



RECOVERY-ORIENTED WORK: FROM PRISON TO SOCIETY

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Key words: evidence-based practice, inter-agency coordination and cooperation, victim awareness

According to John Braithwaite (2004), a distinguished criminology professor at the Australian National University, restorative justice is a process where all stakeholders affected by an injustice have an opportunity to discuss how they have been affected by the injustice and to decide what should be done to repair the harm. Crime hurts not only the immediate victims, but indirectly many more. Also, the individual perpetrating the crime can be hurt. Justice should heal and create possibilities to heal (Shapland, 2013). It follows that conversations and activities are necessary between those who have been harmed and those who have inflicted harm.

In the process of restoration, individuals get a chance to take responsibility for their actions and to understand the harm they have caused. They are given an opportunity to redeem themselves and are discouraged from causing further harm (Sherman and Strang, 2007). When such individuals feel regret or have feelings of guilt, the process of restoration has already started.

But what if individuals are not able to reflect on their own behavior? Or are unwilling to look at the consequences of that behavior? Or are unaware because they just never learned to show empathy or to look at the consequences? In those cases, it is hard for them to share their experience of what happened or to truly have insight into who was harmed by the crime and how. Accordingly, such individuals don't achieve an understanding of what they need to do to repair the harm from the offense that was committed. Not only does this add to the risk of re-offending when they leave the penitentiary institution, but it also means the victims and the community don't have the opportunity to be restored after having harm done to them (Hoeve, Van der Laan, Van der Laan, & Loeber, 2016).

In the Penitentie Inrichting Dordrecht (or PI Dordrecht, meaning Penitentiary Institution of Dordrecht, the Netherlands), the question

arose how the professionals of their organization could not only guide the process of reintegration on the field of housing, employment and the social network but also motivate their detained citizens to take responsibility for their crimes using their time in detention to become a full, active citizens and create opportunities to repair the harm for all stakeholders who have been affected by an injustice.

Another question was how to make sure that the process of restorative justice could be sustained after detention. Over the past decades, Western European countries have gone through a shift from welfare states to participation societies. In the participatory society the freedom of citizens is promoted, and society is strengthened by people being more considerate of others (Movisie, 2015). Another aspect of the participatory society is that citizens are encouraged to take more responsibility for the needs of the people around them. In doing so, citizens are asked to provide their own solutions for challenges, with a major focus on informal care and social networks. The recovery-oriented approach for detained citizens is geared toward ensuring they achieve full, active citizenship at the time of reintroduction into society. Naturally, the detainees themselves have major responsibility in achieving this goal, but society, social networks, and victims—both in the perspectives they adopt and the actions they take—are also be involved in the reinstatement of dignity and social position (Claes, 2019). The connection between voluntary and legally imposed reintegration and aftercare for ex-detainees poses a challenge both domestically and internationally. In practice this means that for many ex-detainees the process of restorative justice stops upon release.

Research Within Detention Settings

In order to answer questions such as those raised above, various researchers have been looking into how recovery-oriented and victim-aware work can contribute to detained citizens' recovery, their social network, and increased well-being of victims and society (for example,

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Lipsey & Cullen, 2007). Key points include reinforcing the position of the detainee in their reintroduction into society and minimizing the risk of recidivism. In addition, a study about inmate-based recovery-oriented work was conducted at Penitentiare Inrichting Dordrecht by researchers from Avans Research, and this will be described in detail in this paper. The focus of the PI Dordrecht study was to obtain information that would contribute to building a recovery-oriented, victim-aware model for work in penitentiary institutions. What is the best way to bring the world into the walls of prison and give detained citizens the opportunity to participate in society mentally as well as physically, and what happens if that is done? Working, for example, starts inside the walls of prison. Feeling part of a society is important in not feeling excluded and helps with the reintegration process.

The PI Dordrecht study also looked at the development of affiliations and collaborations, i.e., chaining, with partners at the national level. It will be beneficial to increase understanding of how chain partnerships of justice and care can work together when it comes to the recovery of detainees, their victims, and their network. Indeed, some of the tools utilized in the model used in the study were developed in collaboration with chain partners such as Reclassering (the Dutch organization for social rehabilitation) and municipalities.

During the research, we interviewed practitioners and clients from the PI Dordrecht on all levels, including management, security, case managers, reintegration officers, and detained citizens in different stages of detention. Interviews with victims and professionals from affiliated partners like municipalities, probation, care institutions, and organizations on employment and reintegration were helpful in understanding the difficulties and challenges in the interagency cooperation. The researchers took part in the daily life in PI Dordrecht. Many conversations with the detained citizens were during activities. This resulted in interviews and open conversations about many subjects like family, life stories, and also their victims.

