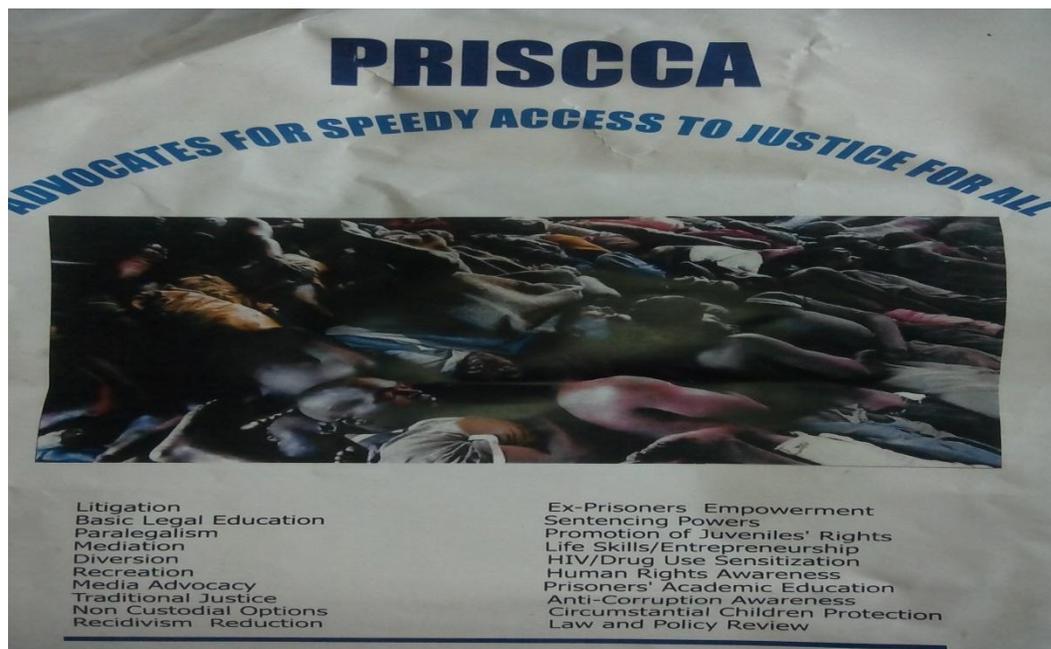
The end result of the non-operationalization of Section 8 has contributed to the increase in prison population thus leading to overcrowding.

Most respondents observed that they are made to sleep on the floor in cells which are unfit for human habitation and are too small to accommodate the huge number of prisoners leading to overcrowding. The Chief Justice acknowledged the problem of overcrowding in prisons when she officiated at a symposium to commemorate the 20th Anniversary of the 'In But Free' Prison Project held in Lusaka in 2015 when she said:

'The Judiciary was concerned that the Zambian Prisons were now holding 20,000 prisoners in facilities built to hold 8,000 inmates. Each time Magistrates and Judges toured prisons; they always found prisoners living in heavily congested and unsanitary environments. It is particularly sad that out of the total number of prisoners held in our establishments, a considerable number of those are minor offenders waiting to appear before court or indeed those waiting to be sentenced.'

(Zambia Daily Nation Newspaper, 2015: Volume 3, Issue number 1189)

Figure C showing prisoners sleeping in an overcrowded prison



Picture: Courtesy of PRISCCA

A key informant who is the Duty Officer at Lusaka Central Prison observed that the failure by Magistrates to implement the law has contributed to the increase in population and overcrowding in prisons. The initial holding capacity of Lusaka Central Prison is 160 for male prisoners but there were 1,150 male prisoners at the time the research was conducted. As for the female prisoners, there were 80 female prisoners occupying a building that is supposed to hold half of that number.

Table 3 showing the number of both female and male prisoners incarcerated at Lusaka Central Prison as at December 2015.

	Female Prisoners	Male Prisoners
Convicts	64	650
Remandees	16	650
Convicts on minor offences	64	520
On Transfer to Mukobeko or Mwembeshi Prisons	Nil	13
Total	80	1150

The sentiments above show how serious the problem of overcrowding is and needs to be addressed.

The Executive Director of an NGO dealing with Prisons Care and Counselling, as a key respondent noted that reconciliation would help offender avoid prison incarceration. Victims would also recover from the traumatic experience they are subjected to when a crime is committed against them as:

1. They would directly participate in the decision about what will be done to repair the harm resulting from the offence committed and there is also a strong chance that the victims' actual needs for reparation would be met.
2. Secondly, the very process of having a say in what happens about the offence promotes victim recovery. One of the reasons why being a crime victim is so traumatic is that it robs them of their sense of autonomy and control over their lives by being empowered in the process. This can help them to regain a sense of autonomy and personal power.
3. Thirdly, meeting with the offender and being able to discuss the offence with them as victims and reach an agreement on what should be done about it brings a sense of closure to them which they do not obtain when their cases are dealt with through more conventional criminal justice procedures because it's the Magistrate who is in control and decides what he wants and not the victim.

2.5.1 The Police Act Chapter 107

The Zambia Police Act provides among other things the general duties and manner of carrying out police duties. However, and through practice, the powers of the Magistrates as provided under Section 8 of the CPC are also exercised by the police when the matter is reported because it is the duty of the police to investigate. They can either facilitate mediation or send the victim and the offender back to the community for reconciliation. They can end the matter or forward the docket to court so that the offender is prosecuted despite the parties' willingness to end the matter. One respondent working as a Principal Public Prosecutor noted during the interview that as police:

'We often hear people say, "I will beat you and compensate you later." People are maimed because the offender will be requested to pay compensation. So, as a deterrent measure, we proceed to prosecute and not allow reconciliation.'

However, where the parties are ready to negotiate and reconcile, there is need for the police to facilitate the process.

2.5.2 The Prisons Act Chapter 97

The new 2016 Amended Constitution provides for the change in the name of the Service from a Prison Service to a Correctional Service which includes the rehabilitation of the offender (*Zambia Amendment Bill Number 16 of 2016, Section 225*). To enhance Restorative Justice in the Service, the practice has been that if the offender opts to reconcile with the victim, the Prison Officers will bring the victim to prison for reconciliation. This is meant to prepare the offender for easy acceptance and reintegration back into the society although the Auditor General's Report of July 2014 showed that there was no evidence to show that there was any rehabilitation of any kind that was allocated to prisoners (*Executive summary, vii*). This means that it is done as and when it is necessary and not as an obligation for the prisons Service to do so because of the many challenges it faces. Although, this may not be so helpful to an inmate who is already serving and could have benefitted if implementation of Section 8 of the CPC was operationalized at the trial stage, this does not mean the total neglect of restoration as the process can still be applied while the prisoner is in prison. As stated in the Auditor General's Report which has

defined and given guidance on how Restorative Justice should be looked at in the Criminal Justice System and the Prisons Service in particular that:

'Restoration is the reunion between the offender and the offended. It provides a platform for reconciliation of the offender and the offended and gives offenders an opportunity to show remorse for their wrongdoings. Restorative Justice includes victims and communities and not government alone. Once the prisoner has served their sentence, the government treats the offender as a free person but not so with the victims and the community and hence the need for government to mediate. When prisoners are forgiven by the community, the community acceptance of the prisoner on discharge is high as the prisoner is given help by the community thereby facilitating smooth reintegration of the discharged prisoner into society. Restorative Justice Programs recognize the importance of community involvement and initiatives in responding to and reducing crime. Restorative Justice also lowers the rate of re-offending and crimes of revenge.'

(Auditor General's Report, 2014: 11)

The problem is that, if the offender wants to reconcile with the victim who lives very far, it would not be possible for the Prisons Service to organize transport to bring this person because the resources are inadequate. One Prison Officer in the focus group discussion said that:

'Although the change of the name of the Service to a Correctional Service sounds good, government needs to increase the budgetary allocation for the Prisons Service in order to enhance its operations.'

2.5.3 Practice rules within the Judiciary

The Judiciary Practice Rules Number 1 of 2016 will provide guidance for Judicial Officers in their practice for the calendar year. However, there is no policy direction in the rules which compel Magistrates to effectively implement Section 8 of the CPC to consider reconciliation as the first option. There is a great danger of offenders being handed down heavy prison sentences because the offence of assault occasioning actual bodily harm carries a maximum sentence of 5 years yet it is a misdemeanor. Although one may want to argue that this offence is supposed to

be a felony, the fact here is that it is a misdemeanor and that is what the law provides at the moment and should be treated as such. This would defeat the good intentions of the law as it stands and the intention of the law maker at the time of its enactment.

2.5.4 The Chiefs Act Chapter 287

Before colonization, Traditional Courts presided on all cases in their chiefdoms where Restorative Justice was the standard way of settling disputes. Section 11 of the Chiefs Act still empowers Chiefs to:

‘Maintain peace and order in their chiefdoms.’

The interpretation of this section has seen Traditional Courts conduct sessions to try their subjects who misconduct themselves. They are tried and punished on any offence committed using Restorative Justice Principles where the offender compensates the victim of crime to promote and encourage reconciliation thereby creating harmony among the subjects. Headmen interviewed felt that the application of customary law using Restorative Justice in Chiefdoms require legislation to ensure that there is no miscarriage of justice on those privileged to preside over matters. The law must clearly stipulate how and what procedure of the court process it must follow coupled with the application of Restorative Justice as a guiding principle.

2.5.5 Case law

Although statistics show that there have been many convictions on assault cases, very few have gone to the high court and Supreme Court on appeal and do not appear in the law reports. One of the reasons is that assault occasioning actual bodily is a misdemeanor and most offenders when convicted usually opt to serve the sentence without appealing.

However, where the lower court has disregarded the provisions of Section 8 of the CPC, the High Court has provided guidance as demonstrated in the case of *The people v Chigariro (1974) ZR (H.C.)*. In this case, accused appeared before a subordinate Court of the 3rd Class charged with AOABH contrary to Section 248 of the Penal Code. The Court purported to effect a reconciliation between the parties under Section 8 of the CPC by ordering that the accused pay

K30 (US\$3.5 which was a lot of money at the time) as compensation to the complainant. Dissatisfied with the judgment of the lower court, the accused appealed to the high court. The High Court strictly overruled the decision of the Magistrate Court and interpreted Section 8 in the manner it was meant to be and held that:

1. *When reconciliation is effected under Section 8 of the CPC in terms of payment of compensation or other terms approved by the Court, the Court should order that the proceedings be stayed*
2. *In such a case, there is no valid basis in law for an order that the accused be bound over and that a warrant of distress should issue in default of payment of compensation.*

This case law clearly sets precedent and also demonstrates that the Magistrate is bound by law to follow the provisions as set out in Section 8 of the CPC.

