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European Communities of Restoration

Groundwork Report

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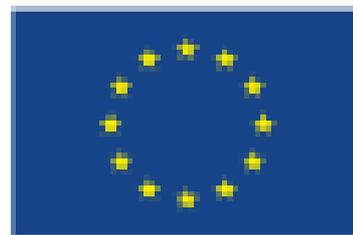
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This report is part of the project “European Communities of Restoration – in prisons and as alternatives to detention” (ECOR) running from 2014-2016 with partners from Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Latvia and the United Kingdom.

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Introduction to the European Communities of Restoration (ECOR)

Following the aims of the European Green Paper in addressing "pilot projects on detention and best practices in prison management" (European Commission, 2011) four countries; Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, and Latvia, are implementing programmes intended to provide extensive support to incarcerated, or recently incarcerated, offenders as they return to their communities. Although the thrust of the green paper was towards mutual recognition and trust between member states through the examination of detention conditions for pre-trial detainees, the present programme represents a major investment in mutual cooperation and exchange of ideas on the management of offenders in prison and post-release through the implementation of rehabilitative programmes based on the APAC methodology.

APAC is an acronym derived from the Portuguese Associação de Proteção e Assistência ao Condenado (Association for the Protection and Assistance of Convicts). The original APAC model (described in detail below) originated in Brazil. The APAC methodology aims to de-stigmatise and rehabilitate ex-prisoners by improving their self esteem, challenging their anti-social thinking, improving their education and vocational skills, and providing positive role models who mentor and guide ex-prisoners as they return to their communities (Ottoboni, 2006). It incorporates elements, such as health care and legal representation, which are already provided by most European States. However, the APAC approach of allowing prisoners autonomy to govern themselves and to live separately from other inmates is mostly unfamiliar in Europe.

This introductory report sets the context for the ECOR programme. It provides an overview of current research on the effects of imprisonment and the processes of re-entry and reintegration of ex-prisoners. It discusses the principles of the APAC model on which the ECOR projects are based including APAC's methodology and its links to criminological theories. It introduces the organisations running the four national ECOR projects and their earlier APAC-related activities. This report is the first of two; it sets the background context for the second report which evaluates the EU-funded ECOR projects the participating organisations have implemented.

1. Imprisonment and Resettlement – A Research Review

This section first provides an overview of the context of imprisonment in Europe noting the pressure that increasing prison populations are placing on justice systems, prison services, and those working with prisoners to reduce recidivism. It then outlines the range of approaches taken to address the



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complex questions of rehabilitation and desistance and the key elements that research has suggested should be included in rehabilitative programmes¹.

Increases in Prison Populations

Many criminal justice jurisdictions in Europe have witnessed increased rates of incarceration (Cunneen et al., 2013). Cunneen and colleagues mainly attribute this development to greater use of custodial penalties rather than increasing crime levels (2013). Whilst this trend is most marked in the USA, it is seen in European countries too; notably the UK and the Netherlands as well as two of the participating ECOR countries: Latvia and Hungary (Walmsley, 2011, 2013).

According to many commentators the rise of mass imprisonment is consistent with the broader political agenda of the neoliberal state (O'Malley, 1999; Wacquant, 2009), a move away from rehabilitative aims (Garland, 2001) and an increased reliance on risk assessment (Mark Brown and Pratt, 2000).

Cunneen et al., 2013:3

The increasing use of imprisonment tends to remove punishment from public awareness leading to a major reduction in empathetic response to offenders (Cunneen et al., 2013; Garland, 1991).

Simultaneously the punitive aims of incarceration have strengthened as the rehabilitative goals have decreased (Cunneen et al., 2013). Outside the criminal justice system the social context has also changed. Free-market models increasingly inform government policy, state welfare provision is being reduced, economic necessity restricts budgets, and deindustrialisation has changed communities (Cunneen et al., 2013; Webster, et al., 2006).

Despite the economic constraints of the last decade, more people are being locked up. Risk aversion, risk assessment, and 'just deserts' (von Hirsch & Maher, 2004) dictate penal policy and prison services must accommodate those sent into their care. The economical paradox means that expensive carceral warehousing is increasing as cheaper, arguably more effective, community sanctions reduce (Cunneen, 2013). Within this context rehabilitating prisoners becomes more cost-driven and inclined to make 'one size fit all' (Raynor, 2004).

Effects of Imprisonment

It is well known that incarceration can have criminogenic effects (Cunneen et al., 2013; Freiburger & Iannacchione, 2011; Lloyd et al., 1994; MacKenzie, 2013; Opperman, 2014). For example, in an experiment conducted in the USA offenders were randomly assigned to either a prison or a boot

¹ The review is confined to research studies published in English.



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camp (MacKenzie, 2012). The results revealed that, although the boot camp group appeared to do better than the group assigned to prison, this was not because the Boot Camp offenders improved but because the prison group did *worse* (MacKenzie, 2012). This was attributed in part to the chaotic conditions within the prison and the fact that the prison subjects did not receive the programmes that they should have done (MacKenzie, 2012). Whilst this study is from the North American context, European prisons with similar carceral conditions are likely to have similar outcomes.

As reduced budgets squeeze the provision of programmes for prisoners it becomes more important to find programmes/treatments that 'work'. However not all programmes 'work' for all offenders. There have been many calls for improved targeting and increased research to contribute to that goal (Cann, 2003; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lipsey & Landenberger, 2006; Lipsey et al., 2007; Lösel, 2012; Maguire, 2001; MacKenzie, 2013; Pawson & Tilley, 1994; Petrosino et al., 2000; Petrosino et al., 2009; Sherman, 2007; Sherman et al., 1998; Welsh & Farrington, 2001).

What works in the resettlement of prisoners?

Prisoner rehabilitation programmes have had a mixed history. In 1974 Robert Martinson published a paper which he intended as an argument against lengthy incarceration (Martinson, 1974) but which became widely known as 'nothing works'. His view was that most programmes which intended to prevent prisoners reoffending failed to do so. However, he later modified his assertions to state that some programmes did work for some people and that his earlier paper had taken too narrow a focus (Martinson, 1979). Although Martinson's retraction was less widely publicised and imprisonment came to be regarded less for rehabilitating offenders and more for punishment and deterrence (Nuttall, 2003) efforts to find interventions that reduced recidivism continued. Research in the decades since the 1970s attempted to answer the question, 'what works and for whom?' (see, for example Cann et al., 2003; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Lipsey & Landenberger, 2006; Lipsey et al., 2001; Lipsey et al., 2006; Lipsey et al., 2007; Lloyd et al., 1994; MacKenzie, 2013; Pearson et al., 2002; Wilson et al., 2005).

Programmes in prison

Purely punitive incarceration is popularly regarded as a deterrent alongside intensive community supervision. However, its value in reducing recidivism is questionable as incarceration rates continue to rise and recidivism following prison remains above 50% (Cunneen et al., 2013; Lösel, 2012). However there is some evidence of the potential contribution of particular prison programmes.



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COGNITIVE BEHAVIOURAL PROGRAMMES

To date the most successful programmes, in terms of available evidence of preventing or reducing recidivism, entail some kind of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) (Lösel, 2012). However, as Lösel (2012) cautions, these programmes have been subjected to most scrutiny leading to a more comprehensive literature and other programmes should not be ignored. Moreover, most available evidence is based on American studies and the problems associated with transferring and adapting Anglo-American correctional programmes to other justice systems and local environments should be examined and addressed (Lösel, 2012). Although CBT is widely used in treatment programmes in prisons, there are several other approaches to preventing recidivism.

THERAPEUTIC APPROACHES

Therapeutic communities provide a complete environment aimed at rehabilitation. These communities may be established within a separate part of a prison or a whole prison may be dedicated to provide the necessary conditions. The communities function with increased socialisation, group and individual therapy, and may have informal hierarchies within basic boundaries of behaviour. Typically such environments involve relatively high numbers of staff, intensive therapy, and individuals expected to take responsibility for appropriate tasks. Prisoners usually remain in these communities for extended periods. For example, HMP Grendon in England expects prisoners to stay for one to two years (Campbell, 2003).

In contrast to the more intensive therapeutic community, there are therapies based on counselling and psychotherapy. These approaches are mostly aimed at improving bonding and empathy (Lösel, 2012). However, these therapies have had mixed results when evaluated but this could be attributable to their heterogeneity and more individualised approaches which makes it harder to establish a clear measure of the programme content (Lösel, 2012). Despite these mixed research results such methods should not be ignored ((Lösel, 2012).

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE INITIATIVES

There is an increasing recognition of rehabilitative effects from restorative justice (RJ) encounters between offenders and their victims. RJ has a growing body of evidence which supports its use particularly in serious offences (Sherman & Strang, 2007) and as a means of helping repair the damage done to victims of crime (Angel, 2005; Sherman et al., 2005; Strang, 2002; Strang et al., 2013). RJ programmes, such as the Sycamore Tree Programme, can be implemented in custodial settings (Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 2015) or RJ conferences and mediation can be arranged for prisoners (Shapland et al. 2008; Strang et al., 2006; Strang et al., 2013). However, for meetings between prisoners and



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victims mutual agreement is necessary and custodial conditions can make them complicated to organise.

EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND MENTORING PROGRAMMES

Vocational training combined with improving educational performance is considered to be a central element of rehabilitation for, once prisoners are released, stable employment is known to aid desistance from crime and many prisoners have poor literacy and basic skills (Farrall, 2002; Lanskey, 2011; Laub & Sampson, 2001; 2003; Maruna, 2001; Ward & Maruna, 2010,). Mentoring has also been used for young adults with some good effect (DuBois et al., 2002; Tolan et al., 2008; cited by Lösel, 2012:994).

