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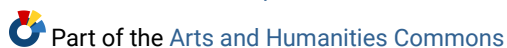
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Women's imprisonment and recidivism: An illustrative analysis of Boronia Women's Pre-Release Centre (Western Australia) and progressive/open prison systems in Norway and Sweden

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WOMEN'S IMPRISONMENT & RECIDIVISM: OPEN PRISON SYSTEMS

**WOMEN'S IMPRISONMENT AND RECIDIVISM: AN ILLUSTRATIVE ANALYSIS OF
BORONIA WOMEN'S PRE-RELEASE CENTRE (WESTERN AUSTRALIA) AND
PROGRESSIVE/OPEN PRISON SYSTEMS IN NORWAY AND SWEDEN**

Cheryl M Botello

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Philosophy

School of Arts & Sciences

The University of Notre Dame Australia

2017

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature: _____

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Abstract

Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre (Boronia) is a minimum-security level correctional facility located in Perth, Western Australia. Boronia has adopted a progressive/open imprisonment approach to incarceration that is fairly unique within the Southern Hemisphere. This thesis examines Boronia as a progressive/open prison via an illustrative case study analysis and investigates if it does produce a recidivism rate that is comparative to the international progressive/open prison sector. Boronia's facilities, policies, programs and recidivism rates, are reviewed against two international progressive/open women's prisons - "Ravneberget" in Norway, and "Ystad" in Sweden. Scandinavian prisons were chosen, as they are known for producing some of the world's lowest recidivism rates. Issues analyzed included: guiding philosophies, facilities, programs operated and data concerning each prison's recidivism rate, for example. national culture regarding imprisonment. The findings from this thesis indicate that Boronia is producing a recidivism rate comparable to the national rates of both Sweden and Norway, programs offered are similar, but there appears to be a gap in rehabilitation programs concerning anger management at Boronia. These observations infer that Boronia could in fact produce an even lower recidivism rate than what is currently produced.

keywords: Women's imprisonment, recidivism, open prison, progressive prison, exceptional prison

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Introduction

Boronia Pre-release Centre for Women, opened in May 2004, and is a correctional facility located in Bentley, Western Australia. It aims to offer support to low-security women prisoners preparing for reintegration into the community. It is acknowledged as being the *only purpose built progressive/open women's prison* in Australasia. Internationally there are few progressive/open prisons, most of which are located within the Scandinavian / Nordic region. It is internationally recognised that the recidivism rate of a progressive/open prison is significantly less (in many cases not more than 50%) of a standard prison. (Graunbøl et. al. (2010), Department of Prisons and Probation, Finland, 2006-2008 (2011)). Boronia's recidivism rate for 2014 was 17.2% (West Australian Department of Corrective Services - DCS) (18.8% as noted by the Office of Inspector Custodial Services - OICS) which is the lowest recidivism rate within Australia.

A prison could be defined as being "progressive" (or in Scandinavia and the Nordic region it would be classified as an "exceptional" or "open" prison), if it operates under a system whereby the conditions in which the prisoners are kept in, replicate life outside as much as practicable, whereby there is involvement with, and by the local community in prison operations. Pratt (2008) documents how within "Open Prisons", fences, walls and other barriers are reduced to a minimum. There are no bars on windows and, in some prisons prisoners can choose to lock their own doors if they so wish. After the prisoners' finish work or classes, they are free to walk around the prison grounds and sometimes into local communities. Once approved and if applicable, prisoners could have the opportunity to work or study at a location outside of the prison, the accommodation within the prison replicates that found on the outside, as opposed to cells, prisoners often are responsible for their own cooking and house cleaning. Prisoners are free to participate in recreation activities within their own

free time outside of the general work or study hours, for a longer period of the day than what would be possible in a regular prison. They are not locked into a cell type of accommodation for most of the day, as would be the case, in the majority of prison institutions. Pratt (2008) writes that Scandinavian exceptionalism does not just refer to imprisonment rates, but also to the way the prisons are operated, the conditions that the prisoners experience. Progressive/exceptional/open prisons are known for producing low recidivism rates.

Very little scholarly research has been done on progressive/open women's prisons in general, and no substantive contributions have been made by former inmates, allowing for unique research to be offered by a former inmate such as myself. Having spent fourteen months at Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre, I have an insider's understanding of how it operates. With my past work history involving corporate trouble-shooting and with having obtained an MBA as a mature age student, I know that I approached my incarceration at Boronia quite differently to many other women there.

Statement of Purpose

This case study will not only analyse the factors that contribute to Boronia's low recidivism rate but also compare it to that of two other international women's prisons which are similarly considered to be progressive. It will investigate and identify the services offered within these women's prisons that may contribute to the lower recidivism rates they produce and thus ascertain if there are any gaps in the services currently offered by Boronia.

Theoretical and Practical Significance

Women released from Boronia have the lowest recidivism rate of any prison within WA, however a major contributing factor is the socio-economic background of many of its residents, as in - a portion of its residents have been incarcerated due to crimes such as welfare fraud, white collar crime etc. In recent years, there have been residents who have a professional background such as Veterinary Surgeon, Psychologist, Accountants and at least two WA former

prison officers/employees for example, its residents can come from the entire socio-economic breadth of Perth society, from those whom would normally reside in the most elite Perth suburbs to the homeless. Yet, low recidivism does not necessarily mean that the best services are being offered at Boronia. As a former inmate, I am aware of how the WA prison system operates Boronia, of various programs that are not provided, programs that would assist in their residents' reintegration into society even more successfully than currently experienced.

A case study design using qualitative study methods was chosen (Yin, 2013). This method gives me the opportunity to critically analyse Boronia, allowing me to compare it to two other progressive/open facilities internationally to see if their recidivism rates, facilities, policies and program frameworks are comparable. This should allow me to identify any gaps in services and to come to a greater understanding of just *what* factors do contribute to a lower recidivism rate and to query if Boronia is performing up to the standards set by the international sector.

As at 30 September 2016, the WA Department of Corrective Services reported that there were 619 women imprisoned within its WA prisons, comprising 326 non-indigenous and 293 indigenous women (DCS, 2016), as such, women made up 10.93% of incarcerated persons at that date. These rates had increased over a two-year period from 30 September 2014 by 18.1% for men and 20% for women. This, unfortunately, reflects the worldwide trend over recent years whereby the incarceration rate for women is increasing at an alarming rate, as opposed to that of men. The World Prison Brief reports that the female prison population total has increased by 50% since about 2000, while the equivalent figure for the male prison population is 18%. They note that the female incarceration rate has increased proportionately more than the male rate in every continent. Consequently, the proportion of women and girls in the total world prison population has risen from 5.4% in about 2000 to 6.8% as at research conducted in February 2015 (Walmsey, 2015). Within Australia, the Australian Bureau of

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Statistics reported in 2016 that women were more likely to have fraud, deception and related offences as their most serious offence, followed by acts intended to cause injury, drug offences and public order offences (ABS, 2016a).

Historically, female prisoners in Australian prisons have been treated under the same rationale as male prisoners. The system was centered on the imprisonment of men, women were the minority, and as such, the system was barely modified to cater to their needs. Australia followed the British system of incarceration, and it has been well recognised that the British system was not at all women orientated. For example, Bastick and Townhead argued in their 2008 report for The Quaker United Nations Office that British female prisoners are discriminated against as compared to male prisoners in almost every aspect of prison life including decisions as to pre-trial detention, opportunities for education and employment and healthcare. However, they are quick to explain that in many cases discrimination is not intended by the prison authorities, but is the effect of the prison system being designed for men. This argument is echoed in the controversial "Corston Report", published in 2007 by Baroness Corston. The report was written for the British Government's Home Office, it concerns women's imprisonment within the U.K, and it concludes that women 'have been marginalized into a system largely designed by men for men'.

Whilst it is very credible that the WA State Government had in 2004, the foresight to design and build Boronia to specifically cater for the needs of incarcerated minimum-security level women, it needs to ensure that Boronia is still performing in line with other international progressive/open women's prisons. This is one aspect that will be reviewed within this case study. Such a review will be significant for authorities looking to measure the success of Boronia within an international context.

The Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services WA (OICS) inspected Boronia, with the official report released in October 2015. In this report, the inspector declared:

The key message in this report – and one that was conveyed at the time of the inspection – is that although Boronia is performing well, there is scope for improvement. It must be open to challenge and change and must not be defensive and content with the status quo. In an increasingly competitive environment, it needs to build on what has been achieved and to position itself for the next decade.

(www.oics.wa.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/OIC-Boronia-Report-100.pdf p.3).

How Boronia might be able to best position itself over the next decade will be determined by its ability to continue to develop as a progressive/open prison, informed by international standards. To do so, it must improve the services offered to female inmates and continue to lower its recidivism rates to rank highly internationally as a progressive/open prison.

Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to provide a case study of Boronia to investigate and identify the factors within Boronia, that contribute to the low recidivism rate it has produced with its past residents. Investigate rehabilitative programs/services offered in other such progressive/open prisons overseas and identify if there are any “gaps” in the services/programs currently offered to Boronia residents, which could, in fact improve the prisons’ recidivism rate further. Predominantly, this research is to set the groundwork for future research, on women’s imprisonment, progressive/open prison systems, and the recidivism of women; also, to help address in a small way the lack of existing research on women’s imprisonment. Whilst having been an inmate of Boronia gives me knowledge of the programs and facilities offered there. This thesis is to primarily set the foundation for future research, which will, encompass an “insider’s” perspective.

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One of the most significant problems posed by this research, is the lack of existing research concerning imprisoned women in comparison to that of male prisoners? Whilst the literature on male prisons and recidivism is extensive, there are gaps in the knowledge about female imprisonment and recidivism. Worrall and Gelsthorpe (2009) examined 30 years of issues of the "Probation Journal" and found only 30 articles from approximately 600 focusing on women. This issue has also been acknowledged in other research (Tripodi, S., Bledsoe, S., Kim, J., & Bender, K., 2011). As Walmsey (2015) indicates, the rate of incarceration for men has increased by 20%, conversely the rate for women is 50%. This emphasizes the need for more research pertaining to the incarceration of women. To gain a more authentic understanding of women's experiences, priority must be given to conducting research that includes the actual experiences of female inmates.

This study of female imprisonment at Boronia offers unique insights into female incarceration based on my observations of the programs/policies and facilities offered there. Research written by a former woman prisoner– appears to be rare amongst scholarly research on women's incarceration. Newbold, G, Ross, J.R., Jones, R.S., Richards, S.C., & Lenza, M. (2014) state that the perspective of auto-ethnography, is an element that has often been absent in criminal justice research on both genders. Richards (2013) highlights how little academic research has been conducted by women with an "insider" perspective. It is apparent that research based on and written by former inmates is overwhelmingly dominated by male researchers.

The National Research Council (United States) noted in their 2014 research into the growth of incarceration within the USA, that there was a scarcity of research that portrayed an understanding of being incarcerated and its relevant effects. More specifically they recommended support for research aimed at developing a better understanding of the

experience of being incarcerated and its effects, as well as alternative sentencing policies, and the impact of incarceration on communities.

Sapouna, Bisset, & Conlong (2011) include a review of 'what works' with women offenders, in which they document that despite a wealth of studies on male offenders there is a paucity of research which can provide answers to 'what works' to reduce reoffending in women. Only three studies in a review by Harper and Chitty (2005) of what works with offenders included women, while for their meta-analysis of interventions with female offenders, Dowden and Andrews (1999) were only able to identify 26 studies, solely involving (16), or predominantly (10) involving women.

Limitations in Previous Research

Trotter and Flynn (2015), documented that upon conducting their literature review on best practice with women offenders, how, they were hampered in their use of the principle of systematic review, because of the general scarcity of material on the topic. This made their review difficult, as such they had to source many studies which had been undertaken with a less than rigorous methodology. The lack of rigorous research on women was exemplified, by their manual search of the two primary journals which focus on women in corrections, 'Feminist Criminology' and 'Women and Criminal Justice', in which, they found virtually no studies that met their required criteria of studies which included, (1) recidivism or reoffending measures (2) comparison or control groups (3) test of statistical significance and (4) sound methodology.

Research Intentions

To address gaps in previous research, and to set the groundwork for future research on women's imprisonment, progressive/open prison systems, and the recidivism of women - applying this to Boronia and ultimately women's imprisonment within WA. This thesis aims to answer key

research questions, via an Illustrative Case Study analysis in the main chapters, that follow on from the Literature Review in Chapter One.

The main questions under investigation in Chapter Two are: What recidivism rates are “progressive/open” women’s prisons experiencing internationally? How do these prisons operate, and what factors/services are considered to be contributing to the international progressive/open women’s prisons recidivism rates? Scandinavian countries are renowned for producing some of the world’s lowest recidivism rates, these countries operate their prison systems under a method that has become known academically as “exceptional” imprisonment (Pratt,2008). In communicating with The Swedish Prison and Probation Services (Kriminalvarden) and its Norwegian counterpart (Kriminalomsorgen), it was suggested by both government departments that Ravneberget Women’s Prison in Norway (Ravneberget), and Ystad Women’s Prison -Institution Ystad (Ystad) in Sweden, would be appropriate women’s prisons to use for my analysis of their guiding principles, facilities, methods of operation and subsequent recidivism rates. I was fortunate enough to establish a direct line of communication with both the Deputy Governor of Ravneberget and the Warden of Ystad.

Chapter Three, engages directly with questions relating specifically to Boronia Women’s Pre-release Centre. The main questions are: What are the factors that may contribute to the low recidivism rate of Boronia Women’s Pre-release Centre (Boronia)? Is the recidivism rate of Boronia in line with other international “progressive/open” women’s prisons? Are there any gaps in these services/ programs/initiatives being provided at Boronia, and could Boronia reduce their recidivism rate further by implementing such services?

I was an inmate at Boronia for a period of fourteen months. As such, I bring an in-depth knowledge of how it operates, and the programs and facilities offered. With my past work history involving corporate trouble-shooting and with having obtained an MBA as a mature age student, I approached my incarceration at Boronia quite differently to the majority of other

women there. Chapter Three will detail how Boronia operates, its methods, principles of operation, services and programs that are in place, as well as the published recidivism rate of Boronia. A review between Boronia and both Ravneberget (Norway) and Ystad (Sweden) women's prisons will be included to ascertain if Boronia is functioning along similar lines to its Scandinavian counterparts.

Methodology

A case study, is the most appropriate research method for this project. Researcher Robert K. Yin, defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 2013). By using this case study method, I could conduct a variety of inquiries, involving personal correspondence with Scandinavian corrective services staff and prison management. Conduct a statistical analysis, and review of the relevant theoretical literature; all of which enabled me to document, and analyse my findings, to establish if there are any common themes or reasoning's for the reduced rate of recidivism these progressive/open prisons experience. The three most prominent case study methodologists, namely Robert Yin, Sharan Merriam, and Robert Stake all document various methods of approaching case study analysis. The strategies of Merriam and Yin, resonate with me most and in conducting this study, I have utilized a range of concepts derived from both practitioners' concepts.

Methodology used, is an Illustrative Case study of Boronia, incorporating a participant observation approach, having lived at Boronia for 14 months, I am aware of how it operates and the programs operated there. Very little data is available publicly, concerning how Boronia operates, as such, my experience there forms the basis of knowledge concerning the operations of Boronia. This study also incorporates analysis of the annual reports, and statistical data from the W.A. Department of Corrective Services, as well as material available from the associated

government departments from both Norway and Sweden. Analysis was conducted to identify the common themes that may contribute to the low recidivism rate that all three prisons experience. Illustrative case studies serve primarily to make the unfamiliar familiar and to give readers a common language about the topic in question (Yin, 2013).

Methodology/Strategy: Qualitative – Case Study - Illustrative

This thesis will utilize an Illustrative Case study of Boronia, incorporating a participant observation approach utilizing my personal knowledge from having spent four weeks at Bandyup and fourteen months at Boronia. This study also incorporates the use of annual reports, and statistical data from the W.A. Dept. Corrective Services, also the associated government departments from both Norway and Sweden. Analysis was conducted to identify the common themes that may contribute to the low recidivism rate, that all three prisons experience. Illustrative case studies are descriptive; they utilize one or two instances to show what a situation is like. This helps interpret other data, especially when there is reason to believe that readers know too little about a program (Yin, 2013). Case studies serve to make the unfamiliar familiar, and give readers a common language about the topic (Davey, 1991).

Framework

This study utilizes a qualitative descriptive study - an illustrative Case Study of the problem oriented type, with triangulation of sampling. This involves:

1. Analysis of publicly available data, and reports concerning Ravneberget Women's Prison – Norway and Ystad Women's Prison – Sweden, also the relevant Norwegian- (The Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services – “Kriminalomsorgen “) and Swedish – (The Swedish Prison and Probation Services – “Kriminalvarden “) imprisonment systems.

2. Analysis of annual reports and statistics, available from the W.A. Dept. of Corrective Services, concerning Boronia and W.A. recidivism rates.