In other countries like South Africa, the Durban Institute of Technology has incorporated the Real Justice Model of conferencing into their Degree Course on child and youth care. Since 2003, the study of Restorative Justice has been among the requirements for a Degree in Criminology following the formulation of a unit standard on the concept in the Standards Generating Body (SGB) for Criminology. The SGB for probation and the SGB for Victim Empowerment are currently engaged in developing unit standards with Restorative Justice. On 3 December 2005, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development in South Africa hosted a ‘colloquium’ on Restorative Justice at which it revealed a three year project for establishing a national restorative justice program that would develop restorative justice responses by government in partnership with civil society and this project started in 2006 with the government committing itself to ensuring the introduction of Restorative Justice practice where appropriate (*Pieter, 2005*). These are clear examples of how Restorative Justice is receiving attention in different areas that encompass legal matters on victim-offender reconciliation.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

In arriving at the research findings and intervention strategies, various methodologies and research methods were used. It was important to illustrate how the non-effective implementation of the law in Section 8 of the CPC has affected women who are usually perceived to commit minor offences. I also wanted to find out if there is any government policy or laws including international instruments in place that correspond to the actual reality on the ground. Whether the Restorative Justice System that promotes reconciliation is a human right issue to which citizens have justiciable rights to hold government accountable.

3.1 Methodological framework

3.1.1 Women's law approach

In order to ascertain women's lived realities in relation to the implementation of Section 8 of the CPC, I used the Women's law approach. It was a useful tool as it was interactive and to triangulate the findings, male prisoners were also interviewed. It also helped me to find out how the non-effective implementation of the law on reconciliation in relation to Retributive Justice and Restorative Justice affect women in the dispensation of justice. It states that:

'The women's law approach is used to examine and understand how women are considered in law and how the law corresponds to women's reality and needs.'

(Atkins and Hogget, 1984: 1)

This approach was essential for the study because it made me look at the gaps that currently exist in the Zambian law(s). This led me to interrogate how these gaps affect women offenders. The implementation of the law in Section 8 of the CPC has a negative impact because it does not correspond with the lived realities of women. This approach enabled me to unearth the retributive and adversarial nature of the Zambian Criminal Justice in which:

'Offenders seldom have opportunities which they can regard as a right to make amends when need arises.' (Martin Wright, 1991: 1)

From the interviews I had with Officers in the CJS who are supposed to facilitate the implementation of the law, it was clear that the problem lay with the discretionary powers of the Magistrate on how to operationalize Section 8 of the CPC since there exists no policy direction in the Judiciary to compel Magistrates to first consider the option of standing down matters for reconciliation of the parties as the law provides. In the field, women offenders were aware of the provisions of the law on promoting reconciliation but attributed the lack of its implementation to Magistrates who usually opt to try the cases in preference for custodial sentences. This highlighted lack of adherence to the provisions of the law.

The women's law approach made me fail to identify clear protective legal provisions which may be relied upon by marginalized groups such as women who may commit a minor criminal offence. The constitution does not clearly spell out provisions of Restorative Justice that the victim of crime and/or the offender may rely on in an event that they wanted to effect reconciliation. Currently, there is no international instrument on Restorative Justice that binds member countries. As such, the implementation of Restorative Justice is left to each member country to decide whether to apply the United Nations Basic Principles on Restorative Justice or not. I found that although Restorative Justice exists in some pieces of legislation in Zambia, its implementation is deficient because it is at the discretion of the Magistrate. Furthermore, there is lack of policy document that exclusively talks about Restorative Justice as a guiding principle on mediation and reconciliation on penal matters. As a result, there is no guarantee that when one appears in court, the Magistrate will automatically consider reconciliation as the first option. This should be considered in the context of one of my assumptions that no policy direction on Restorative Justice exists and this increases the vulnerability of women to get incarcerated. The research found that the attitude of the Magistrates not to have so much consideration for reconciliation is backed by the law and impacts so much on the capacity of the parties to the proceedings' failure to influence the operationalization of the law. To summarize:

'Therefore, one of the purposes of the women's law approach is to describe, explain and understand the legal position of women in law and in society.'

(Dahl, 1998: 17)

3.1.2 Gender and sex analysis

Sex is understood to mean that men and women are normally born female and male. During the study, I became aware that men and women's gender roles determine their way of participation in crime and the types of crimes they are usually involved in while gender is described as being socially constructed (Connell, 2002: 10).

If one understands the position of women in society, then it provides the key to improve their position. The low numbers of women on the bench has gendered implications. Therefore, it is important to look at both men and women in trying to ascertain the gendered implications in the delivery of justice. During my study, I became aware that women and men's gender roles determine a lot of issues. For the women offenders, women's gender role determine their way of participation in crime and the types of crimes they are usually involved in. It was observed that while women were also in the habit of offending just like their male counterparts, minor offences were mainly prevalent among female prisoners. As for the women on the bench, the gender analysis was also instrumental in my realization that the issue of dispensing justice remains largely in the hands of male Magistrates who still dominate the bench. This may pose a problem as men are likely not to fully understand the problems women are faced with and prompt them to commit these minor criminal offences.

Although the statistics for Lusaka which was the area for the research shows that there are more women Magistrates on the bench than men, there are many other districts surrounding it where the numbers of male Magistrates far outnumber that of the female ones. This means that more women appear before male Magistrates who may not really understand the problems that women go through and why they offend and may end up sending them to prison on minor offences in which they can help promote reconciliation.

Table 4: Showing the number of Magistrates in Zambia in each province as at Dec 2015

Province	Female	Male	Total
Central	06	12	18
Luapula	02	12	14
Southern	03	25	28
Northern	01	10	11
North Western	00	14	14
Western	02	12	14
Lusaka	16	14	30
Copperbelt	07	33	40
Eastern	06	12	18
Muchinga	02	12	14
Total	45	156	201

When I interviewed the Judicial Officer in his office at the Magistrates Court Complex, he was quite surprised about my research topic because it was interrogating a piece of legislation which was quite straight forward in its wording and interpretation and wondered how discretionary powers of the Magistrate could be a controversial issue and subject to discussing. He observed that such powers help to determine whether the Magistrate can proceed with the matter or not depending on the assessment made. This approach made me realize that there is no consideration on what effect or bearing the sending of people to prison creates for the Prisons Service in terms of congestion. There is no consideration on how Restorative Justice, if effectively implemented would help to heal communities and reduce on the number of criminal cases they handle so that they concentrate on hearing serious offences.

Women are generally responsible for taking care of the children. When sent to prison on a minor offence where there can be reconciliation with the victim means that she has to go to prison with the young child (or children if she has them) and if she is pregnant will end up giving birth whilst in prison. The other children left behind will have to find someone to fend for them because some men, during such moments tend to shun their spouses. The living conditions in prison may not even be conducive for both the mother and the child as their needs and basic amenities may

not be available or meet the basic minimum standards. This scenario reflects the lived realities of women and the problems they encounter and which they have to endure. It therefore calls for the understanding of their problems in order to help lessen the afflictions they go through. Therefore, it is generally viewed that:

'Women bear the greatest burden of the world's scarcity and suffer the fundamental needs and amenities.'

(Immanuel, 1998: 16)

Their male counterparts on the other hand who could have been incarcerated on similar offences do not experience the burden of staying with children in prison. In fact, they receive consolations in form of visits from friends and relatives including their spouses. This is one thing I observed at Lusaka Central Prison where you find so many men and women crowding the male section to pay visits and bring food and I rarely saw the corresponding number of visitors at the female section. One wonders whether the female prisoners do not have relatives, friends and spouses to visit them and take food for them as is the case at the male prison. I also observed that female prisoners rarely came out but remained confined in prison while their male counterparts walk around doing all sorts of manual work outside prison. There were so many activities which the Prison Officers have allowed at the male section like the various choir groups which sing throughout the day with various pastors preaching. They also play football while others remain busy doing mechanical work. Classes are also conducted but this is not the case at the female section. Women simply idle around either plaiting each other's hair and the pregnant women remain sleeping while those with children could be seen cooking and bathing them. This analysis tallies with the Auditor General's Report of July 2014 which revealed that:

'There were no education and skills training for female prisoners especially those incarcerated on minor offences and that most of them were not even aware that such programs exist.'

(Executive Summary, Page vii).

I drew up a conclusion that even in prison, sex and gender roles are a normal thing like they exist in ordinary societies and that men are treated different compared to their female counterparts.

This perpetuates gender stereotypes on women's position in the Criminal Justice System. It is stated that:

'The existence of biological, social and cultural differences between men and women are not regarded as the only main problem in women's lives but rather law and society's systematic under-valuation of female activities, values and characteristics are seen as the main source of women's subordination.'

(Dahl, 1987: 13)

This approach also entails looking at how differently women and men endure when punished using the same law. The law provides that every accused person of a minor offence is entitled to bail (*CPC, Section 33[1]*). However, although bail is a right for every accused person, women in most cases fail to meet the conditions attached to the granting of bail unless it is a non-cash bail due to their economic and social vulnerability while most men do manage because they have the means to do so. It means that even the implementation of Section 8 of the CPC which is the subject of this research must take these factors into consideration and do what is in the interest of the women before looking at custodial sentence as option number one. As one respondent at Lusaka Central Prison who was in remand on an assault case said:

'As women, even if you are granted bail, we most of the times fail to meet the conditions because of our vulnerability and remain in remand while men in most cases manage and have to come from home to attend court sessions.'

This shows how gendered perceptions play a role and how women react to certain situations in their lives, thus making the sex and gender analysis a useful tool to investigate the position of women in society (*Sharon M, 2012: 32*).

3.1.3 The human rights approach

The human rights approach was an important aspect of the research as it links people to the laid down human rights standards. Zambia is a member of the United Nations (UN) and party to some regional and international instruments to which the country is bound.

From the onset of the research, I realized that although the research topic on Restorative Justice is recognized worldwide including the United Nations, it is still regarded as a relatively new

idea. In Zambia, a lot has been done to intensify sensitization on Restorative Justice. With support from the European Union to some Non-governmental Organizations advocating reform of the law in the Criminal Justice System on Restorative Justice, this is likely to influence government policy guidance that might see legislation being enacted in future that will *exclusively* spell out Restorative Justice when handling minor offences.

3.1.4.1 Identified gaps in the enforcement of Restorative Justice Practices

Authors of the book, 'Human rights of women: International Instruments and African Experiences have noted that:

'Human rights over the past generation have been perhaps the most exhaustively developed body of international law and in no other area has the impact of the women's movement worldwide resulted in a more profound transformation. Today, the primary issue is no longer the better elaborate of human rights law but its enforcement.'