A final aspect of rehabilitative programmes which may influence outcomes is their attention to continued care and after-care (Farrell & Calverley, 2006; MacKenzie, 2006; Maguire & Raynor, 2006 cited in Lösel, 2012:1000). As Lösel notes, "even the best custodial treatment programme is often only an island of structure and support in a stream of instability and deprivation during life. [...] [T]here is a lack of research on [programmes'] additional effects" (2012:1000). Accordingly, the current authors found no studies which reported on ex-prisoners' after-care in relation to programmes begun or undertaken whilst in custody.

Although there is much literature concerning the effect of prison rehabilitation programmes and treatment there is little that specifically explores the prisoner's experience of incarceration (Crewe, 2007; King, 1985; Sykes, 1958) and how this might affect their future resettlement. The seminal work of Liebling & Arnold (2004) demonstrated that the institutional climate can have dramatic effects on prisoners' problems and experiences. Whilst there is no quantitative follow-up data for recidivism in that study one can speculate that negative or positive experiences would affect prisoners' responses to the rehabilitative programmes they experienced, if any, and their subsequent motivation to change.

Some studies have shown that another dimension of the prison experience, prison visits, can affect post-release behaviour both adversely and positively. For example, Duwe & Clark (2011) studied the effects of prison visits and found that prisoners who were visited frequently at the outset but not towards the end of their sentence reoffended more than those whose visits increased towards the end. Consistent frequency of visits throughout a prisoners' incarceration was associated with less recidivism (Duwe & Clark, 2011). Lösel et al (2012) identified the importance of contact during imprisonment for maintaining the family relationships that support a prisoner's resettlement after



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release. The experience of living in prison as well as the programmes that are run there is therefore important to take into account in rehabilitation approaches.

After Custody

So far this brief overview has addressed custodial programmes and conditions. However, the effectiveness of the rehabilitative efforts made in places of detention is determined by what happens to prisoners after release. Most prisoners leave custody intending to desist from crime (Bottoms, 2014; Bottoms & Shapland, 2011; Maruna, 2001; Shapland & Bottoms, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2010). Unfortunately the conditions and problems that they meet when they return to society at large are often too difficult for them to overcome and they resort to criminal coping mechanisms (Armstrong, 2013; Maruna, 2001; Shapland & Bottoms, 2011).

Post-custodial supervision may help ex-prisoners to adjust but there has been a shift from advice and counselling to risk assessment and punitive monitoring of those supervised in the community (Raynor, 2004; Ward & Maruna, 2010). There is an ironic paradox that closer supervision can lead to higher failure rates caused by non-compliance with licensing or parole conditions (Lösel, 2012). For example, an unpublished study conducted in the USA found that ex-prisoners who gained employment were frequently unable to keep appointments with their supervisors because they were working unsocial hours or had employers unsympathetic to them taking time off (Armstrong, 2013). Furthermore, parole and supervision requirements often made reintegration more difficult (Armstrong, 2013).

Desistance studies in England support the view that ex-prisoners benefit from a positive environment rather than a regime that constantly seeks to measure risk (Bottoms & Shapland, 2011; Shapland & Bottoms, 2011). There is a perverse consequence when expectations of failure lead to actual failure and offenders who struggle are condemned rather than supported (Armstrong, 2013). Where ex-prisoners are positively assisted in their re-entry to society by being exposed to positive, pro-social role models they have a better chance of continued desistance (Armstrong, 2013; Bottoms, 2014; Laub & Sampson, 2001, 2003; Shapland & Bottoms, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2010). Indeed, in their well-known American life-course study Laub & Sampson (2003) cite their subjects' recall of positive individual's influence in helping them to change. A faithful and supportive spouse or a trusting employer are two examples of people that can provide a real 'turning point' for offenders in the process of desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2001, 2003; Maruna, 2001; Ward & Maruna, 2010). Although



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a supportive spouse or employer is usually crucial, other positive role-models can be just as helpful (Armstrong, 2013; Maruna, 2001). Where post-custodial programmes provide mentors, rather than supervisors, especially when they have established a relationship prior to their release, they can lead to positive outcomes (Armstrong, 2013; Opperman, 2014).

Evaluating the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes

If there was a 'magic bullet' that prevented the cycle of recidivism it would surely be well-known and widely employed. Nevertheless, we are not without some evidence of what does help offenders to desist from crime and reintegrate into society. Whilst not all programmes 'work' for all prisoners, many programmes 'work' for some. Within those programmes there are important elements to include. Maguire et al. (2010) reproduced a list of criteria associated with the successful running of any programme. They are used in the accreditation of rehabilitation programmes in England and Wales:

1. clear model of change;
2. thorough selection of offenders;
3. targeting a range of dynamic risk factors;
4. effective learning and teaching methods;
5. skill-orientation;
6. adequate sequence and duration;
7. promotion of offender motivation;
8. continuity of services;
9. ensuring programme integrity; and
10. ongoing evaluation.

(cited by Lösel, 2012:1003)

From an evaluation perspective, each criterion requires supporting data. For example, in order to evaluate a programme's "model of change", the 'change' would need to be measurable. Questions need to be designed, or existing instruments employed, that will capture that change. There are various proxy measures that can indicate propensity to offend such as impulsivity or attitudes to crime. A tool such as Crime Pics II is widely used to measure criminogenic attitudes.² Another instrument, the Brief Self-Control Scale, which measures self-control, has been shown to identify individuals with good or poor self-control in relation to later offending (Malouf et al., 2014). However, the development of appropriate research instruments that are sufficiently nuanced to capture the complexities of a programme's effects is a challenging task.

² Developed by M & A research in 1994, "CRIME-PICS II is a questionnaire for examining, and detecting changes in, offenders' attitudes to offending. It has been used for many years ...to evaluate the effectiveness of rehabilitative programmes and other interventions with offenders." Information from website [<http://www.crime-pics.co.uk/index.html>] accessed 12.9.12.



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IMPLEMENTATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS

Whichever rehabilitative concept is preferred, any programme's effect may be reduced or negated by poor implementation (Durlak & DuPre, 2008; Hollin, 1995; Raynor, 2004; Rhine et al, 2006). It is therefore crucial that programmes which are well-supported by evidence are also well implemented (Hollin, 1995; Raynor, 2004; Rhine et al., 2006; Welsh & Farrington, 2001). Programme delivery may also be positively or negatively influenced by other factors such as the environment, the practitioners, the participants, or any evaluators who are involved (Lösel, 2012).

Further, imported programmes, which are successful in one context, must be trialled and tested before being rolled out in different environments. Lösel et al. observed that "[o]ften programmes are transferred from other countries without any local evaluation of their effectiveness. Although [the] basic characteristics of effective programmes may be transferable across countries, this needs to be investigated in those large parts of Europe where we currently do not have any systematic strategies for programme evaluation" (Lösel et al., 2011:16). Additionally, they state that there is a lack of evidence "on the effects of correctional programmes in the majority of European countries" which requires the development of "standards of good practice" suitable for a "broad range of countries" (Lösel et al., 2011:16).

QUALITY OF RESEARCH EVALUATION

Notwithstanding implementation and environmental effects, the quality of any evaluation may also affect a programme's assessment as one that 'works', is 'promising', or 'does not work' (Sherman et al., 1998). Sherman and colleagues established the 'Maryland Scale' which ranks quantitative research evaluations according to the reliability and robustness of their results. On this scale the highest ranked evaluation methodology is randomised controlled trials and the lowest "correlation between a crime prevention program [*sic*] and a measure of crime or crime risk factors at a single point in time" (Sherman et al., 1998:4).

However not all prison and rehabilitation programmes lend themselves easily to such evaluation models and alternative equally robust approaches need to be developed. As Maruna observes "every intervention or program [*sic*] actually consists of thousands of different micromechanisms of change (e.g., confrontation, learning to trust, and self re-evaluation). [...] By gradually accumulating knowledge about these micromechanisms of change (and hence opening the black box), researchers may be able to develop a more theory-driven agenda on effective programming (Pawson & Tilley, 1997). Unfortunately, this sort of science of rehabilitation is a very long way off" (Maruna, 2001:112).



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It is important also to acknowledge the wider social consequences of research evaluations. As the reaction to Martinson's papers highlighted, a lack of nuance in the presentation and interpretation of programme effects can lead to widespread negative reactions and premature abandonment of the rehabilitative approaches. Equally there may be a danger of heralding 'successful' programmes and elements of programmes as it can lead to "too much centralisation and top-down administration; contain demanding procedures of accreditation and audits; reduce diversity and creativity in practice; place too much emphasis on qualitative data; give too much weight to standardised CBT and RNR-oriented programmes; focus primarily on characteristics of the individual; ignore systems and institutional issues; and adhere to a risk and deficit-oriented image of the offender" (Lösel, 2012:1005).

Theories of Desistance

We should note that programmes alone do not stop offenders from committing crime. Offenders desist by themselves albeit with assistance from programmes they encounter in custody and resources they receive once outside. Desistance theories aim to explain the process by which individuals stop committing crime. They describe the personal, social and cultural conditions for a transition to a lifestyle free of criminal activity. These theories are useful for thinking about the theoretical models on which rehabilitation programmes are based. They can help to pinpoint elements of programmes likely to support desistance and also to identify their limitations.

Desistance from crime is theorised as an ongoing process; 'success' in rehabilitation does not happen as a single event, it manifests over time (Maruna, 2001)). Drawing on what they have learned offenders can change their behaviour and habits as they encounter and practice positive experiences to counteract their negative histories (Bottoms, 2014; Maruna, 2001; Ward & Maruna, 2010). This process is difficult and challenging. It requires learning to live a non-offending life when individuals have been used to living an offending life (Bottoms, 2014) and is often presented as a journey which is likely to include some 'to-ing' and 'fro-ing' towards and away from a previous criminal lifestyle (Weaver & McNeill, 2010). Personal qualities identified with successful desistance include motivation to change, hopefulness, and a sense of agency. Social conditions for change include opportunities for inclusion, social networks, and support groups. Programmes aiming to assist desistance from crime are likely therefore to take into account the development of both personal and social resources over time.

