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**State of Israel
Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority**

***The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority
PHILOSOPHY and PROGRAMS***

SELECTED ARTICLES

by Director General and founder

Avraham Hoffmann

Jerusalem, September 2002

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Preface

Since the creation of the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority in 1984, Avraham Hoffmann has been its Director General. He has worked hard to develop a comprehensive system for the rehabilitation of released inmates and their families. Over nearly two decades and with no such precedents, a wide range of programs have been developed, adapted to the different populations needs. Together with an excellent and devoted staff, he worked at promoting the released inmates reintegration into society, as well as disseminating his belief that prisoners can and should be rehabilitated and that the society must be an active partner.

Hence, it was not easy to gather Avraham Hoffmann's articles and lectures on the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, its unique and innovative programs and his philosophy, in a single book. This book does not intend to assemble all Avraham Hoffmann's work and ideas, nor gather all his articles, as they are too many. It presents the most recent articles and newly developed programs. Some older articles treat major programs that are mentioned in recent articles but briefly. Other programs, no less important, were omitted; a great deal still wait to be written by Hoffmann.

This somewhat eclectic assemblage of writings and lectures is published on the eve of Avraham Hoffmann's retirement from the civil service. Hopefully it conveys his spirit and beliefs. The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority being a proof rehabilitation is possible and desirable, for the released inmates and the society at large, in Israel and around the world.

Varda Trauger
International Relations
Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority

Jerusalem, September 2002

Israel's Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority

**Mr. Avraham Hoffmann, Director General,
Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA), Jerusalem, Israel.**

The Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) was established by law 1984 to create a structure for the rehabilitation of released inmates – non-existing before its creation. The Authority developed innovative working methods that attained world recognition. It is a state entity mandated by law to work for the rehabilitation of all inmates and their families and for the prevention of recidivism. The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority is supervising all the agencies that treat released inmates and their families, developing and operating rehabilitation programs with all the concerned governmental and community services.

The PRA believes that everyone has a right to a new beginning. To offers all inmates an equal chance to a successful rehabilitation, the PRA develops programs to fulfil the special needs of deferent groups of prisoners: men and women, young and adults, Jews and Arabs.

The inmates' participation in the rehabilitation programs is voluntary – a decisive part for their successful rehabilitation. In 1999, 3,000 inmates (70% of the released inmates that year) turned to the PRA, as oppose to 250 (12.5%) in 1984. The particularity of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority – its organization, mandate and innovative rehabilitation programs – has raised the success rate to 80% among the rehabilitation programs' completers, as opposed to only 25% before the Authority's foundation.

The PRA believes rehabilitation is not a condition achieved after completing a process, but the start of a struggle, with no end and no limits. It may be said that **rehabilitation is a perpetual struggle**. A target that can be distant, depending from which point in time the struggle began. There is **no** person who cannot be rehabilitated, and the PRA believes that everyone has a right to a second chance.

We have a duty to open gates - the gates to the hearts wanting to be rehabilitated, to believe that "there is no person who cannot be rehabilitated." Nevertheless, it should be recognised that not everyone has the power and the ability to achieve the same heights, and that the jumping-off point of each person differs from that of his neighbour. For this reason, the measurement of rehabilitation from a solely statistical standpoint implies reducing the value of a human being to an insignificant number. In spite of this conception, and maybe by virtue of this belief, 81% of the inmates that joint the PRA's programs were successfully rehabilitated - they do not use drugs or commit crimes - as opposed to only 30% among those that did not participate in rehabilitation programs.

Understanding that the rehabilitation of the inmates depends no less on their acceptance and reintegration into society, the PRA works at increasing the society's awareness and involvement. The programs are located in residential neighbourhoods; the released inmates participate in social voluntary activities. The PRA develops continually programs that include influential parts of society in the rehabilitation process. These include "friendly" employers in the employment assistance program; city officials, businessmen and professionals taking part in the local Amutot (non-profit

associations, NGO) for prisoner rehabilitation; and the students taking part in the Perach tutoring program for inmates' children, the Three-in One apartment - students-inmates shared housing program, and "friendly" employers. The PRA's Council designated by the President of Israel also reflects the society's importance in the rehabilitation process: the Council is composed of public figures, representatives of organisations and volunteers that work for the rehabilitation of released inmates, academicians, representative of governmental ministries and authorities.

ACTIVITIES

The PRA's activities begin in jail, from 6 to 3 months before the inmate is released. In case of a married male inmate with children, the PRA becomes involved with the spouse and child almost immediately upon incarceration. After the release from prison the PRA offers a range of programs to suit the different populations of inmates and their needs.

TARGET POPULATION

The PRA is mandated to deal with, male and female, Arab and Jewish, married and single inmates. The PRA develops programs to fulfil the special needs of deferent groups of prisoners in order to give them the best chance to a successful rehabilitation.

PRE-RELEASED PROGRAMS

1. Workshops which provide information about employment, housing, legal matters, PRA programs etc.
2. Development of specific rehabilitation goals unique to each individual inmate.
3. Initial contact with a volunteer, where applicable.
4. Family counselling and parenting courses for the married inmates.

POST-RELEASE PROGRAMS

Post-release programs emphasise on removing the former prisoner from his/her previous criminogenic environment, finding suitable housing, and preparing the former inmates for integration into the work world:

1. Rehabilitation in rural communities: the inmates are placed in Kibbutz, Moshav.
2. Religious rehabilitation in Yeshiva.
3. Hostels: halfway houses.
4. 3-in-1 Apartments: a released inmate lives in one apartment with 2 university students.
5. In-community rehabilitation: in several localities, "amutot" (non-profit organisation) consisting of city officials, businessmen and professionals, have been established to assist released prisoners in their original community.
6. Residential Hostel for released inmates that were incarcerated for domestic violent.
7. Employment assistance and accompaniment program including "friendly" employers.
8. Residential Hostel for released female inmates: mothers with their children, the satellite apartments and the Telem Day centre.

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These programs include participation in detoxification programs, and/or in N.A. (Narcotics Anonymous) support groups, since approximately 70% of Israeli inmates are drug abusers. They also assist the former inmates in finding jobs and keeping them.

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Drugs and Rehabilitation

REHABILITATING RELEASED INMATES: THE TWOFOLD CIRCLE OF CRIME AND DRUGS*

**Mr. Avraham Hoffmann,
Director General, Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, Israel.**

Introduction

In genesis (32:7) it says, "Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed." Rashi explained that the use of synonym signifies that Jacob was afraid of both killing and of being killed. This is the kind of pressure the drug dependant delinquent lives under.

The drug dependant delinquent can be characterised by a twofold circle: A circle of hostility and violent attitude toward his surrounding, and a self-destructive circle, a kind of prolonged suicide caused by a lack of courage to commit actual suicide. Since the foundation of the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) in 1984, we recognized the junction of these two characteristics as a disrupting factor in the rehabilitation of released inmates. According to the Prison Services, in some years the rate of inmates that have a drug dependency can amount to 80%. The 1999 statistical report of the Prison Services showed over 50% of drug abusers.

From its outset, the PRA has realised it did not have the necessary tools to treat drug addicts. Back then, the PRA turned to the Ministry of Health, then responsible for drug detoxification for help. The Ministry of Health, made it clear that the only existing facility to treat drug addicts was the Hospitalisation Unit in Jaffa, with 12 beds, directed by Dr. Reiter. A lack of sufficient detoxification facilities obliged the PRA to take action: Nationally, the Anti-Drug Authority was founded and the PRA had to find original ways to deal with drug dependent released inmates.

Characteristic of the drug addicted delinquent:

Delinquents ascribe their needs for drugs to few reasons:

1. As a way to go on living by blunting traumatic childhood memories of severe abuse in their own family and surrounding; memories that prevent them from learning and developing.
2. The drugs provide them with a sense of strength and self-confidence they lack;
3. Their initial association with the delinquent world introduced them to drug abuse. As a consequence crime became a way of getting drugs, obtaining a sense of confidence and excitement. Thus, these released

* This paper was presented at the "Addictions 2000+1" conference held in Jerusalem on September 7-11, 2001.

inmates are characterised by multiple problems that can be traced in their early childhood.

Most of these inmates show a major disability to share their difficulties with their parents. They strongly feel they have “no one to trust,” whether in their family or among professionals. Verbal expression of anger is not enough for the delinquents who wish to express their anger in deeds, a way of lessening their own sense of dead end (no way).

The released inmates' records show numerous offences from a young age. As youngsters they were treated under the Youth Law: in the beginning under the Treatment And Supervision Law, later under the Youth Judgement, Punishment And Treatment Law, the Youth Probation Service, and the Juvenile Detention Centres, the Adult Probation Service, and eventually by the imprisonment.

It is striking out that the education and treatment system have failed to treat appropriately problems such as dyslexia and hyperactivity. As a result these youngsters have dropped out from the educational system at a young age, or have been moved from class to class without resolving their real problem.

As the number of incarcerations increases the degree of aggression toward the society escalates. As mentioned before, the drug dependency and addiction to crime achieve a kind of blindfolded suicidal process.

Many criminals have a low frustration threshold that causes a loss of control. Hence they need to calm down and they succeed only through drugs.

The incarceration and life in the criminal world, isolates the inmate from society, but is also an external expression confirming his inner feelings of not belonging to the society. His sense of not being able to integrate society rises from his belief that society rejects him as his family does. Hence harming the society is an expression of feeling unable to change reality or approach it.

The recidivism may be viewed as an expression of weakness and despair caused by the inability to integrate society. Instead of falling apart from the inside, the aggression is directed outward. Drugs help suppress the life and death dilemma. After stopping the drug abuse, this dilemma surfaces and the angers rise again. Hence the vicious circle of drug abuse is perpetuated.

As aforementioned, rejection engenders estrangement. The feeling of alienation toward the family and society is an exterior expression of alienation from oneself and of not controlling ones own life. Hence, committing a crime, do not cause any guilt feelings because of the estrangement toward the victim. The victim is the punching ball on which you can take out all your frustrations. The drugs freeze the feelings and allow blunting any humanity left in you and ease the way to committing a crime.

The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's response to the crime and drugs – drugs and crime – relation in developing rehabilitation programs:

In searching ways of responding, the Authority has set some rules:

1. “And it shall be said, "Build up, build up, prepare the way, remove every obstruction from my people's way." ” [Isaia 57:14] The Authority has realized that the expression of estrangement and aggression occur in each encounter of the released inmate with society. Therefore, the society must be prepared to integrate the released inmate, thus denying him an additional proof and self-justification of his feelings toward society.

2. Giving hope to a hopeless man and decreasing his sense of dead end via openness and acceptance.
3. Offering respect to those who live with a low self esteem. Namely, the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority operates believing that at the heart of the doing must be the basic reason that caused that man to turn to drugs and crime. While the physical withdrawal from drugs and crime is the preliminary condition to the rehabilitation process, the principal of the rehabilitation process is the need to overcome the past by acknowledging his ability to start over his life. Hence the booklet that the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority distributes to inmates toward their release from prison is called: "Every Man Has A Right To A New Beginning."

The Authority believes that a set of goals should be set for each inmate. But to each released inmate only intermediate, simple and short-term goals should be presented. Achieving completely these "small" goals and proceeding to more advanced levels. The use of partial goals is meant to fulfil the inmates' need for success: these man whose life is a succession of failures. "In this school" he succeeds for the first time ever. When he succeeds, he starts trusting a little his therapist and the establishment. Now with the help of those he believes he can trust he is willing to listen and observe anew his way. Therefore, gaining the released inmate's trust is an essential condition to the success of the therapeutic systems and to accomplishing the necessary therapeutic methods in the modern social work and psychology practices.

What does the Authority do to resolve the problems characterizing its patients, such as: Trauma, fears, aggression, parents' rejection, and social pressure? The PRA has developed several programs to address these problems:

- The peers program creates hope by creating success (role-) models for the desperate inmates.
- Presenting successes of released inmates in the employment field by distributing diplomas of perseverance at work by the mayors.
- Students-Prisoner Shared Housing Program. This program is a way of proving they are capable of running a normative life style.
- The authority's Hostels provide the skills needed to deal with trauma, fear, fear from success and failure. These skills are taught through intensive group therapy. They learn skills to deal with anger and aggression, self-control, interpersonal communication and to take the decision to treat the emotional abscesses left by their tough childhood (including: physical, emotional and sexual abuse, rape and incest). An abscess that is uncovered for the first time in their life in the Hostel or in community therapeutic groups (Groups that are operated by the Authority's prisoner rehabilitation community counsellors).

In my opinion some basic theories must be viewed when dealing with the drug-delinquency link:

1. The differential bonding theory of Cressey & Sutherland (1960), according to which the chances of a delinquent to rehabilitate increases the more he is in contact with the normative society. Since the delinquent behaviour is learned through the intensive contact with the criminal society - many normative contacts are needed to achieve a change. This is done in our different programs: in the Hostels; with "Friendly employers: - employers that are

willing to employ released inmates and help them rehabilitate through contact with the PRA employment coordinators; The Students-prisoner shared housing program – also called the 3-in-1 apartment program, in which 2 university students share an apartment with a released inmate; the leisure time club for released inmates; volunteers; peers – successfully rehabilitated released inmates tutor newly released inmates; kibbutz and Yeshiva.

All of these programs allow intensive contacts with the normative society promoting a change.

2. The Social Control Theory of Hirschi mentions that delinquents have grown up in families in which the limits are blurred, families characterized by enmeshment pattern. They need a corrective experience.
3. The triangular program that helps treat the released inmate's family. It allows strengthening the family that can become the source of social support and supervision in a tutorial system.

From its outset the Authority has learned to recognize that without the obligatory employment policy the therapy fails. Therapy with no work does not succeed; work with no therapy fails. Hence the obligation to combine these 2 crucial elements achieves 2 additional social goals:

1. Allowing the rehabilitated to get to know a new society.
2. Allowing the society to realize he has no horns – thus the stigma is shattered.

We have learned to realize that the main problem in the employment revolution is not placement in work position, but the intensive accompaniment of those that have been absorbed in new jobs, to ensure their perseverance at work: Through individual and group therapy, and through dealing immediately as pressures at work occur.

We believe one should extinguish the cigarette near a wheat field as it starts burning, for fear that one has to use fire-fighters vehicle to extinguish the burning field. Availability, quickness and vigour of the practitioner on the one hand, and his patience and tolerance on the other hand, are conditions to succeeding in rehabilitating the released inmate from both crime and drugs.

To achieve change in the treatment of released inmates that are drug addicts, the Authority has initiated some administrative and legal operations whose essentials are to create a new partnership with the released inmate. Thus the released inmate shall perceive the Authority as the home he never had. Hence, the Authority's "gates" are opened with no doorman at their entrance. The idea is: "we are with you although we are not on your side." Hence the Authority's employees are defined as "counsellors", as opposed to "officers" and "inspectors". The counsellors reach out their hands saying "hold my hand and with shared strength we will get you out of the mess."

However, the openness of the practitioners will be for nothing if the society rejects them and their patients. Hence, the Authority sees a crucial importance in the participation of quality groups of the Israeli society in absorbing the released inmates and their families. The Prisoner-students shared housing program. The intensive contact with employers that are also friends. We value the importance of adopting successful programs that preceded the creation of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, such programs are the rehabilitation of released inmate in kibbutz and Moshavim that are considered quality societies, and in Yeshiva for those interested in religious programs.

All these programs offer the released inmate a contra-response to his feeling of estrangement. He is accepted with love instead of rejection, with openness instead of rejection, with understanding instead of alienation.

The inmate's family:

A third of the released inmates are family men. In prison they find out that the only people to care for them are their family members. Hence, since its foundation the PRA has developed the Triangular Program: the first side being the inmates' children who are tutored by university students. The inmates' wives are the second side of this triangular – they participate in support groups and treatment. The third side being the inmates themselves. Close to their release from prison they attend a program where they learn how to become “real” fathers – and not just biological ones. They learn new ways of getting close to their children and family.

We found out that a great number of the inmates that agreed to go through a detoxification process, have done so to allow their children to accept them again as their fathers. There is no greater pain for the neighbourhood bully than his young daughter turning her back to him saying, “I don't want you to be my father.” This could cause a burst of violence, but could also push him to make some efforts for the sake of the only normative remainder: the child.

Development of knowledge and proficiency to realize the conceptual change:

To achieve these goals the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority has recruited highly qualified, proficient, and experienced employees. The Authority allowed her employees to attend an advanced study in Pittsburgh, to learn with Professor Twerski how to treat delinquents that are drug addicts. The employees should also be willing to devote themselves to this domain, seeing it as their mission.

With no proficiency it is impossible to help the inmate, but it is no less impossible without a sense of devotion. The thoughtful professional perception is not striving at an absolute achievement. The perpetual failure in each challenge the released inmate had in his past, have brought him to the “depths” of prison. Hence, a great deal of patience is needed in the rehabilitation process. The rehabilitation process is accompanied by ups and downs that should be perceived as natural in this process. Released inmates need quick solutions, not in the conventional established ways, since through their life they experienced a lot of difficulties with the establishment. However the PRA works at changing the establishment to accept their population including their special needs. For example: special working hours at the employment service. PRA employment counsellors accompany the released inmates to the employment service after they have prepared them for the appointment; PRA co-ordinator in the social services departments meet with the inmate immediately upon their release – that is, without the usual conventional process of the department. This gives a response to the low frustration threshold of our target population, along with teaching them how to use the help of the general bureaucracy.

THE PRA'S ACTIVITIES FOR THE REHABILITATION OF FORMER INMATES THAT ARE DRUG VICTIMS

Introduction

The majority of the released inmates are drug abuse victims. It is impossible to rehabilitate a released inmate without treating his drug problem. The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's (PRA) counsellors encourage the released inmates to participate in NA (Narcotics Anonymous) groups, and refer them to therapeutic communities and to units that treat drug abuse victims. The PRA has developed special programs to rehabilitate inmates and wean them away from crime. These programs teach them social and working skills, and offer a therapeutic response for their addiction problem in the hostels' treatment frameworks.

The PRA helps the detoxification programs' graduates and refers them to extra-community programs, such as hostels, Kibbutz, and shared housing with students, or community programs such as individual employment assistance by PRA co-ordinator.

The activities start in prison, from 6 to 3 months before the release from prison. 800 inmates (male and female) from all prisons have participated in workshops preparing for the release from prison. These workshops deal with the addiction by promoting the awareness to the drug problem and the possibility of recovering, by giving information and the opportunity to discuss the effects of drug use and possibilities of treatment. Inmates are given information about detoxification programs in the community and in extra-community frameworks. Inmates also receive individual therapy.

Following the release from prison the Authority operates **community** programs in the field of employment (such as assistance in finding a work position and keeping it), support groups, Prisoners' wives therapy groups, inmates' children programs, referring to residential hostels for inmates that are drug victims, kibbutzim, moshavim (rural settlements) and Yeshivas (religious institutions).

The PRA works as a mediator that helps the released inmate to find the most suitable therapy framework for him in the community. It works in co-operation with the community anti-drug unit. It participates in the diagnosis and job distribution committee according when needed. For example, the prisoner rehabilitation co-ordinator treats the family and takes care of the employment issues, while the one from the anti- drug unit takes care of the addiction problems on the individual and group levels. The co-operation between the anti-drug employees of the Social Services department and the PRA co-ordinator is of crucial importance.

Some inmates need a gradual transition from the life in prison to the return to the community. They might need to strengthen their self-confidence, fill in lacks, acquiring skills, employment evaluation, and vocational training, as well as treating personal and family problems. For them the PRA has developed the different residential hostels. The PRA operates 8 Residential Hostels that are intended for the rehabilitation of 80 released inmates (male and female) every year. The PRA also works in co-operation with 2 additional public hostels (a Hostel for Minorities and a Hostel for Religious Rehabilitation).

The hostels can be divided into 2 types -- Open and closed hostels:

The Sha'ar Hatikva Residential Hostel ("Gateway to Hope") - closed hostel.

This closed hostel is a 3 months program for released inmates that are drug victims. It is intended for 8 to 10 residents. During their stay in the Hostel, the residents are diagnosed, they receive an intensive individual treatment and group therapy daily, and participate in a NA support group. In the last month they undergo an employment evaluation in a rehabilitation centre. According to the prognosis they are referred to a continuing therapy in an open hostel, or to other continuation programs (see below).

Open Hostels (such as the Residential Hostel for 12 released inmates) that are intended for 8 to 10 residents who must work or participate at a vocational training during their stay in the Hostel. The afternoon and evening hours are intended for group and individual therapy. The residents join NA support groups.

In this category the PRA runs 4 hostels for male former inmates: in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Be'er Sheva and Haifa. In the same category of hostels are the Residential Hostel for Released Female Inmates, The Residential Hostel for Released Female Inmates With Their Children, The Residential Hostel for Minorities and a hostel for inmates who wish to undergo a religious rehabilitation.

Continuation Programs:

After the stay in the hostels, the residents are referred to continuation programs in Kibbutz, Shared Housing with University Students or other follow up programs in the community, that include mandatory urine tests and participation in a therapy group.