(Wolfgang et al, 2002)

This explanation applies to Zambia in which certain laws and customary practices have elements of Restorative Justice but lack effective policy direction and implementation. Because of this, the effective use and enforcement of Restorative Justice in criminal cases is still dependent on the exercise of the discretionary powers vested in Magistrates. There is no government policy document which exclusively incorporates Restorative Justice Tenets. Although the United Nations has realized that Restorative Justice is essential and needs to be incorporated in the Criminal Justice Systems of member states, such implementation seems to be in its infancy. So far, the UN has formulated what are known as 'Basic Principles on the use of Restorative Justice' but these are not obligatory and persuasive but are only designed to give guidance to member states. They are not designed to impose rules or standards on countries and there is no obligation to use Restorative Justice Programs. What the Basic Principles stipulate is to make it possible for countries considering Restorative Justice to draw from the experience of other countries which implement them because they do not address Restorative Justice at the level of vision, public policy or a comprehensive system but rather address particular programmatic expressions of Restorative Justice. This means that implementation of Restorative Justice still

remains a choice of an individual country to decide and this may not compel such countries to move at the right speed to operationalize Restorative Justice. Member states including Zambia may not take Restorative Justice as an important concept in order to provide policy direction in its implementation and effective incorporation in the Criminal Justice System. This may pose a challenge to the many areas where, if the UN can expedient implementation of an international instrument on Restorative Justice, that would go a long way in providing healing solutions, reconciling communities and helping to improve the smooth delivery of justice in member countries. Enforcement will be enhanced as member countries will be expected to ratify and domesticate the protocol into national law. This can be seen by the progressive proposed key words by Van Ness, (2002) to the UN on Restorative Justice where in section 1 of the Basic Principles, he has defined:

'Restorative Justice programs to mean any program that uses restorative processes or aims to achieve Restorative outcomes and these principles apply to the various forms of victim-offender mediation, conferencing and circles including restitution and community service obligations arising out of those restorative processes.

Restorative processes to mean any process in which the victim and offender or any other individuals or community members affected by a crime actively participate together in the resolution of matters arising from the crime often with the help of a fair and impartial third party (Section 3)

Restorative outcomes to mean an agreement reached as a result of a restorative process. Examples of restorative outcomes to include restitution, community service and any other program or response designed to accomplish reparation of the victim and community and reintegrate the victim and offender (Section 4).

In conclusion, the Basic Principles also propose that Restorative Justice should generally be available at all stages of the criminal justice process (Section 6).'

These are progressive proposals which, if actualized would activate domestic laws that are restorative in nature but lack effective implementation mechanisms to be perfected. The guiding tool would be the way the Council of Europe has already adopted and is implementing these Basic principles. For instance, in 1999, the Council set up an extensive framework for the use of

mediation by launching the first recommendation Number R (99) 19 of the Committee of Ministers to member states concerning the use of victim-offender mediation in penal matters. This was seen as a flexible, problem oriented, participatory option complimentary or alternative to traditional criminal procedure. Since then, many European members and other international documents on this topic have been issued and adopted for implementation. Furthermore, the European Commission adopted the framework Decision on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings. It was then replaced in 2002 by the European Directive on Minimum Standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime. Article 12 obliges member states:

'To take measures that will ensure that victims who choose to participate in Restorative Justice have access to safe and competent Restorative Justice System while Article 25 requires that Restorative Justice Services should work with trained staff following professional standards.'

The human rights approach has a lot of potential for influencing and improving the lives of offenders in the Criminal Justice System as it focuses on the deficiencies in the implementation of the law that undermines the capacity of the offenders who are deemed to be beyond reform outside prison unless they are incarcerated. Respondents at Lusaka Central Prison were made aware that there is a law that is not being effectively implemented and as a result, people with minor offences were in prison instead of people who re-offend and those with serious offences and pose a danger to society. The human rights approach hence enabled me to investigate the gaps in the UN and AU bodies where I discovered that no binding instrument on Restorative Justice is in place apart from the Basic Principles in the case of the UN. In the case of Zambia, there is also no exclusive government document that guides and spells out Restorative Justice Principles. It also unearthed gaps in Section 8 of the CPC which subtracts on the right of the victim who chooses to participate in Restorative Justice but is denied to enjoy this right by a Magistrate who exercises his discretionary powers to the contrary. The other gap which was unearthed was on how the judiciary itself does not have a policy that makes it mandatory for subordinate courts to implement provisions of Section 8 of the CPC by consideration reconciliation as priority. These gaps in the UN and the Zambian Justice System revealed infringement of the right of the victims and offenders who want Restorative Justice as a way of settling their matter than allow Retributive Justice to take precedence. If the UN will eventually

adopt the Basic Principles as an instrument which will bind member states, the human rights approach will then bridge the gap between the objectives of the human rights instrument and the lived realities of both the female and male offenders in the Criminal Justice System. This is because the UN Basic Principles have good and progressive provisions which should be mandatory and binding on member states to enhance effective dispensation of justice by promoting healing and reconciliation among citizens.

3.1.5 Actors and structures

I used actors and structures as a tool of data analysis as one of my main assumptions was to establish how Section 8 of the CPC was being interpreted by the Magistrates and whether there was a policy that compels them to implement this law especially for women who are perceived to commit minor offences which is one of the objectives of this research. During the interview with the Officer from the Judiciary whom I asked if Retributive Justice should be maintained in the Criminal Justice System, he answered in the affirmative though emphasizing that it should be for serious offences. When the respondents at Lusaka Central Prison were interviewed on why more offenders are sent to prison on minor offences they attributed this to the retributive nature of the Criminal Justice System. This made me realize that reliance on Retributive Justice as opposed to Restorative Justice has contributed to overcrowding in prisons as there is no corresponding response from the government to build more prisons. Female prisoners felt that change in the attitude of Magistrates in the manner they dispense justice on minor offences, will help solve the problem of overcrowding in prisons. Asked how effective the Retributive Justice System is, the Senior Resident Magistrate said:

‘The effectiveness of the system has been difficult to ascertain because notwithstanding its application, people still commit offences.’

This response made me think that the negative attitude in preference to Retributive Justice by the actors was a major factor on how structures in the Criminal Justice System have failed offenders and victims on reconciliation and in the operationalization of Section 8 of the CPC. My logical conclusion was that although the Judicial Officer concedes that Restorative Justice should be used mainly for serious offences that seem not to be what happens in practice.

3.2 Overview of the research sites

The research was carried out in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia which is one of the ten provinces in the country. Players in the Criminal Justice System and the Traditional Court were selected. These two systems preside on minor offences falling under Section 8 of the CPC but using different modes of trial and disposal of cases.

3.3 The sample

Two representative groups of different focus group discussions, one from Lusaka Central Prison and the other from the Traditional Court in Chongwe District were interviewed. These were selected randomly. The interviews targeted mostly females as recipients of the Criminal Justice System on Retributive Justice and victims/offenders as recipients of the Traditional Court System on Restorative Justice. Although the sample captured equal numbers of female and male respondents, the interest of the research was on women who usually commit minor offences especially those falling under Section 8 of the CPC. At the time of the interview, it was indicated by a key informant at Lusaka Central Prison that there were only 64 female prisoners convicted on minor offences that included assault cases as compared to 520 male prisoners convicted on similar offences. To allow for a broader range of opinions, men were also interviewed.

3.4 Data collection methods

3.4.1 In-depth interviews with key respondents

The key respondents were selected based on their experience and the conceptual skills they possessed. Focus was on the enhancement and implementation of Section 8 of the CPC and Restorative Justice as an alternative form of justice for victims and offenders. Data was collected as the respondents were conversant with the procedure and the provisions of Section 8 of the CPC including key concepts like Retributive Justice and Restorative Justice coupled with the problems associated with the application of the law. This had the capacity to provide the desired information.

The key respondents were as follows:

Table 5 showing respondents who answered to the research questions

Designation	Sex	Number
Prisoners	Male	10
Prisoners	Female	10
Prison Officers	Female	6
Prison Officers	Male	4
Prosecutors	1 Female, 1 Male	2
Judicial Officers	Male	1
Executive Director from PRISCCA	Male	1
Headmen/women	1 Female, 1 Male	2
Victims of crime from a Traditional Court	3Female, 3 Male	5
Offenders from a Traditional Court	3 Female, 2 Male	5
Total		54

3.4.2 Observation

During the time of the research, I attended several court sessions where matters falling under Section 8 of the CPC were before different subordinate court Magistrates. I observed that when an offender has committed an offence of assault, emotions on the part of the victims are usually high and would want the offender to be retributively punished. But when tempers have cooled

down, victims tend to sober up and usually would want to either forgive the offender or be compensated. The offender on the other hand also realizes his mistake that there is need to show remorse and account for the acts of the crime and compensate the victim. This is the opportunity that Magistrates are supposed to take advantage of and implement Section 8 of the CPC in its totality because both parties are now ready and willing to reconcile and this kind of reconciliation is likely to be genuine because it has come in the aftermath of the commission of the crime. But Magistrates find an opportunity to punish the offender through incarceration citing the same reasons of the offence being rampant in the area and that there is need to effect a custodial sentence so that it acts as a deterrent to would-be offenders and remove such offenders from society. As one key respondent said:

‘That it is generally agreed that a major emphasis should be reconciliation dealing with feelings and bringing healing. Though this includes money, that should not be the only issue. It follows that, particularly for victims, mediation should be available in cases of violence because it is here where reconciliation is most needed in order to give them the opportunity to take ownership of their disputes, vent their anger and ask questions, gain emotional relief and be personally involved in deciding how to resolve matters.’

However, this technique as a tool for collecting data was selected because it allowed me to obtain information directly rather than through reports compiled by others, making it more reliable. Furthermore, observation as a method of data collection has strength in that it allows triangulation to confirm accuracy of data.

3.4.3 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were held at Lusaka Central Prison because that is where the prisoners are imprisoned with their movements restricted and the Prison Officers who guard them were interviewed at the same place too. The other three focus group discussions were held at the Traditional Court in Chongwe District with the headmen/women, victims and offenders. The discussion areas were structured in the same way as the interview guide. The advantage of focus group discussions had over interviews was that issues were discussed at length and varying

opinions debated. I noted that men had different views compared to women in as far as the commission of crime is concerned. Women felt that it was unfair to treat them the same as men because the offence of assault is usually committed by women after provocation especially from men who include husbands, partners and boyfriends. Men commit assault mostly due to their violent behavior and as a way of exhibiting their masculinity. Women respondents complained that the continued incarceration of women on minor offences like assault does not make sense because most women are not usually violent per se but commit assault through provocation as a reaction to a situation and these are the factors courts should also take into consideration. The debates took long and I almost failed to contain them. This debate method had a special strength in that it brought out the value and depth of local understanding of issues relating to rights and entitlements.

3.5 Assessment of the methodology

I found the data collection methods discussed above effective. However, as an outsider to the Criminal Justice System, at times, I felt the respondents were modifying their answers to specific questions and diverting from the truth especially with the Senior Resident Magistrate who felt the discretionary powers of the Magistrates were being challenged. It was the same with respondents at Lusaka Central Prison who thought I was at the prison to facilitate their release while the prison Officers maintained their grip on confidentiality of data and ended up modifying answers. An example was the question on how the Magistrates were helping to reduce overcrowding in prisons since they were the ones who incarcerate offenders said that they try to implement Section 8 of the CPC depending on the circumstances and facts before court but the key informants at prison said that there were more prisoners serving their sentences on minor offences especially on assault cases which has contributed to over-crowding in prisons. These were two different stories coming from Officers within the Criminal Justice System. The different stories were given so as to demonstrate that the situation was not as bad as the research wanted to establish as a fact.