Research Evaluations Across Europe

In their study 'Strengthening Transnational Approaches to Reducing Offending (STARR)' Lösel and colleagues (2011) conducted systematic reviews of research evaluations of rehabilitation programmes



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across Europe in three areas; young offenders, drug abusing offenders, and domestic violence perpetrators. Despite concentrated efforts to find both published and unpublished studies written in "any language in common use throughout the continent" (Lösel et al., 2011:4) very few European studies were found for these offender groups and the majority of those came from England and Wales. Lösel and colleagues (2011) argue that the absence across Europe of more evidence-based approaches to recidivism "is at least partially due to deficits in funding, ideological scepticism, insufficient human resources, and a lack of experience in conducting sound evaluation" (Lösel, 2012:17). He and his colleagues (2011) concluded that many European rehabilitation programmes lack a firm evidence base and recommended further research evaluations to determine the effectiveness of interventions. Given this paucity of evaluation evidence, there is more to be done to identify which elements of rehabilitation represent best practice in different European contexts. For the present project, therefore, the door is open for innovation.

2. APAC

The second part of this report provides a short history and summary of the APAC methodology, its theoretical underpinnings and some of the practical considerations necessary for the implementation of APAC-based interventions within criminal justice systems.

APAC represents a revolutionary concept of prison governance involving an increase in prisoner responsibility and community involvement. The model originated in Brazil where prison conditions are generally harsher than in Europe, state involvement is lower, community involvement is higher and prisoner/staff relations "are likely to be shaped as much by negotiation and accommodation as by conflict and normative distance" (Darke, 2014:7). Taking these differences into account therefore, the APAC methodology "departs from certain aspects of the common Brazilian prison system, but complies with others" (Darke, 2014: 8).

Despite the variation in the way the APAC methodology has been adapted in different countries there are some common features. It adopts a holistic and organic approach to rehabilitation. It aims to empower offenders to take responsibility for solving their personal and communal problems. Its ultimate goal is to transform prisoners into productive members of their families and communities.

Rather than focusing on causes of criminality, the APAC method facilitates individual and cultural transformation with the goal of establishing a commitment to pro-social values and behaviours. It concentrates on the strengths of a positive group culture. This in turn motivates and leads the offender to address the healing of underlying drivers of their criminal behaviour.



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The APAC methodology is generally applied within two contexts: as an alternative to conventional detention (focusing on improving detention conditions and enhancing rehabilitative potential) and secondly within the context of post-release integration. It uses the methodology to assist in 'half-way house' arrangements for those being released from prison to successfully re-engage with their local communities.

Generally prisoners going through an APAC-based programme are accommodated separately, either in units or other buildings. Living together as an integrated community is intended to reduce the negative influences of prison living but means that participants may have to adjust. "Living in a community exposes inmates to the views and experiences of others, which can be quite challenging. [APAC] uses a variety of methods, such as pro-social modelling group work, discussions and meetings, as well as the main learning experience of community living. Families are seen as very important and are involved in the work with offenders" (Liebman, 2011:14).

The focus of the programme is on taking responsibility. It helps participants to acknowledge victim perspectives whilst challenging them to achieve educational and vocational qualifications and promoting sports and athletics as a means of enhancing self-worth, encouraging legitimate affirmation and developing 'team spirit'. Staff and volunteers of the programme demonstrate positive group culture and show by their example what it means to put positive pro-social, pro-community values in to practice. These norms and values can be internalised where possible through participating in positive, community based activities with community groups, youth groups, athletic clubs, NGOs and the local community. The people on APAC programmes are called 'recuperandos: people in the process of recuperating'

The APAC methodology has twelve core elements (see table 1 below). Existing APAC-based programmes in different jurisdictions and cultural contexts have demonstrated that these core elements are flexible and adaptable.

APAC prisons and APAC-based prisons are not static. They change with the experiences of the leaders, volunteers, and prisoners. They adapt to changing circumstances in their legal and political systems.

Workman, 2001a:1-2

The methodology "works through a process of spiritual transformation, integrating therapeutic and cultural approaches that are consistent with the development of Christian values. It is based on the premise that God loves everyone, and that all people need to be reconciled with themselves, with



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others, with creation and with God” (Workman, 2001b:3). Whilst the core ethos is a Christian love and care for all people, APAC programmes in principle do not restrict participation on the basis of denomination or faith. Furthermore, although participants are exposed to Christian principles and teaching, the programme is not for proselytising.

Thus, the Christian ethos, which prompts the leadership, staff, and volunteers of APAC-based rehabilitative programmes, aims to provide prisoners with humane, encouraging, and hopeful conditions of incarceration. These are consequently expected to deliver practical programme elements to improve prisoners’ educational and vocational skills, help them return to their families and communities, and find accommodation, employment, and continued support on release.

Importantly, the APAC “methodology was developed by observing the experience of prisoners. They knew their own problems best and had gone through the process that led them to adopt a criminal life style. From the outset, volunteers and staff worked with the problems presented by inmates rather than relying on their own understandings and views of human behavior [*sic*]” (Workman, 2001b:6).

Table 1. Core elements of the APAC methodology (adapted from Workman, 2001c:5-10)

CORE ELEMENT	EVIDENCE OF CORE ELEMENT	ACHIEVEMENTS OF CORE ELEMENT
HUMAN VALORISATION AND UNCONDITIONAL LOVE	<p>Inmates and their families have dignity and self-respect. Prisoners display a high degree of self worth which is rooted in their discovery of their own human condition and dignity through understanding God’s love for them.</p> <p>Unconditional love and acceptance characterise the programme. A defining characteristic of the APAC based prison (ABP) is that everybody experiences and embraces the value of unconditional love in changing lives.</p>	<p>Inmates are treated with respect by the staff, managers and leaders.</p> <p>Inmates are known by names instead of other identifiers.</p> <p>Inmates are at peace with themselves and others.</p> <p>Inmates demonstrate hope and are motivated to become productive, contributing citizens.</p> <p>Staff, volunteers and families model unconditional love for one another.</p> <p>Tangible demonstrations of unconditional love permeate the programme.</p> <p>The inmates’ families are treated with love and respect.</p> <p>People are valued; programmes are a means to an end not an end in themselves.</p>
REINTEGRATION AND RESTORATION	<p>ABPs are restorative justice at work. This approach seeks to reconcile the prisoner to the family, community, victim, and God.</p>	<p>The primary focus is on restoring and reintegrating inmates.</p> <p>ABPs have a strong commitment to building self-worth and dignity; inmates hold “important” positions in the prison structure.</p> <p>Mutual respect and accountability characterise ABPs.</p>



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ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE	<p>Empowering leadership. This is grounded in the belief that prisoners have the capacity and need to take responsibility for themselves and others.</p> <p>The prison officers, managers, and staff (the leadership) are committed to the ABP concept.</p> <p>The facility is relatively small and locally sited or has a close relationship with the local community.</p> <p>Allocation of space is consistent with APAC-based values and is evident in the administration's use of limited space. The prison is values based with policies, procedures, and operational decisions rooted in a clear set of values and beliefs.</p>	<p>Inmates are involved in decision-making demonstrating an emphasis on trust and responsibility. Inmates and staff view themselves to be on the same side. Leaders are compassionate. Leaders exhibit complementary and essential inter-personal skills.</p> <p>ABPs provide a safe, nurturing environment. The emotional and physical conditions provide a peaceful, violence and drug free environment.</p> <p>Inmates' families are encouraged to participate. Living space is designed to provide an area for prayer and meditation, healing, and rooms for study and education. Physical characteristics of the facility are not the determining factor in the programme's success. The manageable size and separation make it easier to establish a 'community' within the facility.</p>
SENTENCE MANAGEMENT	<p>Inmate selection is based on capacity for change, not criminal record. Selection of inmates is an important aspect of the programme seeking to identify the individual's commitment and capacity for change.</p> <p>Clear expectations and roles. Inmates are aware of what is expected and the programme's requirements for progression.</p>	<p>The criminal profile of ABP inmates will be similar to those in other units. Inmates will be selected on their capacity and commitment to change but provision can be made to accommodate those who initially are not considered likely to change.</p> <p>Clear criteria exist for progression through the programme. Future hope is instilled early together with early planning and preparation for release.</p>
PROGRAMME MANAGEMENT	<p>Inmates are empowered through a system of rewards and accountability.</p> <p>The leaders of APAC believe that people, not programmes, change people. Programmes are simply a means to an end.</p>	<p>Inmates are responsible and accountable to each other. Inmates are involved in each other's lives, supporting and holding each other accountable for choices they make in establishing the ethos within the prison. The programme persists through adversity and change</p>
WORK AND EDUCATION	<p>ABPs make adequate provision for the appropriate education of inmates. Inmates in the initial stage of their sentence engage in labour therapy. Labour therapy is artistic and creative activity, designed to help the inmates to discover their own human dignity. It is seen as an un-pressured time for reflection on vital issues of life and recuperation without the competitive pressures of industrial production. ABP leaders believe that, in order to restore inmates to their families and communities, they need to develop competency in life skills. Development of competency and mastery in work is essential. Productive work becomes a priority in the sentence's latter stages.</p>	<p>Inmates are educated through the routine and process of everyday living and assisted to meet their educational needs through a process of facilitated discovery. Inmates are provided with knowledge-based education which results in an outworking of skills.</p> <p>Labour therapy is available to inmates in the initial stage of the sentence. Productive work is valued. Everyone has an important position. Skills and responsibility are developed incrementally in order to maximise success and minimise failure. Failure is not fatal; mistakes are used as learning/teaching experiences. Personal and corporate discipline is valued.</p>
EVANGELISATI ON - MEETING PRACTICAL NEEDS	<p>ABPs demonstrate their Christian ethos through meeting the practical needs of inmates.</p>	<p>The basic human needs of inmates are met, including;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Medical assistance - Psychological assistance - Educational needs - The dignity of productive work - Spiritual needs - Legal assistance