Employment: The inmates that are drug abuse victims have a history of not persevering at a steady working position, most of them lack a profession and working habits, they usually have little scholar education. With no appropriate solution in the employment field, any therapeutic investment might go down the drain. Therefore, the PRA has developed an employment program, and has appointed employment co-ordinators that work in prisons and in the community.

Leisure Hours: The PRA has developed in Jerusalem and Be'er Sheva innovative program in the field of the spare time. 50 released inmates participate in Jerusalem and 30 in Be'er Sheva. To fill the void created in their lives after the drug detoxification with a meaningful and a significant content, the programs are intended for released inmates who work. An intensive enrichment activities characterise the program, to expose them to the normative and cultural world.

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COMMUNITY AND REHABILITATION

The Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's Partnership with the Public and Other Agencies*

**Mr. Avraham Hoffmann,
Director General, Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, Israel.**

What right does the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) have to turn to the members of society, and ask that they absorb those who have offended and committed crimes against that society?

The Torah recognises that society is responsible for those of its members who have broken the law. As we see in the biblical story of an unknown person who was found dead outside a city, the city elders must declare: "Our hands have not shed this blood" (Deut.) Rashi, a well known biblical commentator asks: "could it possibly be that we suspect the wise men and elders of having shed the blood?" No. Rather, the continuation helps us understand - they must admit that their "eyes did not foresee" - they did not prepare a preventative system, they did not reach out and create a network of services for those in need.

The concept of the state's responsibility for prisoner rehabilitation appears also in the Midrash (story of the sages) about King David, in the book of Samuel. "And David carried out justice and charity for all his people." Our sages say that this means that David condemned the guilty and set the innocent free, and if the condemned had no money to pay the required fine, David paid it for him from the national budget. Thus, justice and charity come together.

We have a duty to open gates -- the gates to the hearts wanting to be rehabilitated, to believe that "there is no person who cannot be rehabilitate." It is a Jewish principle that society is responsible for its members, including offenders within that society. This responsibility is mutual -- as it is written: "All the Children of Israel are responsible for one another." The idea that an individual can change and must be given the right to repent, and start over again, is the basis of the creation of the world - it is written "repentance preceded Creation."

To fulfil this duty, the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) established the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) by law, in 1983, to treat any inmate who **voluntarily** turns to it for help. The Authority was created to put an end to negative attitudes and hopelessness, and to demonstrate our faith in rehabilitation, based on the struggler's ability to cope with the difficult uphill climb.

A supportive public opinion that accepts the right of the released inmate to rehabilitate is fundamental for obtaining the needed budgets and the acceptance of the community to reabsorb the inmate. One of the means to create this positive public opinion is achieved by the Authority's Council which is appointed by the President of the State of Israel, and which is composed of public figures, persons active in

* Presented at the International Corrections and Prison association (ICPA) conference, "Achieving our full Potential" held in Cape Town, South Africa, August 27-31, 2000.

institutions and voluntary organizations in the field of prisoner care, members of the academic institutions and of the Israel Criminological Society, representatives of the employees' organization, representatives of state ministries and authorities such as:

The Prison commissioner, Directors-General of the Ministries of Labor and Social affairs, the Interior and Construction and Housing. Representatives of the Minister of Education and Culture, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Justice. – This is to show the public importance of the PRA.

To promote the local support the Authority tries to found a local public association in each town, that is composed of public figures, professionals, and businessmen, who's members visit the inmates in prison and serve as a person they can turn to for help after their release. The authority also encourages and supports voluntary activities.

The released inmate's problems are multiple and complex, hence they require co-operation between the different authorities and services. Thus, the PRA's function is to effect co-ordination between government ministries, local authorities and other bodies as to subject connected to prisoner rehabilitation:

The police: The police's attitude has weighty importance in the released inmate's chances to rehabilitate. The PRA has attained a series of arrangements with the police to ease the released inmate's reintegration into society. Among the decisions are: Minimising police interrogations during the inmate's working hours; Its authorisation to receive police information about the involvement or non-involvement of an inmate in criminal activities; Explanatory activities among policemen and the involvement of law representatives in its activities such as seminars for social workers and inmates' pre-release courses.

The release committees: The release committee may release an inmates after he completes a two third (2/3) of his sentence according to the PRA's recommendation that are based upon the individual rehabilitation plan, called the "Personal Contract". Set with the inmate, the "personal contract" is a therapeutic contract that states the conditions. This program is meant to establish the procedures by which the release committee refers an inmate to the different rehabilitation programs and community services. According to the "Contract program" the PRA is committed and responsible for the application of the inmate's contract, and the inmate commits himself to participate after his release in a defined community therapeutic program. Only after the community prisoner rehabilitation counsellor, has given his consent, the Authority's director general has approved of the contract can the program becomes a part of the inmate's release conditions approved by the Release Committee.

The in-accomplishment of the Committee's decisions obliges the PRA, which supervises the program in the community, to report to the Release committee.¹

The ministry of Housing: The PRA has concluded an agreement with Ministry of Housing. The Ministry of Housing is giving a priority to inmates in the first year

¹ An inmates is referred to the program according to the following criteria:

- He is recommended by the social worker in the community, based also on the recommendation of the prison social worker. They have checked the inmate fits in and understands the nature and requirements of the program.
- The inmate has not been using drugs for at least 6 months, according to the Prison Services.
- The inmate shows motivation for therapy and rehabilitation.
- The inmate can attend meetings and interviews outside prison.
- He has a permanent housing.

following their release in case they have no housing arrangements but have joint a rehabilitation program. Each inmate receives 200 US\$. Up to date the Ministry has never refused to help an inmate the PRA has referred.

The employment service: As mentioned before, we have defined rehabilitation as integration into the law-abiding society. The absorption into the work world is one of the major assessments to the rehabilitation's success. Many efforts are made in the field of released inmates' rehabilitation, in their detoxification from drugs, in emotional therapy, and in family therapy, ***but without any solution in the employment field, any investment may be for nothing.*** A lack and failure in employment are one of the major factors for going back to prison. Therefore the PRA has developed an employment support program that enables to respond as soon as possible to the released inmates problems as a worker through therapy. In co-operation with the employment bureau released inmates participate in vocational training to better their chances of finding a suitable work position. They receive the assistance of a social worker that follows up the progress, intervenes when necessary, and helps finding work and keeping it.

The social therapy: In the past social workers had little awareness about the ways to deal with released inmates and therefore were afraid of them. Interpreting this fear as weakness, inmates did not accept the social workers as people that can help them.

To change this situation the PRA together with the social welfare agencies organised meetings to change attitudes among professionals, to offer guidance and assistance for acute problems. Seminars were organised for social workers. In many settlements a joint team is dealing with released inmates. The teams are composed of the different authorities and agencies' local representatives: The PRA, the Social Services Agency, the Employment Bureau, the National Insurance Institution, the Ministry of Housing, the Adult Probation Service, and the Police. These teams prepare a comprehensive and binding rehabilitation program for the released inmate that returns to his community. The fact that the program is agreed upon by all the concerned agencies and in co-ordination with the PRA, prevents manipulation by released inmates that in the past caused the programs to fail.

The Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) believes that rehabilitation of released inmates is possible only through a co-operation between the professionals and the public. **Why is it impossible to rehabilitate without the community?**

No matter how brilliant the therapy is, if the community is not ready to offer social help, does not accept to employ the inmates, or live near him, any effort of the professionals will be for nothing. At the same time, the volunteers lack the required professional knowledge without which he will most likely fail. Therefore, any rehabilitation of inmate must be composed of the joint efforts and co-ordination between the professional practitioner and the community. Hence the Authority developed programs for the rehabilitation of released inmates that engage the community:

- Students engagement in the rehabilitation of released inmates:
 - ❖ Students-inmates shared housing program – called also the 3-in-1 apartment, provides an effective answer to the need to rehabilitate former inmates in an urban environment and within a

normative setting, as well as the need for society at large to be a partner in the rehabilitation effort. This program's particularity lies in the fascinating meeting between the future elite of Israel and the world of delinquency. As far as we know this program is unique in its kind in the western world.

In this program, during a year or two, a young and single former inmate, male or female, lives in an apartment he shares with 2 university students.²

- ❖ The students also take part in a major program we call the "Triangular Program" intended for the inmate, his wife and children. Helping the family altogether and promoting the beneficial return of the inmates home after their release. When a parent is incarcerated, the child faces a period of great trauma. University students are paired up as "Big Brothers" or "Sisters" with a prisoner's child. Together they participate in social activities, have discussions, and form a bond. The student also accompanies the child on visits to the prison.³
- The Authority's Residential hostels – halfway houses - are situated in residential neighborhoods.
- Rehabilitation in rural settlements (Kibbutz).
After the kibbutz' general assembly accepts a released inmate he is adopted by one of the families of the kibbutz. He then takes part in the life of the Kibbutz, working according its rules.
- Religious rehabilitation in theological seminars. The released inmate, under the supervision of the rabbi, learns bible and is participating in all the programs of the seminar.
- ("Friendly employers"): as mentioned before an important condition for rehabilitation is employment. But many released inmates lack of stability in employment and have difficulties in accepting authority. They apprehend their superiors and co-workers' attitude and, feel they are perceived through stigma. Often the tension caused by the need to hide the past prevents the released inmate from persevering at work. Indeed, when an employer that ignores his employee's past criminal background discovers it, the released inmate often loses his job. Therefore, they come to work tense and burst for minor reasons. All of this makes it harder for them to become used to a steady work place. Therefore the PRA

² The main **objective** of the project is to rehabilitate young offenders and to promote their reintegration into society by ensuring that these offenders will not return to their former criminogenic environment during the traumatic period following their release from prison. The program is designed to enable the former inmate to adopt a normative lifestyle as the result of daily interaction with the former inmates' two other roommates. He gets the opportunity to form intensive, dynamic relationships with a normative population, from which he can receive support, encouragement, and peer role models who will help change his ways. He acquires proper work habits, and learns to manage a budget, do household chores, and live with others. At the same time, these students can help reduce the stigma and bring to society at large the message that rehabilitation is possible.

³ Through contact with a "Big Brother" or "Sister", the child's self-esteem is gradually returned. He now has a connection with a positive older figure and role model. In the student, he finds an outlet for his emotions, and a sympathetic ear for his problems. He is not alone. The student also bridges the gap between authority figure and friend. Together they engage in interesting activities, which the child would otherwise miss because the parent is busy or not aware of the need and importance of such activities. To date there are 450 student-child pairs.

employment co-ordinators work at finding “friendly employers” who are willing to employ released inmates and co-operate with the PRA employment co-ordinator. The awareness of the employer to his employee’s past and special needs is crucial. Mayors honor the employers in the city hall and offer them an appreciation diploma.

- The veterans – former released inmates that are successfully rehabilitated – that help newly released inmates, as a strengthening factor for the newly released inmates. Based on the theory of self-help group, this program helps also the veterans. One of the principles in treatment of the offender is that he cannot remain indifferent to the criminal world. Either he will be in it or he should be helping himself and others to get out of it. By helping someone else, his own rehabilitation is strengthened. Through this relationship both ex-convicts will be reinforced in their efforts to change their way of life and to maintain the new way.

Conclusion

Few will reach the top of the mountain. But, it should not be said that he who has not reached the top has not been rehabilitated. We define the rehabilitated person as the one who has chosen to follow the path toward rehabilitation. And, it should be recognised that not everyone has the power and the ability to achieve the same heights, and the jumping-off point of each person differs from that of his neighbour, although many others do not see it this way. A welcoming and supportive community will ensure that more released inmates will reach the top of the mountain.

**PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PROFESSIONALS AND THE PUBLIC
– A CONDITION FOR REHABILITATING RELEASED
PRISONERS**

(The Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's Experience)*

**Mr. Avraham Hoffmann,
Director General, Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, Israel.**

What right does the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) have to turn to the members of society, and ask that they absorb those who have offended and committed crimes against that society?

The Torah recognises that society is responsible for those of its members who have broken the law. As we see in the biblical story of an unknown person who was found dead outside a city, the city elders must declare: "Our hands have not shed this blood" (Deut.) Rashi, a well known biblical commentator asks: "could it possibly be that we suspect the wise men and elders of having shed the blood?" No. Rather, the continuation helps us understand - they must admit that their "eyes did not foresee" - they did not prepare a preventative system, they did not reach out and create a network of services for those in need.

The concept of the state's responsibility for prisoner rehabilitation appears also in the Midrash (story of the sages) about King David, in the book of Samuel. "And David carried out justice and charity for all his people." Our sages say that this means that David condemned the guilty and set the innocent free, and if the condemned had no money to pay the required fine, David paid it for him from the national budget. Thus, justice and charity come together.

We have a duty to open gates -- the gates to the hearts wanting to be rehabilitated, to believe that "there is no person who cannot be rehabilitated." It is a Jewish principle that society is responsible for its members, including offenders within that society. This

* Presented at the International Corrections and Prison association (ICPA) conference, "Par+nership: Expanding our Network + Horizons" held in Perth, Australia, October 28 –November 2, 2001.

responsibility is mutual -- as it is written: "All the Children of Israel are responsible for one another." The idea that an individual can change and must be given the right to repent, and start over again, is the basis of the creation of the world - it is written "repentance preceded Creation."

To fulfil this duty, the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) established the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) by law, in 1983, to treat any inmate who voluntarily turns to it for help. The Authority was created to put an end to negative attitudes and hopelessness, and to demonstrate our faith in rehabilitation, based on the struggler's ability to cope with the difficult uphill climb.

A supportive public opinion that accepts the right of the released inmate to rehabilitate is fundamental for obtaining the needed budgets and the community's acceptance to reabsorb the inmate. Hence, the Authority promotes local support by supporting voluntary activities and founding local public associations for released inmates that are composed of public figures. The Authority works together with the mayors. Without their help we could not succeed.

The released inmate's problems are multiple and complex, hence they require co-operation between the different authorities and services. Thus, the PRA's function is to effect co-ordination between government ministries, local authorities and other bodies as to subject connected to prisoner rehabilitation: the co-operation is based upon the creation of a bridge from the prison to the community and preparation of the community for reabsorbing the released inmate. Hence the Knesset – Israeli parliament - has recently legislated a new law.

The new law offers a more advanced legal status to the release committee and empowers the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority [according to article 9.8] to give its recommendation about the early release of inmates. This recommendation is weightier the smaller the portion of incarceration the inmate has already completed. The PRA's recommendation may be of 3 types:

1. A recommendation for an inmate's rehabilitation program, the possibilities of his integration into a steady job or therapeutic program, including the degree of supervision needed.

2. A recommendation stating that the inmate does not need a rehabilitation program and does not show patterns of delinquent behaviour.
3. A recommendation that the inmate is not fit for rehabilitation.

To do so the Authority has drawn a flowchart that describes the passage of the inmate from prison back to the community, which prepares him for the release committee as well as the community. Already in an advanced stage of his incarceration he is allowed to prepare his rehabilitation process.

The release committees: The release committee may release an inmates after he completes a two third (2/3) of his sentence according to the PRA's above recommendations that are based upon an individual rehabilitation plan, called the "Personal Contract". Set with the inmate, the "personal contract" is a therapeutic contract that states the conditions. This program is meant to establish the procedures by which the release committee refers an inmate to the different rehabilitation programs and community services. According to the "Contract's" program the PRA is committed and responsible for the application of the inmate's contract, and the inmate commits himself to participate after his release in a defined community therapeutic program. Only after the community prisoner rehabilitation counsellor, has given his consent, the Authority's Director General has approved of the contract can the program becomes a part of the inmate's release conditions approved by the Release Committee.

The in-accomplishment of the Committee's decisions obliges the PRA, which is supervising the program in the community, to report to the Release committee.⁴

The ministry of Housing: Ministry of Housing, following an agreement with the PRA, gives inmates that have no housing, a housing support during the first year following their release.

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- He is recommended by the social worker in the community, based also on the recommendation of the prison social worker. They have checked the inmate fits in and understands the nature and requirements of the program.
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The employment service: As mentioned before, we have defined rehabilitation as integration into the law-abiding society. The absorption into the work world is one of the major assessments to the rehabilitation's success. Many efforts are made in the field of released inmates' rehabilitation, in their detoxification from drugs, in emotional therapy, and in family therapy, *but without any solution in the employment field, any investment may be for nothing*. A lack and failure in employment are one of the major factors for going back to prison. Therefore the PRA has developed an employment support program that enables to respond as soon as possible to the released inmates problems as a worker through therapy. In co-operation with the employment bureau released inmates participate in vocational training to better their chances of finding a suitable work position. They receive the assistance of a social worker that follows up the progress, intervenes when necessary, and helps finding work and keeping it. Once a year the ex-convicts that persevered at work for a year receive a diploma from the mayor of the town they live in to strengthen and encourage them in their first steps toward rehabilitation.

The social therapy: In the past social workers had little awareness about the ways to deal with released inmates and therefore were afraid of them. Interpreting this fear as weakness, inmates did not accept the social workers as people that can help them.

To change this situation the PRA together with the social welfare agencies organised meetings to change attitudes among professionals, to offer guidance and assistance for acute problems. Seminars were organised for social workers. In many settlements a joint team is dealing with released inmates. In local authorities where there are more than 60 residents incarcerated, there is a special prisoner rehabilitation coordinator in charge of absorbing the released inmates into the community.

The Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) believes that rehabilitation of released inmates is possible only through a co-operation between the professionals and the public. Why is it impossible to rehabilitate without the community?

No matter how brilliant the therapy is, if the community is not ready to offer social help, does not accept to employ the inmates, or live near him, any effort of the professionals will be for nothing. At the same time, the volunteers lack the required professional knowledge without which he will most likely fail. Therefore, any

rehabilitation of inmate must be composed of the joint efforts and co-ordination between the professional practitioner and the community. Hence the Authority developed programs for the rehabilitation of released inmates that engage the community:

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 - ❖ Students-inmates shared housing program – called also the 3-in-1 apartment, provides an effective answer to the need to rehabilitate former inmates in an urban environment and within a normative setting, as well as the need for society at large to be a partner in the rehabilitation effort. This program's particularity lies in the fascinating meeting between the future elite of Israel and the world of delinquency. As far as we know this program is unique in its kind in the western world.

In this program, during a year or two, a young and single former inmate, male or female, lives in an apartment he shares with 2 university students.

- ❖ The students also take part in a major program we call the “Triangular Program” intended for the inmate, his wife and children. Helping the family altogether and promoting the beneficial return of the inmates home after their release.
 - ❖ The Authority's Residential hostels – halfway houses - are situated in residential neighbourhood. They serve as a transition period, between the prison and the return to community, and an opportunity to acquire the lacking working habits, and social skills. It provides them with the opportunity of disconnecting from the criminal environment, and to increase their self-confidence, as they experience tasks that require independence, initiative and responsibility. At the same time they participate in an intensive mental “detoxification” therapy with the drug addict. Working is compulsory.
- Rehabilitation in rural settlements (Kibbutz). The released is adopted by one of the families of the kibbutz. He then takes part in the life of the Kibbutz, working according its rules.
 - Religious rehabilitation in theological seminars. The released inmate, under the supervision of the rabbi, learns bible and is participating in all the programs of the seminar.

- (“Friendly employers”): as mentioned before an important condition for rehabilitation is employment. But many released inmates lack stability in employment and have difficulties in accepting authority. Therefore the PRA employment co-ordinators work at finding “friendly employers” who are willing to employ released inmates and co-operate with the PRA employment co-ordinator.

- The veterans – former released inmates that are successfully rehabilitated – that help newly released inmates, as a strengthening factor for the newly released inmates. Based on the theory of self-help group, this program helps also the veterans. By helping someone else, his own rehabilitation is strengthened.

Statistics

In all our special programs I have mentioned, after 5 years we have achieved that only 20% have returned to prison. It6 proves that the investment was not in vain.

Conclusion

Few will reach the top of the mountain. But, it should not be said that he who has not reached the top has not been rehabilitated. We define the rehabilitated person as the one who has chosen to follow the path toward rehabilitation. And, it should be recognised that not everyone has the power and the ability to achieve the same heights, and the jumping-off point of each person differs from that of his neighbour, although many others do not see it this way. A welcoming and supportive community will ensure that more released inmates will reach the top of the mountain.

Preparing the Inmate toward His Release - and Preparing the Community to Reintegrate him: The Israeli Experience

Mr. Avraham Hoffmann, Director General,
Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA), Jerusalem, Israel.

The Incarcerated Inmate's Characteristics

The passage from the unrestricted life style to the features of life behind bars obviously involves a process of adaptation to the incarceration shock. The inmate becomes an anonymous personage belonging to a downcast group. He develops new manners to eat, sleep and work. Some of the inmates develop additional adaptation methods, such as gambling, homosexual behaviour and drug abuse. Many of them develop hostility toward the institution employees and their fellow inmates. The most extreme aspect of this process may express by passiveness, apathy, indifference and lack of response to degrading and hard attitude.