A prison is a sensitive and restricted place so there was no time to make prior arrangements for the visits but I was allowed to commence the interviews after showing that clearance was given by the Ministry responsible for prisons. So, the sampling of the prison community was done as I

entered the prison premises. I suspect that the presence of the Prison Officers (though they stood at a distance) and the intimidating atmosphere in prison could have compelled some respondents to dispute what other respondents had said especially on the prison conditions and the attitude of the Magistrates fearing that they would be reported to the authorities. However, despite the above limitations, the data collected remains valid as the possible biases were minimized by continuous triangulation to check validity or otherwise of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 USE AND APPLICATION OF SECTION 8 OF THE CPC ON RESTORATIVE JUSTICE: SO WHAT?

'The larger portion of our Criminal Justice System in Zambia is not only centralized but retributively based. Almost all the entire Criminal Justice System and law enforcement are tailored to imprison people than to rehabilitate them.'

Executive Director, Zambia Prisons Care and Counselling Association.

This research was based on a set of assumptions which I had developed before the start of the field research. This chapter therefore will try to focus on the findings in the field and how they impacted on my assumptions. It will touch on the use and application of Section 8 of the CPC on Restorative Justice.

At the outset of the research, I wanted to find out why the law in Section 8 of the CPC was not applied as it stands. My first assumption was that there is no government policy direction on Restorative Justice Mechanism in the Criminal Justice System. This concern was at the back of my mind considering that the discretion to implement this law lies with the Magistrate. It was premised on the fact that most Magistrates are inclined to meting out custodial sentences as opposed to other alternative sentencing options. I also wanted to find out if there can be an alternative form of justice that can be more restorative. The findings confirmed that actually Section 8 of the CPC is restorative but the problem lies with the implementation of the law as it was held in the case of *The People v Chigariro (1974) ZR (H.C)*. The law provides for mediation which facilitates reconciliation of the parties where the Magistrate has to stand down the matter and facilitate this process. The law further compels the Magistrate not to attach any conditions that do not promote the spirit of reconciliation.

Despite the restorative nature of this law, the offence of AOABH which falls under section 8 is treated like any other offence where custodial sentence seems to be the most preferred option for most Magistrates. During a focus group discussion with female key respondents from Lusaka Central Prison on why they were in prison on an offence that provided for reconciliation with their victims, they said that:

'Even if an application is made to the Magistrate through the Public Prosecutor by the victim (complainant) to stand down the matter for reconciliation, in many cases, Magistrates decline to grant the application and proceed to hear the matter and in most cases, a custodial is handed down. This is why most of us are here in prison.'

4.1 The retributive nature of the Criminal Justice System

This brings me to my second assumption which states that Restorative Justice does not play a significant role when left under the discretion of the Magistrate as provided for under Section 8 of the CPC. The attitude of the Magistrates raises concerns in that it is centered on retribution because the trial focuses on ensuring that the offender is prosecuted and found guilty and convicted. The offender deserves to be punished and must be sent to prison so that the custodial sentence must serve as a deterrent measure to would-be offenders. The idea behind this is to create fear and intimidation in the minds of the people. But from the Police statistics, records show that in fact the offence of AOABH has the highest number of offenders when compared to other offences. This is despite the high number of convictions handed down by the courts. It also shows that convictions are not a solution because the statistics should have shown a drastic reduction in the assault cases.

4.2 Intentional pain infliction versus awareness of painfulness

'Punishing someone consists of visiting a deprivation (hard treatment) on him because he is supposedly has committed a wrong.....'

(Von Hirsch, 1993: 9).

There is need to elaborate on how inflicting pain is in retribution. Three elements are distinguished here and these are hard treatment, the intention of inflicting pain and the link with the wrong committed. Fatic notes that if one of these elements is lacking, there is no punishment. Intentionally, inflicting pain which is not linked to a wrongful act is not punishment. Painful obligations which are not imposed with the intention to cause suffering are not punishments. Pain in punishment is inflicted for the sake of pain (*Fatic, 1995: 197*).' However, the crux lies in

the intention. Equating every painful obligation after a wrong is done with punishment is based on a mistaken 'psychological location' of the painfulness. The key lies in the mind of the punisher and not in that of the punished. It is the punisher who considers an action to be wrong and who wants the wrongdoer to suffer for it.

As stated, Retributive Justice targets the offender for punishment and therefore, the victim is not a factor in the whole trial process but would only be needed as a witness if required to testify. The victim is not given chance to have a one-to-one interaction with the offender. Instead, the court just uses the victim to extract evidence that will help it to convict the offender. The victim is treated as an item of evidence (*Rossner and Wulf, 1984: 8*). The offender will be a passive spectator at the trial and the victim will be left out of it altogether except sometimes as a witness. After testifying, the victim of the offence will then be released and will never be consulted on what type of punishment is given to the offender. The victim is never consulted whether to reconcile with the offender and be compensated because the Criminal Justice System assumes by law that the offender did not wrong the victim but the state which has an obligation to punish the offender. And so, the interests of the state takes precedent since the offender transgressed state law. I then asked myself as to what justice the victim of crime will get if he/she does not take an active role in the process of the crime where decisions are left to the court to deal with the matter in its own style. As one respondent put it:"

'We feel used by the Courts in this manner as in most cases you may not even know whether the offender was convicted or not. The courts do not even have the time of informing you as the court is in total control of the whole process up to the end.'

4.3 Why this retributive attitude by the Magistrates?

I once lived in a high density area on the Copperbelt Province for a long time and observed that the offence of AOABH was an offence which most common offenders committed in these areas when compared to those who lived in low density areas. This was mainly due to the high illiteracy levels and ignorance of the law. The other reason was the indulgence in beer drinking by both men and women which was their main pre-occupation due to lack of employment. The trend was that anyone from the high density area who appeared in court would be convicted to

receive strokes of the cane which was the most probable way Magistrates found of dealing with this problem and that trend seems to have continued although people still committed offences. The discretionary powers of the magistrates to decide as to whether to proceed with matter or not exacerbates the situation.

Section 250 (a),(b),(c),(d),(e) of the Penal Code provides for the different kinds of assaults that constitutes a felony and punishable with custodial sentence. In the recent years, new laws have been enacted in Zambia that deals with some offences falling under Section 8 of the CPC. One of them is the Anti-Gender Violence Act: Number 1 of 2011 which in its preamble states among other things that:

'It is an Act to provide for the protection of victims of gender based violence.....'

It is clear that Section 8 of the CPC was enacted to take care of a certain kind of assaults that are provided for under the Penal Code in Section 248 which are deemed as misdemeanours and subject to reconciliation. This means that when a Magistrate is dealing with a matter that falls under this section, the expectation of the parties to the case and who are willing to reconcile is that the preference for mediation must be the guiding principle and the Magistrate must therefore stay the proceedings. The fact that most Magistrates apply Retributive Justice instead of Restorative Justice which is reconciliatory defeats the essence of the spirit of this law.

Therefore, the findings have revealed that Restorative Justice does not play a significant role when left under the discretion of the Magistrate as provided for under Section 8 of the CPC. This is because:

- a. most of the Magistrates tend to use their discretionary powers arbitrarily in order to punish the offender
- b. Custodial sentence seems to be the preferred form of punishment for offenders
- c. Most Magistrates feel that Restorative Justice would encourage recidivism
- d. Offenders deserve to be punished so as to let the sentence act as a deterrent measure to others.

4.4 Why not consider other alternative forms of punishments?

This made me to look at the third assumption that the prison population in Zambia has continued to grow because of the CJS which is retributive and adversarial in nature. The implementation of Section 8 of the CPC seems to be more inclined to custodial sentence than promoting reconciliation despite the fact that the Penal Code provides several other forms of punishments which the Magistrate can consider because some of them are restorative in nature. Respondents who answered to this assumption felt that lack of consideration for other alternative non-custodial sentencing options has seen a lot of offenders being incarcerated in prisons. Punishments like suspended sentence among others are more restorative to an offender because they make one reflect on how misconduct towards others affects them and stops recidivism. The manner in which the suspended sentence is made to be carried out gives the offender the chance to be with the family and take care of it whilst executing the sentence outside prison. As one male prisoner aptly put it:

'The community directly benefits from your work as you are made to work in their locality or government premises. You are shamed and prepared for reintegrated and accepted by the community because you mingle with them as you work daily.'

To augment the comments above, the Prisons Amendment Act Number 14 of 2000 which is supposed to be read together with the Prisons Act Chapter 97 of the Laws of Zambia provides in Section 135(1) that:

'Where in any declared area, a prisoner is committed to imprisonment for non-payment of any fine, compensation, costs or other sum adjudged to be paid under any written law, the court so sentencing or committing that person may, with the prisoner's consent, order that the prisoner shall perform public work in accordance with this part outside a prison for the duration of such imprisonment.'

Section 135A (1) continues by stating that:

'Where a Court makes an order for community service in accordance with the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, the authorized Officer to whom the offender reports shall notify the offender or cause the offender to be notified of the hours, place, nature

and any other necessary details of the community service to be performed by the offender.'

The above law gives dignity to offenders who commit misdemeanors falling under section 8 of the CPC because the punishment is restorative as opposed to custodial sentence which is retributive in its nature and form. It is also clear as shown that there is legislation that can help Magistrates operationalize the provisions of Section 8 of the CPC to avoid being retributive and give a sense of dignity to the law and apply retribution on other offences which are felonies. There is no need for the Magistrates to misapply the discretionary powers vested in them by the law by inclining more on Retributive Justice because imprisonment does not help to heal the nation but instead produces hard core criminals who are prone to recidivism. This brings me to the next question of what happens when there is failure to implement the law.

4.5 Results of failure to effectively implement the law in Section 8 of the CPC

It creates an impression in the mind of a prisoner that incarceration is the only way society can deal with delinquency yet there are other ways which are more restorative as Anne-Marie MacAllinden added that:

'These approaches (that is the other forms of justice like Restorative justice) may provide a viable means of dealing with the offender's needs in terms of risk management and successful reintegration but also of addressing the concerns of victims and communities in terms of effective public protection.'

The prison population keeps on growing as the people being incarcerated on these minor offences are the majority in prison. As stated, Lusaka Central Prison which was meant to accommodate one hundred and sixty prisoners now has one thousand one hundred and fifty prisoners as at December 2015. It means that government has to find means of coping with the problem of overcrowding in prisons. This includes among others:

- a. the need to build more prisons
- b. the need to employ more Prison Officers to guard the prisoners

- c. To provide sanitary pads for women whose biological make up require special attention. When asked whether the Prisons Service was able to provide this service, one key informant said that:

‘The budget for the prisons does not include such things but NGOs and individuals usually donate them. It means that if there are no donations made, the female prisoners have to endure with the problem because their confinement makes it difficult for them to secure them.’

Therefore, the findings were holding as it was proved that the non-operationalization of Section 8 of the CPC has contributed to the continued increase in the prison population because of the retributive and adversarial nature of the Criminal Justice System to which Magistrates have made a huge contribution in the manner they dispense justice. These findings made me to move further and interrogate if there were prison reforms that address RJ Principles.