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MENTORING	ABPs provide a positive Christian role model to give social and spiritual guidance to inmates.	Mentors provide spiritual and social guidance for inmates. Mentors support and encourage the development of positive relationships between the inmate and their family. Mentors live and demonstrate Christian values to inmates.
VOLUNTEER SUPPORT	All eligible prisoners are assigned volunteer mentors. They depend on the community, on volunteers, and on inmate families for support. A strong sense of 'family' exists between the staff, volunteers, inmates, prison officers, and families.	Volunteers are integral to the programme and many are professionals, with significant inter-personal skills. The ABP facility is ideally located in the community where most of the staff, volunteers, and prisoners' families live. ABPs work hard to build a 'community' within the prison. Staff, volunteers, prison officers, and inmates work together. Relationship with the local community is viewed as essential. Volunteers play an essential role in day-to-day operations.
FAMILY REINTEGRATION	ABPs aim to restore prisoners to families ABPs are relationship-driven prisons.	Families will be a factor in participant selection. Family involvement is important for acceptance and advancement. Families are intentionally integrated into the programme. Inmates maintain the facility as a home and place where children would be safe to visit. Prisoners take responsibility for their actions. Inmates think and act in the best interests of others. The security system emphasises trust and mutual accountability. Serving others is a high priority among the staff and inmates.
COMMUNITY REINTEGRATION AND RESTORATION	ABPs aim to restore prisoners to the community. ABPs are community-based programmes.	Volunteers play a critical role in community restoration. Inmates are required to work or attend educational classes in the community during phase 2 of the programmes. Emphasis is on long-term relationships rather than events. Prisoners and administration demonstrate a caring commitment to one another. Building 'community' is an important priority.
SPIRITUAL TRANSFORMATION	The core programmes maintain a spiritual emphasis and exhibit a day-to-day dependence on God. ABPs have a Christ-centred spiritual emphasis although this is not intended for proselytising.	Christian living is consistently modelled through the actions of the staff and volunteers. Establishment of a community based on Christian values is a priority. Inmates are at peace. The leadership and volunteers are Christians. Spiritual and emotional growth are essential components of the day-to-day operation. Deliverance through Christ workshop – thematic presentations and family links; an annual three day event

APAC and Theories of Desistance

There is a small body of research on the relationship between faith, spirituality, and desistance (for example, Maruna et al., 2006, Giordano, 2007). This has identified the potential of a conversion to religious faith to provide a personal 'blueprint for change'. It has also identified the importance of social networks for supporting the person's re-entry into society. Faith-based programmes, such as APAC provide the potential for personal change, the re-definition of the autobiographical self through redemption, forgiveness, restoration, and generativity ('making good' the past through



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contributing to the well-being of others), the social networks to support the person's re-entry into society, and nurture of the conditions for 'hopefulness'. They provide a set of values for living which are consistent with norms of particular societies.

The APAC methodology does not explain how or why people become motivated to change their lifestyle. Rather it is concerned with creating an environment conducive to rehabilitation once people have committed to change. Nevertheless, there are several resonances between desistance theories and the above assumptions that underpin the APAC programme. Personal dimensions include rescripting the autobiographical self through religious activity and community participation. The internalisation of a value framework provides for normative compliance (Sparks & Bottoms, 1995), hopefulness, generativity, and redemption (Maruna, 2001). Finally, regaining self-worth, a sense of agency, and developing personal responsibility helps to maintain positive attitudes towards offending.

The social dimensions of APAC facilitate the development of social capital (Farrall, 2002) through education and/or vocational training and provide social support networks. In turn these build social bonds (Laub & Sampson, 2001) with family and volunteer communities. The model requires that prisoners are linked to mentors whilst they are still in custody; the mentors continue to work with and support them after their release. This, combined with relationships that are encouraged between prisoners' families and APAC practitioners, is intended to assist ex-prisoners as they adjust and reintegrate into their former communities (or new communities if they do not return to their last area of residence). The skills and abilities they have developed from the various programmes and courses that form the custodial aspects of APAC can be utilised better with the assistance of people with whom they have already become familiar and have built a relationship of trust. As desistance is conceived as a process (Maruna, 2001), the extended timeframe of support after custody that the APAC model requires enables prisoners to approach release with some confidence. The prospect of a 'good life' based on increased self-confidence and the emotional and practical support from meaningful 'others' (Maruna, 2001; Laub & Sampson, 2001; 2003; Ward & Maruna, 2010) is the hope that APAC aims to engender in its participants and seeks to provide the practical assistance for.

No matter what regime and rehabilitative efforts have been active during their incarceration, the most challenging period for prisoners occurs when they are released (Armstrong, 2013; Johnson, 2011). Resuming 'normal' life when one has been removed from it for long periods can be daunting and difficult. Additionally, there may be conditions imposed upon this 'freedom' which restrict ex-prisoners' ability to find accommodation or employment (Armstrong, 2013; Maruna, 2001; Shapland



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& Bottoms, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2010). The post-release aspect of the APAC model combined with its emphasis on working may be an important source of support for offender desistance (Johnson, 2011; Van Ness & Parker, 2013).

APAC and Restorative Justice

The practical outworking of the APAC model has theoretical connections with Restorative Justice. Treating prisoners with respect, expecting them to take responsibility for their actions and contribute to the prison community in which they are incarcerated fits Braithwaite's theory of Reintegrative Shaming (1989; 2002). Additionally, the attendance of unpaid men and women who consistently reinforce the human value of prisoners whilst not minimising their harmful behaviour delivers the hope of future integration that this theory provides. The similar restorative justice philosophy of 'hate the sin but love the sinner' posits that condemning the harm that has been caused whilst simultaneously supporting the perpetrator at the human level and together seeking a mutually acceptable resolution and restitution, can reduce recidivism, rehabilitate offenders, and reduce the stress and trauma caused to victims (Angel, 2005; Braithwaite, 1989; 2002; Sherman & Strang, 2007; Sherman et al., 2000; Sherman et al., 2005; Strang, 2002; Strang et al., 2006; Strang et al., 2013). Strong personal bonds often develop between the facilitators and prisoners as the programme progresses. McCold (2007) asserts that close, personal relationships between the supporters and supportees involved in restorative justice conferences assist in providing long-term reintegration simultaneously holding offenders responsible for their actions.

APAC and Legitimacy-related theories

Sherman's Defiance Theory (1993) states that offenders are likely to increase their recidivism if they feel that they have been treated unjustly, received unfair punishment, and have weak social bonds. The involvement of family and community volunteers is intended to strengthen family unity and inspire hope that rejection is not inevitable. Thus the APAC model could address the defiance engendered when sanctions are perceived as unfair (Bouffard & Piquero, 2010; Sherman, 1993). By providing humane custodial conditions, removing stigmatising labels (such as addressing prisoners by a number), running educational and vocational courses to improve attainment and skills, offering mentoring or counselling services, and establishing links with offenders' families, prisons that operate wings or units informed by this model can hope to remove some of the conditions that produce defiance related recidivism (Bouffard & Piquero, 2010).

Tyler's theory of procedural justice also reinforces the importance of perceptions of fairness (1990; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Offenders are more likely to accept sanctions, comply with the law, and reoffend



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less when they perceive their treatment to be fair and just (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Furthermore, giving offenders a perception of being able to influence their own treatment and conditions has been shown to increase their sense of fairness and acceptance (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Finally, Braithwaite's (2002) theory of responsive regulation suggests that individuals or organisations should approach regulation and problem-solving openly and receptively. In this manner a form of pyramidal governance allows harsher sanctions to be held back as less severe measures are implemented first. Here, too, fairness is required and communication vital. The APAC programme, by involving participants at, and through, all stages of their own and others' progress and by implementing a system of merits and demerits, resonates with Braithwaite's theory (2002).

Previous evaluations of APAC

The APAC model remains largely unevaluated by rigorous research methodology using accurate, systematic measurement of participants' behaviour and re-offending after release. There are a few studies that report the implementation and impact of the APAC regime in prisons where the model has been used (see for example, Burnside, 2008; Burnside et al., 2005; Burnside, 2013; Van Ness & Parker, 2013, Walker et al., 2013; Workman, 2009). A notable exception is the evaluation of the Texas Inner Change Freedom Initiative (Johnson, 2011:105-116). Nevertheless, this investigation had high participant non-completion caused by early release and dropouts (Johnson, 2011). Additionally, studies are frequently limited to reporting short-term programme implementation because the APAC units have been discontinued for operational or ideological reasons or because they lacked continued resources (Burnside, 2008; 2013; Johnson, 2011). On the other hand, prison regimes and units based on the APAC model or, more generally, from a faith-based context are under reported in the literature (Lane, 2009; Workman, 2009) or, when they are reported, are not communicated or accessible to the public at large (Johnson, 2011). Furthermore, where studies are published, there is a focus on reporting faith-based initiatives in relation to adjustment in custody and research methodologies that inhibit generalisation (Lane, 2009; Volokh, 2011).

There is a lack of random assignment, no use of controls or comparison groups, self-selection biases, and limited measures of impact (Mears et al., 2006:359) cited in Lane, 2009:330.

As Johnson (2011) reports of a study conducted in the USA, it is often the custodial regime and security considerations that limit the choice of study methodology. In programmes, such as those based on the APAC model, which are intended to have more than one phase, have each phase built



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upon the preceding one, and take place over considerable periods of time, custodial conditions may restrict the population of interest quite severely (Johnson, 2011; Wilson, 2015). This phenomenon has further impact when designing studies to avoid self-selection bias as many programmes delivered through faith communities are only available for prisoners on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless the experiences of running APAC-based models have highlighted particular elements of the model which require practical consideration. These are discussed in the next section.