This adaptation to demands of the imprisonment may harden or even prevent the acclimatisation of the released inmate to the world outside prison. Martin Webster (1971) found out that released inmates are characterised by:

1. A lack of planning for long range and an emphasis on immediate needs;
2. A difficulty in accepting authority, although they had no choice but to follow orders in prison; and maybe this difficulty should be viewed as a rebellion against the prison conditions.
3. A weak capability to withstand frustration and pressures, even the least ones.
4. A will to show manhood and to solve problems in an independent manner. This is caused precisely by their vulnerability and need for help. The need to hide their weaknesses prevents them from acknowledging their weakness, and consequently from seeking and receiving adequate assistance.
5. A suspicion toward professionals, a fear of being rejected and distrust of the establishment.

In addition to the freedom deprivation, the society supports a long and severe additional punishment that is unofficial and maybe contrary to the law's spirit. It expresses by social banning and constant suspicions toward the criminal. Some researcher have described this attitude – stigma – as the main factor for the released inmate's return to the crime world and hence to prison. The social convention, according to which the inmate will eventually revert to his evil ways, is preventing the inmate from reintegrating into society.

What is rehabilitation?

The released inmate's will to abandon his previous life style and integrate into the law-abiding society is not enough to ensure a success. Society must help the released inmate who wishes to do so by softening the difficulties of the passage from one life style to another one, and by fighting against his criminal stigma.

In the research community as among the society at large, there are two opposing views concerning the need for rehabilitation and the chances for its success. The pessimistic view claims that: once a criminal always a criminal, and so why work hard at trying to rehabilitate them. The positive view, sometimes even too optimistic, on the other hand, maintains that any prisoner may be rehabilitated. This view's disciples propose to shorten the incarceration period.

Both theories misuse the expression "inmate's rehabilitation". The first assumes that rehabilitation is a perfect process' and that a criminal that does not complete it cannot be perceived as being rehabilitated. The other theory assumes that any offender may complete successfully the process. The reality shows that rehabilitation is a perpetual process in which the participant pits himself against himself and others. A judgement that uses absolute criteria to measure their success might miss the goal and promote an unbearable feeling of failure, both among the inmates and their practitioners. The Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) was founded to stop this theory and to promote the belief that rehabilitation is possible, from a realistic perception of the inmates' ability to do so.

The first failures in the released inmates' trials to get rehabilitated may be critical, because they serve him as a proof he has no chance of rehabilitating. In contrast to the difficulties of the rehabilitation, adventures, easy money and his criminal friends' admiration seem to him attractive, a compensation to his failure. They seem to strengthen his self-esteem. Researches made in the United States have indicated that the highest rate of failure is found in the six months following the release from prison (most of which concentrate in the very first months).

Many researches have studied the possible variables that influence the return of released inmates to crime and consequently to prison. In spite of that there is still a difficulty in evaluating the "success" or "return to the right path" of offenders. This difficulty is caused by the difficulty to define delinquency since it is a complex phenomenon of the human behaviour.

What do inmates worry about?

When the PRA was funded, we conducted a surveyed with 148 inmates to enable us to plan the methods and procedures that will prepare the inmate toward his release. We wanted to learn from them about the main problems that worry them and that dealing with may have consequent and positive implications on their chances to rehabilitated (The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, 1986). The survey's main findings were:

1. The employment difficulties preoccupy them more than any other problem (71% of the inmates).
2. Although 75% have no vocation or vocation certificate, only 8% have participated in a vocational training course in prison. 36% have expressed their will to study a vocation in prison, and 62% have expressed this wish to do so after their release. 59% of the questioned had primary education or lower.
3. 41% of the inmates have debts that might cause them to go back to crime after their release.

4. 7% of the questioned are homeless; 69% want to change their housing and, 58% of them are demanding to do so due to the criminal environment their present home is located in. It should be noted that the housing issue stands as the second important among the problems that bother them.
5. 55% of the responders have mentioned problems with their parents at different degrees of severity; 20% have mentioned problems with their wives and 29% with their children.

Preparing an individual rehabilitation plan in co-ordination with the Prison Services

There should be a distinction between the rehabilitation activities done in prison and under the prison services' control, and the activities of the PRA directed toward the life outside prison. During the period preceding their release the inmates are anxious and confused in regard to their future. It seems that these characteristics of their situation may increase their willingness to co-operate in planning an individual rehabilitation program. For these two reasons – the willingness to participate in a rehabilitation program and the PRA's presence as representative of the "outside" world – the PRA starts working in prison 90 days before the inmate's released. This is also a condition required to the realisation of programs that necessitate an early preparation and it also enables the examination of alternative rehabilitation programs, if the chosen one is found to be inapplicable.

This individual rehabilitation plan is called the "Contact program" – which is a therapeutic contract that states its conditions. The Authority's law (1983) stipulates that the PRA will set the rules for the rehabilitation of inmates. The PRA has formulated regulations to the operation of the "Contact program" – therapeutic contract. This program is meant to establish the procedures by which the parole committee refers an inmate to the different rehabilitation programs and community services.

According to the "Contact" program the PRA is committed and responsible for the application of the inmate's therapeutic contract. The contract in which he committed himself to participate in a community defined therapeutic program after his release. This program is approved after three conditions are fulfilled:

- a. The community prisoner rehabilitation counsellor, with whom the inmate has signed his therapeutic contract, has given his consent.
- b. The PRA's director general has approved of the contract.
- c. The program becomes a part of the inmate's parole conditions approved by the Parole Committee.

The in-accomplishment of the Committee's decisions obliges the PRA to report to the Parole committee. The "contact" is a program supervised by the PRA in the community, therefore its operation requires a clear and defined procedure. The program is adapted to a well-defined and particular population. The "contact" period will amount to a maximum of one year from the release.

An inmate is referred to the program according to the following criteria:

- a. He is recommended by the social worker in the community, based also on the recommendation of the prison social worker. They have checked the inmate fits in and understands the nature and requirements of the program.
- b. The inmate has not been using drugs for at least 6 months, according to the Prison Services.
- c. The inmate shows motivation for therapy and rehabilitation.

- d. The inmate can attend meetings and interviews outside prison.
- e. He has a permanent housing.

The principal role of preparing the individual rehabilitation plan is assigned to the social workers in prison and to the PRA regional counsellors. They have received professional training to diagnose and treat inmates' problems. Among the activities that can help planning a rehabilitation program are:

1. Searching and gathering all the information concerning the inmate to produce an accurate image of his situation in prison.

The information sources may be the following ones: The prison education officer that deals with the completion of education and participation in cultural and leisure activities; Security forces in charge of supervising drug abuse (by conducting urine tests) and criminal society; The employment co-ordinators in charge of vocational training and teaching working habits; physician, psychologist, and psychiatrist.

2. Checking the willingness of the inmate toward the future:

Among the parameters checked are:

- a) The inmate's willingness to participate in a rehabilitation program.
- b) The inmate's inner strength to cope with pressures and crises in the process of accomplishing his rehabilitation program.
- c) The inmate's will to break his contacts with the delinquent world by changing his housing environment in an extra-community programs (residential hostels, shared housing with university students, etc.)
- d) The inmate's will to create contacts with a volunteer therapy agent.

3. Preparing the individual rehabilitation plan – "Contact" therapy contract:

- a) The program will be set upon the detection of supporting agents for the inmate's family in the community, in therapy services and among volunteers.
- b) Referral to employment, studying, or vocational training.

4. Assistance in specific problems:

- a) Accelerating judicial procedures of open trials by the PRA's counsellors.
- b) Assistance in settling debts (fines, lawyers' fees, alimonies, housing, debts to friends).
- c) Assistance in tattoos removing.
- d) Assistance in arranging identification card.

5. Guidance of the prisoner and his family:

- a) Guidance as to the ways to make an effective use of community services,
- b) Giving information about in-community and extra-community rehabilitation programs.

6. Assistance in developing special projects in the community:

- a) Signing up the inmate on the "referral of the inmate's family" form for treatment in the different social services, as soon as the inmate is incarcerated.
- b) Integrating the inmate in groups' projects for his wife and children and organising specific programs for inmates' wives and children in the community.
- c) Signing up the inmate on the "referral to the PRA form", in order to prepare a community or extra-community "contact" program.

Subject to be dealt with in rehabilitation plans

The PRA in co-operation with the prison services have raised 21 domains to be used in the preparation of an individual's rehabilitation plan. Among them were: The contact with the local social welfare agency and the National Insurance Institute; The inmate's savings from his work in prison; Employment diagnosis by the PRA employment coordinator and the employment bureau; Housing issues; Education; Health and mental health; Drug and alcohol detoxification; Debts; Alimony; Open police dossier; Divorce process; Etc.

Following are detailed descriptions of special actions taken in some of these fields to improve the process of preparing the inmate toward his release.

Employment

As mentioned before, we have defined rehabilitation as integration into the law-abiding society. The absorption into the work world is one of the major assessments to the rehabilitation's success.

Dr. Ariella Levenstein (1980) found that the more a released inmate has professional skills, the better are his chances to reabsorb into society. She also found out that 40% of the released inmates are non-professional workers. In the same context it is worth mentioning the major findings of the 1985 inmates' survey:

1. Only 48% of the questioned worked for a substantial period of more than a year before their incarceration. 10% did not work ever.
2. Only 25% have defined themselves as professionals with a vocational certificate. 40% lack any vocation.
3. 60% were employed in factories within and outside prison, or have joint a vocational training course.
4. 33% expressed their willingness to integrate any work position.

Released inmates have a history of failures in normative environment and a lack of perseverance at work. 75% of them have no vocational training, and lack working habits. Most of them have even no elementary education, and have a history of drug abuse, a lack of stability in employment as well as difficulties in accepting authority. They apprehend their superiors and co-workers' attitude and, feel they are perceived through stigma. Therefore, they come to work tense and burst for minor reasons. All of this makes it harder for them to become used to a steady work place.

Many efforts are made in the field of released inmates' rehabilitation, in their detoxification from drugs, in emotional therapy, and in family therapy, **but without any solution in the employment field, any investment may be for nothing.** A lack and failure in employment are one of the major factors for going back to prison. Some of the released inmates have succeeded in drug detoxification, but difficulties and pressures due to their employment, or emptiness caused by their unemployment (such as poverty), bring despair which facilitates the way back to drugs.

Namely, the employment rehabilitation is a crucial and complementary vertebra in the inmates' rehabilitation. A survey conducted by the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) showed that the more the inmate acquires working habits, while being accompanied by a person in the process following his release, the better are his chances of being **reabsorbed into society.**

Therefore the PRA has developed an employment assistance program. The program consists of helping the inmate in finding a job and keeping it. He will be able to attend a

vocational training to better his chances of finding a suitable work position. The PRA employment co-ordinator works at finding “friendly employers” who are willing to employ released inmates. He keeps in touch with the employers and employees (released inmates). He organises an employment support group for released inmates. To allow the released inmate to fit in his working place socially and culturally, the PRA operates clubs for the leisure hours for released inmates who work. In these clubs the participants receive enrichment, and that through lectures on different subjects (such as current political and social issues), they attend theatre plays, movies and different social activities.

Housing

The PRA has concluded an agreement with Ministry of Housing. The Ministry of Housing is giving a priority to inmates in the first year following their release in case they have no housing arrangements but have joint a rehabilitation program. Each inmate receives 150 US\$. Up to date the Ministry has never refused to help an inmate the PRA has referred.

Social therapy

Levenstein (1980) found that most of the released inmates were dissatisfied with the therapy in the community services. Some of them explained they had indeed turned to receive help from the community services but stayed in touch only for a short period.

In the past the representatives of the social services had little awareness about the ways to deal with a released inmate. The social workers feared the inmates because of their image as dangerous persons. The inmates interpreted this fear as a weakness. As a result, they did not accept the social workers as people that can help them.

To change this situation the PRA together with the social welfare agencies have had meeting to change attitudes among professionals, to give guidance and assistance for acute problems. This was done to make the agencies open their doors to released inmates. In addition seminars were given to social workers. In some of the seminars released inmates and their wives were present to promote the social workers awareness. In many settlements a joint team is dealing with released inmates. The teams are composed of the different authorities and agencies' local representatives: The PRA, the Social Services Agency, the Employment Bureau, the National Insurance Institution, the Ministry of Housing, the Adult Probation Service, and the Police. These teams prepare a comprehensive and binding rehabilitation program for the released inmate that returns to his community. The fact that the program is agreed upon by all the concerned agencies and in co-ordination with the PRA prevents manipulation of the released inmate. In the past these manipulations have caused the programs to fail. In many settlements the PRA operates voluntary associations who's members visit the inmates in prison and serve as a person they can turn to for help after their release.

Police

The police's attitude has weighty importance in the released inmate's chances to rehabilitate. The PRA has attained a series of arrangements with the police to ease the released inmate's reintegration into society. Among the decisions are: Minimising police interrogations during the inmate's working hours; The PRA's authorisation to receive police information about the involvement or non-involvement of an inmate in criminal activities; The PRA's explanatory activities among policemen and the involvement of law representatives in the PRA's activities such as seminars for social workers and inmates' pre-release courses.

Tattoo removing

Tattoos are an obstacle for released inmates when they contact employers. Often it has prevented them from being employed. Although apparently this is a merely cosmetic issue, which has no medical significance, with time the awareness to the psychological aspect of tattoo has risen. Many professionals today agree that removing a tattoo may be a major component in one's rehabilitation. It seems that the inmate's willingness to remove his tattoo signifies leaving the criminals' "professional union". It is important to note that inmates that have removed their tattoo during their incarceration have encountered hostility from their fellow inmates.

The Special Prisoner Rehabilitation Programs and the Individual Rehabilitation Plan

During the inmate's incarceration the prison staff may use a range of rewards and sanctions to help the inmate better his ways. When the inmate leaves prison, he must be surround by a range of regulations to help him control his ways, despite the freedom or precisely because of it. The PRA has developed two fundamental ways to rehabilitate released inmates:

The first way is the inmates' return to the community: This way includes many risks of going back to crime, while at the same time it has the advantage of going back to living with his family a real life.

The second way is intended for inmates that would fail should they choose to return to the community: We remove them from their natural community by a range of solutions:

1. Rehabilitation in Kibbutz and Moshavim – Rural agricultural co-operative settlements, where the inmate is adopted by a family.
2. Religious theological rehabilitation in Yeshivot.
3. The 3-in-1 Apartment Program: The student-prisoner shared housing program⁵.
4. Residential Hostels: including 5 hostels for released male inmates, the Hostel for released Female Inmates, the Hostel for released Female Inmates with Their Children, and a Hostel for Former Prisoners Who are Family Men and the Hostel for Former prisoners Who Where Incarcerated for Violent Behaviour toward Their Families⁶.

⁵ You can find a detailed description of the Program and a research about it in my article:

"The Three-In-One Apartment: Israeli Student-Prisoner Shared Housing Program," *The Correctional Psychologist*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1998): 1-9

⁶ For descriptions of the different hostels see my article based on my lecture at the Fifth North American Conference on The Family and Corrections (Bethesda, Maryland):

Avraham Hoffman, "Israel's Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority: Programs for the Families," *Family & Corrections Network Report*, Issue 19: 12-18.

Courses in Prison Preparing the Inmates Towards their Release

As aforementioned, only a sufficient preparation that offers the released inmate a minimum reply to his anxieties and the problems he foresees may diminish the trauma caused by the passage from a prisoner's status to the citizen's status. The course has 4 goals:

1. Giving the inmate an opportunity to express the expectations and anxieties he has upon his release.
2. Bridging between the life inside and outside prison. By providing information about the services and institutions available to released inmates and to citizens in general. This information is intended to provide the inmate with a realistic basis.
3. Introducing the inmates to the establishment. The purpose is on the one hand to create a deeper understanding of the inmates, to abolish the stigma ascribed to inmates by the establishment employees, and on the other hand to increase the inmates self assurance in their future meeting with the establishment.
4. Creating an additional tool to help the PRA's counsellors to prepare the inmate psychologically towards his release. This is done in parallel to planning the individual rehabilitation program.

Government officials, Judges, industrialists and public figures participate in these courses voluntarily. Besides these general preparation courses, it is worth mentioning there are courses aimed at specific aspects, such as the Course for Married Men.

Voluntary Activities

There is an extensive literature dealing with volunteering in general and with volunteering with released inmates. Martin Webster (1971) found that one of the main motivation the released inmate has that encourages him not to go back to prison were his personal contacts. That is, a commitment toward a close person that presents for him a symbol of good will from the law-abiding society. When this assistance is offered voluntarily, the inmate perceives it as a personal commitment no to become entangled with law, much more then with help given to him by the establishment because of his legal rights.

Blackman and Goldstein (1986) presume that reciprocal relations with friends in the normative community may reduce the released inmate's recurrence to professional personnel when they are in crisis. Moreover, since inmates are often suspicious toward the establishment and the professional employees, expecting to be rejected by them, volunteers may serve as intermediary between the released inmate and the professionals. Hence create confidence in community services.

According to Stein (1970) volunteers may contribute to raise the public's awareness and interest to the released inmates' problems. Volunteering may be perceived as the public's readiness to tolerate and accept the released inmate. Schwartz (1971) refers to the first period following the release as an intervention into crisis. The practical help and emotional support in this period have a major importance. Hence the volunteer has a significant role.

In light of the aforementioned, the PRA has granted chief importance to pairing volunteers to released inmates. The Authority perceives it as one of the most effective ways of accompanying the inmate in the critical period of returning to the community. Indeed this belief is stated in the PRA's law.

The innovation of the PRA's volunteer program is not the volunteering itself, which of course existed prior to this project, but rather the forming of an obligatory professionally oriented framework for the volunteer's activities. Each volunteer is carefully chosen and must undergo an intensive and comprehensive training program, including meetings with the social workers. The volunteer is matched with an inmate 90 days prior to release and meetings take place in co-operation with the prison social worker. To ensure continuation of the relationship, the volunteer must be from the same community as the inmate.

Conclusions

After 15 years of activities, we may assert that the rehabilitation of the released inmate is not only the professional's affair. Only the combination of public figures, businessmen and volunteers with the professionals' activities will ensure a rehabilitation process.

We have no power to rehabilitate inmates. Rather we have the power to create possible ways for the rehabilitation of the inmate who chooses to rehabilitate. We may even say that: with a comprehensive social effort we have the ability to remove obstacles from the inmates process toward rehabilitation. The creation of social openness, and public awareness that perceives the rehabilitation of the released inmate as a prospective possibility, strengthen the inmate's readiness to choose the rehabilitation path and abandon the belief that "no matter what I do, I will always be an offender in the public eyes." The deepening of this public awareness creates an appropriate foundation for the professional to accomplish his function with social consent.

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EMPLOYMENT AND REHABILITATION

[These articles, pages 40 – 46, are not available in this set of materials]

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INMATES' FAMILIES

“Israel’s Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority - Programs for the Families”*

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Preface: The PRA and its Philosophy

First let me tell you a few words about the PRA:

The Israeli PRA was founded in 1984. It is a state entity, and it is mandated by law to deal with all inmates: male and female, Arab and Jewish, married and single. Participation is voluntary. The PRA offers all inmates an equal chance. By developing programs to fulfil the special needs of different groups of prisoners, we give them the best chance to a successful rehabilitation.

We believe rehabilitation is not a condition achieved after completing a process, but the start of a struggle, with no end and no limits. It says in Genesis (32:24): “And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day.” This is the most wonderful description of the rehabilitation process! It may be said that **rehabilitation is a perpetual struggle** in which man stands alone in a struggle with himself and with someone else until the breaking of the day (the dawn). And this dawn can be distant, depending from which point in time the struggle began. For those who believe, the feeling is that there is no person who cannot be rehabilitated, and the PRA believes that everyone has a right to a second chance.

We have a duty to open gates - the gates to the hearts wanting to be rehabilitated, to believe that “there is no person who cannot be rehabilitated.” Nevertheless, it should be recognised that not everyone has the power and the ability to achieve the same heights, and that the jumping-off point of each person differs from that of his neighbour. For this reason, the measurement of rehabilitation from a solely statistical standpoint implies reducing the value of a human being to an insignificant number. In spite of this conception, and maybe by virtue of this belief, 81% of the inmates that joint the PRA’s programs were successfully rehabilitated - they do not use drugs or commit crimes - as opposed to 30% among those that did not participate in rehabilitation programs.

The PRA’s activities begin in jail, from 6 to 3 months before the inmate is released. In case of a married male inmate with children, the PRA becomes involved with the spouse and child almost immediately upon incarceration. After the release from prison the PRA offers a range of programs to suit the different populations of inmates and their needs.

* Presentation at the Fifth North American Conference on the Family and Corrections, at the Nacher Conference Center, National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, September 1998.

all of these issues they had formulated generalisations about the inmates' children, and had not dealt with them as an independent issue.

The different views can be divided into 2 main perceptions: The **intrinsic** focus that sees these children as a high-risk group that requires a specific attention. The **extrinsic** focus that views these children as a population that can enhance the inmate's rehabilitation.