4.6 Incorporation of Restorative Justice Principles in the new Prisons Reforms

In 2015, the Commissioner-General of Prisons announced reforms in the Prisons Service which centered on turning the Prison Service into a Correctional Service. These were included in the new Amended Constitution passed in January 2016. This prompted me to come up with my fourth assumption which stated that the new Prisons Reforms announced by the government through the Commissioner-General of Prisons have incorporated principles of RJ.

The Prisons Service has what they call ‘The Zambia Prisons Service Standing Orders’ issued by the Commissioner-General of Prisons and the latest edition was revised in 2007. Under Part II, Article 168(iii),(h) of the edition falling under the heading ‘Duties of a Prison Social Welfare Officer’ provides for Restorative Justice and reads as follows:

‘A Prison Social Welfare Officer shall facilitate Restorative Justice Initiatives through victim-offender reconciliation and victim-offender mediation programs.’

Although the edition does not provide the definition of Restorative Justice, the fact that it states that the initiative involves reconciliation of the victim and offender through mediation means that it adopts the worldwide most accepted definition that is more inclusive.

This is part of the prison reintegration of offenders into society as provided by Article 168 of the Standing Orders. I asked the key informants during a focus group discussion how Restorative Justice is done. They explained that a prisoner may initiate mediation by asking them to go and bring the victim of crime to prison for reconciliation and the Prison Officers will act as mediators. If the victim agrees, is brought to prison where reconciliation is effected. This means that when the offender is later released from prison, there will be harmony because the mediation and reconciliation will be genuine. The outcome of this reconciliation is used to make recommendations for a prisoner to be released early from prison through a presidential pardon. However, both key informants and respondents acknowledged that the initiative is difficult to implement because of the administrative and operational challenges involved.

I also noted that although the Commissioner-General unveiled these initiatives as part of the broader reforms, these were not new reforms because they have been part and parcel of their daily administrative work contained in the Standing Orders which they have been revising every time when need arises but lacked legal backing which came with the new constitution of 2016 that now provides for the Prisons Service as a Correctional Service. It is the expectation of this research that practical steps will be taken to make Restorative Justice a reality because the Auditor General's Report of July 2014 on page viii illustrated glaring inadequacies where it stated that:

'Prisons have not effectively conducted Restorative Justice to reintegrate prisoners with their families.'

Therefore, I concluded that the findings were holding in that the Prisons Service already has Restorative Justice Initiatives in its Standing Orders which are persuasive in nature and are the guiding principle in effecting Restorative Justice in the Service though not effectively implemented. Perhaps, the passing of the new constitution coupled with the unveiling of the new Prison Reforms will now provide the necessary legal backing which will enhance the status of women prisoners if implemented effectively well.

4.7 Restorative Justice, What is it and so what?

4.7.1 Introduction

Having looked at Retributive Justice and how it operates, the need arose to compare it with the Restorative Justice System. The idea was to explore and establish whether it can be an alternative form of justice in the Criminal Justice System in Zambia that would be used to address minor offences. If that was the case, I also wanted to find out whether women would greatly benefit from such a system since they do not usually commit serious offences? This is what constituted my fifth assumption which stated that if Restorative Justice was to be introduced as a model of addressing minor offences, women would greatly benefit since they do not usually commit serious offences.

4.7.2 Expectations of the legal process when crime is committed

I wanted to establish the link of diversion from Retributive Justice to Restorative Justice so as to see how effective Restorative Justice can be in the legal system if well implemented. I started by asking a key respondent at the Police Public Prosecutions Divisional Office to explain the process that is followed when a crime has been committed and how the police react. He said:

'In Zambia, when a crime is committed in any contemporary community, we suppose that certain things will happen and these are:

- a. The state authorities are expected to take charge of the process of dispensing justice. This means that the police should quickly arrest the offender, detain him and then slap the necessary criminal charges.*
- b. It is also assumed that, if possible, the offender should be tried in a court of law in order to assess the degree of offending.*
- c. It is also expected that if the accused is found guilty, fate will be determined in a court of law by the Magistrate.*
- d. It is also presumed that the offender will be subjected to some form of retributive (Punitive) punishment.'*

Another key informant at PRISCCA during an interview added that:

'These assumptions structure our thinking about criminal justice and that although there is much debate about the precise form of which criminal justice should take and about how its interventions can be justified, such debate tend to place amongst people who share these basic assumptions.'

Therefore, the *Zambian Criminal Justice* encourages us to see crime in a particular way that regards it as a wrong committed against an abstract entity such as the state or society. There is logic to this because the state lays down certain laws which basically say, 'this is the bottom line of what we – as a society will allow: we will not permit people to hit (assault) others as this will constitute a crime. So, crime is the behavior which infringes these rules and since the rules are made by the state on behalf of society, we tend to define crime as a wrong committed against the state or society.' Therefore, in Retributive Justice, to achieve justice in the aftermath of a crime, the offender must be subjected to adequate punishment. As one key informant from the Police Public Prosecutions Divisional Office put it:

'We therefore tend to assume that when a crime is committed, it is the duty of the state to deliver on behalf of the society. We would certainly regard the state as failing to meet its responsibilities if it systematically failed to dispense justice in the aftermath of a crime and it would seldom occur to us to hold others responsible if a crime is not followed by the administration of justice.'

I also wanted to find out whether I could locate female prisoners who were in prison as a result of having committed assault cases falling under Section 8 of the CPC. Furthermore, I wanted to establish how the women would benefit from such a Criminal Justice System.

In further interrogation of the assumption above, I wanted to look at the restorative punishments which the law under the Penal Code provides. I established that alternative sentencing optional sentences are available which can be imposed by the courts from which women would mostly benefit because, in most cases, they commit minor offences which mainly fall under Section 8 of the CPC. I also discovered that although there were female prisoners who committed other offences including minor ones, the majority of them consisted of those who committed offences falling under Section 8 of the CPC. This made me think that if Restorative Justice had been

applied to these women offenders through the implementation of Section 8 of the CPC, majority of them would not be in prison and this could have been one way of addressing the problem of overcrowding in prisons. This can also help decongest the courts with a lot of cases that can be dealt with outside court and let the Magistrates concentrate on serious matters. During the focus group discussion, the female prisoners added that:

'This law (Section 8 of the CPC) should be expanded to include all minor offences. It should not just be restricted to assault cases but any offence of a minor nature if the overcrowding and addressing of women offenders' issues are to be addressed wholesomely. The courts should impose other alternative sentences so that offenders can stay outside prison while doing their punishment and incarcerate the dangerous ones.'

4.7.3 Why women commit the offence falling under Section 8 of the CPC

When I asked each one of them as to why they committed the offence of assault and the manner the offence was committed, I discovered that most of them were economically related offences in search of food for their children. One female prisoner narrated that:

'I picked a quarrel with my boyfriend who was failing to support our child and in the process of pulling and pushing each other, I assaulted him. The degree of injury was not grave.'

Although it was a matter which needed the court to reconcile the two since the victim was willing to go for mediation, the matter however, proceeded in court leading to her conviction. In order to triangulate this narration since men are also victims of this law, I also looked at the case of another 23 year old male prisoner who narrated his ordeal.

'My younger brother differed with a friend resulting into a fight and when I intervened to stop them, I was instead attacked by my brother's opponent and in trying to defend myself, I ended up punching him on the right cheek which got swollen leading to my arrest and incarceration.'

These are all offences falling under Section 8 of the CPC in which the Magistrates should have exercised their discretion and stand down the matters for reconciliation. Alternatively, the

Magistrates should have considered other alternative punishments which are restorative in nature so that the two could have served their punishments outside prison.

4.7.4 How women would benefit from non-custodial sentences

Although women offend just like men do, their offending is not as serious as men. They are involved in petty offences and violent related offences which are in most cases are common assaults which are minor in nature.

The argument still stands that custodial sentencing which seem to be the best punishment for most of the Magistrates is not helping to solve the problem of offenders of minor offences because people still re-offend and the retribution hardens the character of the prisoners. If outside imprisonment became the main alternative sentencing option for minor offenders, female prisoners would benefit greatly as they would also have time to attend to their family matters and fend for their children who are in most cases left without reliable family members to take care of them once incarcerated. In some cases, the children are made to spend time with their mothers in prison when they are still young which is not an ideal situation. These problems would be addressed once offenders are given suspended sentences and this can only be tenable if the law is implemented accordingly.

My findings therefore proved that although women do offend just like their male counterparts, they are not into committing serious offences. They usually commit minor offences and that if the law was to be effectively operationalized in line with the provisions of Section 8 of the CPC, women would greatly benefit just as the study has shown.

4.7.5 The need to incorporate and empower communities in the Criminal Justice System

My sixth and last assumption was that Restorative Justice will empower and incorporate communities in the Criminal Justice System by addressing matters that should be handled by the Courts and the Police. I realized that I needed to find a system that dispenses justice based on Restorative Justice. This should be a system that first diverts from the normal conventional court system to another form of justice where community members have to take charge of the

proceedings involving the victim and the offender with other stake holders in order to find an amicable solution to the problem that is non-custodial. I wanted to see how Traditional Courts handled their cases in comparison to the conventional court system and see how effective the system was in solving minor offences without subjecting offenders to custodial sentencing. I also wanted to find out how communities would benefit from such a system of justice dispensation and how it would benefit both the victim and the offender. These questions connected me to the key concept of Restorative Justice that embraces the pillars that anchors justice in communities.

4.8 Restorative Justice and how it works

Although there are so many definitions that have been propounded so far, there is great concern among Restorative Justice Advocates to distinguish practices that are near and far from the restorative ideal and there is further debate over how to draw the line on a continuum of practices. Internationally, there have been various discussions on the issue of definition (*Tshehla, 2005*).

But the most accepted definition of Restorative Justice that is more inclusive is one which defines Restorative Justice as:

‘Every action that is primarily oriented towards doing justice by repairing the harm that has been caused by the commission of the crime.’

(Bezemore G. et al, 1999).

South Africa has adopted Restorative justice that incorporates mediation as a model for settling matters. It has started by first giving its own definition of Restorative Justice in order to make mediation a factor in conflict resolution. For instance, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRCR) defines Restorative Justice as;

‘A process which,

- a. Seeks to redefine crime from breaking laws to violations against human beings based on reparation as it aims at the healing and restoration of all concerned*

b. Encourages victims, offenders and the community to be directly involved in resolving conflict

e. Supports a criminal justice system that aims at accountability of offenders and the full participation of victims and offenders.

(TRCR, 1998).

Furthermore, South Africa has incorporated the definition of Restorative Justice into its national legislation (Probation Services Act 116, (1991). This Act has been amended and together with the Justice Bill B-49 of 2002 have both defined Restorative Justice as:

'The promotion of reconciliation, restitution and responsibility through the involvement of a child, a child's parent, family members, victims and communities.'