Implementation of the APAC model – practical considerations

VOLUNTEERS

The first and most fundamental practical consideration of the APAC model is that of volunteers. Recruiting and supporting high numbers of volunteers is central to the success of any APAC programme whether delivered across a whole prison or within a separate part of it. The founders of APAC believed that people change people and that any programmes delivered were merely a means to achieving that (Roper, 2005). As the guiding principle of APAC is its Christian foundation, volunteers are frequently sought from Christian communities such as church congregations but non-Christians have successfully worked within the APAC model in Germany and the USA. Additionally, the practical outworking of rehabilitation based on this model does not restrict it to prisoners who profess Christianity, it is open to individuals of any faith or none. Indeed, it should be remembered that the faith element may merely refer to the motivation of the people delivering the programme. Provision by people who respond to their faith by providing assistance to prisoners is conceptually different from religious interventions (Whitehead, 2011). As Lane (2009) notes, despite all the doubts and scepticism from the secular quarter, faith communities supply enormous energy and enthusiasm because they feel ‘called’ to do so.

Therefore, whilst the participating prisoners might be expected to engage with the moral principles associated with, and understand the tenets of community based on, Christian values, there is no compulsion to profess a Christian faith. Rather, the volunteer practitioners, who *are* expected to be practicing Christians, are presumed to be positive role models who demonstrate these values and morals in practice. Further, Johnson’s overview of programmes conceived and delivered from Christian incentives consistently links “religion to crime reduction” (2011:81).³

The majority of prisons and correctional institutions that have implemented rehabilitation programmes based on the APAC model to date have used volunteers. In the original APAC prison, Humaita in Brazil, there were no professional prison staff and the workforce mainly comprised

³ Johnson, 2011 provides for a comprehensive literature review from 1944 – 2010.



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volunteers and prisoners who had proceeded through the programme to positions of trust. The APAC Directorate, responsible for the daily operation of the prison, was assisted by three Duty Warden/Governors who were paid a small salary by the City Council. The Directorate also included volunteers. Within the prison hierarchical structure prisoners were given responsibility for problem solving, discipline, and daily inmate management (Workman, 2001a).⁴

Unlike Humaita prison, Jester II Prison in Texas, United States implemented an APAC based programme in a separate unit within a normally operating prison. There, professional prison staff were responsible for security matters whilst over 100 volunteers delivered the APAC-based programme and assisted with administration (Workman, 2001a). In addition to these volunteers there were six paid personnel (Workman, 2001a).

Thus the necessity for volunteers requires a ready resource within reasonable distance of the prison. Clearly the existence of many APAC programmes throughout the world indicates that such resources are available. However, volunteers are not free as they must be trained and their continued performance assessed and regulated (Brudney, 1999; Ockenden & Hutchison, 2008). Therefore, preparations for implementing and running APAC programmes require oversight and ongoing commitment and assessment. This is provided by using the existing frameworks of national Prison Fellowship Non Governmental Organisations working in partnership with local criminal justice agencies.

REGIMES

APAC programmes are very long and multi-faceted (Burnside, 2005). They are also generally required to operate in physically separate areas within prisons. The purpose is to enable a climate of trust, encouragement, and honesty to be built over time. Furthermore, the programme is usually divided into stages with each stage representing progression and rewarding participants with increased responsibility. Both of these conditions can be difficult to achieve within normal prison regimes. For example, in prisons in England and Wales there is very high prisoner mobility. Few prisons have stable prisoner populations unless they are classified as high security or therapeutic regimes (Wilson, 2015). Additionally, operational concerns may override the programme design by not following the stage-by-stage protocol or preventing participants from completing all stages by releasing them early (Johnson, 2011).

The most challenging aspect of many APAC regimes for Western jurisdictions is the progression from

⁴ See Workman, 2001a,b,c for a detailed report of prisons that implemented programmes derived from the APAC model.



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closed, through semi-open, to open conditions. Progression is controlled by behaviour and co-operation. Rule infringement is dealt with by a council, mostly comprising fellow inmates, who decide punishments by issuing warnings or sanctions. The semi-open stage involves prisoners being able to leave the prison premises whilst accompanied by volunteers or trusted prisoners. Eventually, they may be able to work outside the prison. In open conditions prisoners are not required to spend nights at the prison but stay with their families. Nevertheless, they must comply with reporting and behavioural requirements. Finally, as none of the previous stages amount to release, the participant is released to post-prison aftercare where they continue living and working in the community and remain accountable to the prison authorities (Burnside et al., 2005).⁵

Once APAC-modelled programmes are implemented and operating the improvement in the prison experience is apparent. At an early site in South America it was “described as being ‘five star’ compared with the rest of the prison” (Workman, 2001a:30). Therefore, although APAC programmes might be perceived as difficult to implement within existing prison regimes, once they have been accommodated they can bring beneficial effects to the operators and the participants. Such benefits may be seen in improved health standards, safety, or discipline (Workman, 2001a). Overall, then, prison operators should carefully consider adjusting prison regimes where necessary to implement APAC-based programmes since both inmates and staff can gain from the APAC protocol.

RESETTLEMENT AND REINTEGRATION

As mentioned above, the most difficult challenge prisoners face is when they cease to be prisoners and are released into society. Whilst placing no direct burden on custodial regimes, prisoner reintegration requires ongoing support (Armstrong, 2013; Johnson, 2011; Maruna, 2001; Shapland & Bottoms, 2011). Unfortunately, this support is frequently lacking, often intermittent, and sometimes not offered at all within standard criminal justice systems. To combat this lack of provision and continue the work done during custody, resettlement strategies are a core element of APAC programmes. However, this aspect of resettling ex-prisoners into communities requires acceptance by the community itself and the continued input of mentors who worked with the individual whilst still in custody. Such support usually involves practical help with referrals to agencies, finance management, finding employment, or finding accommodation as well as mentoring support at a personal, one-to-one level (Roper, 2005; Burnside, 2013).

So that such elements can be provided, APAC staff and volunteers establish relationships within the communities that prisoners will be released to. Additionally, the prisoner’s family is involved where

⁵ See Burnside et al. (2005) p.16-21 for full details of the APAC phases from which this description is derived.



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possible. However, as Johnson has observed, faith-oriented individuals and organisations that seek to work with prisoners frequently encounter suspicion and prejudice (2011):

[A]ny comprehensive prisoner reentry plan is sustainable only if partnerships between sacred and secular as well as national and community groups are encouraged and embraced, rather than discouraged and viewed with distrust. A healthy atmosphere of mutual respect must replace the suspicion that still too often typifies relations between public and private organizations [sic] as well as between secular and religious groups--entities that share similar social service missions even if their approach is vastly different

Johnson, 2011:194.

Therefore, APAC staff and volunteers seeking to assist participants' resettlement after incarceration usually work closely with other agencies to ensure smooth transitions.

3. APAC-based programmes in the European context⁶

This section provides a description of APAC and related programmes managed by the organisations participating in the ECOR project. Most are located within prisons and most are delivered by volunteers. These programmes illustrate the adaptability of the APAC model whilst not departing from its ethos of human value, restoration of relationships, and repair of harm.

Bulgaria

ADAPTATION ENVIRONMENT

Prison Fellowship Bulgaria (PFB) founded an APAC-based programme at Sofia prison in 2003. Later, in 2006, the programme was transferred to Vratsa prison. Both programmes were delivered within the prison environment but at that time only Sofia was able to provide separate living and community accommodation. Additionally, the programme in Vratsa prison was operated solely by PF, Bulgaria whereas at Sofia prison they worked in conjunction with prison specialists.

The Bulgarian programme, Adaptation Environment (AE), was developed in conjunction with the General Directorate for the Execution of Sentences (GDES) and comprises three stages. The first stage emphasises community and communal cooperation to prepare participants for the second, educational, stage. During the educational element participants are able to achieve recognised vocational qualifications. The final part of the programme is concerned with preparing participants for life post-release. They are given motivational training and undertake instruction in finding employment and financial management. Prison staff are expected to assist in post-release job

⁶ Implementation descriptions provided by the programme implementers and edited by the report authors.



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placement. PFB noted that AE prisoners are often employed in responsible positions within the prison prior to their release.

AE is available to all prisoners able to communicate in Bulgarian except those with current drug addiction or a history of sexual offending. PFB personnel select prisoners for the programme following assessment and recommendation by prison staff. Participants are also required to be volunteers, have sufficient educational level, and be at medium or low risk of recidivism. Prisoners wishing to complete AE without the required educational levels undertake an assessment developed by PFB.

Prisoners begin AE with sessions for acclimatisation, communication skills, and conflict resolution. This is to help them develop social awareness, take responsibility for their actions, and improve their ability to live communally by putting into practice what they learn. Specialised coaches and psychologists undertake group sessions for cognitive behavioural therapy to assist participants' adjustment to the regime. During the third module of this stage participants have the opportunity to 'meet' the Christian faith by engaging with the prison Chaplain. The ensuing debates provide an opportunity to develop the skills they are learning, solve any conflicts that arise, and recognise and deal with differences that are unsolvable. Prisoners remain an average of four months in this stage. Each module ends with the award of a certificate to successful participants which confirms their participation, learned skills, and allows them to progress to the next module. All modules must be successfully completed before continuing.

'Restoration through education' is the second stage of AE, and comprises the educational classes that provide for vocational qualifications and includes compulsory participation in computer skills courses. This stage is intense involving daily theory and practical classes in each subject/vocational training.⁷ In 2006 a Centre was created to award the qualification 'Restoration through education'. It began with computer skills qualifications, XPERT-European certificate, and gradually incorporated three further professional courses and two Building trade and two Landscape Construction qualifications. The Centre is an integral part of the AE programme.

Successful participants receive the XPERT-European certificate and a qualification from the National Agency for Vocational Education and Training (NAVET). PFB's goal is to maintain high quality educational standards by continued monitoring and working with educational partner organisations. Students are tested and assessed by external specialists.