I propose as conclusion the **combined** approach: *The "Triangular program"* developed by the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority in 1986. This program is based on the association of these two trends, and rejects a one-sided view. It emphasises the importance of saving the child and preventing him from behavioural digression, and acknowledges the importance of the mother to the child's development. Therefore the children are tutored by college students, while the mothers participate in support groups, and the fathers in rehabilitation programs in prison. Strengthening the fathers-children and inmates-spouses bond is crucial to the inmate's return home and successful rehabilitation.

The strengthening of the relationship between the inmate and his family, has been found to be an important factor in the rehabilitation process. (In a research of Dr. Levenstein, 1980). A third of the inmates who return to prison, have pointed out that the reason for their re-incarceration, was their failure to reunite with their close family, that provoked their despair and unwillingness to become rehabilitated.

The inmate is in a trap, that provokes a decline in his social position, and sometimes even in the destruction of his family status. In another research, conducted by the PRA, among inmates before their release from prison, 70 % have expressed their concern as to how their children will accept them. Both researches show the crucial importance of the spouse in the inmate's rehabilitation.

The *"Triangular Program"* is a holistic treatment for the prisoner and his family which is set up as follows:

1. The prisoner: undergoes a parenting program (pre and post release);
2. The wife: attends a self-help group; together with her husband-inmate she attends a family counselling;
3. The child: participates in the *"Big Brothers" program*;

I will present you now the three angles of the *Triangular Program* separately, starting with the Children:

The Children

As I aforementioned, the child is the "hidden" victim of the father's sins, and we should therefore ensure that if the father has eaten sour grapes the children's teeth wont set on edge. The children should not be punished for their father's sins.

The child loves his father. - How can he not love his way?

The child senses his mother's weakness. - How can he not take advantage of it?

He feels betrayed and chased by his schoolmates. - How can we expect him not to escape to the streets and crime?

When a parent is incarcerated, the child faces a period of great trauma. He must deal with the embarrassment and stigma of being told his father is a "crook". There is even more tension in what most likely was a dysfunctional or abusive household to begin with. If the father was the breadwinner, the family may face impoverishment. The

mother as a single parent may not have the time or emotional energy to deal adequately with the child's needs.

As a result, emotions are bottled up, the child's self-esteem plummets and school attendance and performance may suffer. The child may become withdrawn, depressed, or violent. All too often, he himself may perpetuate a cycle of drug abuse and crime begun by his father.

In 1987, recognising the need to help these children, the PRA began the "**Big Brothers**" for Prisoners' Children Program in Jerusalem and Be'er Sheva. At that time, 33 children participated. This year, there are 450 children participating in the project, in cities throughout Israel.

The program consists of University students that are paired up as "Big Brothers" or "Sisters" with a prisoner's child (between 5 and 14 years old). Together they participate in social activities, have discussions, and form a bond. Approximately once a month, the student accompanies the child to visit his incarcerated parent. In each region a social event takes place in the end of the school year in order to celebrate the end of the program.

Through contact with a "Big Brother" or "Sister", the child's self-esteem is gradually returned. He now has a connection with a positive older figure and role model. In the student, he finds an outlet for his emotions, and a sympathetic ear for his problems. He is not alone. The student also bridges the gap between authority figure and friend by fulfilling both roles for the child. Together they engage in interesting activities, which the child would otherwise miss because the parent is busy or not aware of the need and importance of such activities. The visits to prison are made a regular activity. They are now less frightening, and there is often less tension when the student is there.

Early on in the project's history, it became evident that an unanticipated by-product of the program was the positive effect, which it was having on the incarcerated parent. The father's behaviour in prison improved. His self-esteem as a parent was strengthened. He became more involved in the child's welfare. Moreover, his participation in the project established a connection between him and the PRA, and often led to the prisoner participation in other PRA projects, or remaining in contact with the PRA advisor.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the student plays an important role also for the prisoner's spouse. She is less tense, knowing that a responsible adult is involved in the child's life. For those parents who are estranged from the incarcerated parent, knowing someone else will accompany the child to the prison, is a relief. In addition, very often the student, with advice from his supervisors, can recommend to the mother various social services' programs, and other forms of help, of which she may not be aware.

In short, while the student's function is **not** to be a social worker, he is in a non-threatening position, and can be a "**bridge**" or connection between the family and society.

The main difficulty is in ensuring the children's role after their father's release from prison. Behavioural problems, nightmares, bed-wetting problems, and apprehension of the dark have been observed among young children. Delinquency and neglect are endangering these children, and especially the acquaintance with the street gangs. Often the children are going through an emotional crisis due to their father's incarceration. It often expresses through violent behaviour or schooling problems.

The "**Big Brothers**" program would be incomplete if the mothers did not have their own support program:

The Wives

Most of the mothers are, indeed not criminals, but coming from marginal groups. In many cases, due to family pressures, an immature love or an unplanned pregnancy becomes a marriage.

Apart from the problems the inmates suffer from, during incarceration and after, their wives and children have many difficulties dealing with the new situation, emotionally and concretely. The inmate's wife is exposed to many pressures during her husband's incarceration. The creditors are coming to her to collect the debts her husband has left. The lawyers demand their wages. From a personality in the "shade", she becomes overnight the central pivot of her family. She must be a mother and a father to her children.

Her husband pressures her to keep in contact with him. In this respect, the expression used to describe these women as single-parents is inappropriate, since the inmate tries to continue to rule his family by remote control. And in fact, in every decision she makes her husband participates, either practically or in her thoughts.

As if the situation was not hard enough for her to deal with, she is exposed to the criticism of her own family, that is, her parents, brothers and sisters. They claim that they have warn her from marrying this man. She is also exposed to her husband's family criticism. They blame her for not taking good care of him, and not preventing him from doing wrong and getting caught. If she belongs to the middle class, she will most probably be rejected also by her own friends.

The financial situation of the family worsens. The family used to live on the fruits of sins and thefts of the husband. The wife did not have a vocation or work habits. From the detention and through the incarceration the inmate's wife undergoes tremendous changes in her life style. She finds herself in a new and stressful situation:

- ◆ She has to take care of the children and the household on her own. Very often her own family and husband's family are refusing any contact.
- ◆ She has to struggle for the family income - in the absence of the main and most often the only wage earner. She has to manage with only one salary or with financial aid from the National Insurance.
- ◆ She has to keep in contact with the husband-father and maintain his involvement in the family happenings. She has to function as head of a single-parent family, while the husband or his family's control over her life is still felt.
- ◆ She has to take care of the children and plan the future family life, after her husband is released.
- ◆ She has to confront personal pressures and anxieties, and make tremendous efforts not to cut social relationships.
- ◆ She has to deal with legal and economic problems.

And as if it was not enough, she often becomes secluded from her own family: parents, brothers and sisters. The society, as well, tends to flee her and her children.

In summary, these women are in dire need of support and help. They need other people with whom to share their anxieties, or to consult with. They often need a vocational training and help in finding a job, since in most cases they have never worked before.

These women are isolated from society and need to acquire tools and skills to be able to deal with their situation. As a result of their husband's incarceration they are confronted with a new situation. They find themselves without a support system. The shame and stigma prevent them from turning to professional help.

The main target is to help these women in coping with their husband's incarceration crisis and with being an inmate's wife. The ***Prisoners' Wives Program*** goals are:

1. Treating the prisoners' contact with their family, and ensuring their successful return home. This is done also by clarifying the roles in the family after the husbands release from prison and return home.
2. Strengthening the women during their husbands' incarceration, by legitimising emotions that come along with the situation, and by giving them the opportunity to express the feeling they have toward their husband due to their incarceration.
3. Giving the women tools that will help them deal with their children. Especially, in a situation of a single-parent family and stigma.
4. Giving the women tools to deal with social agencies. Improving the mutual relations between the women and the different institutions and organisations.
5. Teaching them how to make positive use of their leisure time.
6. Helping them find a job and receive vocational training when needed.

The 5 first points are dealt with through the prisoners' wives groups:

In the first stage a guide supervises the support groups, while in the second stage, when a leadership faculty is found among the women, a self-help group is created. The women come to these meetings with their children. While the mothers gather, their children receive other activities, such as games, art workshops, music lessons (according to need and budget possibilities). This is to enable the mothers to attend these meetings without having to find someone to look after their children. At the same time it gives the children the opportunity to enjoy leisure activities their mothers cannot afford: Playing on a computer, having a rich range of games, music lessons, etc.

These meetings deal with:

1. Problems of raising children.
2. Assertiveness.
3. Law and justice.
4. Violence and family.
5. Women's rights.

This program puts the woman in the centre, giving her the opportunity to meet with her feelings, wishes and needs and exposes her to different ways of dealing with them.

In the first meetings, suspiciousness and examination of each other and the guide is felt among the women; They still wish to keep the "monstrous" secret. The bond starts around the concrete problems and a very little opening up occurs. The meeting with other women in their situation contributes to the feeling of sharing and common fate. The guides express a lot of pragmatic and emotional support for the participants.

The first meetings allow the women to see the similarities among them, and allow them to overcome the shame. The atmosphere of sharing and their will to support each other allows openness and social supportive relationships. Closer relations start to evolve between some of the women.

After few meetings the supportive atmosphere in the group allows the women to meet with their suppressed and denied feelings, such as: anger, depression, guilt and shame. Expressing these feelings gave them relief and the understanding they could seek help from their equals in the group and from professionals.

Towards the end of the meetings they start to acknowledge their right to an independent existence and as soon they start thinking of their needs and wishes. Then

they begin to demand a continuation of the meetings and the creation of a social club where they could help each other.

Usually in the beginning there is a very hesitant and suspicious atmosphere. Many women ask: "what can the group provide me?," "I have enough problems and no time for non-sense". But with time the groups' growing intimacy gives opportunity to express very hard emotions that accompany the situation the women are in. It allows them to expose thus communicate and relax. The issues raised may be connected to marriage, sadness, family, children, or sex. They learn to accept the fact they are inmates' spouses. The women learn to support each other. As a result the group becomes very united and at the same time each woman progresses individually.

The strengthening of the woman and the increase in her self-awareness are a tool for her rehabilitation and consequently to the rehabilitation of her entire family. A woman who is aware of the difficulties she faces and to her strength, will be able to be a supportive and strengthening factor to her husband.

As a result: These women understand that they also have needs and desires of their own, their self-esteem improves, and they feel support and encouragement from a public professional organisation. Therefore they feel less lonely. This activity creates a positive power that keeps the family balance.

The innovation we plan to introduce this year in this program is the development of assistance in finding a job and in dealing with employment difficulties, as well as offering vocational training. The temptation not to work is great, since these women receive state financial aid during their husbands' incarceration. But going out to work and providing for themselves and their children is of crucial importance. It improves their self-esteem, the respect they receive from their children, and allows them to build their lives with their husbands from a stand point that is closer to equality than before by reducing the gaps.

The Inmates

Up to now we have dealt only with the children and mothers-wives. But this program would have disastrous results if it did not take care of the inmates as well. Treating only the child and mother would augment the gap between them and the incarcerated parent to a point where it is too big to bridge. To avoid this danger, the PRA has developed several programs adapted to the different needs and problems of inmates that are family men.

You may ask, why should the inmates wish to participate in these programs? And how can a crisis be transformed into the foundation of a building?

Three facts are important in transforming this crisis into a positive foundation:

- I. The incarceration proves to the father-inmate that in fact he is left alone without his "friends" that might help him. His family is the only one that stays loyal to him during his incarceration. As a result, if in the past he used to neglect his family and deal with crime, he starts seeing between the bars the only light that in fact comes from his family, and essentially from his children.
- II. It is well known that criminals do not want their children to imitate their ways and to become part of the crime world. Therefore one of the main motivation to change their ways is the need to win their children's love.
- III. The incarceration weakens the feeling of omnipotence the inmates used to have, and teaches them to see their real situation straightforward.

This means we have an opportunity to turn to the inside-family circle. But the problem is that precisely when the will exists, the knowledge and guidance are missing. Therefore the failure increases and along with it the frustration. Therefore this reality is a big challenge for educators and therapists.

The Fathers-Inmates Parenting Group Program, starting during incarceration and continuing after the release from prison, was developed as a bridge over this vulnerable suture. The target population being: inmates, male or female, drug free, who have children under 18, that are or were incarcerated for at least 6 months. The purpose of this program is to teach these inmates theoretically and practically how to behave with their children, how to deal with the problems the separation has created, and how to use the existing community services.

The current view sees parenting as a learnt function and in no way just a biological one. This specific group, being basically problematic, in addition to the troubles created by the fathers' incarceration, needs a particular approach.

The fathers' group emphasises the inmate as an integral part of the family, and thus strengthens their sense of belonging. Using the efficient Adlerian theory of "active parenting", they learn of the ways to become involved in taking decision, of the meeting points between them and their children, of the beneficial aspect of leisure hours, how to become involved with the child's schooling, etc. Another new aspect of this fathers group program, is the acknowledgement that the wives' participation from its beginning is of crucial importance.

Each group has 12 weekly meetings of 2 hours each, and is intended for 10-15 participants.

Time and experience have shown us that some inmates do not fit in this kind of program. We therefore developed two additional programs:

The Residential Hostel for Former Prisoners who are Family Men
and ***The Residential Hostel for Former Prisoners who Were Incarcerated for Violent Behaviour toward Their Families.***

Both hostels are intended for inmates that feel they need a transitional stage between prison and the return to their wives and children. Inmates that are former drug addicts often feel it is too much to deal both with their addiction problem along with their return home altogether:

- A. The hostel will allow him to come back home progressively, after feeling stronger about his detoxification, entering a routine, and completing the bureaucratic arrangements following his release from prison and return to society - Identity card, debts, legal matters, etc.
- B. This delay will allow the whole family to adjust gradually to the fathers return home.

The wives will also encourage their husbands to join the Hostel, especially after recognising that their return straight home will eventually bring an additional failure and reincarceration of their husbands.

The Residential Hostel for Former Prisoners who Were Incarcerated for Violent Behaviour toward Their Families.

Some of these inmates have an additional problem of violence:

Approximately 500 inmates in Israel are incarcerated for violence toward their wives and children. They present approximately 10% of the inmates. They represent a very problematic group. Beside their violence they suffer of drug or alcohol addictions.

For them the return home after imprisonment is traumatic. Their wives have learnt to cope on their own and fulfil the functions the inmates had previously performed as fathers and husbands.

The difficulties are more complex when violence problems are involved. The wives do not feel the urge to co-operate with their husbands' therapy, since the physical threat is removed by their incarceration.

We also learnt that those that did not go back to their wives, and that did not receive proper treatment, continue to be violent with their **new** female companions. Nevertheless, we must assume that most of the violent inmates will eventually go back to their families. And they go back even more furious - as they were sent to jail because of their wives. Consequently, in most cases, if nothing is done, the violence will increase. Therefore there is a dire need for a transitional place that will allow observing this inmate before he returns home, without endangering his wife and children, while preparing him for a successful return to his family.

To solve this problem of violence and traumatic transition, the PRA has developed a new program: ***The Residential Hostel for released inmates, incarcerated for violent behaviour toward their families.*** The Hostel represents a **transition place**, where the released inmate starts dealing with his **gradual** return to his family and with an intensive professional supervision.

12 released inmates will stay in the Hostel for a period of 6 months, during which they will participate, in an intensive therapy emphasising on the ways to overcome the violence problem and deal with the co-dependency with their wives. They will learn to improve their communication with their wives and children, and acquire the skill to function as fathers and husbands, including the responsibility to take care of the children and run the household.

The wives will take part in the therapy. Their participation will increase gradually as their husbands' therapy progresses. The husband visitations at home will increase gradually.

As in all PRA rehabilitation programs, and particularly in the different residential hostels for released inmates, the residents must work or attend vocational training as a condition for their participation in the program. Work being a part of the normative life style they must learn.

The Residential Hostel for Former Female Inmates With Their Children.

The above hostels are intended for former **male** inmates. The last program I will present is intended for former **female** inmates who present a special and crucial problem - the female inmates **with children**.

At any given time, in Israel, there are approximately 180 female inmates, as opposed to the 5,515 male inmates (in 1997). Despite their small numbers, the female inmates are an extremely difficult population to work with. Most have histories of severe sexual and/or physical abuse from early childhood. Because of this, their psychological profiles often include various emotional disturbances, low self-image and self-esteem, suicide attempts and other self-destructive behaviours. In addition, this population is characterised by difficulties in establishing ties with caregivers and treatment professionals. Because of these problems, for many years, female inmates were considered hopeless cases in terms of treatment and rehabilitation.

Most of these women (approximately 70%) are mothers. Most are single parents. Motherhood, in many different ways, complicates their situation, and lessens their chance for being successfully rehabilitated. Most (approximately 80%) are drug addicts,

and are in dire need of a closed, strict framework which will remove them from the community.

For these women we founded, ***The Residential Hostel for Former Female Inmates With Their Children***. Until the creation of this Hostel, there were no residential rehabilitation facilities that could accommodate children. The need to be separated from their children for a long period of time, in addition to the long, stressful separation during incarceration, made many women reluctant to join a rehabilitation program. But without a structured and supervised program, these women had little chance of being successfully rehabilitated.

After 7 years of running a Hostel for Former Female Prisoners (which cannot accommodate children), the PRA recognised that a Hostel where children can live with the mothers, is crucial to reach the large majority of women who will not otherwise participate in any rehabilitation program. In May 1996 the Residential Hostel for Former Female Prisoners - With Their Children, was founded.

As with the other PRA Hostels, the hostel is small, housing up to 5 women and 5 children at a time. This is intentional, so that the house feels like a home, not another institution. This is crucial, for both the women and the children. It is run on the basis of a family - with residents participating in household duties and chores.

Accepted candidates spend 3 months without their children in the existing Hostel for Women. (The length of this initiation period is subject to changes in accordance with decisions made by a professional committee for child welfare.) Having completed this phase, the women move into the Hostel - with their children.

The women must find jobs, with the help and guidance of the PRA Employment Co-ordinator for women. The children, depending on their ages, are placed in day-care, or attend school during the day.

In the evenings, along with preparing and eating supper, participating in household chores, and spending time in productive interaction with the children, there are individual and group therapies. As well, there will be enrichment activities - outings, field trips, cultural events, etc. These are not just entertainment activities - they are a crucial aspect of therapy. They improve self-esteem, allow the women to interact with each other and their children, as well as the staff, in a relaxed setting, and teach proper, productive use of leisure time. As well, many of the activities are in and of themselves educational.

The importance of the program for the ***MOTHERS***:

For these women, many of whom grew up in abusive or dysfunctional homes, or in institutions, having a child taken away from them, is a staggering blow. Having a child, being a mother, unleashes many strong emotions. The separation during the period of incarceration is very traumatic for them. For many, what keeps them going in prison, is the hope that upon release, they will again be able to see their children. This residential facility which accommodates mothers and their children together provides a solution to this problem.

While there are those who question the benefit to the women of having their children with them during the rehabilitation period, it is clear to those who work in the field that this is perhaps the most beneficial aspect of a rehabilitation process. The chance to give and receive love, to have something to look forward to, to be responsible for someone else - these are all the essential aspects of rebuilding self-esteem, and learning to conduct healthy relationships.

And the importance of the program for the **CHILDREN**:

For a child, especially from a female-led single-parent family, the effects of the mother's incarceration can be devastating. In addition to the stigma of having a convict for a parent, whatever little stability there was in the home, is shattered. During the mother's imprisonment, the child is often shuffled between institutions. With luck, a relative becomes the primary caregiver, but this is not always the case, and while a relative such as a grandparent is likely to provide a family environment, the tension surrounding the mother's imprisonment will run high within the family, causing further stress on the child.

If upon the mother's release, the child cannot only be reunited with the mother, but can live with her in a supervised, therapeutic setting, there is no question that the child will benefit from such a program.

While the expected stay in the men's hostel is of one year, for the women, this period must be more flexible. Considering the tremendous effort involved (on the part of PRA Hostel staff, social workers, community and child welfare professionals, and on the part of the women and children themselves), in their actually getting to the point of becoming residents, it would be detrimental to impose time limits on the rehabilitation process. Moreover, before they can leave, everyone involved must feel confident that mother and child have found a housing arrangement that is appropriate for all their needs (i.e. not with an abusive former boyfriend, not in a criminogenic neighbourhood, not with known drug users, etc.). The search for suitable accommodation may take some time, and until it is found, the women are allowed (in fact, encouraged) to remain at the Hostel.

To date, in Israel, this is the only existing program and residential facility to treat released female prisoners **with their children**. Based on many years of experience of working with both female inmates and inmate's children, it has become evident that such a facility is absolutely crucial, for both the mothers and the children.

The social workers face an inherent contradiction, when they try to treat and support children in institutions separated from their mothers. It became clear that when a child is going back to his mother whose condition has not improved, the meeting is often unsuccessful, because to a certain degree the child becomes estranged to his mother.

This program enables the mother and child to develop **together**. Therefore this program is good news in the domain of therapy for mothers from poor socio-economical classes. The Social Services will have to develop programs that allow a systematic assistance and accompaniment for these mothers and children, with no separation. The condition being of course, the mothers are not using drugs nor committing any crimes.