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3. Analysis of written communication exchanged between myself and Lill-Anita Øvergård - Deputy Director of Ravneberget Women's Prison – Norway, also A. Wallin – Governor of Ystad Women's Prison – Sweden.

4. Analysis of how Boronia operates, based on my experience having been a resident of Boronia – (note: at Boronia, inmates are classified as “residents”, not prisoners nor inmates).

Data Collection

Comparative data across the relevant departments controlling each chosen prison will involve:

1. A review of the annual W.A. Dept. of Corrective Services reports and statistical data, and a comparison to similar data obtained from The Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services – “Kriminalomsorgen “, which controls Ravneberget Women's Prison, and The Swedish Prison and Probation Services – “Kriminalvarden “which control Ystad Women's Prison.

2. Analysis of statistics and data available from “Brottsrummet.se” the Swedish Crime Prevention Council (National Council), and “Statistisk centralbyrå”, Statistics Norway (The Central Bureau of Statistics).

3. Analysis of written communication exchanged between myself and Lill-Anita Øvergård - Deputy Director of Ravneberget Women's Prison – Norway, also A. Wallin – Governor Ystad Women's Prison – Sweden.

4. Analysis of how Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre operates, based on a personal experience method as explained by Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008).

Data Analysis

The analysis method adopted is as per Miles and Huberman (1994) who developed a model of data analysis (Figure 1) that assists the researcher by providing a visual reference as to how

data can be tackled. Punch (2013) writes that methods of analysis need to be systematic, disciplined and able to be seen through (as in transparent) and described.

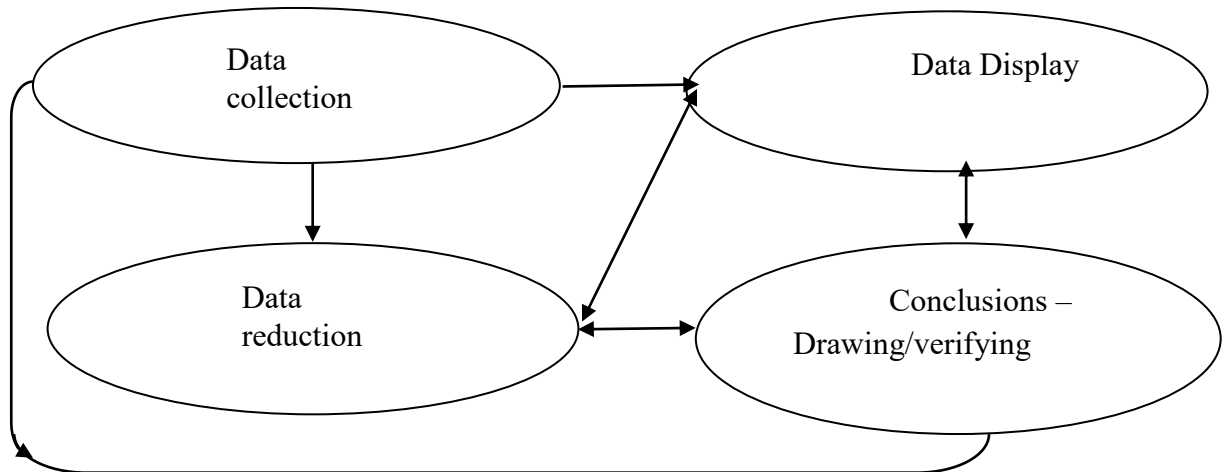


Figure 1: Components of Data Analysis: Interactive Model

From: Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 12)

This model presents analysis as a continuous, iterative process involving four phases that constantly impact upon each other and are carried out simultaneously. These four phases are integral to this study and their application is outlined as follows:

Data Collection Stage

Primary Data:

1. Review of the annual W.A. Dept. of Corrective Services data (current as at January 2017), with a comparison to similar data obtained from the two Scandinavian government departments controlling their respective countries women's prisons i.e. The Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services – "Kriminalomsorgen", which controls Ravneberget Women's Prison, and The Swedish Prison and Probation Services – "Kriminalvarden" which control Ystad Women's Prison.
2. Analysis of written communication exchanged between myself and Lill-Anita Øvergård - Deputy Director of Ravneberget Women's Prison – Norway, also A. Wallin – Governor Ystad Women's Prison – Sweden.
3. My knowledge of Boronia, having resided there for fourteen months.

Secondary Data:

4. Data available from the Office of Inspector of Custodial Services (WA).
5. Analysis of statistics and data available from "Brottsrummet.se" the Swedish Crime Prevention Council (National Council), and "Statistisk sentralbyrå", Statistics Norway (The Central Bureau of Statistics), and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Unique Perspective

With regards to current and past research around similar issues, little has been done involving an "insider" perspective. A group of US academics have formed an academic collective, "The School of Convict Criminology (CC)", which is primarily made up of university academics whom have an element of criminal activity in their past: *this group all appear to be men*. This cohort of the "CC" membership numbers approximately 20 and some of their members have been lecturing for more than 25 years, they are primarily from American colleges, as well as a small British contingent and one N.Z. University -Canterbury, Richards. S.C (2013). Within this article there is mention by Richards of there being only 2 women to have gained a PhD since having been incarcerated, however there is no reference to what their PhD subject matter was, or if these 2 women are now working within the world of Academia. This highlights how little academic research has been conducted by women with an "insider" perspective. It is apparent that research based on and written by former inmates is overwhelmingly dominated by male researchers.

As Walmsey (2015) indicates, the rate of incarceration for men has increased by 20%, conversely the rate for women is 50%. This emphasizes the need for more research pertaining to the incarceration of women. To gain a more authentic understanding of women's experiences, priority must be given to conducting research that includes the experiences of female inmates. Research based on and written by former inmates is overwhelmingly dominated by male researchers.

Argument

Progressive/open women's prisons work under philosophies which aim to maximize each woman's potential to positively, and confidently reintegrate with their families and communities following release. Progressive/open women's prisons, produce a substantially reduced recidivism rate by providing a combination of innovative reintegration programs and prisoner support mechanisms, including local community and family involvement. Progressive prisons facilitate prisoners to experience a sense of "normality", i.e. experiencing a crime-free daily routine, replicating a "normal" lifestyle; all of which reduces the recidivism rate of their inmates. Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre works under these guiding philosophies', and provides a local, West Australian Case study, through which to analyse female recidivism within the Australian context, anchored within existing scholarship.

Chapter One

Literature Review

Current indications are that internationally; female prison population levels have not only grown sharply but they have grown proportionally much faster than male prison population levels (Walmsey 2015). Walmsey's research estimated that the total world prison population has increased by around 20% since 2000, compared with the approximately 50% increase in the number of imprisoned women and girls. This highlights the need for conclusive research on women's imprisonment. More importantly, it shows how critical it is to reduce the recidivism rate of women. Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre already produces a very acceptable recidivism rate in comparison to other women's prisons within much of the Western world, however, it has been pointed out by the Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services WA (OICS 2015), that this could be reduced even further.

Western Australian Prisons

The Minister for the West Australian Department of Corrective Services (DCS) reported in the "Recidivism Trends WA Report -October 2014", that recidivism rates in Western Australia had gone against the national trend and had dropped significantly over the last five years (DCS, 2014). He reported that the reasons why recidivism rates were reducing among both adults and young people in Western Australia were unclear. Whilst he praised the work and outcomes of the Department's staff, he reported that there was still much work to be done and that not all measures and practices that were in place had been considered a success. He called for analysis to be completed that would require a robust framework of reliable data collection and monitoring, along with independent evaluation. The Minister described how The Inspector of Custodial Services, Mr. Neil Morgan, was correct when he had noted that W.A.'s general high recidivism rates (45.2%) have an impact on the finances of this State. The Minister set a goal for DCS, to reduce recidivism rates by six percent a year (Oct. 2014). It was reported that

programs needed to be delivered within an integrated, individualised, case management framework that extended beyond the structural confines of the Department and provided greater support for offenders upon release. With regards to the general women's recidivism rate, DCS noted that the rate of return for female offenders who exited prison and returned to prison within two years for the period 2013 - 2014 was 41.3%. (http://www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au/_files/about-us/statistics-publications/statistics/DCS-recidivism-trends-WA-October2014) (P 12, p2)

Women in Prison.

In one of only a few papers written specifically on women in Australian prisons and their reintegration into society, Sheehan (2014) discussed how the State of Victoria's Corrections department identified particular risk factors that propel women into offending and suggested a specialised response to women offenders, with particular emphasis on supporting their reintegration into the community. Undoubtedly there are challenges to both providing comprehensive programs for women, and evaluating these, to build a solid research base about effective practice, when women remain a consistently small group in the overall prison population, as noted by Bartels and Gaffney (2011) and Stewart and Gobeil (2015).

Currie (2012) investigated the issue of women's imprisonment in the United Kingdom and reported that at the time women comprised 5% of the total U.K. prison population. Currie presented an argument that the specific needs of imprisoned women were being overlooked in the development of policy. Currie proposed that women were being disadvantaged in terms of the delivery of services within the prison regime including access to appropriate prison rehabilitation programs and healthcare provision. Currie's study identified the differences in the way men and women experience prison through examples of discrimination. Her literature review highlighted the key differences between male and female prisoners, including offence type, life experiences and coping mechanisms, therefore recognizing women as a specific

group in need of specialised treatment. However, the results of her investigation into prison rehabilitation programs, and the specific issues facing women in custody such as gynecological health, pregnancy and childcare, revealed a distinct lack of gender-specific in available services. This study concluded that the small numbers of female prisoners had been subsumed into the majority male population and consequently, their specific needs were failing to be met during custody. Currie, reported that this reduced the overall effectiveness of imprisonment as a punitive sanction for women offenders, she suggested that an entirely new approach was required, quoting the 2007 Corston report where Baroness Corston had called for a radical rethink by proposing the introduction of small regional women's community centres as an alternative to the women's prison. These centres would promote a holistic, women-centred approach, dealing specifically with the issues which affect women most, including victimization, mental health and substance misuse.

Gaffney (2011) conducted a literature review of good practice in women's prisons and concluded, that good practice in prison management and operations should include the development of specific policies and practices, which acknowledge the gender-specific needs of female prisoners, for example, in the context of physical and mental health, as well as education, employment and program treatment. This report established that an effective practice model for women's prison systems—based on a review of key programs offered in Australia and internationally — should include: the development of holistic programs, which address women varied and complex needs; including housing, parenting, relationships, trauma, financial management, independent living, legal, physical and mental health, drug and alcohol and reintegration. Gaffney argued that culturally and gender-sensitive education, employment and treatment programs were critically important.

Whilst some researchers, Carlen (2005), Gaffney (2011) found that by conducting evaluations of programs and practices, it was acknowledged that, at times, what appears to be

good practice was simply a subjective assessment, especially considering the overwhelming lack of rigorous evaluation evidence. As Carlen (2005) noted, the “quality of life in prison is not reducible to a quantitative audit which can assess the claims of programs to reduce recidivism. Instead, the ways in which prisons are run should initially be evaluated per a penal probity which will sometimes have to make moral decisions that certain ways of treating prisoners are ‘good in themselves’” (119) (emphasis in original). Gaffney (2011), argued that it was critical that adequate resourcing for independent evaluation of programs, policies and practices, be provided to ensure not only conformity with key performance indicators but to promote good practice within Australian women’s corrections in the future.

A literature review was conducted by Trotter and Flynn (2015) on general principles of effective practice with incarcerated women in several programs. These were Aboriginal programs, transition and reintegration programs, offending behaviour programs, personal development programs, programs and services for young women, women with a disability and programs and services for women from culturally diverse backgrounds. Trotter and Flynn (2015) found that the research they had evaluated showed clearly that, surveillance-oriented, punitive and blaming interventions, whether in prison or in the community, are ineffective and have the potential to increase recidivism. They also noted that in general, current rehabilitation interventions on average reduce recidivism by around 20%. They wrote that the evidence showed that it was clear that imprisoned women have specific needs which are often different to those of men. Their research highlighted the issues of relationship and family issues including parenting, mental health, housing and drug use being of relevance to incarcerated women. Trotter and Flynn (2015) reported that there was some evidence that by addressing the specific needs of women, this may help to reduce their recidivism and improve their well-being.

Much of the Trotter and Flynn (2015) reviewed literature reflected the view that one of the important factors in the effectiveness of interventions with women (and with men) relates

to the way the interventions are delivered. The literature suggested that worker skills make a difference to recidivism of around 30% in community-based settings and that they also make a significant difference in institutional settings. Interventions are likely to be more effective if the instructors delivering them are supported in the development of their practical skills through training, supervision, coaching, program manuals and other methods. Worker skills, such as problem-solving skills and a “strengths” focus appear to be at least as important, if not more important, than the nature of the intervention and are a vital part of effective interventions with women (and men). The overwhelming message from Trotter and Flynn’s (2015) review was that rehabilitation interventions do indeed work, that they work best if they are delivered by skilled practitioners, as they were intended, and specifically focused on the individual needs of the offenders.

Recidivism

Per Baldry (2000) research into the strategies that can assist in helping to reduce the risk of recidivism of women prisoners fail to address the relevant aspects critical to women. Treating women with the same programs and measures in place for men does not address the differential needs of women. Baldry (2000) outlined this problem and argued that most of prison release schemes have been derived from a male prisoner perspective, with little consideration given to women prisoners. Further evidence of this being an internationally recognised issue was found in a Canadian study reported by Kelly Hannah-Moffatt (2011). Hannah-Moffatt argues that Canadian and many other international discussions of gender-responsive penalty, have substituted male normative criteria with a 'female norm' without critical reflection on the implications of this development and its impact on women prisoners. Hannah-Moffatt highlights how women prisoners are disadvantaged by penal systems predominantly geared towards male prisoners. She argues that although there is a certain element of feminist/community engagement creeping into the area of women’s imprisonment, she writes

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that this is critical and ought to continue, but it is important to critically assess the processes used to seek guidance and to develop inclusive policies, because the danger of these practices becoming symbolic and practically impotent is quite real.

Carlton and Seagrave (2015) noted that previous models of “gender-responsive” policies were not necessarily producing substantive positive results because fundamentally these policies were not recognizing the crucial factors that impact upon a woman’s successful return to society. They noted that there was a clear need for a rethinking and a renewed and extended appreciation of the ways in which women’s post-release experiences are generated and reproduced through a complex of social, economic, political and institutional forces, and that a review of practices and systems were considered vital for developing alternative ways of responding to post-release needs.

Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, & Peeters (2006), note how one factor that appears to have a bearing on the rate of recidivism in Australia is the issue of housing upon release. Whilst state and national statistics show that Australia has experienced a rapid rise in numbers of prison releases. With this, there is heightened interest in the social impact of more prisoners returning to the community. Baldry, et al. (2006) noted that international research had consistently indicated that suitable housing is a vital factor in ex-prisoners’ social integration. Their project, investigated whether, and to what extent ex-prisoner housing and associated social factors are important to integration in Australia, specifically New South Wales and Victoria. As at 2006, the authors found that no reliable prior research on this matter had been done. This research was done via interviews, pre-release (339 prisoners) were interviewed and post release after a period of nine months, (238 prisoners’ male and female) took part in the interview process. Analysis indicated significant differences between states; with chronic homelessness, poverty and lack of support in the participants’ lives, and that accommodation instability were all predictors of return to prison.

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Contrasting findings were reported by Benjamin Monnery, (2015). This French study of correctional administration, completed over a five-year period, confirmed the importance of gender, age, nationality, employment status and prior convictions on recidivism within 5 years after release from prison. This study found significant differences in hazards of recidivism, by type of initial offence, penal status at entry, and type of release (early release under parole, etc.). This study cast doubt on the influence of several sociodemographic variables (marital status at entry, education, and homelessness) in being issues that assisted in preventing recidivism, in contrast to Baldry et al. (2006) findings.

Brown & Ross (2010), found that another issue that affects the rate of recidivism is, mentoring, yet research into this issue also appears to have a variety of results. Mentoring is widely regarded as a positive form of post-prison support for women. Brown & Ross (2010), reported in a Victorian study that many women drop out early in the mentoring experience, many, prior even to meeting their mentor in prison and as many as half directly upon release. This article considered the questioned the suitability of mentoring. It queried, why mentoring seems 'right' for some women, and not others. It reported the characteristics and opinions of women for whom mentoring was a good option. This study, also considered the environment of post-release support and programming. The authors observed, that although there were continuing efforts by state agencies to control the types and applications of post-prison service delivery, this often resulted, in the increasing fragmentation of support services for women. Brown and Ross (2010), concluded their study, with suggestions for how a supportive post-prison environment, so important to mentoring, might be integrated into release planning. The authors highlighted, that research indicated that when static and dynamic risk was controlled, certain ecological variables, provided important information that would predict whether an offender would reoffend or not. In other words, reoffending was strongly associated with poor release planning. Brown and Ross (2010) highlighted the Willis and Grace (2009) results in

which of their pooled sample of 141 individuals, the quality of planning for post-release accommodation, employment and social support, independently predicted whether an individual would reoffend. The predictive accuracy of these three variables alone, was equivalent to that, achieved by mainstream actuarial risk models. The power of release planning to affect post-release outcomes, were revealed in the recidivism rates of each group. Where pre-release planning was rated poor, 100 per cent failed on release (nine out of nine committed further offences). For the average planning quality group, the recidivism rate dropped to 56 per cent (50 out of 90 reoffended), whilst in the group of offenders for whom good quality release plans were made, the recidivism rate was just 24 per cent (ten out of 42 reoffended).