⁷ Since AE began various areas of the prison grounds have been renovated and landscaped for the benefit of all.



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The third stage provides job placement and motivation for lifelong learning. Two mandatory modules, each lasting 36 hours, are undertaken by all participants; motivational training for lifelong learning and training for finding and maintaining employment. Furthermore, the AE team found that Vratsa prison management had appointed some AE participants to key positions within the prison.⁸ For example, members of the programme were assigned to: Mayor, prison librarian (who compiled an electronic database for the library); two were responsible for organising cultural and large-scale events and sports activities; two provided courses in basic computer literacy for convicted prisoners outside AE. Following this development, third stage AE participants are now involved as assistants to professional teachers and coaches within the programme. Between 2010 and 2011 two new courses were added: personal finance management and the fundamentals of entrepreneurship.⁹

During this stage job placements are managed by the prison. Between 2009 and 2012 Vratsa officers were able to provide work for 10% of AE participants. In Sofia prison this element was very successful owing to a less restricted category of prisoners. This gave the administration the opportunity to find work outside the prison. Custodial conditions at Vratsa are restricted and this hampers prisoners' external job placement.

All modules and teaching in stage three are delivered by PFB volunteers. The programme leader holds weekly meetings with participants to discuss the organisation of work, relations with the prison staff, and continued participation in the programme. Discussion covers questions of any nature. In this phase individual consultations with professionals, either PFB employees or volunteers, begin following a timetable and order negotiated with Vratsa prison officers.

During the final stage of AE participants' activities are orientated towards other prisoners. For example, from 2009 onwards those who have passed the earlier stages are involved in the presentation of AE to potential future participants. They present the various modules of the programme to interested prisoners and explain the lessons that they have learned and the changes that they have undergone. The presentations are made in the prison hall and there are usually 50-60 in the audience.

⁸ The Bulgarian system operates a so-called system of 'organs of self-government'. Prisoners select these groups which work daily with prison staff. Each group is responsible for a different activity within the community life of the prison.

⁹ These are programmes developed by Habitat for Humanity, which trained PFB volunteers working at Vratsa prison.



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For AE graduates with continuing sentences or those who cannot be moved to more open conditions a 'maintenance programme' was created. This programme provides opportunities for therapeutic group work for one weekend per month and active participation in the 'social life' of the prison. The programme aims to improve conditions for all convicted prisoners. For example, prisoners have produced a regular newspaper called *Together* which is still printed in Vratsa. Additionally, prisoners organise the annual events celebrating Easter and Christmas holidays; these have become a part of the annual prison calendar. Programme members also initiated the creation of a voluntary service among themselves aimed at mutual support and organising campaigns to assist prisoners' families.

The main aim of AE is the restoration of individuals through positive examples and peer pressure and assisting their return to their families and communities. The principles of the APAC model are interpreted by treating all AE participants with dignity, helping them to take responsibility for their actions, maintaining consistent standards of behaviour for participants and practitioners, and keeping all activities transparent and accountable. Although participants 'encounter' Christianity, the emphasis is on human values and each individual decides for themselves on their degree of involvement with church life.

There is no research evidence of AE participants' recidivism but PF, Bulgaria cautiously reports that two of 72 participants at Sofia prison were reincarcerated (neither of whom had completed the full programme) and three of 140 participants at Vratsa prison had reoffended.

Germany

SEEHAUS E.V.

In 2003 an APAC-based programme was implemented at Leonberg in Southern Germany. In 2011 another began in Störmthal, close to Leipzig in Saxony. The programme, for convicted juveniles, provides a different kind of detention from the usual open and closed prison regimes and is supported by the Ministry of Justice. Detention conditions are based on a family-like structure where up to 15 young men remain for between 6 and 28 months. The programme's ethos is to counteract the negative influences of prison culture on young men by providing a structured regime within which participants can learn to take responsibility for their past, their present day-to-day needs, and their future.

This programme, 'Juvenile prison in free form', is delivered by a non-governmental organisation (NGO), Seehaus e.V. and operates in buildings separate from the prison estate. It is targeted at young men between 14 and 21 years old who have been sentenced to prison for around two years; sexual



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offenders are not eligible. The prison governor makes the final decision on placement from youths who apply for the programme and are then interviewed twice by programme staff. Once selected, up to seven participants live in small units together with a resident family. The family environment enables the offenders to experience a supportive, regulated regime whilst they undertake the programme's educational and rehabilitative modules. This style of family-oriented community living is intended to provide a positive influence through peer pressure and individual support.

The programme has a 'buddy' system whereby newcomers are allocated a more senior participant to provide support and help them adjust. All participants are expected to contribute practically to daily living with tasks such as cleaning, cooking, laundry, and personal tidiness. Personal responsibility is achieved by a hierarchical system of progress whereby privileges such as increased freedom of movement are granted:

Phases and corresponding privileges are as follows:

- Introductory Phase (movement only with staff)
- "Leo-Candidate" (movement only with their juvenile buddy, some phone calls)
- "Leo" (family members can visit)
- "Lion's Club Candidate" (friends can visit, outside activities with staff permitted)
- "Lion's Club Member" (home passes, outside activities with visitors permitted)
- "Representative" (voted for by the Lion's Club members and staff, longer home passes, programme representative)

source Seehaus e.V.

Staff and other participants are responsible for approving each progressive step. It is possible to regress following negative behaviour (but promotion is usually quickly achieved). At all times participants and staff are expected to treat each other with dignity and respect (fulfilling the Human Valorisation aspect of APAC). Participants are expected to learn, and be able to recite, a list of norms:

1. We do not hurt anyone – neither through words nor through deeds.
2. We respect ourselves and each other.
3. We respect our property, the property of others as well as that of Seehaus Leonberg.
4. We participate actively and positively in Seehaus Leonberg and in the group processes.
5. We take responsibility for ourselves, for others and for Seehaus Leonberg.
6. We will not do anything that will put ourselves or Seehaus Leonberg in a bad light.
7. We treat each other politely and with respect.
8. We do not take illegal drugs, we do not accept drugs or give them to others.
9. We follow the norms and rules of Seehaus Leonberg.



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10. We confront in order to help, not to hurt.
11. We accept confrontation and criticism.
12. We do not leave the property of Seehaus Leonberg without the explicit permission of staff.

source Seehaus e.V.

Throughout the programme participants engage in school education, vocational training, athletics, leisure activities, community projects, and individual/group therapy sessions.¹⁰ Educational classes comprise theory (two days per week), practical work (three days per week) and sport. The staff/juvenile ratio is usually 1:1. Programme delivery is provided by social workers, educators, teachers, tradesman, sports trainers, and social work students or young people completing a voluntary 'social year'. There are no prison or security officers. Further, there are more than 150 volunteers in both venues who support the staff in all areas, for example; school, sports, leisure time activities, teaching a trade, in the office, as mentors, or in aftercare activities or events. Leisure time is designed to guide the juveniles to use their time constructively and provides activities such as jogging, rock climbing, or learning to play a musical instrument. They also participate with other groups by going camping or on retreats.

During group sessions participants talk about their problems with drugs, alcohol, aggression or personal problems with their families. A young person leads the sessions but a staff member is present and only intervenes if the meeting is not going well. The meeting is summarised by the staff member at the end.

Restorative Justice (RJ) is central to the programme to enable participants to accept responsibility for their respective offences. In individual counselling sessions as well as group sessions they confront their offences and the harm victims and the community have experienced. Through victim awareness activities and programmes such as the Sycamore Tree Programme (Wilson, 2007; Wilson, 2015) they learn to see victims' perspective. A more symbolic form of RJ is restitution by involvement in community service, charitable work and victim-compensation. For example, a graffiti removal service demonstrated how much work is required to remove graffiti even though it took only minutes to do them. Sometimes participants help in homes for handicapped or elderly people.

Further community co-operation provides opportunities for juveniles to engage with local sports clubs, church groups, youth clubs, employers and to begin friendships with young people outside

¹⁰ Participants can work towards a state-recognised vocational qualification in carpentry, metal work, or landscape gardening. There is the opportunity to begin a trade apprenticeship (which can be completed if they remain in custody) and work on real projects for real clients. They can also achieve a high school diploma.



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prisons. This is encouraged in order to help programme graduates avoid returning to their previous behaviour and criminal peers.

Aftercare is integral to the programme and planning for post-release life begins whilst participants are still in custody. As the programme developed, the need for different levels of support was recognised and additional premises was rented by Seehaus e. V. where staff can accompany participants to ensure a graduated transition to independent living. Those who require less intensive assistance are accommodated in apartments shared with young people from the community. In all cases mentors continue to support released participants with regular contact and visits. The programme's aim is to enable 'alumni' to become fully independent and responsible community members who are able to sustain themselves without further resort to crime.

According to Seehaus e. V. during the first decade approximately 120 young offenders began the programme with around 60% completing it. Programme completers were able to move to stable living conditions and 99% secured employment or a trade apprenticeship. Recidivism has been around 25% three years after release.¹¹

THE BLUE CROSS

The Blue Cross is an international Christian organisation which helps people to overcome addictions. In Germany its volunteers, many of whom have recovered from addiction themselves, have worked with men imprisoned in Brandenburg prison, since 1990 and in Luckau-Duben prison since 2006. Blue Cross staff work with the men on the programme for the length of their sentence and provide follow-up support after release.

The men on the Blue Cross programme are seen as addicts who have offended rather than offenders who have addiction problems. The offending is treated an outcome or symptom of the addiction therefore it is the addiction which is addressed first.

The Blue Cross programme addresses the personal (physical, psychological/spiritual) and the social dimensions of an individual's life. It helps people to overcome the physical and psychological urges to continue with the drug or alcohol habit but also, in the longer term, to address the habit of turning to alcohol or drugs when things go wrong by finding alternative coping strategies. The programme has a philosophy of optimism: every day is a new day; every day is the opportunity to start again. Equally

¹¹ Percentages supplied by Seehaus e.V.