During the interviews with the detained citizens, many expressed that the attitude of the practitioners working with them is very important. Being heard and listened to and being seen as a person with many facets were viewed as important by many participants, as was working with practitioners who were clear and supportive in which steps can be taken and who gave information about possibilities.

From the perspective of the practitioners, the need to address the gaps in practitioners' practical apparatus, such as obtaining tools and instruments they can use daily, was mentioned. The most difficult subject to talk about, they reported, was the immediate victims of the offence. Besides that, knowledge about restorative justice, steps that can be taken, and need for clarity about roles and tasks in the restorative process were themes expressed by practitioners.

During the interviews, it became apparent that two issues were having a major impact on the detainee's possibilities of recovery. The first was the detained citizen's social capital and social connections outside of detention. Social capital, which consists of social relationships, group membership, formal and informal social networks, shared norms, trust, mutualism, and contributions to the community, allows the detainee to receive help from others during recovery, improving their chance of success. These resources are nurtured by things like community activities, social support, and opportunities for participation.

The detained citizen's human capital also plays a major role in recovery. Their inventory of competencies, knowledge, and social and personal skills, including creativity, determine the recovery paths available to them. The manner in which someone works toward recovery is embodied by their ability to participate in society in a positive way (Zehr, 2005). It is important for the detainee to be able to be a part of society, both inside the penitentiary institution and outside.

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The researchers concluded from their results that a culture of restoration was needed, including tools, training, and coaching of both detained citizens and practitioners. Restorative justice is not just one activity, but a process that can be different for each detained citizen, and it has to be part of their daily life. In cooperation with the different practitioners participating in the study, different tools and instruments to address service gaps have been and are being developed. That development is an ongoing process.

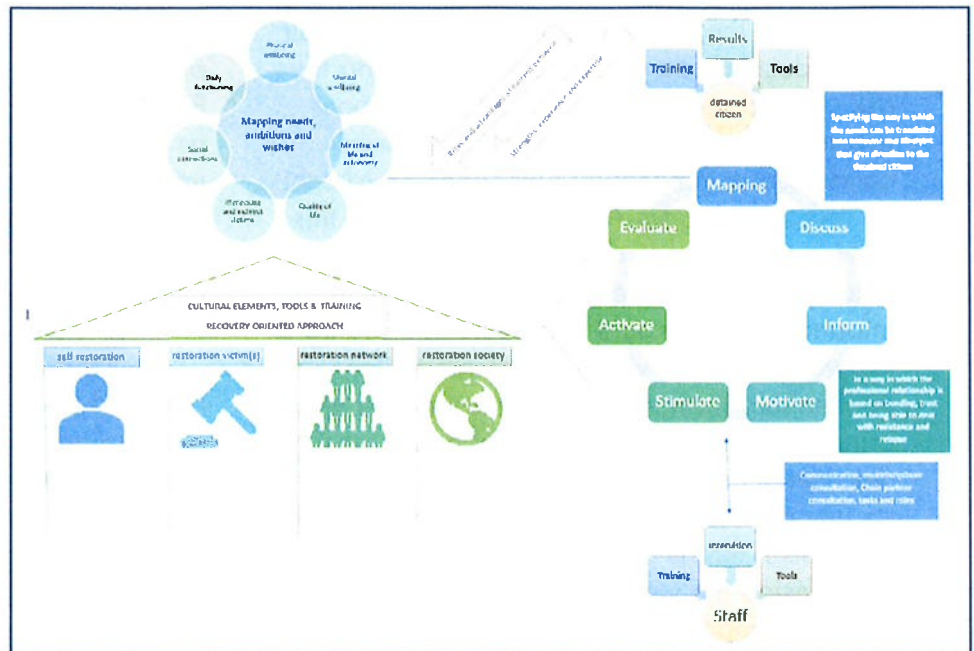


Fig. 1. Model of recovery in detention
(Geerts & Liebrechts, 2020)

Model of Recovery in Detention

The main goal of the model of recovery in detention is to distinguish the steps a detained citizen has to take in advancing personal recovery along with the recovery of their network, the victim, and society. For every step, instruments, activities and tasks are outlined that fit the step and perspective for recovery. These are intended to assist both the detained citizen and the practitioner in achieving the steps.

The model, shown in Figure 1, and as elaborated in the book *Recovery-oriented work; from prison to society*, is based on theoretical investigation and interviews with workers and detainees at PI Dordrecht, workers at justice and care chain partners, and municipalities. Tool development has also involved workers and detainees. By the end of 2022, a paper and digital version will be published for use by workers at penitentiary institutions and detainees in various interviews and activities. This model, which is further detailed in a handbook, will by that time be integrated into existing systems, like the detention and reintegration plan and the detainee's personal reintegration file.