Conclusions

The programs I have presented to you are a successful tentative done in the State of Israel in dealing with the inmate's family as a whole. The ideological basis to our activities with delinquents is to be found in the words of a wise woman in the history of the people of Israel. Bruria taught social work more than 2,000 years ago in Jerusalem, and said: "May the sins disappear from the face of the earth - and not the sinners" (Psalms). Therefore we shall give any human being a chance to start his life all over again.

The second principle is that a partial activity with one part of the family, being blessed in itself, but without the overall perception the investment's real value is only partial. When we speak of a holistic program, every cent invested has a 100% success. Therefore from the economical and essential aspects of the problem, as well as the chances of the inmate's family to a successful rehabilitation, we must develop holistic programs, whose results are far better and promising higher chances of success.

I know that some people are reluctant of this program for executive or professional reasons. The good results this combination shows prove the efforts are worthwhile. One of Israel's wise men said: The whole world is a narrow bridge and it is essential not to be afraid to ascend this bridge. Both the practitioners and their patients are afraid to ascend this narrow bridge, since courage is needed for rehabilitation. Those who know how to walk on this narrow bridge without getting dizzy and without losing hope are the ones who help the inmates reach the other side. They will become the bridge between the world of crime and the general society.

My hope is that we all will have this courage, and that we will together build a bridge of hope.

**“THE HIDDEN VICTIMS:
THE INMATES’ CHILDREN AND THE “TRIANGULAR
PROGRAM” DESIGNED TO HELP THEM.”***

Mr. Avraham Hoffmann, Director General,
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The *Triangular Program* is the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's (PRA)⁷ program for the inmates' families. The “Triangular program” is an innovative experiment of the PRA, based on a comprehensive approach to the rehabilitation of the inmate's family, unknown in the professional literature previously. This program started from as a little trial to help small groups of inmates' children in Jerusalem and Be'er Sheva by tutoring them. In the beginning they were tutored by high school students, and later by university students from Perach (“flower” in Hebrew, a program that offers scholarships to students that take part in a social activity during the scholar year.). In 1985 the pilot program started with 10 children. In 1999 it includes 450 inmates' children tutored by 450 university students. The development of the program brought about some changes caused by the needs of the inmates' children, their mothers' and the incarcerated fathers themselves⁸.

Introduction

Before talking about the inmates' families, we must ask ourselves who are the inmates? And what is their profile?

The average inmate is an individual that has grown since childhood in the streets, in juvenile institutions, or in foster families. When a child is under age of criminal

* **Presentation at the 28th International Conference of Social Welfare held in Jerusalem, June 1998.**

⁷ The Israeli PRA was founded in 1984. It is a state entity, and it is mandated by law to deal with all inmates: male and female, Arab and Jewish, married and single. Participation is voluntary. The PRA offers all inmates an equal chance. By developing programs to fulfil the special needs of different groups of prisoners, we give them the best chance to a successful rehabilitation.

The PRA's activities begin in jail, from 6 to 3 months before the inmate is released. In case of a married male inmate with children, the PRA becomes involved with the spouse and child almost immediately upon incarceration. After the release from prison the PRA offers a range of programs to suit the different populations of inmates and their needs.

⁸ ***The PRA's obligation to treat the inmates' family:*** Among the law's (*Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority Law, 5743-1983*) stipulations, the PRA must work for the rehabilitation of former inmates **and their families** and for the prevention of recidivism: In section 3.5, it is written, “There is hereby established a Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, whose functions shall be - ... to assist prisoners' families during and after their imprisonment through the social service offices of local authorities and other bodies.”

liability, he is treated by the Therapy and Supervision Juvenile Law (חוק טיפול ופיקוח נעורים).

When he reaches the criminal liability age (12 years old) he is treated by the Juvenile Law (punishment, judgement and therapy). Very young this child enters the delinquent world, he faces the police, and he is exposed to detention houses, closed institutions, drugs and violence. In most cases, he himself is a victim to violence in his family: physical, emotional or sexual, in some cases also incest.

Considering this profile, the inmate becomes a father, in most cases, without having a positive example he could imitate. The education in institutions distorts the image he has of what a family should be. Therefore the expectation that the inmate should become a normative average father is groundless.

Approximately a third of the Israeli inmates are family men. They have all together a few thousands of children. The population of drug addicted inmates that are parents is a multi-problem population, often characterised by socio-economic distress and primary lacks. The return to community is traumatic for the inmate and his family, no less than the incarceration itself. A family reunion with no preparation may be devastating and become a violent confrontation.

At first sight, the diagnosis looks very negative. Observing this issue from the right angle, we could say that the incarceration crisis puts the family on a cross-roads, from which it can either chose the way to become ruined and devastated or the way to get rebuilt and healed. The trial to find the way to a positive recovery, that is, looking for ways to make the crisis become a lever to rebuilding the family, constitutes the foundations the Triangular Project is built on.

The Triangular program is also based on a new perception of the inmates' families in the rehabilitation process. To explain that, let me give you a short historical survey about the professional perceptions of inmates' families:

Only little attention has been devoted to the inmates' families. Only recently researches have referred to them as the **"forgotten"** or **"hidden victims"** of crime. This attention to the family marks a major shift from the past inmates' individual counselling and therapy. Beginning from the superficial need to give financial assistance to inmates' families and only latter to the fundamental need for therapy. The professional literature used to borrow concepts from other domains to study this issue. Professionals dealt only with the inmates' children as a secondary problem of: Single-parent families; Inmates' wives - and their attitude towards their children; Children of female inmates; the situation of family man inmates; and children suffering of behavioural disorders. From all of these issues they had formulated generalisations about the inmates' children, and had not dealt with them as an independent issue. The bibliography in the appendix points to the development of the "inmates' children" theme as a subject that needs a therapeutic attention.⁹

Only in 1977 a direct approach of the subject appeared. The first research that had focused on inmates' families daily difficulties (Morris, 1965) has pointed out the

⁹ The bibliography is based on Dr. Paul King's article: "Attending to children of Prisoners: Review of the Background Literature," 1992 unpublished. This bibliography was published in my article (in Hebrew): A. Hoffmann, "The `Triangular` Project – Tutoring for Prisoners' Children as a Part of a Comprehensive Process of Rehabilitation of the Prisoner's Family," in: Y. Wozner, M. Govan and M. Hovav (Eds.) *Delinquency and Social Work: Knowledge and treatments*, (Tel Aviv: Ramot Publisher, University of Tel Aviv, 1994).

problems without properly studying the children's situation. Attempts were made to show that strong family ties lowered recidivism chances.

Most programs for the inmates' families had focused on the relationship of the couple, or on the situation of the spouse that stayed home, usually the mother. On the other hand, when the inmate-child subject was approached it usually dealt with the relations of an incarcerated mother and her children, although fathers are a vast majority in the prison population. Many researches about the inmate's family situation bear the title "the missing father". Another approach categorises the family situation as being a "single parent family" or "temporary single parent family".

In the end of the eighties different researches propose that "if we ensure that the children understand their fathers' imprisonment and react in correspondence, we might reduce their tendency to delinquency." In mid nineties, supporters of children's rights that obligate assigning state funds to ensure the families stay intact. Other researches find similarities between children of incarcerated parents and delinquent youth. But they mention that disharmonious relationship in the family, existing before the father's incarceration, or the negative model of one of the parents may have caused the initial children's disturbances. While some point to the father's absence as the primary reason for the child's degrading self esteem and adjustment difficulties (a phenomenon known also with children of sailors).

The different views can be divided into 2 main perceptions:

A. The **intrinsic** focus, that perceives these children as a high-risk group, that requires a specific attention.

B. The **extrinsic** focus, which views these children as a population that can enhance the inmate's rehabilitation.

Indeed, the different intervention programs in the western world are characterised according to one of these two definitions. In the first, the children are perceived as a social problem, that has to be dealt with, while by the second definition they are characterised as enabling the reabsorption of the inmate into his family.

I propose as conclusion the **combined** approach: *The "Triangular program"* developed by the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) in 1986. This program is based on the association of these two trends, and rejects a one-sided view. It emphasises the importance of saving the child and preventing him from behavioural digression, and acknowledges the importance of the mother to the child's development. Therefore the children are tutored by college students, while the mothers participate in support groups, and the fathers in rehabilitation programs in prison. Strengthening the fathers-children and inmates-spouses bond is crucial to the inmate's return home and successful rehabilitation.

The strengthening of the relationship between the inmate and his family, has been found to be an important factor in the rehabilitation process. (In a research of Dr. Levenstein, 1980). A third of the inmates who return to prison, have pointed out that the reason for their re-incarceration, was their failure to reunite with their close family, that provoked their despair and unwillingness to become rehabilitated.

The inmate is in a trap, that provokes a decline in his social position, and sometimes even in the destruction of his family status. In another research, conducted by the PRA, among inmates before their release from prison, 70 % have expressed their concern as to how their children will accept them. Both researches show the crucial importance of the spouse in the inmate's rehabilitation.

The “**Triangular Program**” is a holistic treatment for the prisoner and his family that is set up as follows:

1. The prisoner: undergoes a parenting program (pre and post release).
2. The wife: attends self-help group; together with her husband-inmate she attends a family counselling;
3. The child: participates in the “**Big Brothers**” program.

I will focus on two angles of the **Triangular Program** separately: the children and the fathers-inmates.

The Children

As I aforementioned, the child is the “hidden” victim of the father’s sins, and we should therefore ensure that if the father has eaten sour grapes the children’s teeth wont set on edge. The children should not be punished for their father’s sins.

The child loves his father. - How can he not love his way?

The child senses his mother’s weakness. - How can he not take advantage of it?

He feels betrayed and chased by his schoolmates. - How can we expect him not to escape to the streets and crime?

When a parent is incarcerated, the child faces a period of great trauma. He must deal with the embarrassment and stigma of being told his father is a “crook”. There is even more tension in what most likely was a dysfunctional or abusive household to begin with. If the father was the breadwinner, the family may face impoverishment. The mother as a single parent may not have the time or emotional energy to deal adequately with the child’s needs.

As a result, emotions are bottled up, the child’s self-esteem plummets and school attendance and performance may suffer. The child may become withdrawn, depressed, or violent. All too often, he himself may perpetuate a cycle of drug abuse and crime begun by his father.

In 1985, recognising the need to help these children, the PRA began the “**Big Brothers**” for Prisoners’ Children Program in Jerusalem and Be’er Sheva. At that time, 33 children participated. In 1999, there are 450 children participating in the project, in cities throughout Israel.

The program consists of University students that are paired up as “Big Brothers” or “Sisters” with a prisoner’s child (between 5 and 14 years old). Together they participate in social activities, have discussions, and form a bond. Approximately once a month, the student accompanies the child to visit his incarcerated parent. In each region a social event takes place in the end of the school year in order to celebrate the end of the program.

Through contact with a “Big Brother” or “Sister”, the child’s self-esteem is gradually returned. He now has a connection with a positive older figure and role model. In the student, he finds an outlet for his emotions, and a sympathetic ear for his problems. He is not alone. The student also bridges the gap between authority figure and friend by fulfilling both roles for the child. Together they engage in interesting activities, which the child would otherwise miss because the parent is busy or not aware of the need and importance of such activities. The visits to prison are made a regular

activity. They are now less frightening, and there is often less tension when the student is there.

Early on in the project's history, it became evident that an unanticipated by-product of the program, was the positive effect, which it was having on the incarcerated parent. The father's behaviour in prison improved. His self-esteem as a parent was strengthened. He became more involved in the child's welfare. Moreover, his participation in the project established a connection between him and the PRA, and often led to the prisoner participation in other PRA projects, or remaining in contact with the PRA advisor.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the student plays an important role also for the prisoner's spouse. She is less tense, knowing that a responsible adult is involved in the child's life. For those parents who are estranged from the incarcerated parent, knowing someone else will accompany the child to the prison, is a relief. In addition, very often the student, with advice from his supervisors, can recommend to the mother various social services' programs, and other forms of help, of which she may not be aware.

In short, while the student's function is **not** to be a social worker, he is in a non-threatening position, and can be a "**bridge**" or connection between the family and society. Behavioural problems, nightmares, bed-wetting problems, and apprehension of the dark have been observed among young children. Delinquency and neglect are endangering these children, and especially the acquaintance with the street gangs. Often the children are going through an emotional crisis due to their father's incarceration. It often expresses through violent behaviour or schooling problems. One of the main difficulties is in ensuring the children's role after their father's release from prison. Helping these children during incarceration may help them and their fathers after their return home.

The "**Big Brothers**" program would be incomplete if the mothers did not have their own support. But focusing on the children I have decided not to elaborate on this angle of the *Triangular program*. Let me bring you only a short description of the parent-inmate (mostly men) part in this program.¹⁰

The Inmates

You may ask, **why should the inmates wish to participate in these programs? And how can a crisis be transformed into the foundation of a building?** The answer is that three facts are important in transforming this crisis into a positive foundation:

I. The incarceration proves to the father-inmate that in fact he is left alone without his "friends" that might help him. His family is the only one that stays loyal to him during his incarceration. As a result, if in the past he used to neglect his family and deal with crime, he starts seeing between the bars the only light that in fact comes from his family, and essentially from his children.

II. It is well known that criminals do not want their children to imitate their ways and to become part of the crime world. Therefore one of the main motivation to change their ways is the need to win their children's love.

III. The incarceration weakens the feeling of omnipotence the inmates used to have, and teaches them to see their real situation straightforward.

¹⁰ Another important program that is not mentioned here is especially designated for female inmates' children. It is the *Residential Hostel for Female Prisoners - With Their Children*.

This means we have an opportunity to turn to the inside-family circle. But the problem is that precisely when the will exists, the knowledge and guidance are missing. Therefore the failure increases and along with it the frustration. Therefore this reality is a big challenge for educators and therapists.

The Fathers-Inmates Parenting Group Program, starting during incarceration and continuing after the release from prison, was developed as a bridge over this vulnerable suture. The target population being: inmates, male or female, drug free, who have children under 18, that are or were incarcerated for at least 6 months. The purpose of this program is to teach these inmates theoretically and practically how to behave with their children, how to deal with the problems the separation has created, and how to use the existing community services.

The current view sees parenting as a learnt function and in no way just a biological one. This specific group, being basically problematic, in addition to the troubles created by the fathers' incarceration, needs a particular approach.

The fathers' group emphasises the inmate as an integral part of the family, and thus strengthens their sense of belonging. Using the efficient Adlerian theory of "active parenting", they learn of the ways to become involved in taking decision, of the meeting points between them and their children, of the beneficial aspect of leisure hours, how to become involved with the child's schooling, etc. Another new aspect of this fathers group program, is the acknowledgement that the wives' participation from its beginning is of crucial importance.

Each group has 12 weekly meetings of 2 hours each, and is intended for 10-15 participants.

Conclusions

The programs I have presented to you are a successful tentative done in the State of Israel in dealing with the inmate's family as a whole. The ideological basis to our activities with delinquents is to be found in the words of a wise woman in the history of the people of Israel. Bruria taught social work more than 2,000 years ago in Jerusalem, and said: "May the sins disappear from the face of the earth - and not the sinners" (Psalms). Therefore we shall give any human being a chance to start his life all over again.

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THE REVOLUTION IN THE METHODS OF REHABILITATION OF RELEASED FEMALE INMATES IN ISRAEL*

Avraham Hoffman

When I was appointed by the Government of Israel to find a solution for the prisoners in Israel, and the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority was founded, it was very painful to recognise that the Israeli social work system did not recognise the problem of prisoners' children, the problem of prisoners' wives, the problem of prisoners as fathers, and the problem of the female offenders.

From the beginning I thought about these problems and I want to tell you about my way of thinking and doing. The Hostel for Mothers with Their Children is a logical continuation of the policy I developed since January 1988 concerning women released inmates.

Three principles have directed me and the authority employers in our work:

1. The rehabilitation policy for women must be different from the policy used for men.
2. According to the Jewish halachah (religious laws), when the father does not have enough money to help all his children, the alimony must be given to the daughters, and the sons must go and seek money for themselves. Hence, we had multiplied the budget for the small population of the female offenders.
3. In Judaism there is no stigma. Every person has the right to a new beginning. The descendants of Rahav the prostitute were prophets. The mother's vocation was in no way an obstruction to their spiritual mission. Hulda the woman prophet was a descendant of Rahav's family.

The methods: There were no existing examples when the Authority was created in 1984. Thus, we started with small-scale programs. Learning from our mistakes, we improved and corrected them as work was done, and the programs could go a step further. We looked and still look for employees that are highly professional, that have a sense of mission, that are highly intelligent, and who have creative thinking. This is the only way the program works together with the Director General's orchestration, although there are many difficulties.

I would like to give you examples of how we go step by step, and of the way we deal with a lacuna as we encounter one, searching for a new solution. When we first came up with the idea we have to found a hostel for the female offenders, we thought we should open one for those without children, because we did not know how to deal and manage such a hostel.

When we opened the Hostel we saw that one of the main problems is employment. We discovered that the common way of helping male inmates in the employment field does not work with the female offender. We saw a lacuna and found a solution. We took a social worker whose specific work was employment problems and placing female offenders at work. We conducted an evaluation research whose results pointed out that

* Presentation at the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's international seminar on the "Rehabilitation of Female Offenders: Mothers with Their Children", Jerusalem, May 2000.

it is not enough to help place a released female inmate and help her keep her work position. We found out these women must receive a former training, because most of them have never worked. The conclusion was to create the Employment Day Centre we visited.

Another problem, as I told you before, was caused by the social work services disregarding the problems of the female ex-prisoner. Once Michal, Director of the Employment Day Centre, told me she had referred one of the women to the social welfare bureau. The woman was told she could come back a month later. For a drugs addict and prostitute, waiting a month means that all the work the best social worker has invested goes down.

There are few female ex-prisoners, so one can say, "Why not?" But we must find a solution for every problem and every population.

Although we call it a daily centre for employment support, it is not just for that. It is an attempt to coordinate between employment and social treatment. It can work only if they go together. We see it also with our program for men - without following them in their work, nothing works.

Thus, what Martinson wrote is not untrue words. They are not true if you change the situation, and when you don't change the situation nothing works, of course. We constantly keep in mind the need to find solutions. This centre has offered a solution.

We saw that many of the female offenders that have children do not join our programs. Not because of us. They do not join the programs of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority nor any other programs. We concluded that there are two possibilities: either we say these women who have children do not have an opportunity to rehabilitate, or we change our way of thinking. These women do not want to be separated from their children any longer after their imprisonment. Therefore, we must find a new and real answer for their dilemma.

Eventually we come up with the idea of the Hostel for mother that we visited. After three or four years we observe a new problem, which I think is a real problem. When we deal with a man in a hostel, the stay in the hostel is for one year. Many people tell me it is a too long period. But for the female offender, mothers with children, there is a real need for a longer period. Every institution has its problematic features bad things. No hostel can solve all the problems. As you try to solve as many problems as possible, new problems arise.

Thus, perhaps we found a solution to an additional problem we encountered while running the Hostel for mother with children. In June or July we plan on opening a system of satellite independent apartments close to the hostel, to which the women will be able to move after completing the Hostel's program. Later we might shorten the stay in the Hostel, while these women and children will stay connected to the Hostel. In the first time the hostel will become also their family home. So they would be given there the opportunity to work on the mother-child dyad that Dr. Abigail Golomb talked about. We try to lessen the institutional aspect as much as possible (that every institute of course has to have).

This is the way that we work and perhaps if we speak in a few years, I can find other lacunas and other things we must change. The main idea is that you cannot operate social programs without an open mind to change. If you think that you will begin a program and so it has to go on the same way for one hundred years, you don't understand the dynamic way of life that we live today.

What I say today might well have to change in five years. Because when I founded the first hostel for males, I placed it in a village, in a lonely village, and thought this was the best thing for the ex-prisoners. But after a short time, I saw it was not such a wise

thinking. In a little place, a moshav (rural settlement) everyone knows each other and if one does a mistake, the whole hostel becomes a problem. So I moved the hostel into towns.

Although I am orthodox in religion, I am convinced one must be unorthodox in every other thing. We must constantly assess our programs, whether they need to be improved or even altered, whether they stand in daily life, if not, we must be brave to admit it and try to improve it in the future. It does not take one's honour or wisdom. In every program we must constantly invest all our power, but simultaneously be able to overlook our deeds as spectators.

To conclude, I believe what we do with the female offenders can be a very great thing, not only for female offenders, but also for deprived women that are not imprisoned. There are in our society hundreds, maybe thousands - I don't know how many women who were not in prison - for which it is perhaps dangerous that they were not in prison. Because they were not in prison, the social worker, a good social worker says, "you are not competent to educate your child," and they take them to an institute or to a hostel family and so on and so forth.

After five years the child came back to his home. He came to his mother and he says, "With this primitive mother, I will live together? No." and he ran away. So we make a very good thing that we help the child, but at the same time we do nothing with the mother. Here we see that without combining and cooperation between what we do with the mother and the child, we do half work, and perhaps if you do in such things of life and death, things of half work, you do nothing, or you do perhaps bad things. You are convinced you make very good things, but perhaps you make bad things in a long way of thinking.