More recently, Sheehan (2014), reviewed how Corrections Victoria, identified risk factors, that might propel women into offending and how it provided specialised programs regarding women offenders, with emphasis, on supporting their re-integration into the community. The "Better Pathways Strategy" developed in 2005, by Corrections Victoria, identified the key importance of housing, employment and family connections, to the successful reintegration of women offenders into the community. It was noted, that participation in offender based programs, as well as intervention in physical and mental health issues, as well as alcohol and other drug use problems also influenced women's self-confidence in their community reintegration. This report, discussed how gender-based programs and diversion responses for women offenders, were increasingly being challenged by the rise of the risk paradigm, where surveillance and monitoring draws resources away from therapeutic and community based responses. Sheehan reported how Corrections Victoria, noted that women were particularly affected given the nature of their social problems. Factors which bring women into contact with criminal justice include intellectual disability, mental health, dual diagnosis, drug and alcohol related behaviour problems, and homelessness. Corrections Victoria found that where 'joined-up' services had been implemented, this resulted in a more

successful facilitated transition from prison to community, and reduced reoffending. Sheehan (2014), also noted that constrained budgets and community disapproval, challenged the successful partnerships developed, as such, it appeared to negatively impact policy support for this group of marginalised and vulnerable women.

Sapouna and Bissett (2011), compiled a report for the Scottish Government in which the key messages on how offenders desist from offending were documented as being: key events in offenders' lives - such as parenthood and that re-integration in the local community impacts on their motivation to stop reoffending. They reported, that desistance is a highly individualised process and that one-size-fits-all interventions do not work; compared to recidivists, non-recidivists show higher levels of self-efficacy and commitment to change, and have stronger social support networks. They also noted that offenders valued getting support to solve practical problems, being listened to, and "believed in". Sapouna and Bissett (2011), found that supervision is unhelpful, when it amounts to simply reporting at social work offices. That interventions which help offenders include finding employment, developing pro-social networks, enhancing family bonds, increasing levels of self-efficacy and instilling a motivation to change, are more likely to have the strongest positive impact on the risk of reoffending. This report, also identified that rehabilitative interventions with the strongest evidence base, were those which included cognitive behavioral programs and supportive and interpersonally skilled supervision. They found that intensive supervision that is not accompanied by some form of support in addressing criminogenic needs, is unlikely to lead to reductions in reoffending.

Batchelor and Burman documented in their 2010 report, written for the Scottish Government, that they found in seeking to address issues of diversity, there is a lack of evaluations of accredited offending behaviour programs designed specifically for women. In reviewing the literature on community-based programs for young female offenders, Batchelor and Burman (2010) identified the following elements: a comprehensive and holistic approach,

aimed at addressing young women's multiple needs in a continuum of care; gender-specific program models and services that address the specialised needs of young women who offend (paying particular attention to, for example: abuse issues, relationship skills, self-esteem and self-efficacy, self-harm and substance misuse).

Gaps in Current Research Literature

Whilst the literature on male prisons and recidivism is extensive, there are gaps in the knowledge about female imprisonment and recidivism. Worrall and Gelsthorpe (2009) examined thirty years of issues of the *Probation Journal* and found only 30 articles from approximately 600 focused on women. This was also acknowledged in research conducted by Tripodi, Bledsoe, Kim, and Bender (2011). Trotter and Flynn noted in their 2015 literature review of best practice with women offenders that the lack of rigorous research on women was exemplified by their manual search of the two primary journals which focus on women in corrections, 'Feminist Criminology' and 'Women and Criminal Justice'. Their preference was for peer-reviewed meta-analyses and systematic reviews, peer-reviewed articles, book chapters and reports and departmental evaluations where the methodology included control or comparison group. They found virtually no studies that met their required criteria, which included - recidivism or reoffending measures, comparison or control groups, a test of statistical significance, and sound methodology.

Sheehan (2014), includes a review of what works with women offenders and discovered that despite a wealth of studies of male offenders there is a lack of research which can provide answers to what works to reduce reoffending in women. Only three studies in a review by Harper and Chitty (2005), of what works with offenders included women, while for their meta-analysis of interventions with female offenders, Dowden and Andrews (1999), were only able to identify 26 studies, of which 16 solely involved women, and another ten which predominantly involved women. Although there are very few robust outcome studies in the

UK that analysed by gender, the search of the literature did find a small number of international studies which did measure differences in recidivism.

Convict Criminology (CC)

With regards to current and past research concerning similar issues, so little has been done involving an “insiders” perspective. There is a group of academics within the USA, who have formed an academic collective called “The School of Convict Criminology (CC)”, this group is primarily made up of University Professors, lecturers and academics who have an element of criminal activity in their past, these members appear to be predominantly of the male gender. This cohort of the “CC” membership numbers approximately 20, some of their members have been lecturing for more than 25 years, they are primarily from American Colleges, as well as a small British contingent and one NZ University (Canterbury), (Richards. S.C 2013). Within this article, Richards mentions that there has only been two women to have gained a PhD since having been incarcerated, however, there is no reference to what their PhD subject matter was, or if these two women had continued to work within the world of Academia. This highlights how little academic research has been conducted by women with an “insider” perspective. It is apparent that research based on, and written by, former inmates is overwhelmingly dominated by male researchers.

Richards (2013) discusses the past, present, and future of the New School of Convict Criminology (CC). He includes a discussion of literature, major works, and research studies, also a review of Convict Criminology Group origination, membership, and activities. This article includes a discussion on the establishment of a formal Convict Criminology Theory construction, as well as four research hypotheses. Within this article, various elements of prejudice are discussed, including issues such as University prejudice and exclusion. Richards (2013) writes, “We live in an age where the civil rights of women, racial and ethnic minorities, and gays and lesbians, have finally gained some legal support in the United States (US), after

many years of struggle. Meanwhile, the plight of convicted felons, prisoners, and former prisoners grows more desperate. Who will dare to speak in support of the men and women who live in cages? When will, the criminal pariah be welcome at our universities?" He discusses how The Convict Criminology Group membership is growing, as it attempts to serve the needs of ex-convict university students. One of their priorities is a smaller group of ex-prisoners working their way through social science graduate programs, whom may eventually earn a PhD and become a CC academic.

Ross, Darke, Aresti, Newbold and Earle (2014) discuss how Convict Criminology (CC) are endeavouring to expand internationally, also the problems that they are facing in doing so. Ross et al., (2014) writes how despite its original vision of a community of ex-convict criminological and criminal justice experts, Convict Criminology (CC) has had difficulty with international expansion and has remained largely a North American movement. Some of the many reasons why this has occurred include such issues as language barriers, and the political climate, making international travel more difficult for anyone with a criminal element to their background, post the 911 incident. Ross et al. (2014) discuss the prospects for moving the field of CC forward in a truly international manner and the challenges that this entails. They include details on how the British contingent of CC is developing and collaborating with the USA branch as well as their efforts in collaboration with some of their European counterparts. The authors note the success that they have made with presenting at various European Criminological conferences, but also the scarcity of ex-prisoners being given the opportunity to progress into the world of Academia.

Newbold, Ross, Jones, Richards, and Lenza (2014) covers the perspective of auto-ethnography, an element that has often been absent in criminal justice research. This article also discusses the establishment, in 1997, of "Convict Criminology," that is, people working within the world of academia, either those who have served time themselves or who have

operated alongside prisoners as professionals in custodial settings. Newbold et al., (2014), writes that whilst an “insider” perspective cannot lay claim to scientific “objectivity,” they argue that the existence of emotion does not invalidate an “insider” criminologist’s views. The writers of this article feel that the passion engendered by the experience of incarceration can add colour, context, and contour to data collection, findings, and analysis and may, therefore, be regarded as an essential thread in the tapestry of criminological inquiry.

Nordic and Scandinavian Prison Systems – (progressive prison systems, also known as “exceptional” or open prisons)

Kristoffersen (2010), conducted a survey which comprised a total of almost 60,000 offenders within the Nordic countries. This study, was a product of a collaboration over 12 months, between a group of researchers and statisticians from the correctional services in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The purpose of the collaboration, was to overcome national hindrances in comparing recidivism due to differences in sentencing practice and the various ways recidivism was measured and reported. It tried to agree, on at least some minimum common requirements, necessary in order to do an approximate comparison. Each countries’ national computer registers were the sources used for this analysis of reoffending. Irrespective of national differences in defining recidivism, reoffending figures in this study was based on a common definition of reoffending defined by the research group. This study was considered a first, as there had not been any previous relapse studies that reported and analysed re-offending in the correctional services within a Nordic comparative perspective.

The study showed that Norway, had the lowest overall re-offending rate, among correctional clients in the Nordic countries. They report that within two years, 20% of all released from prison and among those who began serving a sentence in the community in Norway, incurred a new conviction that had to be served within the correctional services. In

the other Nordic countries, the study showed an overall re-offending rate varied from 24% to 31%. The authors point out, that other external factors contributed to the differences in re-offending rates between the Nordic countries, issues such as: clear up rates for criminal cases, and the police and courts capacity to deal with cases, as well as changes in the lives of the offenders.

The author writes how the research indicated that it was Sweden, though, who appears to be losing the battle in keeping their recidivism rate low. Its imprisonment rate is increasing significantly, beyond that, of Finland and Norway; to the point at which it is in danger of moving out of the 'exceptional' category altogether. Kristoffersen (2010), speculates that the combined effects of welfare restructuring and immigration, have led to declines in security and solidarity, along with an associated decline in confidence in expertise. The author also discusses, the apparent lack of commitment to welfare governance. This appears to have led to general increases in individualism, subsequently resulting in a growth of intolerance against outsider groups. Whilst Sweden could once be considered the world leader in social and penal reform (Kirby 1995), Kristoffersen (2010) writes that a new, less tolerant Swedish identity is emerging.

The focus on staff within prisons was addressed in a study by Johnson, Granheim, and Helgesen (2011). They discussed the topic of prison staff within an "exceptional" prison system in Norway. The authors investigated the structural, and organizational and cultural differences between small, medium-sized and large prisons. In these different cultures, various values are produced, that affect the quality of prison life. In small prisons, there is a decentralized and less hierarchical structure, with visibility, transparency and much informal and less strained day-to-day contact between the staff and prisoners. The authors found that these conditions, together with cooperation, discretion in the use of power, and a caring

expectation where interaction is based on individual relationships, made it easier to achieve a humane environment and humane treatment for those who live and work in such prisons. Small prisons (fewer than 50 prisoners) obtain more positive results than medium-sized (50–100) and large (more than 100) prisons, on several dimensions measured. The relationship between officers and prisoners seems to be of better quality in small prisons, than in medium-sized and large prisons. Johnson, et al. (2011) also report that officers in small prisons, report more positive relationships with senior management, than their colleagues in medium-sized and large prisons. The authors noted that cultural differences were evident, and that assumptions about 'Norwegian exceptionalism' (at least) in penal affairs remain to be properly tested

Pratt and Eriksson (2013), discuss the issue of how the Nordic and Anglophone societies think so differently about the place and role of punishment, as reflected in their rates of imprisonment and prison conditions. This study also looked at differences between these two clusters of societies, rather than making a one-on-one comparison – for example Norway and New Zealand. The authors felt that this would have more sociological impact and validity, rather than a project that looked at two small societies at opposite ends of the globe. Pratt and Eriksson (2013) highlight the differences between the two regions penal systems, and give as an example, the new prison in Norway "Halden", which opened in 2010. Time magazine (May 2010), cited it, as being 'the world's most humane prison', discussed its 'sound studio, jogging trails and a free-standing two-bedroom house where inmates can host their families during overnight visits'. By way of contrast, is a New Zealand news report that prisoners in that country, 'could be forced to build their own jail cells from shipping containers' and further reference to just such a facility, consisting of 13 twelve-metre-long containers. This report conjures up images of two societies, one proud to treat lawbreakers with humanity and tolerance, the other boasting of the frugal nature of the facilities.

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In summary, there is a strong recognition within the literature studied to date, that there is most definitely a need for more research to be done concerning the issues of:

- Women's crime, and imprisonment in general (Bartels & Gaffney, 2011; Stewart & Gobeil, 2015; Gaffney, 2011).
- Why the rate of women committing crimes and being incarcerated is increasing worldwide (Walmsey, 2015).
- Past literature on crime and imprisonment failing to report on women prisoners and their needs and circumstances (Worrall & Gelsthorpe, 2009; Trotter & Flynn, 2015; Sheenan, 2014; Tripodi, Bledsoe, Kim, & Bender, 2011).
- Academic recognition, that there has been a general historical trend for prison systems to be very male-oriented, with very little attempt, to modify these to be more female-oriented for women prisoners. It has, by in large, been a "one solution fits both men and women" approach to incarceration. (Baldry, 2000; Hannah-Moffat, 2011; Batchelor & Burman, 2010).
- Some researchers highlight, how to date there has been a very real lack of, not only women's orientated imprisonment research, but also research that focuses on women's rehabilitation and positive reintegration into society issues (Worran & Gelsthorpe, 2009; Trotter & Flynn, 2015; Sheehan, 2014; Carlton & Seagrave, 2015; Tripoldi, Bledsoe, Kim & Bender, 2011; Carlen, 2005; Gaffney, 2011).

Yet at the same time, there is a small amount of research which discusses the success of the "progressive" or Scandinavian "exceptional" form of imprisonment (Pratt, 2008 & 2010; Kristoffersen, 2010; Johnson, Granheim, Helgesen, 2011), This form of incarceration seems to be very much taken for granted by the Scandinavians and, as such, it appears that little academic research is published extensively within the Scandinavian region, by their own academics. With regards to research on women's incarceration within Australia, several researchers, noted that there was a distinct lack of research covering all aspects of this (Bartels, & Gaffney, 2011; Sheehan, 2014). The issue of "convict criminology" is generally covered by the few academics within this genre (Newbold, Ross, Jones, Richards, & Lenza, 2014; Richards, 2013; Ross Darke, Aresti, Newbold, Earle, 2014) and has been occurring for at least 25 years, yet I could only

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find two instances, where former women prisoners who had subsequently obtained a PhD, were documented (Richards, 2013). There did not appear to be any academic literature having been published by these women, nor was there any specific indication, on just what their PhD theses had covered (one was in the subject of Communications).

I wish to conduct future research, which will help address some of these issues, as the rate of women being incarcerated has steadily been increasing (Walmsey, 2015). This is vastly out of proportion to the amount of research and systems in place, relative to women's incarceration and subsequent rehabilitation and reintegration back into society.

Chapter Two

Scandinavian Prison Systems

This chapter will focus on the Scandinavian prison system. In doing so, it will focus on what is known as the “Exceptional prison system” which is operated throughout Scandinavia, and how “exceptionalism” fits into the ethos of Scandinavian prison management, which is one of normalization, punishment - is a mere loss of liberty. This type of imprisonment has been chosen to review, as it is this form of imprisonment that the W.A. Department of Corrective Services chose to model Boronia Women’s Pre-release Centre on. (Also, included is an opinion from Pratt (2008), of how this egalitarian attitude to the Scandinavian/Nordic justice systems derived.) “Open Prisons” will be explained, as this form of imprisonment started within the Scandinavian/Nordic region around the mid-1940’s and is now fully accepted and practiced within the entire region. Following on from these explanations will be Case studies of two prisons, “Ravneberget” in Norway, and “Ystad” in Sweden; which will provide further insight into women’s prisons which operate within this ethos.

The Scandinavian and Nordic regions operate a prison system that is recognised as being an “Exceptional” prison system. This doesn’t only refer to the very low recidivism rates that the prisons of this region experience, but also to the total ethos of their incarceration systems. Exceptionalism within Scandinavian (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) and Nordic (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and the Faeroe Islands) imprisonment systems—that is, low rates of imprisonment and humane prison conditions is considered to have emerged from the cultures of equality that existed in these countries, which were subsequently embedded within their social fabrics through the breadth of the Scandinavian welfare state. Pratt (2008) writes that exceptionalism does not just refer to imprisonment rates, but also to the

manner in which the prisons are operated, the conditions that the prisoners experience and the low rate of imprisonment that these nations experience. Generally speaking, in this region, it is recognized that going to prison is itself the punishment for crime; prison conditions can then replicate life outside, as far as possible, rather than being allowed to degrade and debase all within. Pratt (2008) and Nilsson (2002) document that the roots of Scandinavian exceptionalism are to be found in the highly egalitarian cultural values and social structures of these societies. Pratt argues that societies are less likely to increase their penalizing measures if they are characterized by a combination of political independent and strong state organisations', have a mass media that presents relatively objective information, have a history of strong social welfare that has led to more lenient attitudes about punishment, have a high level of social capital and if they are influenced by expertise. He claims that these characteristics bring about knowledge and social solidarity, which may prevent penal excess. This egalitarianism was then institutionalized and embedded within these nations social fabrics, through the development of the Scandinavian welfare state. Pratt (2008), believes that the penal and prison policies that this framework produced, began to sharply differ from those in the Anglo-American world, particularly during the post-war period, and have remained distinct from them ever since.