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the Blue Cross programme aims to generate the social capital to support the individual in the long term.

Blue Cross programmes for imprisoned men and on release have the legislative support of the state of Brandenburg. The legal basis for the prison residential course, including opportunities for release of prisoners during this time for programme related activities and for the aftercare programme, is enshrined in state penal law: (BbgJVollzG 24.04.13, § 23, Section 7 § 46 and 48 ; Section 8 §50 and 52).

Each prison has allocated a wing to the Blue Cross programmes. The men on the wing live as a 'Wohngruppe' an independent residential community within the prison. Aside from the regular prison work activities and meals, they live apart from the other prisoners and have a programme of special activities designed to help them address their addiction and prepare for life after release.

In Brandenburg prison there is a dedicated member of the prison staff who acts as a liaison officer and provides support for the programme's day-to-day running, such as the provision of meals for the volunteers. She has received training in the programme's approach and attended the induction course on addiction so that she is familiar with the methodology. In Luckau-Duben the prison staff are located at the entrance to the wing. The Blue Cross staff carry keys in both prisons in order that they can have freedom of movement.

The programme is available for up to 15 men at Brandenburg prison and 13 men at Luckau-Duben prison. There are three recruitment criteria for the programme:

1. Prospective participants must volunteer for the programme
2. The person's criminal conviction must be related to drugs/alcohol use
3. The person has completed the Blue Cross foundation course: Addiction

The foundation course 'Addiction' is a 30 hour programme covering themes related to drug addiction, from the reasons for addiction to the steps necessary to achieve a life free from addiction. It is open to all men in the prison. Applicants for the residential group make a written commitment to follow the residential programme rules and to live a life without violence, alcohol or drugs.

The men live on a self-contained wing comprising one and/or two bedroomed cells. The wings are wide and modern. There is a communal kitchen and meeting area. Cell doors are open all day between 6 am and 7 pm and the men can move around freely. In Brandenburg prison, this is a privileged position in comparison to other prisoners. At Luckau-Duben prison the Blue Cross is one



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of three programmes which offer participants similar conditions. One of the cells is a dedicated office for the Blue Cross volunteers. The men follow the normal prison routine in the mornings. They rise at 6.00 am and complete work activities between 7am and 12noon. Blue Cross sessions take place in the afternoons between 3pm and 7 pm. These include one weekly whole group discussion and two smaller discussion groups with Blue Cross volunteers or staff.

The residential group programme has three phases:

1. *Warm up.* This first stage is designed to help people settle in and to identify their problems. The participant compiles his own recovery plan, which outlines his motivation for treatment, his views of his personal strengths and weaknesses and the tasks needed to address his weaknesses. He also draws up his CV, charts his addiction career, the roots of his addiction, and his family background.
2. *Confrontation.* The second phase aims to assist individuals to confront the reasons for their addiction. It challenges their self-narrative and meets with resistance because “one is disturbed at the very core” (Blue Cross manager). An important part of the programme is the examination of ‘guilt’ and restoring contact with the participant’s immediate family. This restorative aspect of the programme may involve making direct contact with the victim such as writing a letter and may link in with the prison’s psychological service.
3. *Work.* Once the person has acknowledged their need to change, the work phase begins. It addresses different themes each month: women, work, dependency, politics; these themes may be presented by external speakers.

The programme is based on Christian principles and Bible study forms one of the group activities. Religious belief is, however, neither a prerequisite for joining the programme nor one of its aims. Blue Cross staff believe that religious faith can aid the process of recovery but that is possible, only different, without it.

The fostering of trust is critical to the programme and viewed as a necessary condition for the total honesty needed to aid individual’s progress. The discussion groups require complete confidentiality. These ‘protected spaces’ are seen as vital to the process of establishing trust and encouraging honesty. It is acknowledged that building trust, takes time therefore six months is the minimum period of stay on the programme. Otherwise time in the programme is determined by the person’s sentence length.



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Each participant has an individual record folder in which they keep details of their recovery plan, basic course material about addiction, information on their personal development, and monthly themes. The participants share their progress with the others in the group every six months. The men look after the folder themselves. Programme folders are separate from prison records and the men decide whether they want to show them to prison staff or outsiders such as judges.

The process of individual change is identified by the following:

1. When someone begins to disclose personal information
2. Changes in behaviour; for example, when someone becomes calmer or no longer has angry outbursts
3. When the relationship with the Blue Cross staff is transparent and honest. Nothing is hidden
4. When a person has realistic plans for the future and realises that they will need help on release

Programme staff are all members of Blue Cross and are recruited through Blue Cross groups. All are volunteers. There are six volunteers divided between two prisons. They receive training in working with prisoners before they start. Using volunteers and outsiders is a critical part of the programme “We have a different relationship than psychologists or social workers and we have a different kind of influence” (Blue Cross manager). Having staff independent of the system is felt to encourage greater openness by the prisoners because they do not have to be careful to ‘say the right thing’. For example, admitting difficulties with overcoming addiction means that “Officials have to write these comments down as ‘risk factors’, as temptations that might be getting in the way. They are viewed as a hindrance to progress. However we are pleased that they are talking about the dangers, it means they are being honest and understand the difficulties ahead” (Blue Cross manager). The staff aim to be a regular part of the men’s lives, “we live with the men as much as possible” (Blue Cross manager). They visit at least four times per week in Brandenburg prison and three times per week in Luckau-Duben prison. Their personal involvement and commitment is regarded as an important signal to the men of their genuine care and interest in supporting their progress. Four times a year the members of the Potsdam Blue Cross meet the residential group participants. These meetings, lasting about 3 hours, comprise discussing the process of recovery from addiction.

The Blue Cross programme encourages family involvement and support. The family is viewed as an important resource to support the men with their recovery in prison and particularly on release. There is a telephone for family calls on the wing at each prison which prisoners share. Participants’ families can take part in routine prison visiting programmes (in Brandenburg prison this is a one



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hour visit every month and a three hour visit every two months). Additionally there is a special Blue Cross family meeting every three months. In Brandenburg prison two members from each family are invited to the prison wing. A table is set up in the communal room where they can meet with their relative. In Luckau-Duben, the prisoners meet their families in the prison's standard family room because the prison officers were uncomfortable about family members visiting the men on the wings. In Luckau-Duben there are plans to establish a further family festival twice a year.

These meetings aim to raise awareness amongst the family members and the residential programme participants of each other's needs. Information is provided about life in the prison and family visitors are given information about the problems of addiction. Not all the participants have family support. Some family relationships have broken down as a consequence of the man's addiction and offending behaviour. Blue Cross staff support the men in facilitating the process of family restoration. At family meetings participants can invite someone from the Potsdam Blue Cross group instead. Meetings with the external Blue Cross community and participants families are organised directly by the men. The local association of the Blue Cross in Potsdam organises an 'Einkehrtag' (day of retreat) for members of their self-help groups which members of the prison residential group can attend with permission.

Hungary

In 2008 an APAC-based programme was begun in a maximum security prison in Hungary. The initiative was supported by the then Minister of Justice. The programme began with three cells being set apart for 18 APAC prisoners and, within a year, had increased to four cells for 24 men. The prison Director, psychologist, Chaplain and Prison Fellowship Hungary personnel selected prisoners considered suitable for the programme.¹² Prison Fellowship Hungary was the NGO involved in initiating and delivering the programme. They also assisted in refurbishing the cells and a community room for participants. Overcrowding in the remainder of the prison prohibited more space being devoted to the programme although its reputation spread rapidly throughout the prisoner population generating prisoners' interest. Programme participants undertook to work, attend all the programme elements, and renew/maintain family relationships.

The Hungarian APAC programme delivers a structured schedule wherein participants must work eight hours per day between 6am and 2pm, five days per week, followed by programme-specific activities. There are discussion sessions arranged with Hungarian, Christian celebrities intended to promote communication and thinking. Theological students provide Bible study, counselling, and singing whilst there is a weekly film showing. The programme promotes family relationships by

¹² Prisoners were mostly long-term with any kind of offence history except sexual offenders.



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increasing participants' contact with their families allowing unlimited postal communication with them. Families visit every three weeks for a four hour session including lunch. Prison Fellowship Hungary contacts prisoners' families and, where possible assists them with visits to the prison.

Limited resources means that aftercare provision is not possible but Prison Fellowship Hungary report only two recidivists from 34 released programme 'graduates' since 2009. The prison service has supported the APAC programme and since January 2015 there is legislation in Hungary to support the provision of rehabilitative programmes including a legal obligation to offer drug treatment and transitional (re-entry) programmes.

Latvia

MIRJAMA (MIRIAM)

In 2002 the Latvian prison authorities sought to develop rehabilitation programmes for prisoners following the European standards. Therefore, they allowed religious organisations to implement Christian orientated programmes to counteract the influence of Soviet prison regimes and attitudes. The Miriam programme was designed by the prison chaplain in collaboration with the staff at Ilguciems women's prison. Unlike other programmes which were implemented in Ilguciems prison, Miriam was tailored to the specific needs of the inmates rather than imported from elsewhere.

The core concept of Miriam is to encourage self-education, a work ethic, and creative thinking within Christian ethical and moral values. All programme elements are compulsory and run in conjunction with mandatory prison work. Since its creation Miriam has been embedded within the prison administration and programme activities included in a legal contract.¹³

Although the programme has a strong Christian ethos and is directed by the prison chaplain, Latvian law separates the church and state providing freedom of thought and religion for all citizens. Therefore, Miriam's secular emphasis on rehabilitation aims to change criminal thinking, in light of Christian values, to enable the successful reintegration of participants after their release. In fact a Buddhist and Hari Krishna follower have graduated in the past.