It is important to note that African indigenous justice systems are now generally acknowledged to contain elements of Restorative Justice and that these systems have influenced the modern conceptualization of Restorative Justice (*Tutu, 1999*).

Probably, the most recent significant statement in this regard is the one made by Nkosi Mzimela who is the Chairperson of the National House of Traditional Leaders. Referring to the retributive systems of the colonial powers, he stated that:

'They were in contrast with our (traditional African Justice System) Restorative Justice System.'

(Conference on Strategies to Combat Overcrowding in Prisons, 2005).

Skelton has identified nine features that African traditional justice processes and modern Restorative Justice Processes have in common (*Skelton, 2005*). The first three all relate to the value base and these are:

- a. Both processes aim for reconciliation, the restoration of peace and harmony
- b. They promote a normative system that stresses both rights and duties
- c. They highly value dignity and respect

The other six similarities are procedural in nature

- d. Neither process makes a sharp distinction between civil and criminal justice
- e. There is no rule of stare decisis (the forum is not bound by previous decisions)
- f. Both are typified by simplicity and informality of procedure
- g. They encourage participation and ownership
- h. They have a powerful process that is likely to bring about change
- i. Both value restitution and compensation including symbolic gestures or actions

This prompted me to find out from the respondents on what they felt could be the way to go on recidivism as this is the argument that has been advanced by those who are against Restorative Justice.

4.8.1 Restorative Justice on recidivism

Restorative Justice cannot be extended to people who keep on re-offending because that would defeat the interest of justice. People who are prone to recidivism may be subjected to Retributive Justice but the punishment must take into account retributive principles. This is because, virtually, all legal contexts involving individual criminal matters, Restorative Justice Processes have only been applied to those offenders who have admitted to an offence and promised never to repeat offending. As such, it deals with the penalty phase of the criminal process for admitted offenders and not in the fact-finding phase. During a focus group discussion with female prisoners, I asked them what their opinion on recidivism was. I extended the same question to male prisoners in order to get a wider view of comments and this is what they had to say:

'It would be wrong and unacceptable for the criminal justice to be tailored in such a manner that entertains recidivism. The spirit of reconciliation should be to promote harmony and make an offender realize and reflect on his/her bad actions that offends others and accept the wrong committed with a view not to repeat the same bad behavior.'

4.8.2 Diversion in Restorative Justice

The procedural aspect of Restorative Justice has arisen from the fact that since the 1970's, Criminal Justice Practitioners have been experimenting with new ways of intervening in the aftermath of a crime in which some and perhaps, even all of these basic assumptions seem to be rejected. As Gerry notes:

'Just like it is with Retributive Justice, when a crime has been committed, it is expected that the offender must face justice. However, Restorative Justice takes a new different form of approach in that it encompasses a variety of practices at different stages of the Criminal process including diversion from court.'

(Gerry, 2004)

As such it can be stated that diversion is an important stage which should deal with the penalty phase of the criminal process for admitted offenders and not in the fact-finding phase so as to give an offender a second chance. Therefore, key decisions on what to do about a crime are expected to be made outside court by a small group of ordinary citizens which may constitute themselves in form of a Traditional Court and this should include the victim and the offender. The focus should be less on punishing offenders through custodial sentencing but more on persuading or obligating offenders to repair the harm they have caused through their criminal act. This aspect connected me to find out what the procedure was like in a Traditional court where Restorative Justice takes centre stage .I conducted a study in Chongwe District which is situated about 45 Km from Lusaka at the palace of Chieftainess Nkomeshya Mukamambo II of the Soli people in Lusaka Province where I attended a Traditional Court Session, it was observed that the application of Restorative Justice in line with Section 8 of the CPC is effectively applied as though that is the law that applies to the Traditional Court. Although the Traditional Court does not normally refer to other independent mediation body for reconciliation, the court itself is a mediatory body.

Under customary law, Chiefs/headmen and women preside over minor criminal offences in which Restorative Justice takes centre stage. The procedure of the Court starts by summoning the offender through a court summon after receiving a complaint from the victim. Court sessions are held every Friday at the Chief's palace presided over by 10 headmen/women. The victim and the offender meet face-to-face in the presence of their supporters. The victim starts by narrating what her/his grievances are and is allowed to find out from the offender why he/she picked on her/him and indeed why that behavior was exhibited. Thereafter she/he is subjected to cross examination by the offender. The process is repeated again with the offender now being asked to testify and later subjected to cross examination by the victim. Both parties are allowed to bring their witnesses if they have any re-examination is done by the headmen/women who thereafter have to

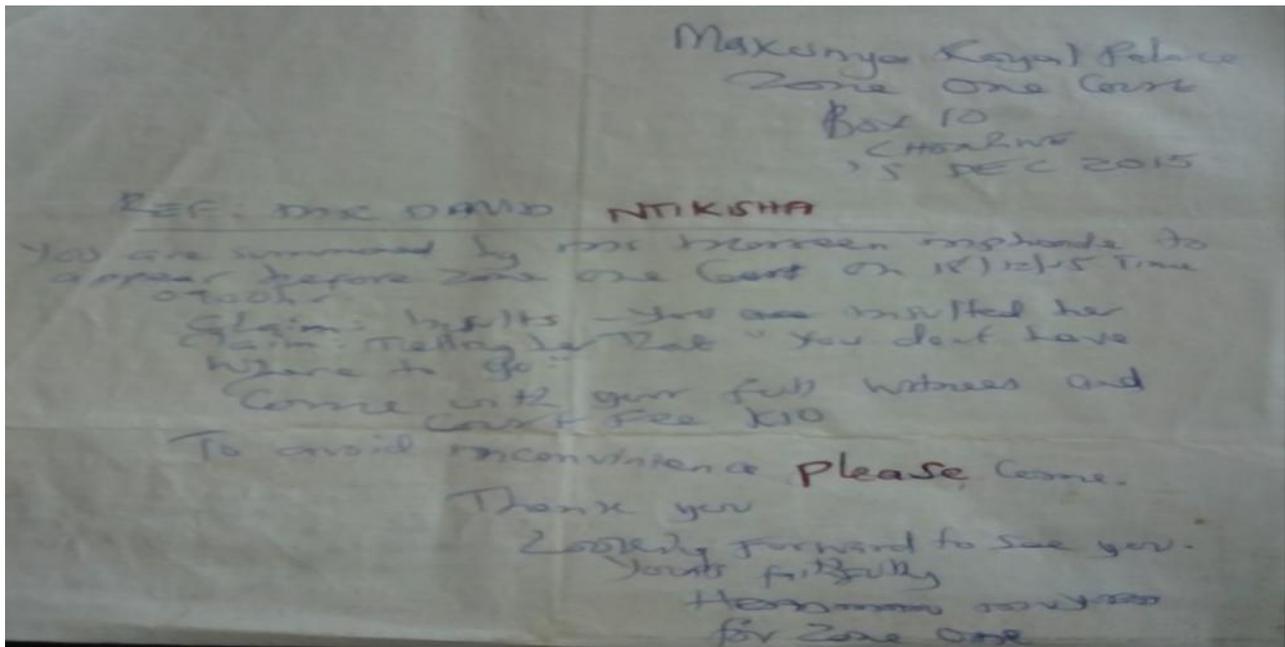
break to critically look at the evidence and reconvene to pass their verdict. I was also allowed to attend the mini-session that sat to decide which verdict to pass. I observed that the 9 headmen and 1 head woman analyzed the evidence and discussed how they were going to shame the offender. After being found guilty, the offender was made to accept his bad misconduct and to show remorse and the court reconciled the parties. After the court session and during a focus group discussion, I asked the headmen and woman why they didn't refer the matter to the police so that the conventional court can deal with the matter and they said:

'We handle all minor offences including those of a criminal nature and the idea behind this is to ensure that we maintain harmony and peace in the chieftdom. We also would like to ensure that we unite everyone together by promoting reconciliation between and among our subjects who have differed or committed a crime. The punishments are meant to protect the victim through compensation and asking the offender to show remorse. This works well for our community.'

I also wanted to find out how the Traditional Court deals with people who show contempt by re-offending even after the court has tried to promote reconciliation. They had this to say:

'The only time that a traditional Court will divert from this customary practice is when there is re-offending on the part of the offender where Retributive Justice becomes the option. The Court ensures that the offender is arrested and taken to the police station so that the court can now handle the matter. A detailed letter is also written to the police explaining how the Traditional Court has tried to reform the offender and that he /she has continued to re-offend.'

Figure D showing show the call-out which is a summon addressed to the offender



When I looked at section 8 of the CPC I realized that if a matter is sent to court after the Traditional Court has failed to change the offender using Restorative Justice Mechanisms, this should be the right time for the court to exercise its discretion in favour of Retributive Justice by proceeding to hear the matter so that custodial sentence can be meted out if it is necessary. This should also be the time for the court to consider alternative punishments that still remain restorative and non-custodial. Its implementation becomes necessary because the court will not be trying to find other means of dealing with a person who is prone to recidivism. Headmen and headwoman as key informants noted during the interview that:

'Unlike in the conventional courts where policy direction on the operationalization of the law on assault and many others is needed, the application of customary law on Restorative Justice in chiefdoms requires legislation to ensure that there is no miscarriage of justice on the part of those privileged to preside over the matters.'

Having analyzed the court procedures in the conventional court and the Traditional Court and having looked at Retributive Justice and Restorative Justice, I wanted to compare how justice

may be denied in one court while it may be granted in the other and this took me to the next subject matter below.

4.8.3 Comparison of receiving justice in the Conventional Court and the Traditional Court

In the past, I have attended court sessions in Subordinate Courts where offences of common assaults involving threatening violence and AOABH have been presided over by Magistrates and where the court had declined to grant applications under Section 8 of the CPC. I also attended the Traditional Court sessions dealing with the same offences. For instance, one respondent in the focus group discussion at Lusaka Central Prison said that she fought with and assaulted her neighbor. The matter was reported to the police where a medical report was issued and this led to her arrest. She said:

'I was convicted for one year six months despite the victim having shown interest to withdraw the matter so that we reconcile. The biggest problem is our Magistrates who do not listen when such applications are made because their interest is custodial sentence.'

However, during the period of the research, I attended a session where a man appeared in a Traditional Court for threatening violence and assaulting a woman. He was found guilty and ordered to pay K250 (US\$ 25) or to give the victim a goat.

In the first case, the Magistrate incarcerated the offender while in the second case in the Traditional Court, Restorative Justice prevailed. If the same case presided over by the Magistrate were before the Traditional Court, compensation would have been the option as a way of promoting reconciliation which is the main essence of Section 8.

Another key informant who is the Duty Officer at Lusaka Central Prison felt that:

'The failure by Magistrates to refer the bulk of assault cases for reconciliation has been one of the contributing factors to overcrowding in prison. Some of the prisoners especially those who committed minor offences should have been considered for other alternative punishments like suspended sentences or allow them to compensate those they offended. We want to keep prisoners who pose a real danger to society out there.'