The way the Scandinavian countries have evolved their penal systems, has resulted in an imprisonment system that is quite dramatically different to that, of most Western nations. All Scandinavian prisons are run by the state —there has been no momentum for privatization. Sweden, for example has many small prisons, this form of prison organization allows most prisoners (unless they are maximum-security classification) to be located fairly close to home and family. This fits the ethos of Scandinavian prison management, which is one of normalization, punishment is a mere loss of liberty (Kriminalvarden, 2017). The enforcement of the sentence must be organized so that the sentence is *only* a loss of liberty. Other restrictions

can be used, based on the security requirements of the prison and prisoner. Core prison services such as health care are provided from the local community facilities, rather than the prison service, as such, reflect community ideals rather than prison values. Furthermore, Pratt explains that local communities in Sweden see both economic and social benefits with being the chosen location for a new prison, and that they therefore compete with one another. He states that “as with social distances inside the Scandinavian prisons, the social distance between prison and the outside world is also comparatively short” (Pratt, 2008a: 121-123).

On this basis, crime was to be understood as a form of sickness which, through expert diagnosis and carefully planned policy, could be eliminated ‘like other contagious diseases’ (Myrdal 1945: 11). For this purpose, the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders were formalized in Sweden in the provisions of the Implementation of Sentences Act 1945. What had previously been the standard form of imprisonment —solitary confinement, was abandoned and open prisons were introduced (Nilsson, 2002). Loss of liberty, was now to be the punishment and, under the 1945 amendments to the Swedish penal code, prisoners were to be treated with consideration for their human dignity: ‘no further deprivation, suffering or curtailment of incarceration was to be deliberately inflicted on inmates’ (Leander 1995: 181). Pratt (2008) writes that prisoners had become, as it were, ‘orphans of the Swedish people’s home’ (*stvybarn i det svenska folkhemmet*), the task of the criminal justice system now being to restore them to full membership of it —not by stigmatic punishment and exclusion, but by correctional treatment and inclusion. It should be noted that to the Swedish community the ethos of being safe at home has been a part of their culture for many years now, one explanation for this, is that of the then Swedish Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson (1928) conceptualized it as ‘the Swedish people’s home’ (*folkhemmet*), in which the basis ... is togetherness and common feeling. The good home does not consider anyone as privileged or unappreciated; it knows no special favourites and no stepchildren. There, no-one looks down upon anyone else

...no-one tries to gain advantage at another's expense, and the stronger do not suppress and plunder the weaker' (quoted by Tilton 1990: 126).

Scandinavian Open Prison Systems

It is generally considered that open prisons could only be introduced into societies which had high levels of trust, and tolerance, and which were also largely self-regulating and norm-compliant. Pratt (2008), documents how Scandinavian sentencing practices also reflected trust and forbearance, rather than the fear and anxiety of a ruling class struggling to maintain its power and authority. Post-war, prison sentences were shorter than those, in most other modern societies, with comparatively little use made of life or indefinite prison sentences, (Andenaes ,1954). This can be observed by the most recently available prison rates for Norway and Sweden, in comparison to those of the USA, Australia and NZ as listed below.

PRISON POPULATION RATE PER 100,000 INHABITANTS				
Norway: 90.2	Sweden: 84.2	USA: 693	Australia: 152	NZ: 203
@ 1.1.2016	@ 1.1.2016	@ 1.1.2016	@ 30.06.2015	@30.06.2016

(<http://www.prisonstudies.org>)

Pratt (2008) documents how within “Open Prisons”, fences, walls and other barriers are reduced to a minimum. In some prisons, there are no walls or fences at all. There are no bars on windows and, in some prisons, prisoners can choose to lock their own doors if they so wish. After the prisoners’ finish work or classes, they are free to walk around the prison grounds and sometimes into local communities. The concept of the Scandinavian/Nordic open prison system began in Finland, where, in the 1930s, inmates could work on farms. A new type of ‘labour colony ’prison was introduced to the Finnish prison system in 1946: ‘... no limit was to be placed on the freedom of those sentenced to labour colonies except, where called for, by maintenance of order and work discipline, and inmates [were to] be paid per the normal wage’ (Lahti 1977: 137). This is still the case in Finland. From their wages, such prisoners pay taxes

and 'rent', buy food, give money to their family and to their victims and save for their release. This system also used to be in place in Norway and Sweden, but in more recent years the prisoners of these countries simply receive an allowance, as occurs in closed prisons. In certain prisons, many prisoners, particularly those serving short sentences may continue to remain at their pre-sentencing place of employment, and commute between prison and work using their own vehicles.

Norwegian Prison System

The Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services – “Kriminalomsorgen”, provides the following information as to how their system operates (www.kriminalomsorgen.no). Approximately 9300 (2015) people are imprisoned every year and there are at any one time about 3900 (2016) inmates in Norwegian prisons at any given time. Around six percent of Norwegian inmates are women.

Pillars and Humanistic Principles

The Norwegian penal system is based on humanistic principles, and believes in treating each prisoner as an individual: Norwegian correctional facilities operate using the following principles:

- A humanistic view of humanity.
- The principle of due process and equal treatment.
- The principle that the convicted person has completed their obligation to society when the sentence has been served.
- The normality principle” (“Kriminalomsorgen 2017,” para.2, pg. 1)

Kriminalomsorgen document that, “they endeavour to balance society's demand for protection against criminal acts, in conjunction with protection of the individual inmates' opportunities to return to society as future law-abiding citizens”.

Central Principles in Norwegian Corrections

In reviewing the Kriminalomsorgen 2017 normality principle, they specify that:

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- “the punishment is the restriction of liberty; no other rights have been removed by the sentencing court. Therefore, the sentenced offender has all the same rights, as all others who live in Norway.”
- “No-one shall serve their sentence under stricter circumstances than necessary for the security in the community. Therefore, offenders shall be placed in the lowest possible security regime.”
- “During the serving of a sentence, life inside, will resemble life outside as much as possible”.
- “The possibility to implement the principle of normality fully is, of, course limited by reasons of security, order in the institution, and personnel, infrastructural and financial resources”. (Kriminalomsorgen, 2017)

The basic principle is there, and Kriminalomsorgen is very clear in their documentation that, “*you need a reason to deny a sentenced offender his rights, not to grant them*”. It functions around the ethos, that crucial services for reintegration are delivered to the prison, by local and municipal service providers. Prisons do not have their own staff delivering medical, educational, employment, clerical or library services. These are sourced from the local community. Kriminalomsorgen 2017 consider the advantages to be:

- “A better continuity in the deliverance of services - the offender will already have established contact during his/her time in prison;
- Involvement from the community with the prison system - more and better cross-connections and an improvement of the image of prison and prisoners;
- The services in question, are financed by other bodies as they are part of the rights of any inhabitant of Norway”. (Kriminalomsorgen, 2017).

Reintegration Guarantee

The Norwegian government established a reintegration guarantee, for those who have served their sentence. Each prisoner's required reintegration services will be identified, and included in their reintegration plan by the correctional services staff member. A variety of services can be offered, these include: - employment, accommodation, education provided, a form of income, medical aid, addiction treatment services and debt counselling This guarantee is not legally binding, it is an intention only, however government departments are expected to cooperate concerning this intention, thereby hopefully allowing the prisoner as much success as possible with their return to society (Kriminalomsorgen, 2017).

Recidivism

An independent study published in 2010 showed that the number of people whom were released from prison and reoffended within two years was 20% (Kriminalomsorgen n.d.). The Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services – “Kriminalomsorgen 2017” reports that it follows what they term as being key concepts security. They document, that it is not just how many cameras and locks prisons have (static security), but that the provision of good routines and planning of the organization (organizational security) matters are crucial. Kriminalomsorgen feels that good relationships between inmates and prison staff, with clear expectations of both parties, as well as the experience of both parties displaying mutual respect does not create room for conflict (dynamic security).

Recidivism Rate

Deputy Director Øvergård advises that the 20% rate of recidivism within Norway for both men and women, is the only rate that she has access to, this rate is found also within academic literature, and within the Norwegian Department of Corrections (Kriminalomsorgen). In querying a breakdown of this rate to that of women and men, or in fact, the actual rate of former prisoners of Ravneberget prison itself, no one could provide me, with such data. The

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Norwegian Statistics Bureau advised that they do not keep such a breakdown, nor apparently does Kriminalomsorgen (L.A Øvergård, personal communication, August 4, 2016).

Whilst this rate is low, it is particularly relevant that the rate of 20% is contributed to by the fact that Norway imprisons offenders for crimes which, in other Scandinavian countries would have incurred, simply a fine or a community service sentence. As such, many of Norway's prisoners have committed a low-level crime, and therefore, having now served an actual prison sentence, would be less likely to reoffend in future. At the same time, another factor that influences this 20% recidivism rate is the fact that the Norwegian justice system does not necessarily consider that the criminal has a former prison record when sentencing for a subsequent crime, therefore many former criminals receive sentences of community service or house arrest, as opposed to being imprisoned for a further crime. This is quite a different approach to that of the other Scandinavian countries, in fact, to that of many other nations worldwide. Therefore, the combination of low-level criminals serving prison sentences for their initial crime, and high-level criminals serving community service, or house arrest types of sentences for subsequent crimes, contributes to a lower recidivism rate than the other Scandinavian countries. This was noted by leading academic Ragnar Kristoffersen, in his 2010 publication "Retur", which was the first major study investigating recidivism within the Scandinavian and Nordic region.

Various Types of Prisons

There are 43 prisons in Norway, some with multiple sections. Three of these are women's prisons; Bredtveit, Ravneberget and Sandefjord. Prisons have different levels of security; from high to low, in addition to transitional housing. Kriminalomsorgen (2017), explains these as follows:

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Norwegian high-security prisons – “Closed Prisons”

A prison with high security (closed prison) have brick or high fences around the prison perimeter. All doors are essentially locked. When the inmates are not in work, school or participating in extracurricular activities under the supervision of prison officials, they are locked up in their cells. Over 60% of prison places in Norway are in a closed prison (Kriminalomsorgen, 2017).

A prison with a high-security status, often has one or more sections that consists of several cells, a kitchen and a common area, where inmates can engage in recreational activities. Cells in closed prisons are checked by prison staff once a day. There is a limit on the number of possessions' (books etc.) inmates can have in their cell. Prisoners are to have as much community access as possible.

Lower security – “Open prisons”

Lower security prisons (open prisons) have fewer physical security measures than high-security prisons, they still have a perimeter fence, and inmates are not allowed to leave the area. Prison buildings are locked at night, but cells/rooms are not locked. Inmates share a house and at times a room with other prisoners. Telephone calls can be recorded. Contact with the rest of society through various types of output, visiting arrangements and relaxed security measures are important.

Transitional housing stage of imprisonment.

Inmates can be transferred from prison to a halfway house when part of the sentence is completed. Transitional Housing is a step in the gradual reintegration process, with assistance offered with regarding housing, employment and social training. Collaboration between all relevant agencies concerning an inmate's return to society is considered a priority (Kriminalomsorgen,2017).

With regards to accommodating children within the prison system, unlike most European countries, Norway does not permit children to stay with their mothers in prison. Instead, Norway creates opportunities for mothers to stay with their children outside prison. Kriminalomsorgen, 2017 document that women who are pregnant or have young children may be able to serve sentences outside prison under paragraph 12 of Norway's Execution of Sentences Act. This provision states that people can serve all or a part of their sentences in institutions other than prisons where it is necessary to improve their ability to function socially and lawfully or where other special circumstances exist.

Ravneberget Women's Prison – an "Open Prison"

Ravneberget prison located in Sarpsborg, is a prison with low security, with a capacity for fifty-six inmates. Lill-Anita Øvergård - Deputy Director of Ravneberget Women's Prison in correspondence dated August 4, 2016 – advised that Ravneberget takes inmates with sentences up to two years, or with two years of their sentence remaining to be served. It also takes prisoners who are on remand (pre-trial inmates), when it's likely that their penalty will not be more than two years if sentenced. Exceptionally Ravneberget prison will also accommodate inmates with a longer sentence than two years, if for example, they are young or if they have physical or psychological problems. Deputy Director Øvergård advised that Norway and Ravneberget prison still has one of the lowest recidivism rates in the world, at twenty percent, and she felt that there can be many reasons for this low recidivism rate. She believed that one of the reasons might be that Norway generally has short sentences, independent of the crime, which means that the prisoners would not usually be imprisoned long enough to negatively impact their sentence or chance of rehabilitation. That, together with the Norwegian society in which they are released back into, and the programs and content they are offered whilst serving their sentence, all contribute to add a positive influence on this low recidivism rate. The Deputy Director also advised that Norway has a focus on what they call "restorative justice". That the

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Norwegian justice system tries to resolve conflicts in criminal acts by involving those affected; family, friends and the community. The prison system is conceived as part of a larger welfare state, and in her opinion, this makes a big difference.

Programs and Facilities Offered at Ravneberget

Accommodation: Prisoners are accommodated within a variety of rooms, these being rooms for four inmates, double-rooms or single rooms, room allocation is dependent on the length of their sentence. Rooms are not locked, there are however four counts/roll checks during the day (www.kriminalomsorgen.no).

Education: Ravneberget prison has an affiliation with a local high school (Borg High School), this enables prisoners to receive both education and training in a variety of subjects. As such, teachers are not employed by the prison, but by the Norwegian Education System. (L.A Øvergård, personal communication, August 4, 2016).

Work programs: Prisoners perform assembly work in an onsite workshop. In addition, there are several so-called high confidence jobs, e.g. kitchen work, laundry and maintenance. (www.kriminalomsorgen.no).

Offsite work or training: Deputy Director Øvergård, advised that Ravneberget inmates can work or study outside the prison. Criteria for this option is as follows: that the prison does not offer that specific training course internally, that the inmate needs to complete the practical elements of what course of study has been undertaken, and that the inmate is serving a long sentence, as such, is deemed as needing a substantive reintegration to society.

Leisure Activities: The prison has a gymnasium and an outdoor volleyball court, also a library with a local community librarian attending twice a week. Besides, books, it is possible to borrow DVDs and CDs. Red Cross attends once a month and organizes Bingo. A prison Priest attends twice a week. (www.kriminalomsorgen.no).

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Health and Medical Facilities: Medical attention is provided by doctors, nurses and a psychologist, who are all employed by the Norwegian health care system, not by the prison, nor the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Services. (L.A Øvergård, personal communication, August 4, 2016).

Voluntary assistance within Ravneberget: An organisation called “Retretten” visits the prison regularly, Deputy Director Øvergård advised that the prison finds that the visits from this organisation are invaluable. “Retretten” members are all former drug abusers or have a criminal history and she considered their personal experiences were “worth their weight in gold” to the Ravneberget women. There are also regular visits from a volunteer organization called “Jurk” which is comprised of law students, who assist Ravneberget women with questions, complaints, applications etc., that the prisoners do not want to submit to the prison officers directly. Red Cross also have a volunteer division, that assists Ravneberget prisoners upon their release, by arranging social and leisure networking opportunities, thus allowing the women an easier transition back into society, as although housing, education and work opportunities are often provided, social networking opportunities can be an issue at times.

Rehabilitation Programs Offered at Ravneberget

Ravneberget prison may at times offer programs such as - discussion groups for women – “WIN”, Anger Coping, Parental Guidance and Traffic and intoxication programs as well as a “Rusmestringsenheter” - a specific drug rehabilitation unit. A more detailed list of rehabilitation programs offered at Ravneberget is as below.

Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation - “Rusmestringsenheter”

Deputy Director Øvergård advised that 6 % of Norwegian inmates are women, many of whom often have a problematic relationship to alcohol and drugs. Ravneberget prison therefore also has a unit for drug abusers, this unit operates under a system called “Rusmestringsenheter”. A “Rusmestringsenheter” is an enhanced unit within a prison. It acts as a separate department -

specially designed for prisoners with drug problems. Inmates must have an acknowledged substance abuse problem and a minimum of two months remaining to be served. The inmates live in a separate house within the prison area. This unit houses up to seven inmates, and offers interdisciplinary treatment for substance misuse. This unit is a collaboration between Ravneberget Prison and Østfold Hospital in Social poliklinikk (SMP) in Sarpsborg. As such, this collaboration fully utilises the specialist health care system within the local district. The team of professionals within this unit, consists of three prison officers and a psychiatric nurse. The prison officers have received specialised training concerning drug and alcohol abuse and psychiatry. This team provides a program for women, modelled on the motivational interviewing method with topics such as identity and self-esteem, openness and communication, change and choice, substance abuse and dependency, children, grief and loss, boundaries in relationships, anger, violence, network and relationships, sexuality and economy. The purpose of this program is to enable better rehabilitation and treatment, and to reduce the risk of relapse into substance abuse and crime. The program also strives to increase awareness and understanding of the prisoner's own drug use, through knowledge of methods and strategies that provide opportunities and skills to cope with the abuse. The unit also offers ear acupuncture for detoxification and treatment of withdrawal symptoms. (L.A Øvergård, personal communication, August 4, 2016).