Within the Latvian prison system Miriam is unique because participants live separately from other inmates. All prisoners are eligible with up to 16 places available for women who volunteer. The programme lasts for up to three years and runs between 5.30pm and 8.30pm, Monday to Friday, and

¹³ As the programme has developed some elements have changed a new set of regulations has been drafted which awaits ratification by the Latvian Prison Authority.



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for two hours on Saturday and Sunday from September until June. During these times the women study drama, music, singing, history of art, arts and crafts, and the Bible. They prepare and produce regular theatrical productions, cultural events, and exhibitions within the prison as well as a closing concert.

The programme operates within the prison as a separate department. The head of this department is a prison employee who ensures that programme delivery complies with the law and sentence management requirements. Risk assessment and resettlement plans for programme participants, but not educational or study matters, are within the department's remit. The department has a close liaison with the prison chaplain who is responsible for overseeing and managing the programme, liaising with prison staff, and providing individual counselling/mentoring together with regular, weekly meetings where discussion mainly relates to individuals' needs. She may also act as mediator when programme participants need to resolve conflicts with each other or prison authorities.

There are no external examinations but the chaplain and volunteer teachers set tests, invigilate them, and assess the women's progress at the end of each year. Certificates of participation are given to women who reach an acceptable level.

By accommodating participants in a separate area of the prison Miriam aims to remove them from prison subculture and provide an atmosphere of respect and harmonious community. This is achieved through peer pressure from existing members (who have accepted the programme principles) on new members and cultivating a sense of hope that a new, non-criminal identity is possible. Furthermore, should any conflicts between participants arise they are encouraged to resolve them between themselves using Christian principles of accepting responsibility and forgiveness. The department head and programme manager collaborate to select a woman who acts as a leader for the group. This leader usually deals with internal conflicts without reference to the programme manager.

Miriam sessions clash with the prison educational/vocational classes so women are required to have professional/educational qualifications before they are permitted on the programme.¹⁴ Teaching and learning is centred on Bible study to identify moral and cultural norms leading to studies on the value and spiritual dimensions of arts and culture. From this basis women go on to study and practice fine art guided and tutored by professionals.

All teachers in the programme are volunteers but they also provide the materials for their workshops,

¹⁴ This can include qualifications gained whilst in prison.



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cover their own transport costs, and devise, develop, and adapt to their individual classes. As experts and leaders in their own field they represent a different stratum of society from that of most prisoners. This is intentional as their abilities to creatively solve problems, express original thoughts, and seek new approaches to dilemmas are a valuable resource in teaching programme participants alternatives to criminal behaviour and thinking. Conversely, women prisoners may have very strong personalities and teachers working in the programme need to be selected with care.

Living separately and having access to professional artists, broadcasters, and actors emphasises Miriam participants' privilege as they mix with other inmates during their working day. These interactions also serve as an advertisement for the programme.

Participation in the programme is always timed to coincide with women's last years in custody. Although reintegration into society is recognised as important, Latvian law separates the prison service's responsibility from after-care, which is managed by the probation service. Therefore, once released, Miriam participants are the responsibility of the probation office.¹⁵ Nevertheless, 130 women have completed the course with, anecdotally, less than 10 being reconvicted of an offence.¹⁶

RATNIEKI (INTEGRATION FOR SOCIETY)

In 1999 an aftercare centre, was started close to Riga. Given the separation between prison and probation responsibilities, aftercare for released prisoners is underdeveloped in Latvia. Furthermore, the average prison sentence is five years which increases the risk of institutionalisation and the length of exposure to anti-social behaviour. With no link between any rehabilitative efforts in custody and resettlement afterwards, prisoners may struggle to reintegrate and therefore resort to their previous criminal lifestyle. According to Ratnieki's Director, in Latvia approximately 2,300 prisoners leave custody every year with no supervision and recidivism is high; 90% by ten years after release. Ratnieki was based on the APAC principles of spiritual, emotional, and practical support with the goal of aiding ex-prisoners to have self-respect, restored family relationships, and be equipped with vocational skills.

Experience gained from the Ratnieki programme has highlighted the problems with the 'custody-discharge-to-society' model by providing an alternative 'custody-discharge-to-aftercare-to-society' model. Without official recidivism statistics we cannot offer research evidence but anecdotal evidence suggests that re-offending is substantially reduced when released prisoners have concrete support.

¹⁵ Sometimes in special cases prison fellowship Latvia provides some post-release assistance.

¹⁶ There are no official reconviction statistics available.



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Ratnieki provides the practical social, economic, and cultural links that facilitate the transition from prisoner to ex-offender and useful member of society.

Potential programme participants generally apply to the centre themselves. Ex-participants, staff, and volunteers attend prisons to raise awareness of the programme and the Director liaises with local municipalities, the prison service, and the probation service to recruit participants. Ideally, potential clients complete a rehabilitation programme before their release from prison. However, there is no direct continuity between prisons and the centre. On arrival and after agreeing to participate in Ratnieki men sign a contract committing to abide by centre rules in return for the programme commitment to develop a plan for their individual rehabilitation and provide them with skills and support for reintegration.

The programme, for up to 20 recently-released male prisoners, provides accommodation and skills training for a year. Within the complex are workshops equipped with professional wood processing machinery, a fitness room, and various administrative buildings. Although there are volunteers who help, most staff members are employed by the centre. Running parallel with educational and vocational classes are sessions intended to develop improved social skills, self-respect, motivation, and civic responsibility; these are conducted by professional psychologists and social workers. For men with alcohol or drug addiction problems, the 12 step course developed by Alcoholics Anonymous is provided. However, any man found taking drugs or alcohol, or under the influence of either, on the premises is instantly expelled.

All individuals have daily one-to-one meetings with a social worker and weekly consultations with a psychologist. Additionally, there are group sessions and themed classes which address specific areas such as communication skills, personal relationships, or conflict resolution. A multi-media approach is used from didactic teaching through discussion and role-play to watching DVDs and films to promote reasoning and thinking.

As a preparation for employment, men are expected to work every day from Monday to Friday. The work regime gradually introduces them to regularity beginning with keeping the buildings and grounds clean and tidy. Such duties continue throughout the programme but more skilled tasks are introduced as they progress, for example, growing food, building maintenance, and carpentry. A professional qualification for carpentry is included within Ratnieki with an externally verified examination and certificate from the Carpentry Training and Examination Centre in Riga.



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The aftercare centre is not secure premises and there is no mandatory programme duration. However, nobody is allowed to leave the centre on weekdays unless their absence is related to programme requirements. Men may finally leave the centre at any stage but no-one may stay for longer than one year. All men are found accommodation and employment before they leave and it is hoped that those with families will have restored any broken relationships and return to them on departure.

Past participants are encouraged to retain contact with the centre. Although there are no official reconviction figures, anecdotally, only 10% of Ratnieki participants have returned to prison during the last decade.

Summary

The APAC model originated in Brazil in response to high recidivism, inhumane conditions of incarceration, and a perceived need to transform offenders' thinking and outlook. Growing from South America the model is now used as the basis for 195 other long-term rehabilitative programmes in eleven countries around the world: Brazil (145 prisons in 17 states including 30 prisons without guards), Belize, Bulgaria, Chile (25 prison units in various prisons), Costa Rica, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, New Zealand, Singapore, and the USA (9 prison units in five states) (Parker, 2011). Whilst the foundational principles emanate from Christian values, APAC programmes are intended for prisoners from any culture or background and any faith, denomination, or none. Furthermore, prisoners, themselves, have been involved in the development of the APAC model ensuring that it remains relevant to their needs.

Volunteers are critical to the success of APAC programmes as they form the backbone of the leaders and staff required to provide positive role models, practitioners, and prisoners' support. This, in turn, requires good relations and working arrangements between prison authorities, community organisations (both sacred and secular), and prisoners' families. Additionally, prison regimes and physical environments may have to be adapted when APAC programmes are implemented.

To date there is encouraging empirical evidence that programmes from the faith community are helpful in reducing recidivism even if such evidence is hampered by methodological challenges (Burnside, 2008; 2013; Johnson, 2011; Lane, 2009; Volokh, 2011). Evaluations of APAC-based programmes form a part of this evidence. For further information Workman (2001a,b,c) has produced comprehensive descriptions of APAC prisons and evaluation research derived from observation and discussion with practitioners and participants.



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The APAC methodology has been shown to be adaptable to prison regimes and conditions in Europe with at least four countries adopting the model. In Germany, Seehaus e. V. operates the model for juvenile offenders housed in a facility outside the prison estate and Blue Cross works in two men's prisons. In Hungary the APAC model serves within a maximum security prison and in Bulgaria it operates without a separate area for participants. Latvia is the only country with a well-developed aftercare programme founded on the APAC model. Latvia also provides an APAC-based programme for incarcerated women where they are exposed to fine art and high culture. Although there is little independent evaluation of these programmes, they are all supported by their respective jurisdictions and the prison staff in which they operate. Furthermore, each provides an experiential basis for the ECOR project to develop.

There are no official recidivism statistics available for any of these interventions but they do incorporate resonances with our extant knowledge of desistance. For example, the programme emphasis on individual human value and the provision of educational or vocational skills are important in building the human capital necessary to begin the process of changing self-identification as criminal; and the support and encouragement of volunteers helps to establish the social capital required for reintegration within communities after release.

These existing programmes are the foundation for further development within the ECOR project.

In January 2015 each country proposed to implement new APAC-based programmes or to develop existing programmes further within their jurisdictions by providing additional courses, new accommodation, or new facilities. The expansion of programmes based on the APAC model has been made possible by funding from the EU and the cooperation of Criminal Justice authorities in the participating countries. Such cooperation is based on the anecdotal success of programmes so far. Each project, named a Community of Restoration (COR), is described and evaluated in the European Communities of Restoration: Piloting Report (Wilson & Lanskey, in press) which aims to establish a stronger evidence base of their impact.



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