The need to explore if there are any other restorative ways which can be utilized to achieve justice and takes the interests of both the offender and the victims as priority as opposed to taking the state as the wronged party led me to look at the following three most common practices that have attracted the label of Restorative Justice.

4.8.4 Victim – Offender Mediation

Restorative Justice is a different way of approaching justice. It sees crime as a violation of people and their relationships. Violations create obligations and the proper response is to first seek healing and restoration. Mediation is a restorative approach that seeks as far as possible to encourage participation, dialogue, mutual agreement and the exchange of information. Restorative Justice encourages responsibility for past behavior by focusing on the future, on problem solving, on the needs and obligations resulting from the offence. Reparation and restoration thus take precedence over punishment. During the interview, the key informant at PRISCCA outlined the vision the organization champions and envisages to be implemented in the Zambian CJS on mediation that promotes reconciliation and summed it like this:

‘It should be one that offers victims of crime an opportunity to meet in a safe setting with the person who has harmed them. The meeting should be organized and structured by one or two trained mediators. Mediators should allow and encourage victims to tell offenders about how the offence affected their lives and to ask offenders questions which victims often have, such as why they were the target of the offence. Victims should be able to take part in developing a restitution or reparation plan, that is to say, a plan of action which the offender should undertake to help repair the damage they have caused and to reassure the victim that no further offences will be committed against them. Offenders should be given the opportunity to account for their behavior by telling their story and to contribute to the construction of an action plan for repairing the harm they have caused.’

In advocating for this kind of approach, PRISCCA added during a National Conference at Mika Lodge in Lusaka in 2015 that:

‘The attitude of most Criminal Justice system Officers are anchored on spending more time on reasoning for incarceration than for non-custodial imprisonment. The

presumption of innocent until proven guilty is opposite in Zambia. The conduct of some Police Officers and other law enforcement agents in the Criminal Justice System in Zambia promotes a culture of work based on how many arrests and convictions are earned in order to earn a promotion from their superiors. Restorative Justice involving Victim – offender Mediation seems not to be their preference.’

4.8.5 Benefits of victim-offender mediation

It helps victims recover from a traumatic experience and attaches a high value to consistency. Those who are regarded as having a stake in a particular conflict are encouraged to construct an action plan which meets their ‘local needs’. In constructing an action plan, they may of course refer to public legal norms but these are clearly only one point of reference and not necessarily a particularly one. If one group of people decides that their needs are best served by giving the offender a part time job in the shop or if another group of people feel that compensating the victim would be the best punishment, then this is regarded as a just outcome provided that the decision has been reached consensually. The fact that another group of people, confronted by a very similar situation, constructed a very different action plan does not undermine the justice of the solution reached in this case.

It might be argued that this example does not actually demonstrate that consistency is not a value in Restorative Justice. Rather it shows that what is valued in Restorative Justice is not consistency of outcome but consistency of process. But even this would involve a considerable shift in our assumptions about the values that we should bring to our assessment of criminal justice.

It is also interesting to note that advocates of this process still argue that this process has benefits for offenders as the key informant from PRISCCA puts it:

‘The process enables the offender to learn about the real impact of their behaviour on fellow citizens, a learning process which can be painful but is ultimately beneficial. Also by giving the offender an opportunity to participate actively in deciding what should be done to repair the harm they have caused and above all, to let the offender to undertake reparative acts voluntarily thereby enabling the offenders to redeem themselves.

Additionally, the process of victim-offender mediation enhances their chances of being accepted back into the community from which they have become separated as a result of their criminal behavior.'

4.8.6 When does the process of mediation take place?

The process of victim-offender mediation can take place at any stage of a criminal justice process. It is often triggered by cases being referred to it by agencies in the conventional criminal justice process as part of some diversion scheme. For instance, the police might offer victims and offenders the option of victim-offender mediation as an alternative to sending an offender who has admitted involvement in an offence to court. Alternatively, it can be integrated with conventional forms of case 'disposal' where, for instance, a Magistrate might suggest that the victim-offender mediation occur as part of the probation order or it can take place alongside and in addition to conventional processes like offenders serving prison sentences might take part in victim-offender mediation prior to being released. In other words, the Zambian Criminal Justice System must consider non-custodial sentences to imprisonment on minor offences especially those falling under Section 8 of the CPC as a way of promoting Restorative Justice by emulating the processes discussed above in conformity with the law.

4.8.7 Family Group Conferencing

A second procedure of Restorative Justice Practice is the Family Group Conference (FGC). Although this approach may be more effective in matters involving young offenders, it is still appropriate even for adults because the idea is to shame the offender in strong terms in a much more respectable manner by ensuring that the offender shows remorse. It was first developed in New Zealand in the late 1980s and then later in Australia and England. Moore notes that:

'The FGC was first adopted in Australia in a variety of forms but the model mostly promoted elsewhere was developed in the Waga Waga Police Department. Although similar in many respects, it differs principally from the New Zealand model in that it uses Police Officers and school personnel to set up and facilitate meetings. It was refined to incorporate learning from reintegrative shaming theory resulting in a definite emphasis

on changing offender behavior through the wider collective involvement of the community.'

Moore, D. B. et al., (1994).

This model also aims to facilitate a process of dialogue between the victim and the offender about the offence and to elicit an apology and perhaps an offer of reparation on the part of the offender. Response to crime should seek restoration and therefore, retributive punishment must be eschewed since they preclude restoration. It is similar in many aspects to victim-offender mediation though in conferencing, the number of participants is extended to include family members, supporters of victims and family members and community contacts of offenders where they are interested in supporting the offender's reparation efforts. The term 'mediator' should then be replaced by facilitator. There should be greater emphasis in family group conferencing on construction of an action plan which will help the offender change the way of life so that there are less chances of re-offending. For instance, under criminal family conferencing, if a woman has been assaulted, the parties must first agree for intervention by family members. It matters first that the relevant facts be established at its first stage or during discussions that the conduct of the offender was criminal. Family group conferencing is heavily influenced by the theory of re-integrative shaming in which Braithwaite states that:

'it is a process in which facilitators of family group conferences are expected to attempt to steer the interaction between participants in such a way that strong disapproval of the offender's behavior is expressed but in a context of respect as a person and followed by gestures of care and love. Such a process works extremely well as a form of social control as it puts crime off the 'menu' for most people without subjecting them to any of the harsh, exclusive and punitive measures we currently rely upon to deter would-be-offenders.'

(Braithwaite, 1996.)'

Restorative Justice will allow punitive outcomes so long as they do not exceed upper constraints imposed by the law nor abuse human rights. The evidence is at the same time that Restorative Justice Conferences will help people become less punitive. Through Braithwaite's theory of integrative shaming, Restorative Justice has also become associated with broader communitarian

and republican theories which pursues non – domination in Restorative Justice. These are situations where citizens cannot enjoy a republican form of freedom in a society where they are insecure or uncertain about the limits on state coercive power and few limits of this kind which could be more fundamental than precise limits on the length of prison terms. This brings me to the last mode of mediation in Restorative Justice called the circle.

4.8.8 The Circle

A third practice of Restorative Justice is the sentencing or peacemaking circle. In circles, the number of participants should be much larger than in a family group conference as many community residents, justices and social service personnel should take part. There should be some way of ensuring that everybody who wishes to speak gets at least one chance to do so. Participants should sit in a circle and be encouraged to speak when they are allowed to do so by the facilitators and the giving of chance for one to speak must follow the circle in that sitting arrangement. Therefore, the central philosophy of the support circle which reflects one of the basic principles of Restorative Justice is encapsulated in the following phrase:

‘That it is essential to the life of the community that it claim its role in dealing with criminal conflict, with victims and offenders.’

(MacCold, 1996: 90-96)

The emergence of Restorative Justice as an objective of sentencing provides an opportunity to reflect both on the ability of the existing criminal justice system to pursue restorative means and achieve restorative outcomes and on the relation between Restorative Justice and more traditional sentencing purposes. For instance in Canada, this relationship between Restorative and Retributive Justice is a question of practical as well as theoretical significance. Courts have no alternative but to consider restorative objectives of sentencing within a statutory sentencing framework which privileges retributive sentencing by defining the fundamental principle that states that:

‘Sentences must be proportionate to the gravity of the offence and the degree of responsibility of the offender (Criminal Code, Section 718.1).’

The most well-known Restorative Justice initiative in Canada and one that has attracted considerable international attention is the circle sentencing which began in 1992 with the much cited case of *R v Moses* 11 C.R. (4th) 357, (1992) 3 C.N.L.R. 116, 71 c.c.c. (3d) 347. Facts in this matter are that the twenty six year old Phillip Moses approached a Police Officer while holding a baseball bat. The Police Officer drew his revolver, retreated to his vehicle and later arrested Moses charging him with the use of a weapon for the purpose of committing an assault. The court sent his case for sentencing circle though he did not qualify for this kind of mediation. After the sentencing circle, the court sentenced Moses to a very soft sentence and suspended it for two years. This was a clear indication of the effectiveness of the diversion system of involving the community in settling matters outside court. Much of the attention to circle sentencing in Canada has focused on the successes of this form of sentencing, cases in which the circle developed a consensual solution of benefit to the victim, the offender and the community to which both parties belong. The circle should be referred to as the circle sentencing because one of the functions should be to enable the community to recommend a sentence to a Magistrate who had earlier on referred the matter to the community. As noted by the Executive Director of PRISCCA as a key informant that:

'Circles should have broader functions. For instance, their role should also include teaching people through respective dialogues about the right way to behave rather than punishing them for misbehaving. They should also be regarded as processes which should promote healing in the sense of reconnecting people with their community and hence with their true selves. Discussions should tend to be on much broader issues than what sentence the offender should receive. For instance, it should include discussions of matters such as:

- a. Why people engage in the sort of behavior like fighting, violent behavior and insulting language which may lead them to be arrested and arraigned before court*
- b. The discussions must also include concerns on what such behavior is doing to the community*
- c. It must also look at what the community can and should not do to help solve these social problems.*

- d. *The circle must come up with a recommendation on the type of sentence to give and formulate an action plan with a broader plan of community action in order to tackle some problem(s) which may be perceived as debilitating the community.'*

My findings have illustrated that Restorative Justice will empower and incorporate communities in the Criminal Justice System by addressing matters that should be handled by the Courts and the Police. Diversion from the normal conventional court system to other traditional means that incorporate Restorative Justice has the capacity to improve the criminal justice system in Zambia especially on minor offences.

Therefore, mediation, family group conferencing and circles must be promoted and encouraged in Zambia not simply as a better way of dealing with individual criminal cases but as a means of rebuilding a sense of community and using the community to resolve conflicts and tackle the underlying social problems. In this way, the notion of Restorative Justice will become linked with the broader themes of community regeneration. The idea will be that by tackling their own problems, communities will become stronger and as they become stronger, their capacity to deal with their own problems will increase.

It is worth noting that mediation, family conference and circle as a form of Restorative Justice may be tailored in such a way that it supports ex-offenders in their efforts to remain law-abiding community members through monitoring their behaviour. The basic principle should aim at ensuring that they are allowed to live safely in the community without re-offending while the community should also be allowed to safely live with these ex-offenders in their midst without any fear.