NADA Acupuncture – ørakupunktur

Kriminalomsorgen (2017) advises that for inmates with an acknowledged substance abuse problem, whether they are housed in the "Rusmestringsenheter" program or not, the prison offers NADA treatment three times a week. "NADA's acupuncture program is a standardized program conducted by a Physiotherapist, where five acupuncture needles are placed at fixed points in each ear.

WIN - Conversation group for women

This program targets women who are in prison or who, are serving a community service sentence. The aim is that the women prisoners will have gained self-awareness, improved social skills and built new options in their life once released, as an alternative to a life of crime. The program methodology used, is derived from motivational conversation (MI), learning theory, cognitive psycho logo and humanistic psychology. Dealing with issues such as identity, self-esteem, openness and communication, change and choice, drugs and addiction, grief and loss, children, anger, bordering others, violence, networks and relationships. The WIN program is conducted in groups of five to eight participants. The program can range over eight to 24 meetings depending on the participants, it also includes homework, which varies from 16 to 48 hours. Completion time ranges from three to 26 weeks, depending on the group. (L.A Øvergård, personal communication, August 4, 2016).

Anger "Brøset" Program

The Anger program is offered to women who are assessed as having violence and aggression issues, it is an individually personalized plan and is designed to educate the prisoner to better control their anger in future. "The "Brøset" model uses cognitive therapy to regulate emotional disturbances such as anxiety, depression and anger, targeting each participant's vulnerability. Based on individual therapy sessions, participants also receive 30 hours of group therapy where they learn coping strategies. If needed, traumatic experiences are addressed by further individual conversations and consultations with either the instructor or psychologist (www.kriminalomsorgen.no).

Sense Mastery – an alternative to violence

In 2015 the prison started this therapeutic option, for women who are sentenced because of crimes involving violence. Deputy Director Øvergård advised that this was because the prison authorities could see that more and more women were being imprisoned for violent crimes.

The program is structured so that the prisoner learns emotion control techniques. This course runs for three hours per session, one session per week over eight weeks. Topics include violence, emotion, aggression, identity and self-image, and coping with negative reactions etc.

Swedish Prison System

The Swedish Prison and Probation Service – “Kriminalvarden”, provides the following information as to how their system operates (www.kriminalvarden.se). Approximately 8500 (@2015) people are imprisoned every year and there are, at any one time approximately 4500 (4353 at 1st April 2016) inmates in Swedish prisons at any given time. Around 5% of Swedish inmates are women. In general, prisons within Sweden are substantially smaller than those operating within Australia, as an example – Ystad Women’s Prison has a capacity of 65 prisoners.

“Kriminalvarden” is the state agency responsible for detention centres, prisons and the probation service. It works in conjunction with the police, prosecutors and courts. Kriminalvarden falls under the jurisdiction of the Swedish Ministry of Justice. They document how “they operate on a set of Swedish Government values that can be summarized in the six principles, enshrined in the Constitution and law.

- Democracy - all public power proceeds from the people
- Legality - the public power exercised under the law
- Objectivity - equality before the law, objectivity and impartiality should be exercised
- Freedom of opinion - the Swedish democracy is founded on freedom of opinion
- Respect for the dignity, freedom and dignity - the public power shall be exercised with respect to the equal value and for individual freedom and dignity
- Efficiency and service - efficiency and resource management to be combined with service and availability”.

These national values are reflected in Kriminalvarden’s own values, which are summarized in the following key points:

- “Client Close - personal but not private

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- Professionalism - knowledge and clear values
- Right & Secure - accurate and predictable
- Reliable - public safety” (www.kriminalvarlden.se).

Swedish Prison Security Levels

Sweden operates a three-tier prison security classification. Kriminalvarden (2017) state that all prisoners should be placed within the correct security level, that no prisoner should more be placed in a higher level of supervision than is necessary. Each inmate is assessed and allocated to the appropriate security level institution.

Security Level 1 is the highest security class of closed prisons. Level one prisons are specially designed and equipped to handle the most dangerous inmates. Security Level 2 is assigned to closed prisons with a lower security level. Level two prisons may have different degrees of surveillance and control. Some have walls/fences, some are dedicated treatment centres, whilst others have a variety of security levels and accommodation within. Security Level 3 is given to institutions with no direct escape obstacles and operate under an open prison system (www.kriminalvarlden.se). Larson (2013) writes that prisoners at open prisons stay in housing that often resembles college dorms, have access to accessories such as televisions and sound systems and can commute to a job and visit families while electronically monitored. Prisoners and staff eat together in the community spaces built throughout the prison. No one is expected to wear uniforms.

Women in Prison in Sweden

Kriminalvarden has six separate prisons for women. These being: Women's Penitentiary, Färingsö, Sagsjön, Ljustadalens Valley, Ringsjön and Ystad. In these prisons, Kriminalvarden informs us, that their staff have been specially trained to meet the specific needs of convicted women. Across Sweden, the number of women inmates varies between 200 and 300 daily. As such, women account for approximately five percent (5%) of inmates within Swedish prisons. In 2015, it was recorded by the Swedish Bureau of Statistics (Sveriges

Officiella Statistik, 2017), that 28% of women prisoners for that year were foreign citizens, this has a bearing on the number of prisoners at any given time, as it is felt that a foreign-born prisoner does not have the community support network to allow them to always successfully complete their parole period without further incident, as such, foreign-born prisoners are less likely to be granted parole (Pratt, 2008).

Reducing Reoffending - Recidivism

Kriminalvarden state that their main objective is to reduce recidivism, it is documented on every page of their website and throughout their documentation, this fits in with the basic ethos of the Swedish Justice system, which is to facilitate rehabilitation in preference to imprisonment. Kriminalvarden document how it works to reduce reoffending via various methods including motivational interviewing, treatment, employment and an opportunity for the inmates to improve inadequate schooling. They strive to have their inmates better equipped to cope with a life without crime and drugs upon leaving prison. Anniina Jokinen, (2011) noted that at the time of conducting her research on Nordic Women's imprisonment there were approximately 300 Kriminalvarden staff/associates working full-time running various rehabilitation programs for prisoners within Sweden. In recent years, several treatment programs have been developed addressing various issues such as substance abuse and violence. The Swedish Bureau of Statistics (Sveriges Officiella Statistik, 2017) – reports how over a ten-year period from 2004 – 2014, the rate of recidivism within 12 months of having been released for women in Sweden, consistently sat around the 19 -20% mark for this period. Within this group of reoffending women, 17-18% were foreign-born citizens.

However, over the last decade, Sweden has been experiencing higher imprisonment rates, largely due to the increase of immigrants, and the associated issue of their lack of family and welfare support. Pratt (2008) documents how the high rate of immigration into Sweden is affecting both its imprisonment rate and recidivism rate, as a high percentage of the immigrants,

have not been able to gain access to employment, and the related welfare benefits, leaving many immigrants able to turn to crime. Pratt (2008) documents how the high level of immigration into Sweden has diluted its sense of homogeneity, there is less tolerance of crime committed by immigrants, particularly within the communities/areas that have a high percentage of immigrant residents, this, in turn, affects decisions made by local authorities/judicial/and police departments. Yet, at the same time, Pratt notes that this conflicts with the historical Swedish national mentality, so in many instances it appears that the authorities downplay this, at a national level.

Ystad Women's Prison- Sweden

Ystad Women's Prison located in Northern Zinkgatan in southern Sweden, was originally built in 1985 and has been extended twice since then. In Sweden, there are only six women's prisons, Ystad together with Hinseberg Prison are both classified as women's maximum-security prisons, although on a national level Ystad is classified as security level two, with security level one being the most secure within the Swedish Prison and Probation Service. As such, Sweden operates different levels of maximum security for each gender. Ystad Prison has a capacity for 65 women inmates, as at 1 April 2016 Sweden had a total of 260 women inmates (Sveriges Officiella Statistik, 2017). This relatively small prison capacity, also means that Ystad Prison tends to transfer inmates between the other women's prisons during a prisoner's sentence – for both security and rehabilitation reasons. (A. Wallin – Governor Ystad Prison- personal communication, August 10, 2016).

Programs and Facilities Operated at Ystad Prison

Accommodation: Ystad Prison consists of low brick buildings surrounded by fences topped with razor wire. The women occupy furnished single cells with an ensuite bathroom. There is a separate building for the self-care unit.

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Work: Assembly/packaging (predominantly plastic components for the plumbing industry), cottage industries, gardening and ceramics, all offered on site.

Education and Training: Adult education at both the basic and secondary level is offered, also Swedish for immigrants and literacy training. Higher education can occur, if resources are available.

Health Focus: Ystad Prison establishes a health profile in which inmates get guidance on diet and exercise, inmates also have access to mindfulness and yoga programs. Governor Wallin advises that Ystad has a small medical centre, in which it employs two nurses (full time) –they also utilize external medical consultants; one doctor - twice a week, one psychiatrist- one eight-hour session, every two weeks, one psychologist - one eight-hour session once a week, one midwife once every two to three weeks and a dentist one day per week. The local hospital is used for all other medical needs.

Leisure: Facilities include a sports hall, exercise rooms, walking areas as well as a football area. Visits by Non-Government organisations are allowed.

Pastoral Care: A Priest from Svenska Kyrkan (the Swedish national church) visits Ystad twice a week, as does a Deacon from a Pentecostal church, a female Imam visits once a week.

Yoga: Kriminalvarden employs a national yoga coordinator, whose job, among other things, is to train prison guards as yoga teachers. Governor of Ystad, Viktoria Rydholme advised in a BBC documentary (<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-24272978>) that Yoga appears to have a calming effect on the women prisoners', she is quoted as saying,

“Yoga has made it easier for the prison staff to motivate the women, to change the behaviour that has brought them to prison in the first place”. “In other group activities, she says, there is often trouble, quarrelling. But when they are together in yoga, it's never any problem. Not once during these years has there been a problem with that”.

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Self-management: Ystad Prison has two separate sections whereby inmates have the facility to self-cater their meals. They also undertake their own food shopping, cleaning and laundry. These two sections operate more like that of an “open prison ethos”.

Prison Drug Control: Ystad Prison staff utilizes the use of room checks and urinalysis testing. If an inmate is suspected of being in the possession of prohibited items and or drugs a visible body search can take place. In this case, the inmate would undress and visible body parts are examined as well as the palms, soles and armpits, but no one is touched. The use of sniffer drug detection dogs is also an option in room and inmate searches.

Babies in Ystad: Governor Wallin in a personal communication, August 10, 2016, advised that Ystad prisoners are at times able to keep their babies with them, from newborns up to one-year-olds if, it's considered by the authorities to be in the best interest of the child. The decision for the prisoner being able to keep their baby is made in cooperation with the social services.

Outside work and study options: Governor Wallin advises that although Kriminalvarden allows women to work or study outside the prison, this does not occur very often at Ystad Prison. In general, this is more likely to occur in a lower security facility (A. Wallin -personal communication, August 10, 2016).

Rehabilitation / Treatment Programs Operated at Ystad Prison

Governor Wallin advises that all the rehabilitation programs that are used in Swedish prisons must go through a thorough accreditation process, as in – they need to prove themselves in an empirical study to have a positive effect. However, one problem is that most programs are developed for male inmates and are not always suitable for women. Currently there is only one program in use that specifically targets women, this being the “Win” program. (A. Wallin – Governor Ystad Prison-personal communication, August 10, 2016). Ystad does not have a specialised separate drug rehabilitation unit, as can be found at Ravneberget (Norway),

Governor Wallin advises that the reason for this is that due to the low number of women inmates (and women's prisons) in Sweden, Kriminalvarden has implemented a system whereby specific prisons offer specific programs. Therefore, should an inmate be in need of a drug rehabilitation program they will be transferred to a prison that offers the specific program deemed necessary for that prisoner?

Prism

“Prism” stands for Program for Reducing Individual Substance Misuse, this program originated from Britain and has been used by the Kriminalvarden since 2003. It is a cognitive behavioural therapy program that is based on social learning theory. Prism is for abusers of alcohol, drugs and/or prescription medication whose crime is linked to the abuse, it is operated on an individual basis recognizing everyone's specific needs. A prisoner's target is established i.e. abstinence or reduction of the abuse. The program advocates abstinence and aims to demonstrate that over time, it is possible to go from being an addict to being able to control the addiction. Prisoners learn to recognize the signals that trigger their addiction and crime, to increase their self-control, to resist negative temptations and to be better able to solve their individual problems related to their substance abuse. Prisoners train to recognize unpleasant feelings, find stress relief and to repair relationships. Prism operates over 21 meetings, totaling 32.5 hours (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

Games Programs – against addiction and gambling

Prisoners who have gambling addiction issues are able to access two different programs; one being for stand-alone games and the second is for those addicted to Internet-based games. Both programs operate via a CBT method.

“Stand Alone Game Program” operates either as a short program that can be connected to other abuse programs, or a slightly longer standalone version. This program can be conducted on both a group and/or on an individual basis. Along with the facilitators', the

participants work on analyzing situations that have potential to lead to a relapse, also how to best handle a subsequent relapse. Participants practice social skills and problem-solving, via role-playing and motivational exercises. Operating as an additional program it consists of four sessions, whilst the standalone program consists of eight (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

“Internet-Based Gaming Program” – Has been in operation since 2013, it is an Internet-based therapy programme for people with gambling issues. The intention is to motivate and implement a change in gambling behaviour via the use of internet accessed exercises performed independently. A facilitator is available, via the telephone, to support participants progress. This program is comprised of eight modules, as well as pre-and post-assessments (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

Prevention AP

Prevention AP is a program which is primarily intended as an enhancement program to previous treatment. Prevention AP has two target groups, crime (AP Crime) and alcohol and drug addiction (AP Abuse). Participants work with the facilitator on an individual basis, whereby they practice managing issues such as various risk situations, relapse and craving, facilitated mainly via conversation and exercises. The program requires the participant to be strongly motivated to change their way of thinking about drugs/crime (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

Relapse Prevention Program – “Steam Boiler”

Steam Boiler is a shortened version of the Prevention program; it was developed by Kriminalvarden and has been operating since 2006. Steam Boiler includes cognitive and behavioural strategies to reduce the risk of relapse, consisting of eight, one and a half hour sessions over a period of between four to 16 weeks (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

“Pulse” – Problem-solving life skills

“Pulse”, developed by Kriminalvarden in 2012, is directed at prisoners convicted of a crime involving violence. Kriminalvarden, 2017 advises that Pulse is primarily a CBT program

utilizing social information processes, originally developed for male prisoners with violence issues, it was then applied to incarcerated youth, it is now offered throughout the Swedish prison system, including various women's prisons such as Ystad.

“Pulse” consists of both group and individual consultations. The group works on participants recognizing problem situations and solutions. Via discussions and role play, they learn self-control and actively practice resisting peer pressure. Each group consists of four to eight participants and the support that participants give to each other is considered important.

The individual sessions focus on the participant's needs and specific goals. Facilitators monitor each participants progress, and when meeting on an individual basis they discuss how the participant can use this new self-awareness and knowledge in future within their personal relationships.

“Pulse” consists of 24 group sessions and six individual meetings. Although usually operated over a maximum period of 24 weeks it can be implemented in eight weeks if need be. Group sessions are 90 minutes long, whilst individual sessions are 60 minutes.

“ETS” - Enhance thinking skills

Kriminalvarden report that this program is aimed at men and women with a criminal history. It is not directed at any specific crime, but at people who feel trapped within a criminal behaviour mindset and are wanting to change. ETS originated from England and was adapted to Swedish conditions, it has been used by Kriminalvarden since 2003. Using CBT methods, it is a group-oriented program where participants and two facilitators develop problem-solving issues by practicing social skills, self-control and creative thinking. Participants learn methods to improve handling risky situations in everyday life via the use of role-plays, assignments, and group exercises. ETS involves groups of six to eight participants over 21 lessons, covering a total of 50 hours.

“One to One “

Kriminalvarden document that this program is aimed at men and women with a criminal lifestyle and who have been assessed as having a medium to high risk of relapse. “One to One” is an individual program where the facilitator and client via conversation, role playing and homework assignments work with problem-solving, attitudes and values issues. A CBT program, based on social learning theory, it can be adapted to an individual's needs, it allows the participant to practice social skills and self-control. Developed in the UK and adapted to Swedish conditions, it has been used in Sweden since 2001, the program consists of 21 sessions, totaling 24 hours covering a period of four to five months.