So, what I believe, and this was the aim of Dr. Casale and I when we sit in a coffee house in London, to bring all the people that have an understanding, knowledge, academic and practitioners to sit together and think and I think when we bring to it that now, not everyone will receive my ideas. You can discuss any of them, but if anyone who goes to his home and will think about what he does, write or teach, giving another way of thinking to it, I think this short week we make together does the work.

The PRA's Rehabilitation Programs for Female Offenders*

by Avraham Hoffmann

Director General, Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority

Female inmates in Israel - a profile:

At any given time, in Israel, there are approximately 120 female inmates, as opposed to the 5,515 male inmates (in 1997). Although they are only 2% of the prisons' population, the female inmates are an extremely difficult population to work with. Most have histories of severe sexual and/or physical abuse from early childhood. Their psychological profiles often include various emotional disturbances, low self-image and self-esteem, suicide attempts and other self-destructive behaviours. In addition, this population is characterised by difficulties in establishing ties with caregivers and treatment professionals. Because of these problems, for many years, female inmates were considered hopeless cases in terms of treatment and rehabilitation.

Most of the female inmates in Israel (approximately 70%) are mothers. Most are single parents. Motherhood, in many different ways, complicates their situation, and lessens their chance for being successfully rehabilitated. Most (approximately 80%) are drug addicts, and are in dire need of a closed, structured and supervised framework which will remove them from the community.

For these women we founded *The Residential Hostel for Former Female Inmates With Their Children*. Until the creation of this Hostel, there were no residential rehabilitation facilities, which could accommodate children. The need to be separated

* This presentation was given by Mr. Avraham Hoffmann at 10th UN Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, Vienna, Austria, 10 to 17 April 2000.

from their children for a long period of time, in addition to the long, stressful separation during incarceration, made many women reluctant to join a rehabilitation program.

After 7 years of running a Hostel for Former Female Prisoners (which cannot accommodate children), the PRA recognised that a Hostel where children can live with the mothers, is crucial to reach the large majority of women who will not otherwise participate in any rehabilitation program. In May 1996 the Residential Hostel for Former Female Prisoners - With Their Children, was founded.

The hostel is small, housing up to 5 women and 5 children at a time. This is intentional, so that the house feels like a home, not another institution. This is crucial, for both the women and the children. It is run on the basis of a family - with residents participating in household duties and chores.

The women spend 3 month of preparation without their children before their children join them.

The women must find jobs, with the help and guidance of the PRA Employment Co-ordinator for women. We operate a special day centre to deal with these women's particular difficulties in the employment field. The centre offers vocational training, assistance in finding work, and in persevering at it - A combination of social therapy and preparation for employment.

While the mothers work or attend vocational training, the children, depending on their ages, are placed in day-care, or attend school.

In the evenings, along with preparing and eating supper, participating in household chores, and spending time in productive interaction with the children, there are individual and group therapies. As well, there will be enrichment activities - outings, field trips, cultural events, etc. They improve self-esteem, allow the women to interact with each other and their children, as well as the staff, in a relaxed setting, and teach proper, productive use of leisure time. Many of the activities are educational and crucial aspect of the therapy.

For these women, many of whom grew up in abusive or dysfunctional homes, or in institutions, having a child taken away from them, is a staggering blow. Having a child, being a mother, unleashes many strong emotions. The separation during the period of

incarceration is very traumatic for both mother and child. For many, what keeps them going in prison is the hope that upon release, they will again be able to see their children. This residential facility, which accommodates mothers and their children together, provides a solution to this problem.

While there are those who question the benefit to the women of having their children with them during the rehabilitation period, it is clear to those who work in the field that this is perhaps the most beneficial aspect of a rehabilitation process. The chance to give and receive love, to have something to look forward to, to be responsible for someone else - these are all the essential aspects of rebuilding self-esteem, and learning to conduct healthy relationships.

For a child, especially from a female-led single-parent family, the effects of the mother's incarceration can be devastating. In addition to the stigma of having a convict for a parent, whatever little stability there was in the home, is shattered. During the mother's imprisonment, the child is often shuffled between institutions. With luck, a relative becomes the primary caregiver, but this is not always the case, and while a relative such as a grandparent is likely to provide a family environment, the tension surrounding the mother's imprisonment will run high within the family, causing further stress on the child.

The child can only benefit from being reunited with his mother in a supervised, therapeutic setting.

Considering the tremendous effort involved on the part of PRA Hostel staff, social workers, community and child welfare professionals, and on the part of the women and children. Before they can leave, everyone involved must feel confident that mother and child have found a housing arrangement that is appropriate for all their needs (i.e. not with an abusive former boyfriend, not in a criminogenic neighbourhood, not with known drug users, etc.). It became clear that these women would need the Hostel's continued therapeutic assistance after they leave the Hostel. Therefore we developed the **satellite apartments** program. The women live in private apartments close to the Hostel, to ensure that when problems occur they can seek the Hostel's assistance. The satellite apartments and the Hostel have been situated in a residential neighbourhood, non-criminogenic, to give these released inmates the best chances to a successful rehabilitation. The Satellite Apartment is a necessary additional step toward the

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independent life in the community, which eases the passage from the protected life in the Hostel, to the independent life she was never used to. This program represents a less expensive alternative to that of children in institutions.

The social workers face an inherent contradiction, when they try to treat and support children in institutions separated from their mothers. The mother and child grow apart as a result of the separation caused by the incarceration. This program enables the mother and child to develop **together**.

Convinced of the importance of treating these women and children, and in hope of developing the best therapy, we held an "International Seminar on The Rehabilitation of Female Offenders: Mothers with Their Children", in Jerusalem in May 28 to 31, 2000. The seminar's conclusions were that only a shared therapy for the mothers and children can prevent the return of the mothers to crime.

Until recently people used to refer to parenting competence as static. We now know that parenting is a learnt function and a dynamic one.

THE RESIDENTIAL HOSTEL FOR RELEASED INMATES, INCARCERATED FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE NEEDS MET

The Ministry of Labour and Welfare evaluates that in Israel approximately 200,000 women are battered by their husbands.

In recent years we observe an increase in the number of women that seek any help: 20,000 women turned to the police in 1998, in the year 2000 there were 21,500. In 1999, 4,000 families sought help from the centres that treat violence, in the following year there were 7,000 families. In 30% of them the husbands participated in therapy.

In prisons today there are 1,400 inmates incarcerated for domestic violence. There are also 500 inmates incarcerated for other offences, for which the problem of domestic violence was revealed during therapy. In 1997 there were only 570 inmates incarcerated for this reason. It is important to stress that a significant number of these inmates are incarcerated for the second and third time for this particular reason. Hence, we observe a changing tendency in the type of offences inmates are sentenced for – from drug related offences to domestic violence. Therefore, the Authority sees a necessity in creating a rehabilitation program especially designated for this population, and that in co-operation with the concerned therapeutic services and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

This violence phenomenon is defined as a social problem that necessitates a broad therapeutic approach and the co-operation of all the concerned services and organisations. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs emphasises the systematic therapeutic approach that is obligated to include the battered women, the violent men and the children who witnessed the violence. Dealing with violent inmates must be a high priority. Differently from other inmates their offence was committed toward their relatives (not strangers).

Until now, each therapeutic service operated its anti-domestic violence program for its target population, without being able to ensure a continued therapy. Such a program is run in the Hermon prison. However it is unable to ensure a continued therapy in the community, which is not under its jurisdiction. Professionals state that such discontinued programs mean a waste of money. To resolve this problem, the Authority has initiated this project that is meant to ensure a comprehensive systemic therapy that continues with the whole family.

The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority is mandated to deal with prisoners' rehabilitation 4 to 6 month preceding their release and in the community during the year following their release from prison. During the pre-release period an individual rehabilitation program is set with each inmate.

Treating violent released inmates necessitates a unique therapy on both the comprehensive domestic level and on the personal individual level. It requires

professional, skilled and experienced staff that knows all the different services that offer response to the unique needs of these patients and their families.

In this innovative project the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority co-operates with the Ministry Labour and Social Affairs. The project combines two therapy methods to create a new approach adapted to this particular population of inmates convicted for domestic violence. A population who's number increases with time.

Domestic violence is different from offences that are committed outside the family in two (2) main aspects:

- a. The offence was directed to a family member.
- b. A legal connection and in many cases an emotional relation continues between the offender and his victim.

This distinction stresses the significance of the inmates' stay in prison, their contact with their family during incarceration and their return home. Hence local committees were founded to deal with inmates incarcerated for domestic violence, to protect the victims and ensure that their return home during prison leaves or after their final release won't hurt the family members. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is currently preparing a set of rules (codex) concerning the function and working procedures of the anti-violence committees, and promotes their becoming statutory.

We know that most inmates that were sentenced for domestic violence complete their prison term (that is, they are not released for good behaviour after completing 2/3 of their prison term) and most of them return to live with their wives that were subjected to their violence. Even when there was a rehabilitation activity during incarceration, it usually stops after their release. The incarceration itself without continued therapy may cause further and escalating violence, because in many cases the wives' complaints helped convict their husbands. In light of these facts, the need to found a hostel for released inmates that were sentenced for domestic violence (conjugal) is greater. These men form the hardest core of the violent men.

At present few therapeutic programs are intended for violent men:

1. Non-violence therapeutic groups in day centres. To date there are 34 local centres in different municipalities, that also deal with violent men. The programs include individual and group therapy. The treatment of the men is given in parallel with that of the wives and children.
2. "Beit Noam" – A residential hostel for violent men, that is intended to offer an intensive therapy for battering men who have been ordered by the courts to stay away from their family. The Hostel is designed as a home, to allow these men to go through a corrective experience, including taking responsibility for the different daily activities and chores. There are both individual and group therapy. Every morning the men go to work outside the Hostel. They stay in the Hostel for a period of 4 months. However, "Beit Noam" is not accepting released inmates.
3. The Prison Services initiated a program to train the social workers to treat violent men while incarcerated, since most of them go back to their homes after their release from prison. While incarcerated, they have little motivation to participate in therapy and most of them tend to deny their violence. Being aware of these facts the Prison Services works at developing the professional knowledge and expertise of its social workers. To date a group of 25 trained social workers treat domestic violence. They run therapy groups for inmates that were incarcerated for domestic violence. The Prison Service plans to spread out the professional knowledge on domestic violence among all its social workers. Following a success in the Hermon

prison, the service looks into the possibility of opening a special prison cellblock for these inmates in which an extensive therapy will be introduced.

4. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Prison Services have joint Anti-Violence Committees that discuss each violent inmate's case upon his incarceration, and again before he is released from prison. Their purpose is to recommend and outline the time and place of his leaves, their early release or final release.

THE THERAPEUTIC MODEL

We have found out that some of these inmates have additional problems such as addiction to drugs or alcohol, and a lack of working habits. This proposed model of therapy within a hostel can include the therapeutic options adequate to treat the different problems: Dealing with the incarceration stigma, with the return to the workplace after a long period or with seeking a work position. The combination of delinquency and violence, violence and addiction requires a special therapeutic approach. Moreover, the violent inmates are separated from their families for many months sometimes years. Hence there is a need for a thorough preparation toward the reunion of the family and a comprehensive therapeutic approach to the offender as well as to the victim and family.

This project is designed as a complement to the existing services. Its purpose being to ensure the safety of women that are interested in their husbands' return home, without taking into account the risk entailed by the separation the incarceration caused.

Aspects of therapy that are concerned with:

stopping the violence: the attacker's responsibility, control of anger, sexuality, proper communication between the family members, providing the patient with positive communication tools as opposed to violence (the Beit Noam model).

delinquency and incarceration: The outcomes of being cut-off from society and returning back to it, dealing such as social stigma, employment, return home after a long separation from the wife and children. Working out the angers connected to this separation.

addiction: addicted patients use substances such as alcohol and drugs to solve problems by repressing them and running away from them. Therefore there is a need to provide them with positive tools to deal effectively with solving problems.

family and couple: In light of the violent and defective communication that existed for many years, there is a need to rehabilitate the couple (after stopping the violence) and enable a healthy and positive return back of the husband to his wife and children. Hence the importance for all the family members to participate in therapy, that will enable them to express themselves, go through the changes together and attain together a solution to the family problems.

Learning ways to behave and progressively take responsibility in the family: a violent inmate that is away from home for a long period, is cut off from his family's daily life, and is not a part of what happens. Therefore he must be trained to progressively take part in house duties and chores. The treatment in the Hostel enables the creation of a relation with his spouse during therapy and to attain common decisions concerning the husbands' return home and responsibilities.

Future accompaniment of the patients: The Beit Noam's experience showed there was a difficulty to integrate the Hostels' graduates in community therapy in spite of the crucial need. Hence as a pilot program, it is important to follow up its patients for a period of a year after they leave the Hostel to ensure the continuation and preservation of their rehabilitation.

THE TARGET POPULATION

This program is intended for inmates that were sentenced for violence towards their companion. A population characterised by many difficulties and needs. That is, they have additional problems of delinquency, drug and/or alcohol dependency, instability in employment, and malfunctioning in the family that is accompanied by severe violence. The released inmates will be referred to the program according to the following criteria:

- Drug free: have at least gone through a physical detoxification, during or after their imprisonment.
- Inmates that have started a therapeutic program in prison.
- Inmates that have participated in a pre-release program of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs toward their absorption into the Hostel.
- Inmates that have been diagnosed as having the potential to rehabilitate and change.
- Inmates that have been violent particularly towards their companions (and not their children).
- Will be admitted also those that are known to the social services, during the first year following their release.

There will be 12 participants in each cycle of 6 months; That is, there will be 24 released inmates every year.

GOALS

- Helping the released inmates to stop the violence in their family – while teaching them techniques of self-control of anger.
- Integrating these released inmates in a workplace.
- Providing them with normative behaviour patterns.
- Providing them with healthy parenting patterns.
- Enabling a profound psychological therapy to overcome psychological addictions.
- Enabling family therapy with their companion and children, to ensure a proper return home, after completing the prison term, according to the wife's wish.

IMPLEMENTATION

A. Preparation stage: Employees are recruited and trained during a period of 4 to 6 months; A building for the hostel will be located and the equipment purchased.

B. Enlisting stage: Enlisting candidates for the program during a period of 3 months.

C. Operating stage: Absorbing the candidates, treating them according to the therapeutic program individually and in group therapy, in the couple therapy and simultaneously treating the children. – The duration of this stage is 6 months.

D. Follow-up stage: After completing the stay in the hostel, a social worker from the hostel will visit the graduates at home once every two weeks, will operate a group meeting twice a month and will monitor the gradual passage to community treatment.

General remarks:

1. There might be overlapping of stages. For example stages A and B.
2. There will be 4 to 5 cycles during the period of 3 years.
3. The activities will take place in the afternoons after the working hours.

METHODS and INTERVENTION

The hostel's goal is to treat comprehensively the patients' problems.

A. Locating candidates and the activities in prison:

The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's counsellors – the Authority's representative in prison in charge of developing the individual rehabilitation program before the release – will locate candidates for the Hostel, in co-operation with the prison social worker. After being located each inmate's application will be examined by the Authority's counsellor in co-operation with the relevant District's Anti-violence Committees in the community. The Authority's counsellor will check the health issues. Each candidate will be referred to the Authority's Director General that will refer him to the Hostel's direction. The decision to accept or refuse an inmate to the Hostel will be made after an Acceptance Committee and a careful examination of all the information about him. If a candidate is accepted, a detailed individual rehabilitation program will be set and presented to the Prison Services' Release Committee. This program will include a 6 months stay in the Hostel and 6 additional months of therapy in the community. The release of the inmates after completing 2/3 of his sentence is stipulated by the Release Committee's decision.

B. Ways of intervention and the activities in the Hostel:

The hostel's treatment is based upon the experience of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's Hostels and the non-violence centres as well as the therapeutic model developed by "Beit Noam". In addition are added issues related to released inmates and "clean" drug addicts. During the work with violent men, working procedures have been developed in "open group" and "train groups". This means a division of the therapy into several subjects. It enables to absorb new residents at any time. During his 6 months stay in the hostel each resident will have participated in all the subjects.

The hostel is run like all the other Authority's Hostels. That is, residents must start working within two weeks from their absorption to the hostel. Employment assistance is given by the Authority's employment counsellor.

The therapy will include the following parts:

1. Individual – intake, setting a therapeutic and administrative contract – the patient will receive an individual therapy at least once a week.
2. Group therapy:
 - a. Therapy groups that will deal with the following subjects: Changing the behaviour and controlling anger, acquiring tools for self control and taking responsibility for personal behaviour, learning to be aware of the needs and desires of their companions, and how to communicate, parenting, sexuality, etc. among the methods used: psychodrama and art. These groups will meet 3 times a week.
 - b. An open support group guided by a social worker.
 - c. The formerly drug dependant residents will attend an N.A. support group once a week.
3. Family and Couple treatment:
 - a. According to needs there will be a family and/or couple therapy once a week. The innovation of the program is that this therapy takes place in the Hostel before the patient's return home. A social worker will contact the wife in order to convince her to join the therapy. The wife attends these meeting voluntarily. Thus in protected conditions and during an assessment process the ability to receive a family and couple therapy within the hostel will be evaluated. The therapy services in the community

are not set to treat this kind of population according to the timetable of the release from prison due to waiting lists. Prevention of succession in therapy straight after release is most likely to cause interruption of the therapy.

- b. The inmate's children will come with the mother to the treatment meetings. During the therapy they will be staying with a special guide for the children. According to needs, the children will take part in the family therapy.
4. Employment problems and Enrichment activities – one evening a week will be devoted to these activities: 12 meetings will focus on employment and 12 other on enrichment such as movie, museum, theatre plays, etc.
5. Creating an operational outline for taking responsibility for his home and family by paying bills, providing for subsistence, etc. that is, therapy will provide the patient with means that will enable him to participate in family chores and house expenses. During therapy the patient is obliged to allocate a part of his income for his family expenses.

The leaves:

The leaves from the hostel are part of the treatment program of the inmates. All leaves are with the wife's consent, and are given gradually in correspondence with the progress of the therapy and the conjugal relationships. And that in light of the police data that shows that 90% of the murders of women occurred during the divorce or separation process. This separation process is a protective and reassuring process for the wife since it is known that harsh and extreme violence expressed through murder occurs in most cases because of the women's wish to separate.

Preparation toward the return home:

Toward the end of the 6 months stay in the Hostel the Hostel's management and the practitioner in the community will discuss the continued therapy in the community. If the family counsellor agrees with the couple that they should get divorced, or if the couple expresses such a request, an effort will be made to end the divorce process while the husband is still in the Hostel.

It is obvious that it is impossible to resolve all the problems in a period of 6 months. The aim is to advance the patient as much as possible, to enable him to be ready to reintegrate into his family. To ensure the endurance and strengthening of the treatment a social worker will continue the therapy in the patient's home for a period of 6 months following his return home.

The Hostels building:

Differently from the other Hostels that are set to help the hostels residents – this hostel must be different in size and aspect for the following reasons:

- a. The multiplicity of the kind of treatments (individual, family, couple, and children) requires in addition to the bedrooms, 4 therapy rooms that will enable to conduct in parallel individual and family discussions, since most of the treatment is done in the afternoon after work.
- b. There is a need for a room where the children can play, and in which there is the material needed for working with children while the parents are in treatment.
- c. Because children are integrated in treatment, to ensure their safety it is recommended that the Hostel's building should have one floor with a garden or playground where they can play – with no stairs that can endanger them.

- d. Geographically the hostel should be easily accessible so the women can join the family therapy.
- e. The Hostel will be situated in one of the major cities, in a region where there are a large number of released violent inmates.

The co-operating organisations:

1. The Prison Services locates and refers candidates while they are still incarcerated.
2. The Welfare Services for the individual and family are responsible for running non-violence centres.
3. The Ministry of Interior Security and the Sacta-Rachi Foundation take part in financing this program.

Innovative aspects:

Presently there are no programs that are willing to accept released inmates that caused domestic violence. Moreover, there is no comprehensive therapeutic program that addresses all the released inmates' additional problems. The domestic violence necessitates a new method that is based on partial experiences of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority and other organisations. This program has also been created in a period in which the incarceration has supposedly solved the family problems, creating an illusion for the woman that the problem does not exist. As a result prisoners' wives do not turn to the centres that deal with violence. The inmates themselves tend to deny the violence issue. Hence, the boarding framework that will allow preparing both the released inmate and his family – in particular his wife – for the renewed meeting is necessary.

This program deals comprehensively with the inmate's other problems. Hence, he will be able to go back home free of the problems incarceration and release from prison created, and be ready to devote himself to his family.

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DIFFERENT PROGRAMS

A POLICY OF RELIGIOUS REHABILITATION OF RELEASED PRISONERS

**Mr. Avraham Hoffmann, Director General,
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RELIGIOUS SOURCES ON ATTITUDES TOWARD OFFENDERS

What right does the PRA have to turn to the members of society, and ask that they absorb those who have offended and committed crimes against that society?