The model is designed to incorporate reflection, inspiration, mobilization, and evaluation as returning methodological components for both detainees and workers at PI Dordrecht. As detainees go through the process of recovery, their needs, ambitions, and wishes may change. The process is ongoing, after all. This will require certain competencies from the workers. The worker's proficiency in recovery-oriented work is part of the handbook. Alongside the detainee, all workers at the penitentiary institution have a role to play, from correctional workers to case managers, psychologists, and workers from the labor and exercise department. Security workers can also contribute to a recovery-oriented culture (Wilken & den Hollander, 2019). Along with them, family members, neighbors, employers, colleagues, and chain partners are to be involved and play a role in the entire recovery process.

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Steps in the Model

The model comprises the following steps:

1. Mapping
2. Discussing
3. Informing
4. Motivating
5. Stimulating
6. Activating
7. Evaluating

The first step of the model entails mapping out the detainees' wishes, needs, and ambitions by interviewing them and observing them during labor and exercise activities. The goal is to get a clear view of the detainee's capabilities and wishes and to learn in which way they need or ask to be supported. Using the information obtained in step 1, step 2 can commence, which involves holding a discussion with the detained citizen about risks, strengths, and possibilities as well as how to transfer these possibilities into concrete goals that the detained citizen can work on while in prison. Step 3 is informing the detained citizen about possibilities in prison (what training is available, which tools can be used, and which support can be given). Accompanying tools like questionnaires, observation lists, and conversation maps that are included in the handbook help the staff to motivate (step 4) the detained citizen to work on goals, to stimulate (step 5) more development, and to keep the detained citizen active on their individual change (step 6). During the whole process, the changes in behavior and thinking patterns should be evaluated (step 7): *what is working and what has to be changed?* Each step comes with a set of instruments, tasks, and process reflections.

These steps are all part of the detainee's personal plan, which helps make clear why they are participating in a given activity, what the desired result of the activity is, and how they can translate the result into the next step. The preliminary process, the activity itself, and the

evaluation process are all components of the overarching recovery process.

A crucial aspect of the model is that it puts the person at the center, rather than the crime. In the first step you look at the needs, wishes and ambitions of the person—not the crime itself. Also, strengths and possibilities are mapped, as are risks in regard to re-offending. It is largely geared toward looking at what can be developed and the detained citizens' opportunities for growth. The aim is to empower detained citizens, creating opportunities to take their lives in the direction of contributing positively to themselves, their immediate surroundings, and society. It should be future-oriented, with an eye for desistance. By approaching this from the perspective of the detainee's needs and wishes, we increase intrinsic motivation, improve the chance of meeting goals, and reduce the risk of a relapse.

Research on effective interventions shows that control-oriented interventions without complementary training or other interventions have little to no positive effect on reducing recidivism. Interventions geared toward making a positive impact on criminogenic factors are shown to be far more effective in curbing recidivism. In general, interventions aimed at improving social skills, aggression management, improving cognitive skills, reducing usage of substances, and influencing antisocial attitudes and relationships are effective (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007), with the most effective one being the cognitive behavioral approach (Lipsey, Landenberger, & Wilson, 2007). Interventions are generally more effective when they are implemented on a societal level.

Collaboration both inside and outside the walls of the prison—what can be called transmurial collaboration—is a key component of the model. For example: during the stay in prison the detained citizen works on goals and positive change. The goals set can also be prolonged during the supervision of the probation afterwards. In many cases, the goals during imprisonment are not automatically taken

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over by another social support organization or probation. By working together, the detained citizens are able to work on their goals also after imprisonment. Another important part is the detainee's internal control, which increases their ability to self-regulate, to reduce impulsive behavior, to control the urge to seek out sensation, to take considered decisions, and to resist outside influences (Hoeve et al., 2016)

The research has yielded seven domains which influence recovery in regard to the four perspectives, and all seven domains have been incorporated in the model. They are mental well-being, physical well-being, quality of life, meaning of life and autonomy, social connections, daily functioning, immediate and indirect victims. After each domain has been mapped, goals are set for the detained citizen to work on during and after detention. The model synthesizes the theoretical framework of restorative justice, social and human capital, and desistance (Farrall & Calverley, 2006) into one practice approach with the same chances and possibilities for all detained citizens and victims who have been hurt by the offences committed by these detained citizens. This also extends to the families and communities of the detained citizens.