Motivation Programs

MIC and BSF are two motivational programs which were developed by Kriminalvarden, to educate prisoners who need to be motivated to make a change in their behaviour. These programs are conducted on a one on one basis. BSF can to some extent be adapted based on the participant's needs, whereas the contents of the MIC program are *fully* adapted to each individual's situation.

Participants and facilitators focus on a specific target, e.g. to stop using drugs. They work together to strengthen the participant's motivation to implement the required change. This is primarily handled via discussion, if required, the participant can utilize a range of digital media exercises.

BSF (Behaviour Change Call) has been operating since 2002. BSF consists of an initial meeting and five subsequent individual conversations, held over a period of three to six weeks.

MIC (Motivational Interviewing in Probation) has been operating at Ystad Prison since 2012. Based on a motivational interviewing method, which draws attention to the prisoners' statements about change and wanting to strengthen their motivation. MIC consists of three sessions over a period of one to four weeks (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

R&R 2 for ADHD Youths and Adults (R&R – reasoning & rehabilitation)

Governor Wallin advises that Ystad Prison run this program specifically for its inmates who have been classified as being ADHD. R&R2 is a cognitive behavioural therapy program devised initially in Canada, where research has shown that the R&R2 for ADHD Youths and Adults program has demonstrated improvement in ADHD symptoms, anxiety, depression, antisocial behaviour and social functioning. R&R2 teaches offenders cognitive, emotional and social skills and values that are required for pro-social competence. It trains offenders in skills and values that enable them to negate factors which produce antisocial behaviour.

“WIN”- a motivation program for women

Win is a motivational intervention program for women who have a substance abuse issue and or a criminal lifestyle. It aims for participants to be better able, to assess their need for change within various aspects of their lives and subsequently become better at making choices, ultimately providing a better-quality lifestyle. WIN originated in Norway and has been used in Ystad Prison since 2006. It is based on a combination of Motivational Interviewing, (MI), cognitive approach and cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT).

Prisoners learn of the relationship between drug abuse, violence and crime. WIN is synonymous with *winning over ones' addiction and the related criminal activity*. Consisting of group sessions where participants guided by facilitators deal with issues of identity, each participant's risk factors, identifying alternatives to abuse, also, what triggers each participant's anger and how the participants can better handle future negative behaviour. WIN uses conversations, role plays, relaxation techniques and homework assignments, all designed to enable prisoners to be more adept at interpreting messages, to learn to give, and take constructive criticism, to be able to put into words their thoughts and emotions related to grief, pain and guilt and learn to resist peer pressure regarding drugs and sex. Prisoners develop a life-map and a plan for self-change. Each group consists of five to eight participants; meeting

two to three times a week for 14 to 16 sessions, in addition to group meetings, there are also four individual sessions (Kriminalvarden, 2017).

Summary

In summary, the way in which the Scandinavian countries have evolved their penal systems, has resulted in an imprisonment system that is quite dramatically different to that of most Western nations. All Scandinavian prisons are run by the state, there has been no momentum for privatization. Sweden, for example, has many small prisons, this form of prison organization allows most prisoners (unless they are maximum-security classification) to be located fairly close to home and family. This fits the ethos of Scandinavian prison management, which is one of normalization, punishment is a mere loss of liberty (Kriminalvarden, 2017). Within Norway and Sweden, the enforcement of the sentence must be organized so that the sentence is *only* a loss of liberty. Core prison services such as Doctors providing medical care are provided from the local community facilities, rather than the prison service, as such, reflect local community ideals rather than prison values, this is more so in Norway, Ystad (Sweden) provides a combination of medical personnel employed by Kriminalvarden as well as visiting medical staff from the local community. Both Sweden and Norway operate a prison system that is known as being an “exceptional or open” prison system, this doesn't only refer to the very low recidivism rates that the prisons within these countries experience, but also to the total ethos of their incarceration systems, the primary focus is that of rehabilitation. Exceptionalism within Scandinavian and Nordic imprisonment systems—that is; low rates of imprisonment and humane prison conditions is considered to have emerged from the cultures of equality that existed in these countries, which were subsequently embedded within their social fabrics throughout the Scandinavian/Nordic welfare state. Pratt (2008), writes that exceptionalism does not just refer to imprisonment rates, but also to the manner in which the prisons are operated, the conditions that the prisoners experience and the low rate of imprisonment that

these nations experience. In this region, it is recognized that going to prison is itself the punishment for crime; prison conditions can then replicate life outside, as far as possible, rather than being allowed to degrade and debase all within. Pratt (2008) and Nilsson (2002) document that the roots of Scandinavian exceptionalism are to be found in the highly egalitarian cultural values and social structures of these societies.

Both Norway and Sweden report a recidivism rate of around 20 percent - this is the national rate for both men and women in Norway (Kristoffersen, 2010) and the Swedish Bureau of Statistics (Sveriges Officiella Statistik, 2017) – reports how over a ten-year period from 2004 – 2014 the rate of recidivism within 12 months for women consistently sat around the 19% to 20% for this period. Within this group of reoffending women in Sweden, 17%-18% were foreign-born citizens - this is an issue that certainly is affecting imprisonment in Sweden over recent years, as the Scandinavian ethos of there being total community and family support for the prisoner not only within prison but more importantly upon release, is not able to be so readily adhered to when an immigrant does not have the long-standing support network of strong family and social relationships.

Whilst Ravneberget (Norway) functions as an “open” prison, Ystad (Sweden) is a higher security level, but does have a section that follows the “open” ethos. Both prisons run very progressive and innovative rehabilitation programs that allow the prisoners to make positive steps towards rehabilitation and reintegration into society. Sweden and Norway, appear to actively engage in developing progressive rehabilitation programs to suit the needs of growing sectors within their prisoner population, Norway developed “WIN” which is a rehabilitation program designed specifically for women, Sweden now also uses this system. This appears to be typical of the Scandinavian approach, they are proactive in addressing issues that may affect reintegration. It should be noted that there are in fact very few rehabilitation programs specifically developed for women within international prison systems, the fact that

the “WIN” program was designed specifically for women is typical of both countries approach to incarceration.

Both prisons address any educational issues and offer language courses to foreign-born inmates to enable a more positive prison and reintegration experience. Tertiary education is available if applicable to the prisoner and the relative prison's resources at the time. Work is expected of the prisoners and is generally performed in a workshop setting in both prisons, as well as some inmates, holding high confidence jobs such as kitchen, and cleaning roles within the prison itself. Norway does not allow women to have their babies nor young children reside in prison with them, in this instance the women would generally be sentenced to home detention to still be able to raise their children, whereas Ystad Prison does allow some women to have children no older than 12 months old reside in the prison with their mothers, but only after it has been deemed as suitable by the authorities and if it is considered to be in the child's best interests.

The ethos of Scandinavian prison management of “normalization”, punishment is a mere loss of liberty (Kriminalvarden, 2017) is a fitting description of how both prisons operate. Within Norway and Sweden, the enforcement of the sentence must be organized so that the sentence is *only* a loss of liberty, every avenue is undertaken by the authorities to ensure that each prisoner has a good chance of successful reintegration into normal society upon their release. In adhering to their guiding principles including that of “normality”, i.e. “*during the serving of a sentence, life inside will resemble life outside as much as possible*” (Kriminalomsorgen, 2017), it provides prisoners with an environment and structure, that they can relate to life outside of the prison domain, thus adding an element of success to reintegration into society upon their release.

This successful reintegration and as such, low recidivism rate is contributed to, by the involvement of local community-based authorities and facilities in not only, providing prison

services but by being the prisoners' familiar environment – their “home” environment. This form of “restorative justice”, in which the Norwegian and Swedish justice systems practice, where they endeavour to resolve future criminal behaviour by involving those affected; family, friends and the community. Whereby the prison system, is conceived as being just one part of a larger welfare state, actively contributes to both nations low recidivism rate. The general culture of the Scandinavian region, in having highly egalitarian cultural values and supportive social structures, allows both Norway and Sweden to be innovative - not only in their approach to rehabilitation and reintegration, but also to their approach to incarceration in total. These factors combined, appears to largely contribute to the very low recidivism rates that both prisons experience.

Chapter Three

Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre

Boronia Pre-release Centre for Women (Boronia) is located in the suburb of Bentley, in Perth, Western Australia and was opened in May 2004. Boronia has a capacity of 95 women and manages minimum-security female prisoners, and some of their children in a community-style setting. The W.A. Department of Corrective Services (DCS), advises that Boronia strives to adopt a forward-looking model that recognizes the diverse needs of women in prison (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au).

DCS states, that Boronia prepares women for re-entry into the community by offering meaningful rehabilitation activities and work placements. These are designed to address the unique needs of women prisoners and provide them with practical skills. Women can enrol in traineeships, in areas such as hospitality via Boronia's hospitality and catering programs, horticulture, retail operations, and retail supervision traineeships are also available. Residents also have the possibility to take part in work programs within the local community for businesses and not-for-profit organisations (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au). DCS document that Boronia strives to have a strong focus on maintaining links with the local community, through their affiliation with the Community Engagement and Advisory Group (CEAG) who provides Boronia with community input and feedback.

Boronia's Guiding Philosophy

DCS advise, that Boronia adopts a progressive model of imprisonment that recognizes the diverse needs of imprisoned women. Based on the principle that, while imprisonment serves as a punishment for crime, it also provides an opportunity to maximize each woman's potential to positively, confidently and safely reintegrate with their families and communities following

release, often in an improved state of health. The design and operations of Boronia endeavour to reflect the responsibilities faced by women in everyday life, as such, they support a strong community/family focus. The ability to build positive community relationships, is available via voluntary work, as such, these relationships can assist in their successful integration upon release. DCS document that they feel that women are able to take a certain level of responsibility for their choices whilst at Boronia –therefore assisting in reducing the recidivism rate after being released from custody.

DCS publish (http://www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au/_files/prisons/prison-locations/boronia-philosophy.pdf) that Boronia is guided by four values and principles, these being as follows:

1. Personal responsibility and empowerment:

Personal responsibility increases the potential to be law-abiding and achieve a positive role in the community. In Boronia, women live in accommodation that mirrors residential community living. This enables them to make choices and use everyday skills that are relevant to their return to the community.

2. Family responsibilities:

The importance of family relationships for women in custody, is supported and encouraged, for the benefit of the prisoners, their families and the community. It is recognised that for many Aboriginal women in prison, they, their mothers and their children have suffered a loss of maternal roles, through past government policies of separation.

3. Community responsibility:

A successful partnership is built by actively encouraging community participation and shared responsibility. The successful transition of women from prison to the community, depends on positive social networks and involvement with the community. Working in the community – and with the community – helps prepare women for reintegration following

release. The local community benefits from the work done by the women, and the women make reparation for their crime.

4. Respect and integrity:

In all circumstances, the inherent dignity of all people is respected, and the unique characteristics, diverse backgrounds and needs and views of women are valued. Actions are guided by equity, fairness and the specific needs of individuals. Integrity is promoted, by behaving and speaking in ways that model fairness, respect and equity.

Women's Imprisonment in Western Australia and Boronia's Recidivism Rate

DCS state that they "endeavor to ensure that Boronia's success is measured by the reduced rate of reoffending and the improved education, training, work and health of the women" (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au). As at December 2015, DCS advised that there were 510 women incarcerated throughout all the WA women's prisons, of which 85 were incarcerated at Boronia. They state that the 2014 recidivism rate for women released from Boronia was 17.2%, however, the Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services (OICS) published that, in their opinion, the 2014 rate was 18.8% (www.oics.wa.gov.au). The OICS also noted that as Boronia has a selective low-risk prisoner profile, lower recidivism rates are to be expected. DCS published in their 2015 – 2016 annual report, that the WA state average for being resentenced to a prison term within the last two years, for both men and women was 38.09% (http://www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au/_files/about-us/statistics-publications/annual-reports/DCS-2015-2016/dcs-annual-report-2015-2016).

Rehabilitation and Prisoner Support Services Offered at Boronia

Boronia offers various support services. Each prisoner would have been assessed when they first arrived at Bandyup Women's Prison (Bandyup), Bandyup is Western Australia's primary prison for women, and upon being sentenced within the general Perth region all women are sent there. The assessment entails staff calculating each prisoner's security rating, any health

issues, establishing what programs or education each woman should take part in, and if the women need any counselling to better cope in future.

Generally, women would not be transferred to Boronia if they were considered at risk of self-harm or suicide, however, a counselling service and prison support workers are available. Should a prisoner develop self-harm or suicide tendencies whilst at Boronia they would usually be transferred back to Bandyup Women's Prison to receive the required monitoring and attention. Teams of social workers and psychologists work with prison officers and medical staff, to help prisoners deal with difficulties they might experience whilst in prison.

Prisoners have access to a range of services to help them cope. One of these, is prison support officers – these officers are trained to offer support; they also manage the peer support teams. A peer support team, consists of a small cohort of prisoners deemed suitable to offer fellow prisoners support, if experiencing difficulties and to provide an orientation of Boronia upon arrival.

The prison counselling service provides individual counselling sessions for prisoners who feel in need of counselling support. Aboriginal Prisoners also have the support of the Aboriginal Visitors Scheme, which is a team of Aboriginal staff who provide support and culturally-appropriate advice to prisoners. My observation was that when these Aboriginal support visitors were called upon, they provided an immense amount of emotional support to the prisoner whom they were visiting.

DCS offers chaplaincy services available in all Western Australian prisons, to provide religious, and moral support. Prisoners can meet with spiritual leaders from their chosen religion for services, pastoral visits, religious instruction and private counselling. Access to recognised spiritual or tribal elders, is provided to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners. Boronia receives visits from three women spiritual leaders; these being a Catholic nun, and two women ministers of other mainstream religions, these women conduct weekly

religious services. There is also a Buddhist nun who attends, she conducts a weekly Buddhist religious service and offers a “meditation” session to all prisoners wanting to attend. A community-based prayer group attends one evening a week, inmates are welcome to attend these sessions, which are held in the library.

Education and Training Services

DCS publishes that it aims to make a positive difference in the lives of offenders, through a variety of rehabilitation and education programs. Prisoners can take part in a range of education, vocational, life skills and employment preparation programs while in custody. As a starting point, education staff at both Bandyup and Boronia help prisoners with basic education and literacy skills. All prisoners serving sentences of 6 months or more, have their literacy levels tested upon entering prison.

Whilst at Boronia, and after having been assessed by the educational staff as being suitable, prisoners have the option to complete either education programs such as, TAFE courses or vocational training. All courses are recognised as an industry standard, allowing prisoners to have better job prospects upon release, and can be continued upon release in the community, at a TAFE college or another similar provider. Prisoners can study the following range of courses: adult basic education, vocational education/training e.g. basic hairdressing, catering, horticulture, secondary and higher education, employability and life coping skills, also driver education and training (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au).

DCS have implemented specific educational courses for women, to assist with their reintegration into society, these include:

- NOW – New Opportunities for Women: This is a program whereby women undertake a variety of educational modules, aimed at reintegrating better into society, modules covered include: basic math, English literacy, how to search for employment, job interview skills etc., also, how to use meditation to calm down and relax.
- Standing on Solid Ground (SSG): Is an emotional and multiple intelligence course, whereby, prisoners gain skills and insights that help them to cultivate the emotional

balance they need, to maintain stable accommodation, employment, and relationships; key factors perceived in reducing the likelihood of reoffending. It addresses the gap, between acquiring a skill whilst in prison, and being able to sustain employment after release. SSG builds on strengths rather than repairing weakness, and aims to: 1. Cultivate the habit of awareness, by learning to pay close attention to thoughts and feelings. 2. Build confidence and self-worth. Prisoners learn to challenge negative self-talk, and begin to see themselves in a more positive light. 3. Identify values, and 4. Challenge limiting attitudes and beliefs. Learning to see things from a broader perspective, is a skillful choice that prisoners are encouraged to practice.

Health Care within Boronia

DCS offers health care to all prisoners by a team of doctors, nurses, mental health and addiction specialists, and visiting health specialists including psychiatrists, optometrists and dentists. Health awareness programs are also available to prisoners, to encourage them to live healthier lives upon release. Whilst in custody, prisoners receive the same level of healthcare the public would receive under the public health system. Boronia has a medical centre staffed by two nurses, a receptionist and a Doctor who attends two days per week.

Blood-borne Infections

DCS note that the West Australian prison health service, is one of the biggest single notifiers of hepatitis in Western Australia. This is because of the high number of offenders who take part in injecting drug use before they are sent to prison. For many women, Bandyup Women's Prison is the first time they have been screened for hepatitis and, many who test positive have no idea they are carrying the disease. DCS runs several education and health programs for offenders - including the HIP HOP (Health in Prisons, Health Outta Prisons) program, which looks at issues that increase the risk of contracting and spreading blood-borne viruses, including unprotected sex, unclean tattooing and needle sharing.