The Torah recognises that society is responsible for those of its members who have broken the law. As we see in the biblical story of an unknown person who was found dead outside a city, the city elders must declare: "Our hands have not shed this blood" (Deut.) Rashi, a well known biblical commentator asks: "could it possibly be that we suspect the wise men and elders of having shed the blood?" No. Rather, the continuation helps us understand - they must admit that their "eyes did not foresee" - they did not prepare a preventative system, they did not reach out and create a network of services for those in need.

The concept of the state's responsibility for prisoner rehabilitation appears also in the Midrash (story of the sages) about King David, in the book of Samuel. "And David carried out justice and charity for all his people." Our sages say that this means that David condemned the guilty and set the innocent free, and if the condemned had no money to pay the required fine, David paid it for him from the national budget. Thus, justice and charity come together.

WHAT IS REHABILITATION?

The term "rehabilitation of the prisoner" is an outmoded expression, the use of which is misleading, and inadequate. Rehabilitation is not a condition achieved after **completion** of a process, but the start of a struggle, with no end and no limits. It says in Genesis: "And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the break of day." This is a true description of the rehabilitation process. Rehabilitation is a constant struggle in which man stands alone in a struggle with himself, and others, until the dawn, and this dawn can be distant, depending from which point in time the struggle began. For those who believe, and I am among them, *there is no person who cannot be rehabilitated.*

Rehabilitation occurs when a retarded 20 year-old youth arrives at home for the disabled and crawls on all fours. Through super-human efforts, he is brought to walk on two feet with the help of crutches. Then his mother arrives at home, and for the first time in her life she sees him look directly into her eyes. Even if he cannot sustain and help himself, or read and write, no one would deny that this is a wonderful rehabilitation

achievement, relative to his abilities and the jumping-off point from which he begun the rehabilitation process.

This is an example of a case in which all of us admit to the success of the rehabilitation, despite the fact that it is a relative success. On the other hand, with regard to the former criminal, "the freed inmate", we are asked to judge the success or failure of his rehabilitation in absolute terms, thus causing a feeling of intolerable failure, which leads the inmate back to crime, and those treating him, to giving up on him. Many people do not believe that a prisoner can be rehabilitated. Others, however, believe that far-reaching changes in the struggle for the very soul of man can be achieved.

We have a duty to open gates -- the gates to the hearts wanting to be rehabilitated, to believe that "there is no person who cannot be rehabilitate." It is a Jewish principle that society is responsible for its members, including offenders within that society. This responsibility is mutual -- as it is written: "All the Children of Israel are responsible for one another." The idea that an individual can change and must be given the right to repent, and start over again, is the basis of the creation of the world - it is written "repentance preceded Creation."

To fulfil this duty, the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) established the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) by law, in 1983, to treat any inmate who **voluntarily** turns to it for help. The Authority was created to put an end to negative attitudes and hopelessness, and to demonstrate our faith in rehabilitation, based on the struggler's ability to cope with the difficult uphill climb.

Few will reach the top of the mountain. But, it should not be said that he who has not reached the top has not been rehabilitated. We define the rehabilitated person as the one who has chosen to follow the path toward rehabilitation. And, it should be recognised that not everyone has the power and the ability to achieve the same heights, and the jumping-off point of each person differs from that of his neighbour, although many others do not see it this way.

WHEN DOES THE PRISONER BEGIN HIS REHABILITATION JOURNEY?

In accordance with the PRA law, the responsibility for rehabilitation lies with the inmate, who turns of his own will to the PRA for help. Participation in PRA programs is absolutely voluntary, it is not forced upon him, and it is not a condition of early release, or something which he uses to manipulate the system. As such, the rehabilitation journey begins the moment the inmate contacts the PRA for help with his release. According to the law, the PRA begins contact with the inmate between 6 to 3 months prior to his release. This approach looks to encourage those who seek help - "from the depths I cry to Thee, oh Lord."

RELIGION AND REHABILITATION

We must ask ourselves - at what stage of the process should we make the issue of strict religious observance the most important goal of the rehabilitation? There are basically two differing views:

I. Some see **religious** rehabilitation as a necessity, and the only way to rehabilitate is to continue the religious classes begun in prison, on the outside in Yeshivot (religious

seminaries) or in similar programs on religious Kibbutzim or Moshavim (co-operation settlements).

- II. The other approach is rehabilitation effort which is **not** carried out in a framework which demands strict religious observance, but rather, which represents a Jewish world view, based on what we are taught in our sources. There is a well-known paradigm which tells us that: Respect for others and human dignity come before religious observance.

OVERCOMING OBSTACLES

The Jewish answer to the obstacles which the former inmate faces, and which those who wish to help him must overcome:

There are obviously many such difficulties, including many physical ones such as family problems and homelessness, but I wish to deal here with the more social-psychological problems - those which the former inmate sees as hindering his or her progress. Some of these are: stigma, lack of self-esteem and a feeling of marginalisation or lack of belonging, and a fear of the demands of society - a feeling that the jump from being an offender to living a normative life is too great a jump.

When an offender, especially a recovering drug addicted offender is released from prison, society sees him as a "leper", an "outcast" - he is dangerous and cannot change his ways. This is even more true with the released female offender. And as a result, society refuses to help the offender, to employ him, or even to let him live among them.

Our sages smash the notion of stigma with a Midrash taken from the book of Joshua. Before Joshua conquered Jericho, he sent two men to report on the city's security. They were met and taken in by Rahav, a prostitute in the city who wished to help them. Our sages tell us that in later generations, 8 prophets, including Jeremiah, were descended from her. Rahav the lowly prostitute became a matriarch in Jewish lore. This, indeed is a true example of someone overcoming stigma, and society accepting a person despite their background.

The typical offender suffers from a lack of self-esteem. Very often social programs deal with the prisoner for a limited time, and then, when the program is "over" leaving him to cope alone. PRA programs attempt to change this pattern by offering follow-up and after care, and by trying to improve the former inmate's self-esteem by giving him a role model - usually in the form of an adoptive family on the Kibbutz, a volunteer, or students with whom he lives. This is critical, because due to a lack of self-esteem, the former inmate internalises the "fact" that he is worthless, and if so, why leave crime? Why go straight - what's the point of changing? Also, he thinks to himself, "if no one values me, and I have no reason to go straight, and most important, I have no one **to be embarrassed in front of** - (lack of self respect and lack of shame go together), why not carry on my criminal activities?" Self respect, and respect for others strengthens each other, and this is a key point in the rehabilitative process.

The story of innocent Joseph being tempted by Potiphar's wife in Egypt is a well-known one. But Joseph was not a naive as we would like to think. Many biblical commentaries say that he knew what she planned, and he specifically looked for opportunities to be alone with her. What then, caused him to react the way he did - running away and protesting? Rashi claims that what stopped him from sleeping with

her was “the image of his father” which suddenly appeared before him. What does this mean? This was not a Freudian guilt. Rather, he saw in front of him a role model, an image of someone he cared about. Not someone he feared, but a person whom he did not want to disappoint. This love and respect is stronger than any threat of arrest or punishment.

The rehabilitated inmate receives a new identity - he undergoes both internal and external changes. The external change shows itself much quicker than the more difficult process of internalising new values and behaviours. But the external change is crucial, because it speeds up and influences the internal process.

The PRA once helped a robber reform his ways. His rehabilitation plan included learning Jewish studies and becoming more religious through a Yeshiva. This was a very intensive religious environment. Slowly, this one-time thief became religion observant. And he begun to look like the religious Jews we see in pictures - he grew a beard, wore black suits, a hat, etc. But these changes were just external, and not so difficult. Had he internalised any of these changes? At one point, he reached a crisis with money, and if he did not solve it quickly he would be evicted from his home. At the end of his rope, he turned to prayer and begged G-D: “please give me just one opportunity to steal, because if I cannot get the money, all the rehabilitation efforts will be wasted, and my wife and two children who depend on me, and who finally have a chance at a normal life, will be forced to return with me to the slums and to a life of crime.” During his criminal career, he had robbed many jewellery stores, and that night, walking in the street, he passed one. The jewels were shining in their black velvet stands in the display window. Almost automatically, he picked up a rock, and raised his hand to smash the glass. Just then, he saw his reflection in the window, threw the stone on the ground, and run away. When I asked him why, he said “would a Yesiva student do this sort of thing?”

It is important to add that he did not give objective reasons - that stealing is forbidden in the Ten Commandments, or that it is not moral. Rather, he was proud of his new external identity, and saw himself in this role, and did not want to lose it or risk it.

With regards to the offender's fear that he will not be able to live up to society's demands, the PRA stresses that rehabilitation is not a one-time thing, nor is it achieved at once. Rather, it is an ongoing process involving many stages, including transitional phases. And thus, we recommend that he be integrated back into society gradually. Our hostel (halfway house) programs offer such an opportunity. After the former inmate goes through physical detoxification, he comes to one of our hostel programs, where he participates in group sessions, therapy, and vocational training which enable him to return to society. There, he also learns how to live with other people, take care of the house, and budget his money.

This system, too, has its sources in Jewish thought. The Midrash tells us that the Children of Israel, after being released from slavery in Egypt, could not receive the Torah immediately. Rather, they needed time to prepare themselves. The Midrash compares them to a child who has been very ill, and his father does not want him to go back to school right away. Instead, he recommends that the boy stay at home and recover. So too, former inmates need a gradual transition from prison life to normative society, which the PRA hostels provide.

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Approximately two hundred years ago, one of the founders of the Hassidic movement, Rabbi Nachman of Breslav, wrote: "The whole world is like a very narrow bridge; and the main thing to recall is to have no fear at all." The bridge to rehabilitation is also a very narrow one, and many suffer from a fear of heights. This fear is shared by the rehabilitators and the prisoners alike. The PRA's answer is to climb onto the bridge, and not to be afraid of failure. In this way, we can promise to try to cross the bridge successfully, together.

REHABILITATING YOUNG RELEASED

INMATES*

by Avraham Hoffmann

Director General, Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, Israel

Young prisoners – aged 14 to 18 – who are imprisoned in Israel's jails are considered to be a population **at high risk** to themselves and to their surroundings, even relatively to young offenders in other frameworks including the Youth Protection Authority residential facilities. They are sentenced to imprisonment (from a few months to several years) once all other alternative treatments have failed. They are trapped in a vicious circle: they are labelled as problematic youth, violent and criminal and this is the way they see themselves, as a result they maintain criminal patterns of behaviour. These young people can be characterised personally and environmentally: **Personally** they are characterised by social dysfunction, violent and criminal behaviour, tendency to delinquency, personality disorders (including sociopathy), developmental-educational lacunae and low self-esteem arising from repeated failure in normative frameworks. **Environmentally** they are characterised by poor care, insufficient education, lack of attention and often a multiple problem family background and surroundings. These youngsters are exposed to harsh treatment and violence in their families and immediate surroundings, and find relief or refuge in belonging to a marginal group or criminal gang.

Israel faced a crucial problem in dealing with these young inmates, whose majority (54.2%) recidivate: After their release from prison they came back to the supervision of the Juvenile probation Services - the same service that was in charge of them before their incarceration. This is an additional reason for the failures of most of the rehabilitation programs for young released inmates. Moreover, it is well known that embarking on a criminal career at young age has an impact on felony crime in

* Presented at the UN 10th congress on the "prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders," held in Vienna, Austria, on April 10-17, 2000.

adulthood. We know that Israel's crime bosses started out in detention as juveniles. Hence, not rehabilitating these youngsters has presents a long-term danger. In other words, the rehabilitation of young inmates is meant to save them personally as well as saving the state from the creation of new leaders to the criminal world.

To solve this problem, the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority developed in 1999 an innovative integrative systemic treatment program for the rehabilitation of young released inmates in the community. The program started operating in October 1999.

This program was designed to fulfill several objectives: Help young released prisoners to **reintegrate** into the normative society, through emotional, social and occupational rehabilitation; Prevent their further involvement in criminal activities; Develop systemic treatment that enables an integrative co-ordination between the different agencies treating the youngsters and ensuring continuity of treatment by using an overall systemic approach on the individual, group, family and community levels.

The young inmates join the project on a voluntary basis – this is the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority policy for all its programs, a policy based on the belief that there is no chance for a successful rehabilitation unless the released inmate chooses to rehabilitate. Each young inmate signs an **individual** treatment contract defining their obligations in the project and the project's commitment to them. This personal program is set to suit the individual needs of each participant, and offers intervention on four levels: individual, group, family, community.

The project incorporates individual, group and family therapy and community intervention, coordinating and integrating the different levels. The program can be divided into two (2) stages: Preparation in prison and post release treatment.

Preparation stage: This stage starts 6 months before the release from prison. The program uses the treatment that the youngsters receive in prison as a springboard for enlisting them and preparing them for release. The project team meets with the prison director and the prison social workers and educators. They gather all the necessary information for treating each boy. The team also meets each boy, present the principles of the program to him. The team gives a course of preparation for the release from prison, presenting the rehabilitation options for young people and reinforcing the contact with them, their families and the prison therapist.

Post release stage: After the release from prison starts the main part of the program, which continues during a period of approximately 2 years. The four (4) areas of intervention during this stage are individual, group, family and community.

The **individual** level consists of participating in an individual treatment program that includes a personal meeting with a qualified social worker during which he can relate to his difficulties and needs in a supportive therapeutic framework. The youngster has an option of completing his scholar education and the possibilities reintegration in sport and leisure classes and social activities. The boys can acquire a profession and employment. Employment being a central part of this program – central as in all the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's programs. In order to integrate the young people in employment in a way that is sensitive to their needs and abilities, friendly employers are found to employ these boys and give them special attention. By "Friendly" employers I mean employers that are aware of the boys past and willing to employ him among his other employees. He receives training and is in personal contact with the project operator. In places where "peer-mentors" have been trained the youths will join a personal mentoring program. "Peer-mentors" are successfully rehabilitated released inmates who have been trained to mentor newly released inmates, and for this program especially trained to mentor youngsters.

On the **group** level the young people participate in group therapy for mutual support, learning and coping with the difficulties at every stage of the program. Special workshops suited to the boys needs are opened to help them progress. Workshops such as survival, challenge sports, etc.

On the **family** level the parents will be instructed by the team prior and after their son's release. The aim of the family intervention is to help the boys that return to their homes and families, to support the families and prepare them for the boy's return and to help them cope with the difficulties involved in their return and reintegration in the family. For young people who are not able to return to their families, the project affords them an alternative framework in a residential facility or foster home. The team, in cooperation with community youth workers, will provide guidance for these frameworks.

On the **Community** level the trend is to integrate the boys in normative social frameworks such as youth clubs and community centers. The team is in contact with educational and therapeutic bodies (such as youth advancement officers) in the boy's

communities, involve them in the treatment program, and enlist their support and co-operation.

Towards the end of the period, there will be a separation process in which the boys will be prepared for taking responsibility and for independent functioning. Boys in need of a continued treatment will be transferred to the care of community welfare workers.

In Israel at present there are about 6,000 inmates of which only 120 young prisoners – almost entirely boys, the number of girls' involvement is infinitesimal. Of these, each year about 80 prisoners aged 18 or less are released (the other are released from prison as adult inmates, aged over 18, and are not included in this project).

Most of these youngsters have been through all the social therapeutic system in Israel. The Israeli Judges tend to avoid as much as possible sending young people, aged under 18, to prison. The prison being the last resort for those youngsters, which the normal services for young delinquents did not manage to reach out. These young people need a different approach. They need a program that will find the ways to reach them out – for example through survival workshops – after which they will be able to relate to their social worker and other professionals. The social workers that treat these youngsters must be accessible at any time.

We can conclude that up to date the adult society has not found sufficient legal solutions for the youngsters' problems. The objective of this program is to disclose these problems and find the legal, administrative and budgetary solutions. There is a need to develop unconventional ways of approaching these youngsters and bringing them to treatment.

“THE THREE-IN-ONE APARTMENT”:

STUDENT-PRISONER SHARED HOUSING PROGRAM

By Avraham Hoffmann, Director General

Introduction

The Three-in-One apartment Program provides an effective answer to two main issues in the area of prisoner rehabilitation:

1. The need to rehabilitate former inmates in an urban environment and within a normative setting.
2. The need for society at large to be a partner in the rehabilitation effort.

This program's particularity lies in the fascinating meeting between the future elite of Israel and the world of delinquency. As far as we know this program is unique in its kind in the western world.

In this program, during a year or two, a young and single former inmate, male or female, lives in an apartment he shares with 2 university students. The main **objective** of the project is to rehabilitate young offenders and to promote their reintegration into society by ensuring that these offenders will not return to their former criminogenic environment during the traumatic period following their release from prison. 61.5% of them reported they had no contact with former friends during the project. The program is designed to enable the former inmate to adopt a normative lifestyle as the result of daily interaction with the former inmates' two other roommates. He gets the opportunity to form intensive, dynamic relationships with a normative population, from which he can receive support, encouragement, and peer role models who will help change his ways. He acquires proper work habits, and learns to manage a budget, do household chores, and live with others. At the same time, these students can help reduce the stigma and bring to society at large the message that rehabilitation is possible.

Research methodology

Researches about inmates have the relative advantage of its population being localised in a specific location. It allows reaching systematically the information sources. The disadvantage is that a person in prison tends to present himself in a manipulative manner also to researchers. Therefore we must always treat the data that are not purely statistics with doubts. Researchers that are studying incarcerated inmates need a great deal of wisdom in presenting the questions, in a way that minimises the influence of the manipulations on the research results.

The real accomplishment in the rehabilitation of released prisoners outside prison is the in overcoming the manipulation. When a genuine association is created between the released inmate and the practitioner – an association that is impossible in the prison conditions. Conducting research about released inmates arouses many difficulties caused from the need to find them in a large geographical area. However, it is easier to “reach” them, and obtain genuine results.

The research was based on questioning four groups: The released inmates, the students, the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority's (PRA) counsellors, and the program co-ordinators. It was accomplished from September 1, 1995 to August 31, 1996. The data was gathered from questioners, interviews and data from the apartments' files. Two criteria were used to assess the success or failure of the rehabilitation: The recidivism as a measurable criterion; and the re-absorption into the normative society, the adoption of its values and, organised and stable life style. That is, being sober, to what degree he integrated to society and is persevering at work, the way he handles his budget, uses his spare time, his social relationships and family ties.

Hence, the results of the research about the "The Three-in-One Apartment Program" are so interesting and illuminating. The research results show the importance of the reintegration of the released inmate into society, accompanied by professionals and volunteers.

The particular approach taken by the Israeli Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA), since its foundation in 1984, lies in the acknowledgement that without the co-operation of the society at large in the rehabilitation process, even the most qualified professionals would not be able to provide significant help for the released inmates. Their return back to society can be promoted only by the positive participation of the society, against which they have previously acted and which they are afraid to face.

The Program

This pilot program began in 1986 in Jerusalem, and consequently in Tel Aviv in 1988. The project is run in co-operation with the Units for Social Involvement of the Universities of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. After a decade of running the program a research was conducted by Professor Menahem Amir and Ms. Bilha Sagiv, from the Hebrew University's Criminology Institute (published in Hebrew by the National Insurance Institute). **Its results show the great success and effectiveness of this program.** In the following detailed description of the program I shall present data and conclusions from this research.

Since its beginning, 63 former inmates (including those who left of their own free will or those who were dismissed) and 96 students have taken part in it. The data was collected from the apartments' reports, police records and, questioners and interviews held with the students and former inmates that could be found. Of the inmates only 26 were interviewed, and of the students 55.

The theoretical background

This shared housing program is an original program in Israel, and therefore necessitated to address theoretical approaches, that are not dealing directly with the kind of rehabilitation proposed by this program but, especially, with rehabilitation of inmates and specifically rehabilitation in the community.

The success of rehabilitation depends on the degree to which there is accordance between the delinquent characteristics and the type of rehabilitation proposed to him (Palmer 1975, 1992; Smith & Berlin 1979). I believe that the rehabilitation definition should be sensitive and should accept also a relative improvement. According to Smith & Berlin (1979), released inmates that return to the community with no advanced preparation might fail. They need time to adapt to the pressures and necessities of reality outside prison, and foremost assistance in finding accommodation (Shamgar 1973).

The differential socialisation theory of Sutherland & Cressey (1978) assumes that the delinquent behaviour is learnt in the same way as the normative behaviour. The difference lies only in the

content. In both cases the human behaviour is learnt by the verbal and non-verbal interaction with others. The learning, in general, depends on the personal relations that are created with the close surrounding. It is conditioned both by the environment and the behaviour of each individual. Therefore, in this program each participant plays a crucial role. The co-operation in a small group in an apartment allows the creation of an adequate life framework for the learning of new values and to their gradual integration.