Fig. 2. Step 1 of model of recovery in detention (Geerts & Liebrechts, 2020)

Domains	Mapping
Mental well-being	
Physical well-being	Risks
Quality of life	Needs
Meaning of life and autonomy	Ambitions
Social connections	Goals
Daily functioning	
Immediate and indirect victims	

Activities

The model is focused on addressing the domains, as well as on the various perspectives of recovery, along with the opportunities for the detainee and practitioner to work on recovery. For every detained citizen, there are tools and activities that fit their possibilities and motivation, allowing everyone to choose a path to recovery. A key purpose is served by the penitentiary institution—helping to resocialize the detainee while reducing the chance of post-detention recidivism.

At this moment, activities and tools on the area of building a restorative justice culture, the description of the tasks of different professional in and outside detention and process guidance have been developed. Examples of the developed activities or tools are the “talking about victims” instruction cards for practitioners, with prescribed questions that practitioners can use in their conversations with the detained citizens. It is helpful in bringing a difficult topic into daily conversations.

Another activity is the photo and storytelling activity “Insights.” Refer to Figures 3-7 to see some examples of photos that may be used. For many detained citizens it is hard to reflect on their life and important life events, and it is also hard to tell others about them. Individuals use photos to tell their life story, talk about their history, the present, and the future, providing insights on what was and is important in their life, what was influenced by the fact that they are in detention, and what is important for the future. One of the long-term detained citizens mentioned that hope (shown in Figure 3, light at the end of the tunnel) is always important and that one of his hopes is that he can help youth entering prison and use his life story to help them to go in another direction. Another individual described that boats used to be an important part of his life when free, and that looking at the water from his prison cell and not being able to go to the

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water was making him aware of the consequences of his behavior (Figures 5 and 6). Also pictures of family are important. The fact that one inmate's whole family moved to another city just to be close



Figure 3. Photo of "light at the end of tunnel".



Figure 5. Photo of water and ships, and an individual's focus on the outside.



Figure 6. Photo of an individual looking outside the prison window.



Figure 4. Key without keyhole, keeping the chains



Figure 7. Photo of one family's hands overlapping.

to their partner and father created awareness of the fact that detention is not just for the individual, but effects whole families (Figure 7). One detained citizen said that this created awareness of the consequences of his behavior. Creating life stories through this activity helped the participants become aware of the influences of the past as well as what can be restored in the future.

Another tool is the "Trauma-sensitive working" observation list for practitioners. The recognition and acknowledgment of traumas in their own past helps detained citizens to recognize the traumas that they inflicted on others—the immediate victims but also their own family. The observation list helps practitioners to recognize behavior that is related to trauma and use this information in the guidance process.

The development of tools and training is an ongoing process. Many detained citizens mentioned that they don't know how they can show others that they used their detention for a positive change in their lives (Lipsey, et al., 2007), and their official record focuses on the negative part before detention. At this moment, the tool "Piece of proud" is being developed as a collaborative effort of probation agencies, municipalities, and detained citizens to respond to the question of how a detained citizen can show positive changes and still give the institutions after detention all the needed information. If someone takes responsibility for their own life, they also should be able to show that responsibility in a way that fits them. Also, for victims it can be healing to notice that an individual has taken responsibility for prior actions and has used detention to lower the risks of re-offending. All these, and other tools and training, will be part of the model, as elaborated in *Recovery-oriented work; from prison to society*.

Conclusion

If we want all stakeholders affected by an injustice to have an opportunity to discuss how they have been affected by the injustice and to decide what should be done to repair

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the harm, a culture of restorative justice needs to be created. Practitioners in detention have an opportunity to influence detained citizens. They are in the position to stimulate, motivate, and guide detained citizens in taking responsibility for the harm done. Citizens who are detained do not automatically work on restoration of harm just because they are imprisoned (Gade, 2020). Practitioners inside and outside of detention have to support them with that. To be able to do that effectively, however, practitioners need guidance themselves. Development of knowledge, attitude, and skills is needed, as are tools and training that are supportive of restorative justice goals.

To perpetuate the gained steps during detention and to make sure the restorative justice process can be prolonged, interagency cooperation is necessary. By giving the detained citizen the possibility to make further steps in the restorative process after detention, the effect on desistance from crime will be larger, and all stakeholders, including the detained citizen, victim, family, and community, will be able to make more steps in the process of restoration. In the coming year, research results from the PI Dordrecht study will be used to develop more tools, training, and culture elements that can be used in detention. Different tools and activities will be tested, and at the completion of the research a process guide will be written that includes tools and training, with a main focus on restoration of the detained citizen, victims, family, and society.

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