DCS also works to reduce the spread of blood-borne viruses such as hepatitis C, by making condoms and dental dams available free to prisoners. Exit kits which include public health information and condoms are also given to prisoners when they are released.

Mental Health

DCS documents that prisoners with a mental illness are managed using a process of standard assessment, diagnosis and ongoing treatments. I observed that prisoners requiring specialised mental health care would not normally be located at Boronia. These women would, in general, remain in a higher security level prison such as Bandyup, or if allowed to be imprisoned at Boronia, they would need to be transported to Bandyup Women's Prison to attend a fortnightly session with the consultant psychiatrist.

Offender Drug Management

With Boronia being a minimum-security prison, DCS only place prisoners there, who are fully in control of their addiction, whether it be via medication, and or counselling support. DCS offers a variety of interventions, including education and training, counselling, re-entry services and structured days to assist these women.

Other drug-related support for offenders at Boronia include health interventions, a range of drug and alcohol abstinence treatments, such as the "Pathways" program. The Pathways program, is an intensive program focusing on reducing reoffending and substance abuse. (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au). There is also a weekly Alcoholics Anonymous meeting held, to support those prisoners with an alcohol addiction issue.

DCS operates a "Drug Prevalence Testing" program, which is, a random selection of prisoners tested on a quarterly basis. In addition, targeted analysis testing of prisoners occurs, on suspicion of use, or as a compliance model for prisoners in drug-free units, or returning from home leave. The Drug Detection Unit (DDU) is a mobile unit of specialist drug detection dog/handler teams that provides comprehensive drug detection services for all Western

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Australian prisons. With Boronia being a minimum-security level prison, the DDU would only be called out, if officers suspected a visitor of bringing drugs into the prison.

Work Programs at Boronia

All Boronia inmates are expected to work in some area of the prison, or outside if they have been approved for "PEP" or "Section 95". The majority of women, work either, within the horticulture centre, producing fruit and vegetables, and maintaining the extensive garden areas within Boronia, or within the cafeteria kitchen, learning catering skills. Boronia runs a cafeteria for the officers and staff to utilize daily, and for prisoners and their visitors to use on the weekends during visiting sessions. Whilst I was at Boronia, the kitchen was supervised by a team of French Chefs, who instructed the women in learning catering skills. Other prisoners would be allocated to areas such as the education centre, library duties, retail (the prison shop) or cleaning the various communal areas such as the Medical Centre, recreation rooms etc.

Repay WA – commonly known as Section 95

Repay WA is a program whereby women from Boronia are escorted to work in a community organisation for several hours, generally four days per week. Organisations sign an agreement with DCS, and a team of women from Boronia attend over a specified period and a number of days per week. The women are escorted by an officer from Boronia, they wear their normal prison uniform whilst there. This usually involves charity organisations and rest homes, where the women from Boronia would be doing work such as: sorting donated clothes, gardening, recycling products, kitchen duties and grounds maintenance.

Prisoner Employment Program (PEP)

The Prisoner Employment Program (PEP) is available to women from Boronia as they are minimum-security prisoners. It is available to women who are getting close to being released, or who are in the last twelve months of their sentence. The program allows prisoners to undertake paid employment, education or work experience with the hope they will continue

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this employment or training once released. DCS informs us, that the aim of this program is to improve a prisoner's chance of getting a job, an apprenticeship, or entry to a training course upon being released. It is intended to enable prisoners to develop skills and support networks on the outside, making it easier for them to successfully re-enter the community. At times, it may be that the prisoner can return to their former place of employment prior to having been imprisoned, all security aspects must be fully scrutinized, prior to this occurring. All payment from employers, is held in a secure account for prisoners until they are released, they are, with the Wardens approval, able to withdraw some earnings for personal use within Boronia.

Reintegration into Society

Homestays are offered as an option, whereby within the last 12 months of their sentence, a prisoner can apply to DCS for permission to return to their family home for a 24-hour homestay once a month. Gradually progressing to fortnightly and then once a week within the last month of their sentence. This is, only approved after close scrutiny of the family members, home environment and the general locality. There are restrictions on just what the prisoner is allowed to do, also a prisoner must have already served 12 months prior to being able to start on the homestay program.

Accommodation at Boronia

Boronia is designed to resemble a community facility, as such it consists of 3 cul-de-sac streets, two of which accommodate several houses. Most which, are 5 bedrooms, 2 bathroom homes, each house has its own front and rear gardens and residents are expected to maintain the gardens and homes, to an acceptable level of cleanliness and neatness. There are 17 houses in total. The third cul-de-sac contains facilities such as the education centre and classrooms, medical centre, gymnasium, workshop, library, spiritual centre, small hairdressing training room, also a few staff offices. There is a large working horticultural centre where some of the prisoners' work, a walking fitness track, two small children's play areas and a more substantive children's

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playground attached to the cafeteria, this is for use - only during visits. There are a cafeteria and kitchen, which is used as a training/working facility for some of the women, this cafeteria is used daily by Boronia staff, officers and official visitors, and on weekend visit sessions by inmates to receive their visitors. The end of one cul-de-sac, is separated by a low children's safety fence, it is, at this end of the facility, where the three houses are located, in which, mothers can live with their children; these houses are two bedroomed; mothers and their children share a bedroom, two families per house.

Rehabilitation Programs operated at Boronia

DCS note on their website that - "There is a widely-held public opinion that the Department can 'cure' people of their offending behaviour, however, the reality is much different. Instead, the Department aims to help them get their lives back on track by better understanding their offending behaviour and learning new ways to avoid reoffending" (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au/rehabilitation-services/rehab-programs.aspx, para.4).

DCS offers programs that address addiction, violent offending, general offending, sex offending and those that work to improve a prisoner's cognitive skills. They note that a large proportion of the State's prisoners, have some sort of alcohol or drug-related problem that has contributed to their imprisonment. Although there is a much wider assortment of rehabilitation courses offered by DCS at its various prisons, with Boronia being classified as a low security establishment, the range of rehabilitation courses offered is not as extensive, as many women would have undertaken rehabilitation courses whilst initially placed at Bandyup Women's Prison. Once relocated to Boronia, residents who have been assessed as needing such rehabilitation, are able to undertake a variety of programs as listed below. Boronia has introduced a National Cannabis Prevention Information Service helpline – this helpline service offered at Boronia is not only to support women prisoners, but also to prepare them for their eventual return to the community (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au).

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Therapeutic and Cognitive Skills Programs: Programs designed specifically to meet the needs of women have been introduced, DCS notes, that these programs are designed to improve a prisoner's problem solving and social interaction skills, the following programs are operated out of Boronia:

- Pathways Program: An intensive, therapeutic, 126 hours – 21-week program which focuses on reducing reoffending and substance abuse.
- CCC – Choices, Changes and Consequences: A 100-hour therapeutic therapy program, concerning general offending issues, targeting a range of criminogenic needs relating to women's offending and aims to reduce a woman's risk of reoffending.
- CBI – Cognitive Brief Intervention: A 20-hour motivational cognitive skills program.
- Think First -: A 60-hour therapeutic cognitive skills program.
- A Building on Aboriginal Skills (BOAS): This program is designed for Aboriginal prisoners who want to reconnect with their land and culture, while learning cognitive skills and positive behaviour.
- NOW – New Opportunities for Women and Standing on Solid Ground programs are also conducted at Boronia from within the Education Centre, as described earlier.

Women's Estate Reference Committee

DCS advise, that as women are the largest growing cohort of the West Australian prison population - they established a Women's Estate Reference Committee, to advise on initiatives concerning the women's imprisonment, and to identify proposals that address specific issues. These committee members are chosen to cover a wealth of expertise, as such, can provide advice on the specific needs of Aboriginal women prisoners, potential links with industry and the best ways to support prisoners with substance abuse issues. This committee would generally meet on a quarterly basis at Boronia.

Review of Boronia, Ravneberget and Ystad Prisons

(Refer: Table 2 in Appendices)

In analyzing these three women's prisons, my primary focus has been to review various factors, including the respective recidivism rates, guiding principles and policy frameworks. My secondary focus was on facilities, programs and rehabilitation courses/programs offered by all 3 institutions. Whilst I was imprisoned at Boronia I observed the population and its methods of operation, in doing so, I came across factors that have a bearing on the research results, as per the following:

The guiding principles of Boronia – these being based on the principle that, whilst imprisonment serves as a punishment for crime, it also provides an opportunity to maximize each woman's potential to positively, confidently and safely reintegrate with their families and communities following release (www.correctiveservices.wa.gov.au). Boronia's architectural design and layout are very typical of a small community facility, such as those found throughout many Perth suburbs. The daily operational program, endeavours to replicate the responsibilities faced by women in everyday life, including, a focus on maintaining strong family ties. Boronia women can contribute to society through voluntary work, this allows them to build positive relationships with the community. For many women, this is the first time they have contributed to the community via volunteering, allowing them to have a sense of pride and satisfaction. Boronia offers women the opportunity to improve their health, as well as providing an opportunity to improve their vocational and or educational skills; the women to a certain extent, can take responsibility for some of their choices whilst at Boronia. All of which offers Boronia women, an opportunity to leave Boronia at the end of their sentence with not only an improved skill-set, but also an improved mindset - thereby reducing their risk of reoffending in future. This all very much replicates the form of "restorative justice", and "exceptional imprisonment" that both the Norwegian and Swedish justice and prison systems

operate, whereby they involve the prisoner's family, friends and the community in not only the incarceration process but most certainly in the rehabilitation and reintegration process. The Scandinavian approach of "restorative justice" allows a positive approach to prisoners returning to a successfully to their communities. Coupled with the approach of imprisonment at Boronia, replicating normal everyday life as much as possible, allows Boronia women to experience a sense of "normality" and to understand just how normal life can be, without a criminal element to it. My observation was, that it appears to subconsciously set the scene for a more successful reintegration back into society, the women are now aware of the difference in lifestyle, they have now experienced feeling safe and secure without the pressures of that criminal element within their general everyday life. I would also point out, that I observed and can certainly relate to the fact, that for many women, imprisonment provides a certain level of respite; whether it be from a toxic relationship, a negative environment or an addiction. Boronia provides an agreeable and safe environment, to rebuild aspects of one's life, to reflect, and to try to plan a more positive pathway moving forward.

Security Level – Boronia is a minimum-security pre-release prison, with its population coming from a very wide range of society and socio-economic backgrounds, the crimes for which these women have been imprisoned are just as diverse. Whilst there are women there whom once would have been maximum security, (murderers for example - are sent to Boronia for their last few years of expected imprisonment -very often they have been imprisoned for between 14 to 17 years prior to being sent to Boronia). Many of Boronia inmates have been imprisoned for an extensive range of lower grade and less violent offences such as white-collar crimes – including Australian Government welfare fraud, with drug offences and property theft offences being the majority. As such, this acts to contribute to Boronia's low recidivism rate (17.2% to 18.8% for 2014) which is substantially lower than that of other women's prisons within Australia, e.g. WA state rate for all women prisoners for 2016 was 52.6% (ABS, 2016).

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Ravneberget (Norway) is also a lower security level prison, whereas Ystad (Sweden) is a second security level in Sweden – which is classified as a maximum-security level for women in Sweden, therefore the demographics of Ystad inmates should be different and yet, they still produce a very low, and similar level of recidivism (22% all prisoners -men and women - Norway, 20% all women prisoners - Sweden).

Rehabilitation programs offered at Boronia are relative and comparable to some extent as to what appears to be offered at Ravneberget and Ystad, although in comparing the programs offered at all three prisons, there appears to be a few rehabilitation programs/issues that are not addressed at Boronia, one of these being a program to address anger management issues. Whilst there may be some relative courses, such as those addressing anger management on offer at other Australian women's prisons, they are not offered at Boronia. Certainly, at the time of this research being conducted, Sweden in particular was very proactive in developing a wider range of rehabilitation programs, they undoubtedly offered a greater number of programs targeting a wider range of offending and rehabilitation issues. Both Sweden and Norway appear to be very proactive in developing programs, specific to the areas of crime that are on the rise, such as gambling addictions, on-line gaming addictions, also drug use and rehabilitation.

Accommodation offered at Boronia is without doubt comparable to that on offer at Ravneberget and Ystad, particularly the ability for six women to be able to serve their imprisonment with up to two children under the age of four living at Boronia with them. Also, the fact that all women, once they have a single bedroom, can have their children fourteen years and under stay with them for an overnight stay every second weekend. Norway does not offer this specific method of incarceration for mothers at all, and Ystad (Sweden) will allow a baby to remain with its mother for a maximum of twelve months, only if it is considered to be in the best interests of the child. Whilst Ystad women are accommodated in single rooms with an

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ensuite, Ravneberget women are housed in rooms accommodating anywhere between one to four women, whereas Boronia women are in cottage style accommodation, initially sharing a bedroom with one other inmate, before progressing to a single bedroom most frequently in a five bedroom, two-bathroom cottage.

Prison facilities such as education options, library, recreation facilities and medical facilities are very comparable at Boronia, given that it is all provided by DCS on-site, other than medical care which would require a hospital or specialist centre visit. Whereas in Sweden and Norway, this, by in large, is provided by the local community health and education providers, thus encouraging a connection and interaction with each local community, which does not occur at Boronia.

Training and work facilities are very well provided at Boronia, with women able to acquire skills such as horticultural, commercial cookery, basic hairdressing, and general maintenance skills. These appear to be comparable to those offered at both Ravneberget and Ystad, with all three prisons enabling prisoners to gain a recognized educational/training certificate qualification in several areas.

Pastoral care appears to be similar at Boronia to that offered by Ystad (Sweden), the fact that there is a woman Minister, or Catholic or Buddhist nun in attendance four days per week is a credit to Boronia and DCS. Ystad has a priest from "Svenska Kyrkan" (the Swedish national church) visiting twice a week, as does, a Deacon from a Pentecostal church, and a female Imam visits once a week. This highlights how both prison systems endeavor to meet the diverse pastoral needs of their inmates.

Community reintegration work options such as PEP, Section 95 and homestays are very well catered for at Boronia. Acknowledging that at times, there may be only a very few women approved for these options, as this all depends on the approval process and timeline of DCS, as well as, the suitability of the applicant and possible work place and or home environment.

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Having these options available for those women whom have been approved, gives these particular women at Boronia, very positive steps into reintegrating back into society, it is not only replicating life on the outside but it is involving the community, allowing the women to be exposed to aspects of an “every day, normal” environment.

In summary, it appears that Boronia is a credit to DCS, and deserves the recognition that it receives for the services provided and the associated low recidivism rate (17.2% (DCS) – 18.8% (OICS)@ 2014). It is operating in a manner akin to that, in which the Scandinavian countries have become renowned for, with the only obvious negative aspect being a gap in the range of rehabilitative programs on offer to its residents, particularly those covering anger management issues. With Boronia having guiding principles and values based very much in line with how both Kriminalvarden (Sweden) and Kriminalomsorgen (Norway) operate their imprisonment systems, replicates the form of “restorative justice”, and “exceptional imprisonment” that both the Norwegian and Swedish justice and prison systems operate, whereby the Scandinavians’ involve the prisoner’s family, friends and the community in not only the incarceration process, but most certainly, in the rehabilitation and reintegration process. Boronia encourages family and social support of prisoners via visits, younger children being able to stay overnight with their mothers at times, and homestays if approved within the last twelve months of their sentence. They facilitate the ability to work outside of Boronia within the community, also at times recreational walks, an annual Gala Day, Choir and catering opportunities within the community. The fact that Boronia actively encourages a “replicate a normal life approach”, which is a similar approach to the Scandinavian authorities’ principle of “normality”, actively contributes to the low recidivism rate of Boronia, which in turn, very much reflects that of the national recidivism rates of both Norway and Sweden.

Conclusion

Boronia women's correctional facility is acknowledged as being the only purpose-built progressive women's prison in Australasia. Boronia has adopted an approach to incarceration that is fairly unique within the Southern Hemisphere. However, having been incarcerated at Boronia, my personal experience led me to wanting to investigate further as to whether it was indeed a progressive prison – practically and not just in theory – and if there are other comparable progressive/open prisons.

Little scholarly research has been completed on women's imprisonment in general, certainly compared to that of men's imprisonment. There are substantive gaps within existing literature relating to issues such as women's incarceration internationally and, more locally, within Australia, also rehabilitation programs centred around women. Literature in general conveys the need for more research based on women's imprisonment. Worrall and Gelsthorpe (2009) examined 30 years of issues of the *Probation Journal* and found only 30 articles from approximately 600, focusing on women. Researchers have found, that much of the past literature on crime and imprisonment fails to report on women prisoners and their needs and circumstances (Worrall & Gelsthorpe, 2009; Trotter & Flynn, 2015; Sheenan, 2014; Tripodi, Bledsoe, Kim, & Bender, 2011). Further research is needed, relating to the steadily increasing rate worldwide of women being incarcerated (Walmsey, 2015), which is vastly out of proportion to the amount of research available relative to women's incarceration, and rehabilitation. There appears to be even less research available concerning women's progressive/open prisons. Richards (2013) also highlights that little academic research had been conducted by women with an "insider" perspective. This thesis has sought to address some of these gaps, by researching women's imprisonment and recidivism as relating to progressive/open prisons.