The Chicago School (Shaw & Mckay, 1969) found that delinquents centralise in distress and poverty areas. These areas are full of drug use and delinquent behaviour. Released prisoners that wish to integrate society face a twofold problem: On the one hand, they feel the urge to go back to their previous criminogenic and drug abuse surrounding, being a familiar setting. On the other hand, the society at large is reluctant to accept them. Hence it is necessary to separate them from their natural, pressuring and negative surrounding, and to integrate them in a new setting that offers different and positive stimulus (Haines, 1991; Timor, 1988), as well as new social contacts with a normative surrounding (Glasser, 1964; Haines, 1990).

Findings

Most of the former inmates thought the students cared a great deal for them. 80.8% believed the students were partner to their rehabilitation. They contributed mainly in improving their behaviour, manners, and way of thinking. They helped them develop the ability to overcome crises and deal with frustrating situations. They even said they the students represented for them role models. One of the major problems of inmates is the distrust toward society and its representative; therefore this data proves this program to be the **right cure** to this problem.

The research shows that the program helps not only for its initial purposes. It serves also as a basis that provides an organised framework from which the inmates go out to seek help from others.

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Table 1 shows the activities the former inmates have stated as being part of their rehabilitation process:

Table 2 presents the domains of improvement and progress since the project:

Table 1: Activities of rehabilitation <i>(more than one answer was allowed)</i>	
%	Population: Former inmates Kind of Activity
80.8	Work or Vocational Training
100	Group or Personal Therapy
19.2	Family Therapy
53.8	Drug Detoxification
21.8	Studies
65.4	Excursions
50	Budgeting Money
57.7	Running a Household
50	Leisure Hours
7.7	Others
3.8	Did not answer

Table 2: <i>(more than one answer was allowed)</i>	
%	Population: Former inmates Domain of improvement
50	Work
50	Budgeting Money
42.3	Leisure Hours planning
53.8	Keeping distant from delinquents
42.3	Contacts with the family
53.8	Drug Detoxification
53.8	Others

The former inmates have learnt that work is important and a significant part of life (see tables 7-10).

Target population: The program is intended for the former inmates who fulfil the following criteria:

- a. They are single or divorced. Their children, if they have, are not living with them.
- b. The average age: between 20 to 30 years old.
- c. They have not been condemned for murder or sexual abuse. They do not suffer of mental retardation or illness.
- d. They have not been using drugs for at least 6 months.
- e. They have participated in a rehabilitation program.
- f. They are able to socialise and express themselves.

! The program is intended both for former male and female inmates.

Although the criteria are very strict, it is important to note the profile of these inmates:

Table 3: Inmates' Incarcerations	
%	Number of incarcerations before the program:
34.6	One Incarceration
26.9	2 incarcerations
26.9	3 incarcerations
11.5	4-5 incarcerations
100	Total
26	N

Table 4: Drug addiction	
%	Length of drug use:
18.2	Up to 5 years
31.8	Up to 10 years
40.9	More than 10 years
9.1	Did not answer
100	Total
22	N

The reasons for incarcerations were mostly (53.8%) for drug offences and the rest for offences such as, burglary, robbery and violence. Most of the inmates (84.6%) had used drugs before joining the program. Table 4 shows the duration of their drug addiction:

50% of the inmates were drug free more than a year before they join the program; the other 50% were "clean" from 6 months up to a year. This information may be encouraging seeing the great rehabilitation success among those who complete the program (see table in the conclusions).

The age concordance of the participants is a major factor to the success of the 3 roommates' contacts and trust:

In most cases the inmates were older than the students -- an average of 5 years older. The students noticed that the closer their ages were with the inmates' the better the contacts and results were, since the inmate did not feel he had to do with inexperienced youngsters. The students also noticed that the same ethnical background (same nutrition, musical habits, etc.) eased the primary contacts.

Table 5: participants' age			
Former Inmates		Students	
%	age	%	age
34.6	24-29	85.5	20-29
65.4	30+	14.5	30+
100	Total	100	Total
26	N	55	N

Implementation

Recruiting participants: Students recruited to participate in the program are interviewed, and those who combine the traits of firmness and warmth and who can relate to the needs and problems of former inmates are chosen. The inmates are also interviewed, and only those who display strong motivation for participation in a rehabilitation program are accepted.

The research shows that 63.6% of the students that took part in this program had volunteered previously, mostly in tutoring children, assisting in learning. They joined the program for various reasons, such as personal interest, curiosity and will to help. The main reason being, the will to take part in a challenging voluntary activity, coming from the belief that it is important and a moral obligation to take the less successful parts of society into consideration, and contribute to society.

Before the inmate's release, the prospective college roommates meet with him or her at the prison facility, and a mutual decision on their compatibility - or lack of it - is reached. If the students and the inmate feel that they are, in fact, compatible, the inmate, on being released, will move directly into the apartment without returning to his former place of residence. Because of their closeness in age, the students and the inmate have an excellent chance of establishing good rapport and of taking a natural and constructive approach towards the entire program.

The former inmates must be gainfully employed or attend vocational training works. **The PRA sees the work as an important part in the rehabilitation of inmates and in keeping it in the long run.** For this reason working or receiving vocational training during the rehabilitation programs is an obligation, in this program as in any other PRA rehabilitation program. Table 6 shows most students worked before and during the program. Again presenting a role model for their roommate:

Table 6: Students' work			
After the program	During the program	Before the program	Students: Work:
81.8	83.6	89.1	Work
18.2	16.4	10.9	Do not work
100	100	100	Total
55	55	55	N
Kind of job:			
33	-	-	Academic or liberal profession
6.6	17.4	20.4	Services
22.4	28.2	22.4	Therapeutic or Educational
20	8.6	12.2	Secretarial
-	13	8.2	Technical
4.4	19.5	12.2	Security
-	6.5	12.2	Occasional Jobs
6.6	6.5	24.2	Other
4.4	-	8.2	Did not answer
100	100	100	Total
45	46	49	N

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Table 7: Work position	
%	Work:
3.8	Part Time +
57.7	Full Time
38.5	Did not answer
100	Total
26	N

Table 8: Sources of income	
%	Source of income:
96.2	Work salary
3.8	Unemployment
100	Total
26	N

It is interesting to see how the former inmates proceed in the domain of work after completing the program:

Table 9: perseverance at work	
%	Length of perseverance at the present work place:
7.7	Less than 1 year
30.7	1 to 2 years
23.1	2 years or more
38.5	Did not answer - includes those presently in the program
100	Total
26	N

More than 50% persevere at their present work position for at least one year.

Table 10: perseverance at work (percentage)			
After the program	During the program	Before the program	Former Inmates: Work:
89.5	100	73.1	Work
10.5*	-	26.9	Do not work
100	100	100	Total
19	26	26	N
Kind of job:			
36.8	38.4	19.2	Services
36.8	46.2	26.8	Technical
-	-	11.6	Occasional Jobs
15.8	15.4	11.6	Other
10.5	-	3.8	Did not answer
100	100	100	Total
19	26	26	N

* 6 have not answered since they were still in the program.

In addition to committing themselves to working at a steady job, the released inmates must be prepared to act as full-fledged partners in all aspects of shared accommodation: meeting expenses, cooking, cleaning, laundry, etc. For their part, the students agree to "carry their own load" in the program and to include their roommate in all normal social activities.

The three roommates eat their evening meal together and use the opportunity to discuss schedules and any other problems that might arise. The students tutor their roommate four hours a week. This is of great importance, because most former inmates have considerable difficulties regarding their education.

The students enumerated the areas in which they felt they had helped the former inmates:

Table 11: How students perceive their contribution (more than 1 answer was allowed - percentage)	
%	Areas of contribution:
69.1	Representing a role model
49.1	Spending their leisure time together
34.5	Introducing him to new friends
29.1	Finding a job
30.9	Guiding him in his relationships with his friends
20	Writing letters and contacting authorities
54.5	Other (Including: offering emotional support, a homely feeling and security; teaching them reasonable life habits and daily organisation)

The former inmates:

Table 12: How former inmates perceive the students contribution (more than 1 answer was allowed - percentage)	
%	Areas of contribution:
88.5	Practical help
100	Human relations
16.4	Others

The inmates have stated the human relations as the major domain the students had helped them with, which included representing for them a role model, advising them in their relations with friends and women, spending time together, and introducing them to new friends. However they did not underestimate the practical help.

In order to “formalise” their obligations, the inmate and the students sign a joint contract and affirm that the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority (PRA) and the students Council of the students’ university are co-sponsors of the program. The contract lists additional obligations, some of which are: the former inmate must return home at a reasonable hour in the evening; he or she can bring guests to the apartment only if prior agreement has been received from the student roommates; the inmate cannot use alcohol or drugs.

Despite the restrictive appearance of these commitments regarding the recently released inmate, they serve to help him learn about freedom by getting it in teaspoon-size portions. If the situation were one of total, uncontrolled freedom, the former inmate would most likely be overwhelmed and would probably be back in prison.

The apartments selected for the program are located in good neighbourhoods and thus the rent payments are relatively high. Therefore the rent is subsidised by the PRA, the Ministry of Construction and Housing, and the universities’ Unit for Social Involvement/Intervention. The students pay a specific amount annually towards the rent, while the inmate does not. All the other expenses, on the other hand, such as municipal taxes, water, gas, and electricity are shared equally by the three roommates.

The program begins each year with a two-day excursion for all the participants. Once every two weeks, the project co-ordinator visits the apartment and speaks with the roommates. A monthly group meeting is held with all the participants, each time in a different apartment. The goal of these meetings is to provide the participants with advice and support. Any participant can request private or group consultations if any special problems arise in the course of the program.

The Special features of the project:

This program engages students, who are future professionals (see table 13 below), in a direct experience with rehabilitation. A by-product being their efficient contribution to the demystification of the stereotypes and to the convincing of the society that rehabilitation is possible. They will be able to utilise their experience in the program in order to “sell” the idea of inmate reintegration into society and hopefully in order to fill an important role in Israeli society. Many of the students felt the program had strengthened their belief that rehabilitation is the main way to deal with the problems of crime on the social and personal levels, and that every one has the right to a second chance. Some had developed a strong identification with the rehabilitation issue, its importance for the offenders, and even more for the society.

The faculties in which the students study, and the degree they acquired:

Table 13: Students studies (percentage)		
M.A	B.A.	Degree: University faculty:
.	14.6	Humanities
85.7	72.7*	Social Sciences
14.3	7.3	Natural sciences
-	5.4	Other
100	100	Total
14	55	N

Approximately 25% of the students have continued to study for an M.A.

** Most of whom are from the economy department, and 7% from the law department.*

Few students have mentioned the program as influencing their decision regarding their consecutive studies and profession. They had decided for example to become social worker. The awareness to the inmates' issue arose in them the will to work with this kind of population. Only a few reported that no change had occurred as a result of their participation in the program.

Through the program the students had learnt personal as well as social skills:

- To know people they would have never met otherwise. They learnt of the great strength of will and perseverance the former inmates have - a thing worth imitating.
- That it is possible to deal with the problematic parts of society. They have opened emotionally and developed sensitivity to social conditions they ignored previously.
- How to deal in stressful situations, and that you can always give more than you know you can.
- To improved their ability to listen to other people and accept them, even when they cannot understand them or necessarily agree with them.
- How to deal with a feeling of frustration.

This interaction not only demystifies the stereotypes the society has of inmates. The image that the former inmates have of the students changes. They find out that the students are not all rich and nerds, and that they must work to pay their university fees and daily expenses. This new perception of society diminishes the estrangement the former inmates have from society, and as a result their re-absorption into society goes a step farther.

The research shows that 77% of the former inmates have changed their opinions about the students. After the program they thought they were friendly, human, considerate, willing to accept others, with a high preparedness to help others, men of principles. They were now able to see the students, in spite of the differences, also as equal human beings with the similar daily or emotional problems, even if not the same ones.

Conclusions

Up to the present time, 63 former inmates have taken part in this program, including those participating this year. Today, the first graduate of the program is working as a paraprofessional counsellor in a drug-abuse therapeutic community.

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From police criminal records we learn of the recidivism rate. It should be noticed that the data refers to the total of 63 inmates that have participated in this program since its beginning, including those participating during the time the research was conducted.

did not complete the program %	complete the program %	participated the program %	Former inmates: Recidivism:
54	23	35	Yes
38	72	59	No
8	5	6	Unknown
100	100	100	Total
24	39	63	N

Less than 25% of those who complete the program were sentenced to incarceration. It is important to stress that some have not completed the program, due to offences they committed during the program. The numbers of those who were unsuccessful have decreased over the years. Among these the recidivism rate is obviously higher (54%).

We conclude that the trial to bring together population from two completely different ends was successful. It opens gates to innovative rehabilitation techniques and to the increasing co-operation of the normative society in rehabilitating released inmates.

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***A DEVOTED
REHABILITATOR***

About

AVRAHAM HOFFMANN



Thursday, September 26, 2002.

Rehab after prison: net gains

By Ruth Sinai

Abraham Hoffmann is the most senior director-general in the nation's civil service. He retires at the end of this month, after 19 years as director-general of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority.

"When I was named to head the team that set up the PRA originally, many people told me I was committing suicide," he recalls. The professional literature back then was dominated by pessimism regarding the prospects for prisoner rehabilitation - or as leading researcher Robert Martinson put it at the time: "Nothing works."

Still, Israel in 1983 was the first - and even now, almost the only - nation to legislate a government authority for prisoner rehabilitation. The voluntary organizations that had always done that job worked hard to try to prevent creation of a governmental counterpart.

The professional lobby from the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, however, was too much for them. "The government gave [the new project] a little money, but they didn't really believe we'd succeed," says Hoffmann. "They said: 'Do what you like; grow cucumbers. If it works, we won't punish you.'" Lacking models to emulate, Hoffmann had to rely on trial and error. Despite the failures - until recently, for example, 60 percent of prisoners for whom personal rehabilitation programs were created, at their own request, didn't show up for treatment - recognition of the importance of the authority's work has apparently increased in recent years.

The proportion of prisoners requesting rehabilitation jumped from 15 percent in 1969 to 40 percent in 2001, and the budget rose from NIS 7 million in 1997 to nearly NIS 16 million in 2002. Lately the government has directed the authority to work with some 400 additional prisoners slated for administrative release - whereby one month is "discounted" from each year of incarceration - a move designed to reduce the crowding in Israel's prisons. To do it, the authority wants a budget supplement of NIS 3.5 million.

"Everyone has the right to a new beginning" is the apt title of a guidebook produced by the PRA in conjunction with the Prisons Service to inform prisoners prior to release about things like how to get an ID card, where to go for housing assistance, and how to find a job.

The authority also holds workshops in the prisons for inmates nearing release. Many prisoners feel anxious about being released into freedom, says Hoffmann. Studies have documented symptoms such as loss of

Abraham Hoffmann, who is retiring after 19 years at the head of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority, has had to rely on trial and error. (Photo: Yeheli Amit / BauBau)

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appetite and sleepwalking. Such prisoners tend to seek rehabilitation. In general, the data suggest that most prisoners seeking rehabilitation have been jailed once or twice; habitual offenders who have been jailed more frequently are less likely to seek rehabilitation.

Because many prisoners are addicted to drugs at the time of their release, one of the first phases of rehabilitation is kicking the habit. Prisoners who don't need to be weaned from an addiction are treated for other things. Some of the men take parenting workshops run with the Adler Institute. And they're referred to the authority's employment centers to be assisted in finding work with "friendly employers," those whom the authority has persuaded to hire ex-convicts.

A program with teeth

One of the results of the low participation rate in the authority's programs is a new law, effective this year, that incorporates significant changes in the basic concept of rehabilitation. A conditional release provision enables a prisoner to join a community-based rehabilitation program during the last third of his original sentence, reduced for good behavior, instead of spending the same period under the supervision of a parole officer. Hence a prisoner who asks to join a rehabilitation program improves his prospects for early release.

On the other hand, the parole board can cancel the early release and return the prisoner to jail if he or she doesn't live up to his signed agreement with the PRA.

This stipulation gives the rehab program the teeth it lacked previously. However, says Dr. Menachem Horovitz of the Institute of Criminology at the Hebrew University, this law somewhat contradicts the authority's axiom that its assistance is given only to prisoners who ask for help voluntarily. One can't really speak in terms of free will, since a prisoner who doesn't sign an agreement might not be released. Despite this infringement of the principle of voluntary participation, Horovitz supports the change.

Striking a balance between voluntary and coerced rehabilitation is a matter that has concerned the experts for years. Those who support voluntary rehabilitation claim that success is very much a function of the desire for rehabilitation, whereas those who support inclusion of an element of coercion believe that some kind of sanction is crucial in order to actualize the prisoner's desire to be rehabilitated.

Dr. Meir Hovav, lecturer in criminology at the University of Haifa and a former board member of the agency at the Ministry of Labor and Welfare that runs both the probation service and the juvenile offender diagnosis and treatment unit, says that before there was a rehabilitation authority, he and his colleagues were undecided about adopting the American model of parole, which makes conditional release contingent on rehabilitation.

The voluntary rehabilitation approach then prevalent in the social work community eventually won out. These days, the pendulum has swung back to the center - a combination of both approaches (a strong incentive for rehabilitation, but the possibility of early release in any case).

Data from the field evidently justify that stance. A study by the authority of a group of 326 prisoners who were in rehabilitation programs in 2001-2002 under agreements with the PRA, in exchange for serving the last third of their sentences on parole, even before the new law took effect, showed that only 16 percent were sent back to jail during that period.

The recidivism rate measured during that study resembled the rate among residents at the PRA rehabilitation hostels, and it is definitely low. Prisons Service data show that the overall rate of former prisoners returning to jail in 2001 was 64.3 percent, which is considered encouraging compared with the 75 percent rate in Western countries generally.

The recidivism rate among hostel residents in Israel, comprising some 150 released prisoners a year, is lower than that among prisoners participating in community-based rehabilitation programs run by the PRA, because hostel residents receive more intensive, individualized treatment. Hovav believes that too many resources are allotted to treatment in hostels. He says for the cost of maintaining one person in a hostel, four released prisoners can receive community-based rehabilitation, though the success rate is lower.

Hoffmann denies that community-based rehabilitation is neglected. Last year, he says, he was able to double the operating budget for rehab centers from NIS 1.1 million to NIS 2.4 million. There are now about 40 such centers, the task of which is supervising released prisoners. The authority also invests in training for ex-prisoners who volunteer, after they have rehabilitated themselves and given up drugs, to mentor other ex-prisoners.

Giving up violence

Still, among the 3,000 released prisoners assisted by the authority annually, the emphasis is clearly on the hostels. There are now eight government hostels and another two run by nonprofit organizations, one for newly religious men and the other run by a Haifa church.

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A hostel for violent ex-prisoners is slated to open in the coming months to treat the increasing number who've been serving time for domestic violence - up from 750 in 1997 to 1,438 in 2001. There's a program to treat violent inmates at the Hermon Prison, but as with all such programs, without continuity after release from prison, the gains tend to evaporate. The hostel will have a section just for men who want a divorce: cases of men murdering their spouses, Hoffmann says, often involve conflicts tied to divorce proceedings. The other section is for men who want to return home.

In the section for those seeking divorce, the men will have supervision throughout the proceedings, while in the other section, the men will get individual and family counseling and return gradually to their families. As with all PRA programs, the former prisoners will work for a living. The hostel will accommodate 12 residents at a time, and Hoffmann hopes to set up three more just like it. This is, as noted, a minuscule number compared with the overall population of released prisoners receiving assistance from the authority, but Hoffmann rejects the argument that it's a luxury. Aside from the basic principles of justice and morality, he views rehabilitation generally, and the hostel in particular, in terms of a social and economic net gain.

Each jailed prisoner represents a cost to the state of about \$15,600 a year and an annual cost to victims of crimes against property (insurance companies and individuals) of about \$60,000. During rehabilitation, on the other hand, a released prisoner is working and paying taxes and costs the state, on average, \$5,200 a year.

"Without rehabilitation, former prisoners are a danger to the society they live in," says Hoffmann. "Furthermore, they are a product of the society and we have a responsibility to heal them."

To skeptics who believe that the prospects for rehabilitation are low and that deterrence and punishment are the more effective solution, Hoffmann offers a relative yardstick: Every year during which a released prisoner goes straight is a net gain for society, even if eventually he resumes criminal activity. Hoffmann also believes that rehabilitation, in any case, serves to reinforce basic human and social values. A former prisoner who has undergone rehabilitation, even if he does go back to crime, should be less violent.

One key to the authority's success is the individualized program tailored to each released prisoner: drug rehab, education, and individual therapy as the need mandates. Each prisoner has the same obligations: work, get off drugs, don't engage in criminal behavior, pay your debts - the last being concrete evidence that the former prisoner has assumed responsibility for his life and stopped blaming others for his troubles.

The criteria for rehabilitation are considered strict. Yet a study Horovitz conducted recently with colleague Menachem Amir, on ex-prisoners under the authority's supervision, found a very high level of satisfaction with the programs in which the men were participating. Further evidence of this, and of the trust obtaining between the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority and these former prisoners, may be deduced from the fact that there are no guards at the authority's offices and the director-general's door is always open.