As I was having an interview with the Senior Resident Magistrate, I wanted to find out if he would be one of the Judicial Officers who would operationalize the provisions of Section 8 and influence other Magistrates to do the same and ensure that reconciliation becomes priority in any matter before court and falling under this section now that we had discussed the subject extensively, he gave out the same answer that gives discretionary powers to the Magistrate and emphasized that as long as the law remains the same, nothing much will change. I looked around Lusaka Central Prison grounds at the female and male prisoners who were languishing in prison on minor offences in which if the law was applied in the spirit of reconciliation or if alternative sentencing options had been considered, perhaps none of them would even be there. It made me

wonder as to why the attitude of the Magistrates has remained so much in favour of custodial sentencing as a way of punishing such offenders yet they have a law at their disposal which they can implement. This is because of the fact that the professionalization of criminal punishment runs the risk of detaching the criminal justice from the community. By being consigned to, and punished by the justice system, the offender may feel rejected by his society. For instance, in a circle, the presence of community members may foster a greater sense of solidarity or at least undermine the perception of social rejection associated with a traditional sentencing hearing particularly one which results in the incarceration of the offender. And of course, there is the question of simple numbers. Many offenders are represented by court-appointed duty counsel and appear without the support of other individuals. In a sentencing circle, the offender is supported by the family members and/or friends. In short, whatever the nature of the relationship with the established sentencing process, circle sentencing represents a more communitarian response to offending. This brought me to my next chapter which discusses policy and law reform as possible alternative interventions to the implementation of the law under Section 8 of the CPC.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Conclusion and Interventions

The research has brought out the implications associated with the non-implementation of Section 8 of the CPC by Magistrates who preside over minor criminal cases in the Subordinate Courts. The research has also shown that Restorative Justice can be an alternative form of justice in the Criminal Justice System in Zambia. This chapter will focus on the conclusion and possible interventions that need to address the concerns identified.

5.1 Conclusion

The research has shown the need to reform the law in Section 8 of the CPC. Reconciliation should be considered as a guiding principle on minor criminal offences before incarceration is considered. The women at Lusaka Central Prison incarcerated on minor offences are a reflection of how Magistrates have failed to effectively operationalize the law by considering more progressive ways of administering justice. There is no need to allow the Criminal Justice System to remain retributive on offenders who commit minor criminal offences like assault which is not aggravated. Reconciliation can play a big role in promoting Restorative Justice as an alternative form of justice.

The manner of dispensing justice in the conventional court and the traditional court calls for an immediate review to enhance the Criminal Justice System. These two situations need to be addressed so that Section 8 of the CPC provides equal justice. The law should list all criminal offences that should qualify as minor offences and mandatory for reconciliation. The court should only decline to stand down the matter and proceed with trial only if parties cannot be reconciled or there is recidivism. There is need to appreciate that most of the women who are in prison today could have been considered for other alternative restorative punishments or reconciled. As a result of this research, various intervention strategies emerged.

The Auditor General's report of 2014 in its conclusion on page ix recommends that Restorative Justice Initiatives and programs should be encouraged, supported and documented and this

recommendation must include all players in the entire Criminal Justice System if the objective of the law is to be achieved.

5.2 Interventions

Short term

Effect policy

Target: The Judiciary and Ministry of Justice

Activities – Policy must be effected which should make it mandatory for any Magistrate presiding over a case falling under Section 8 of the CPC to first stand down the matter and refer it for mediation where the sole purpose should be to reconcile the victim and the offender. Any means of mediation which may include family conferencing or circle may be used as long as the objective of this law is achieved. When the matter is brought back to court, the Magistrate must then facilitate the reconciliation where she/he can even counsel the offender not to re-offend and be a good citizen. The only time when the Magistrate should proceed to hear the case is when the victim or the offender is not willing to reconcile.

Potential outcome – In this way, Restorative Justice will be incorporated into the law and its objectives will be achieved.

5.3 The need to consider alternative punishments

Target: The Judiciary and the Ministry of Justice

The new policy direction should consider the manner of punishing those who get convicted as a result of failure to reconcile and that custodial sentence be the last option ever to consider. It should be borne in mind of the Magistrates that imprisonment is not the best way to habilitate a person because it instead turns the offender into a hardcore criminal prone to recidivism and puts unnecessary pressure on the national treasury to increase the prisons budget due to the increase in the number of prisoners incarcerated and the prison activities that will require funding. For instance, government funding to the Zambia Prisons Service kept on increasing from K37

million (\$3,363,636) in 2009 by 35%, 29% and 4.5% in the years 2010, 2011 and 2012 respectively to K86 million (\$7,818,181) in 2012 as shown in the table below.

Table 6 Funding to the Zambia Prisons Service for the period 2009 to 2012

Year	Budgeted amount	Supplementary	Total Authorized Provision	Actual Releases	Overfunding	Annual growth of total authorized provision
K	K	K	K	K	K	%
2009	37,595,804 (\$3,417,800)	-	37,595,804 (\$3,417,800)	49,451,603 (\$4,495,600)	11,855,798 (\$1,077,799)	0.0
2010	52,421,251 (\$4,765,568)	5,630,585 (\$511,871)	58,042,836 (\$5,276,621)	67,404,297 (\$6,127,663)	9,361,460 (851,041)	35.2
2011	68,682,683 (\$6,243,880)	14,000,000 (\$1,272,727)	82,682,683 (\$7,516,607)	89,375,420 (\$8,125,038)	6,692,736 (\$608,430)	29.8
2012	94,955,349 (\$8,632,304)	-	86,553,879 (\$7,868,534)	86,553,879 (\$7,868,534)	-	4.5
Tota	253,646,090	19,630,585	264,875,204	295,785,201	27,909,996	
l	(\$23,058,735)	(\$1,784,598)	(\$24,875,204)	(\$26,889,563)	(\$2,537,272)	

Courtesy of the Auditor General's report of July, 2014 with the Exchange rate at \$1 to K11

This was supplemented by some income that was generated from agricultural production and other activities. The total income for the period under review was as shown below amounting to K8,550,494 (777,318 USD). The relevance of the figures in the two tables above shows that despite the huge amounts of money from the treasury coupled with the ones generated from the

local production initiatives, one could have expected these amounts to meet the huge prison demands of supporting its administrative and operational needs. However, these could not sustain the smooth operations of the Prisons Service which was overwhelmed by the huge prison population. This means that more funding should have been channeled to the Prisons Service to sustain its needs or there be a drastic shift in government policy that should look at ways of reducing the population of prisoners in prison.

Table 7 Income from agricultural production and other activities for the whole Prison Service

	2010	2011	Total
Source	K	K	K
Crop Production	4,386,330 (\$398,757)	3,829,865 (\$348,169)	8,216,195 (\$746,926)
Industries			
1. Copperbelt			
Carpentry	98,358 (\$8,941)	-	98,358 (\$8,941)
Ceramics	5,113 (\$464)	-	5,113 (\$464)
Tailor shop	905 (\$82)	-	905 (\$82)
Metal fabrication	16,775 (\$1,525)	-	16,775 (\$1,525)
2. Lusaka			
Carpentry	136,820 (\$12,438)	-	136,820 (\$12,438)
3. Central			
Carpentry	51,687 (\$4,698)	-	51,687 (\$4,698)
Tailor shop	24,638 (2,239)	-	24,638 (\$2,239)
Total	4,720,627 (\$429,147)	3,829,865 (\$348,169)	8,550,492 (\$777,317)

Courtesy of the Auditor General's report of July, 2014 with the Exchange rate at \$1 to K11

Potential outcome – Imprisonment outside prison will help to decongest prisons and the other problems associated with the huge prison population that include increase in government

budgetary allocation to the Prisons Service to build more prisons and employ more Prison Officers to guard the prisoners. In this way, the Zambian Criminal Justice System will incorporate Restorative Justice and this will mark a gradual shift from Retributive Justice.

Long term

5.4 Repeal of Section 8 of CPC

Target: The Judiciary, Ministry of Justice and Parliament

Activities: Once policy direction is put in place, it must be transformed into law. The new law should also include all minor offences which should be listed so that each time there is a case before court, Restorative Justice should be the means of settling matters.

Potential outcome – The courts will automatically be decongested as cases will be referred for mediation and only report their resolutions to court for action. Furthermore, Restorative Justice will effectively be part of the Zambian law that will promote reconciliation and address the problem of prison congestion. Prison will be left for dangerous criminals who commit serious offences and those who keep re-offending.

5.5 Inclusion of the police in Restorative Justice

Target – Police officers and Ministries

Activities–The current state of affairs is that police are able to effect reconciliation at the police station without taking the matter to court if the victim and the offender are willing to reconcile. This is how the Police Officers promote Restorative Justice at their level. However, they need to prosecute if there is evidence and facts that can secure a conviction and if the victim is not willing to withdraw the matter or the offender is denying the offence. However, there is need to have a law that can incorporate Restorative Justice and allow the police to effect it through reconciliation. As aptly put by the key respondent from PRISCCA:

‘There is now need to work towards the incorporation of Restorative Justice on all minor offences in our Criminal Justice System in Zambia by first harmonizing the justice system

for a better Zambia. “The holier than thou” has engulfed Zambia with dangerous stigma and discrimination. Some people are more interested in other people’s specks forgetting their own planks in their eyes.’

Potential outcome – This approach would empower the police to determine real cases that should proceed to court. Furthermore, Restorative Justice will be incorporated into the law where it will be effected in the early stages of the commission of an offence.

5.6 Domestication

Activities – There is need to adopt the UN Basic Principles on Restorative Justice for inclusion in the Constitution so that it becomes part of justiciable rights to which a citizen can hold government accountable if not implemented. The Law Development can refine the definition of Restorative Justice further to suit the Zambian situation. This is what the South African Law Reform Commission did in 1997 when it issued a discussion paper on Restorative Justice and defined it as:

‘A way of dealing with victims and offenders by focusing on the settlement of conflicts arising from crime and resolving the underlying problems which caused it.’

Potential outcome - The rights of the citizens will be enhanced through legislation and government and its agents in the Criminal Justice System will also be compelled to respect the human rights of its citizens. The domestication of Restorative Justice would help in addressing the plight of female offenders.

5.7 Political intervention

Activities - There will be need for the government to collaborate with other organizations to mainstreaming Restorative Justice in their programs of operation which should include provisions of legal representation, literacy and advocacy. Advocacy is described as:

‘An umbrella term that describes various strategies including campaigning, lobbying, research communication and alliance building that are used to influence decision-makers and policies.’ (AWID, 2003)

If need be government in the long run can appoint a Restorative Justice Commission that can go round and collect views on how people would want Restorative Justice to be structured and enforced. This means that even the laws that will be enacted and incorporated in the Criminal Justice System will reflect the will of the people.

Potential outcome—Citizens will be more enlightened on their rights and how to enforce them.

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