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Research into women's progressive/open prisons reveals the Scandinavian/Nordic region has prisons that are considered to be "extraordinary, open or progressive", and Boronia has most certainly been established on this model/approach to imprisonment. This thesis has reviewed these types of prison systems, the guiding principles that the chosen comparative nations (Sweden and Norway) have established for their respective justice and imprisonment services, also their methods of operation, endeavouring to see if these factors are what contribute to the low recidivism rates that these nations experience, these being Norway 20% (Kristoffersen, 2010), and Sweden 19%-20% on average from 2004 – 2014 (Sveriges Officiella Statistik, 2017).

A review of how Norway and Sweden operate their imprisonment systems reveals an interesting general culture of the Scandinavian region. Having highly egalitarian cultural values and supportive social structures, allows both Norway and Sweden to be innovative in their approach to incarceration, rehabilitation, and prisoner reintegration into society, as previously noted by Pratt (2008). Both nations operate within an ethos of "normalization", whereby punishment, is a mere loss of liberty (Kriminalvarden, 2017) and where every opportunity is undertaken by the authorities to ensure that each prisoner, upon their release, has a positive likelihood of successfully reintegrating into society. With both nations having guiding principles which focus on providing this sense of "normality", i.e. "*during the serving of a sentence, life inside will resemble life outside as much as possible*" (Kriminalomsorgen, 2017), allows their prison systems to therefore provide prisoners, with an environment and structure that they can relate to being similar to that of life outside of the prison domain - i.e. a "normal non-criminal lifestyle", thereby contributing to a more successful reintegration into society. Ravneberget is an "open" prison as such, it has fewer physical security measures than a high security prison, whilst there is a perimeter fence, and inmates are not allowed to leave the area, cells/rooms are not locked, however the actual building would be locked at night. Inmates share

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a house and at times a room with other prisoners. Ystad is classified at a higher level of security but has within it a separate section that operates along the “open” prison ethos by offering a self-care facility.

The Deputy Governor of Ravneberget Women's Prison in Norway, Lill-Anita Øvergård, reported how the Norwegian justice system tries to resolve conflicts in criminal acts by involving those affected; i.e. family, friends and the community in general, the prison system is conceived as part of a larger welfare state, and this does appear to make a substantive difference to the subsequent recidivism rates. The involvement of local community based authorities and facilities in not only providing prison services, but by being the prisoners' familiar environment – their “home” environment also appears to contribute to their prisoners' successful reintegration into society. This form of “restorative justice”, is practiced by both the Norwegian and Swedish justice systems, within these nations the prison system is conceived as being just one part of a larger welfare state, and it appears to actively contribute to both countries low recidivism rates (Norway 20%, Sweden 19-20%).

One contributing factor towards Norway's low recidivism rate is that Norway has a different approach to imprisonment, in that, many of Norway's prisoners have committed a low-level crime, and therefore having now served a prison term would be less likely to re-offend in future. At the same time, the Norwegian justice system does not necessarily consider that the criminal has a former prison record, when sentencing for a subsequent crime, therefore many former criminals receive sentences of community service or home detention as opposed to being re-imprisoned for a further crime. Accordingly, the combination of low level criminals serving prison sentences for their initial crime and high-level criminals serving community types of sentences for subsequent crimes contributes to a lower recidivism rate than the other Scandinavian countries. This is quite a different approach to that of Sweden, where

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rehabilitation is in general, the preferred option over imprisonment, resulting in a large sector of Sweden's prison population being recidivists as opposed to first time offenders.

Having a strong community and social/family network of support is recognised as being a critical factor in a prisoner's release, this level of support is now becoming an issue within Sweden, where it has been found that migrant prisoners do not have the same level of family support, thereby subsequently being denied parole opportunities, as such retained within the prison system longer than Swedish prisoners. Whilst Norway does not allow women to have their babies or young children reside within their prisons if a mother is imprisoned, visits are encouraged. Norway's Execution of Sentences Act (paragraph 12) provides the opportunity for pregnant women or those whom have young children, to possibly serve all or a part of their sentences outside the prison environment, in circumstances where it is deemed necessary to improve the prisoner's ability to function socially and lawfully or where other special circumstances may exist, as such, Ravneberget does not cater for the children of prisoners to reside with their mothers. Whereas Ystad allows children under the age of 12 months to reside within the prison, only if it is considered by the Swedish authorities to be in the baby's best interests

The World Prison Brief (Walmsey, 2016) noted that internationally, the female prison population total has increased by 50% since about 2000, while the equivalent figure for the male prison population is 18%, also - that the female incarceration rate has increased proportionately more than the male rate on every continent. Both Norway and Sweden appear to be actively addressing this issue by offering progressive rehabilitation programs to suit the needs of this growing sector of their prisoner population. Norway developed "WIN" (VINN) - a rehabilitation program specifically designed for women, Sweden now also uses this program. This appears to be typical of the Scandinavian approach, they are proactive in addressing issues that may affect reintegration. In researching this issue, I found that there are

in fact, very few rehabilitation programs specifically developed for women within the international prison sector. Whilst Ravneberget operated a specific drug rehabilitation unit, Ystad did not, the reason being that Kriminalvarden has implemented a system whereby specific prisons offer specific programs. Therefore, if an inmate is required to participate in a drug rehabilitation program they will be transferred to a prison that offers the required program. Governor Wallin of Ystad Prison advised that Sweden, in general, has a low women prison population, as such a reduced number of women's prisons, therefore they can afford to have certain prisons targeting specific programs such as drug rehabilitation. Sweden appears to be offering very progressive rehabilitation programs around the issue of gambling, and internet based crime and addiction issues, and has actively targeted programs aimed at reducing recidivism. In general, Sweden appeared to offer a wider range of rehabilitation programs with a strong focus on producing a more successful rehabilitation and reintegration into society, upon release. Both nations actively target prisoner's health, education and skills issues, allowing a positive progression in all areas, thereby positively contributing to a prisoner's successful return to society.

From an understanding of the Scandinavian/Nordic systems it is possible to review Boronia as a progressive/open prison. The aim of this research project has therefore, been to ascertain if Boronia was operating in a similar manner and ultimately producing a similar recidivism rate, were there any gaps in their approach and or services offered. Also, was Boronia producing a recidivism rate in line to its Scandinavian "extraordinary – progressive" counterparts, as it is internationally recognised that the recidivism rate of a progressive/open prison is significantly less (in many cases not more than 50%) of a standard prison. (Graunbøl et. al. (2010).

The way in which that has been investigated, has been to review the Department of Corrective Services – who controls Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre (Western Australia)-

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with Kriminalomsorgen - who controls Ravneberget Women's Prison (Norway) - and Kriminalvarden - who controls Ystad Women's Prison (Sweden). The main issues reviewed include: how they operate their prisons; the respective guiding philosophies on imprisonment and in particular, women's imprisonment, of DCS, Kriminalomsorgen and Kriminalvarden. The various levels of security, as such - types of prisoners; the respective types of housing/accommodation available to prisoners; and the recidivism rates reported by DCS, Kriminalomsorgen and Kriminalvarden. Also - facilities available at each prison including: work, health, leisure and rehabilitation programs, education, reintegration services; and local community support of both the prison and prisoners and the interaction between them.

Boronia has guiding principles and values similar to both how Kriminalvarden (Sweden) and Kriminalomsorgen (Norway) operate their imprisonment systems, thereby closely replicating the form of "restorative justice", and "exceptional imprisonment" that both the Norwegian and Swedish justice and prison systems operate. Whereby the Scandinavians' involve the prisoner's family, friends and the community within the incarceration and reintegration process. The social backgrounds of many of Boronia's residents contributes to its success in keeping its recidivism rate low, it is a low security prison and its residents come from the breadth of Perth society with a wide range of crimes having been committed in the past.

Boronia encourages family and social support of prisoners via visits, younger children being able to stay overnight with their mothers at times, and if approved, homestays within the last twelve months of a resident's sentence. Community involvement is facilitated by various means including the opportunity to work and engage amongst the community either individually on the PEP program, or via structured and accompanied opportunities such as volunteer work programs, choir visits as well as the local community being invited within Boronia annually to the Gala Day. Health, education, rehabilitation and recreation facilities

are provided, thus allowing its residents to leave prison with an improved outlook and capacity. Boronia endeavours to ensure that their residents lifestyle and routine reflects a normal everyday life as much as possible. They work, they live in cottages, they grocery shop, they do their own laundry, they undertake educational training, they can freely socialise together if they choose to, thus allowing Boronia women to experience a sense of “normality”, as such acquiring an understanding of a crime free “normal” life. My observation was, that this appears to subconsciously set the scene for a more successful reintegration into society, the women are now aware of the difference in lifestyle, they have now experienced feeling safe and secure without the pressures of that criminal element or influence within their general everyday life.

Research shows that Boronia's facilitation of replicating a “normal life approach”, akin to the Scandinavian authorities' principle of “normality”, appears to actively contribute to the low recidivism rate of Boronia (17.2% -DCS, 18.8%-OICS), which in turn very much reflects that of the national recidivism rates of both Norway (20%) and Sweden (19-20%). Therefore, DCS has managed to achieve a form of imprisonment and subsequent recidivism rate that is unequalled in the Southern Hemisphere, and for much of the Western world's nations.

Whilst Boronia does appear to be an exceptional institution within the Southern Hemisphere, although they are offering a facility, program and services that are forward thinking and most definitely show positive results with regards to its recidivism rate, I believe and I agree with the Office of the Inspector of Custodial Services (WA) that they are stagnating somewhat in their approach. In his 2015 report on Boronia he is quoted as saying:

The key message in this report – and one that was conveyed at the time of the inspection – is that although Boronia is performing well, there is scope for improvement. It must be open to challenge and change and must not be defensive and content with the status

quo. In an increasingly competitive environment, it needs to build on what has been achieved and to position itself for the next decade (OICS, 2015).

Having been a resident of Boronia, and now having researched the guidelines and initial philosophy behind the implementation of Boronia, my findings lead me to conclude that some of the positive aspects of Boronia *are* in a state of stagnation, particularly when considering various programs that could be offered to the residents. Whilst there are programs offered such as Section 95, PEP (Prisoner Employment Program) and Homestay, the number of residents participating in these programs is often minimal. There are community volunteers who participate in programs at Boronia, but they too, are of a very small number. Also, the amount of contact with the community appears to be less, than what it was initially aimed to be at, per the documentation available concerning the establishment of Boronia. I have also discovered, that the amount of counselling offered to Boronia inmates has been reduced over the last twelve months. Whilst in part, this may be the result of pressures incurred via the DCS, as in pressures to be overcrowded, and possibly a lack of resources and/or financing in not being able to run the number and variety of programs that they would prefer to run. Although rehabilitation programs are operated and new innovative programs have been implemented in recent years, there appears to be a gap within the range of programs offered, particularly covering the issue of anger management. Boronia could be operating even more successfully, and subsequently produce an even lower recidivism rate. DCS has a right to be proud of the very low recidivism rate that Boronia is producing, one that is very similar, to its Norwegian and Swedish counterparts, however research appears to indicate that this recidivism rate could be improved upon if some of the above issues were addressed.

Beyond the scope of this current research, “progressive/open” women’s prison research findings are minimal and no substantive research contributions appear to have been made by

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former female inmates. As such, there is an opportunity for what appears to be unique research undertaken by a former inmate, such as myself, I was a resident, I observed the prison, how it was operated, its residents, its staff and management. Research from a woman's insider perspective of Boronia is thus the next step in mapping out this project for future research.

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Appendices

Table 1- Prison Population Rate Per 100,000 Inhabitants

PRISON POPULATION RATE PER 100,000 INHABITANTS				
Norway: 90.2	Sweden: 84.2	USA: 693	Australia: 152	NZ: 203
@ 1.1.2016	@ 1.1.2016	@ 1.1.2016	@ 30.06.2015	@
30.06.2016				

<http://www.prisonstudies.org>

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Table 2 – Analysis Table of Three Progressive Women's Prisons

Ravneberget – Norway, Ystad – Sweden, and Boronia Women's Pre-release Centre – Western Australia

Facilities:

Prison	Ravneberget - Norway	Ystad - Sweden	Boronia – WA, Australia
Prison security rating	Minimum	High-Medium - 2nd level	Minimum
Maximum number of prisoners	56	65	95
Reported recidivism rate	20% Norwegian <i>national</i> rate for <i>ALL prisoners' men & women</i> (Kristoffersen, R 2010) - no actual rate for Ravneberget available	20% <i>national</i> rate for <i>all Swedish women prisoners</i> 26% Swedish <i>national rate ALL prisoners' men & women</i> (2012 rate for recidivism within 12 months of release) ref: (Sveriges Officella Statistik) -no actual rate for Ystad available	Boronia prisoners 2014 rate 17.2% as per DCS, 18.8% as per OICS (WA). 56.2% <i>Australian national rate ALL prisoner's men and women</i> (ABS 2016) 41.3%-2014 WA state rate for ALL women (DCS 2014), 52.6%-2016 WA state rate for ALL women prisoners, (ABS 2016)
On Site Facilities			
Accommodation	Rooms accommodating either 1, 2 or 4 prisoners in each – bunkbed sleeping arrangements – communal bathrooms (Ravneberget was originally built in 1956 as a National Guard Post). A separate drug rehabilitation unit housing 7x women, this is separate from the main stream, it has specialised medical and drug rehabilitation staff provided from the local community. No children allowed to remain with their mothers on site.	All single rooms with ensuite bathrooms. There are 2x separate self-care units whereby minimum security level women are responsible for their own cooking, house grocery shopping, cleaning and laundry matters.	3 Streets, accommodating cottage style houses, 12x 5 bedroom, 2x bathroom (3x single rooms 2x double rooms, 7 occupants in total), 1x 2-bedroom cottage (single rooms), 1x 3-bedroom cottage (single rooms) and 3x 2 bedroom mothers'/children cottages (mothers share a room with their children) – generally only 1 child, sometimes 2 children per prisoner. All accommodation is self-care, the women are responsible for each houses own cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping and laundry.
Medical	A medical centre staffed by Doctors, nurses, employed by the local health	A medical centre in which it employs two nurses (full time) –they also utilize	A medical centre, staffed by 1 Doctor (2 times per week) 2x nurses, with visits by a

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	authorities. An acupuncturist employed by the prison authorities.	external professionals; one Doctor twice a week, one midwife once every 2-3 weeks and a Dentist once a week – dental treatment only available if a prisoner is serving more than 2 years. The local hospital is used for all other medical needs.	Dentist and Opticians every 6 months, private offsite dentistry available if the patient has private funds and medical insurance to cover private fees.
Psychological Counselling	A visiting Psychologist supplied by the local authorities	A visiting Psychiatric Doctor once every two weeks (8 hours), one Psychologist once a week (8 hours).	Psychologists available via 3x external service providers, 2 of which are “out of prison” care organizations. Psychiatrist available at Bandyup Prison, therefore a Boronia prisoner would need transport to Bandyup for the day.
Peer Support	No Peer Support program	No Peer Support program.	Peer support operates at Boronia, managed by a Senior Officer, this group of women are chosen by Departmental staff after having been assessed as being suitable for this role, they meet every 2 weeks. Peer support women conduct arrival orientations of new prisoners and are available to support and guide prisoners on coping with life within Boronia, peer support women would normally represent the various cultures within Boronia, including Asian and Indigenous.
Pastoral Care	A prison priest visits 2x per week.	A priest from Svenska Kyrkan (the Swedish national church) visits Ystad twice a week, as does a Deacon from a Pentecostal church, a female Imam visits once a week.	Pastoral care includes 2x ordained women ministers, 1x Catholic nun whom all visit Boronia once a week each and take turns running the Sunday religious service. A Buddhist nun visits once a week for the Buddhist prisoners and to conduct meditation sessions which are available to all prisoners. A community based prayer

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			group attends once a week, inmates are welcome to attend these sessions.
Leisure facilities	A gymnasium, volleyball court, library, and bingo is offered once a month.	A sports hall, exercise rooms, a walking area, football pitch and regular yoga sessions.	A gymnasium, basketball court, a walking track, library, conducted morning walks outside of the prison area (dependent on a recreation officer being employed/available), bingo conducted by a prisoner weekly (generally). Craft workshops conducted by a fellow prisoner – crochet, knitting etc.
On site work programs	Assembly / packaging work, also high confidence prisoners are utilized for kitchen, laundry and maintenance work.	Assembly / packaging (predominantly plastic components for the plumbing industry), cottage industries, gardening and ceramics	Horticultural work, food preparation within the staff/visitors' cafeteria and kitchen, cleaning roles, maintenance, library and 2x prisoners work within the Education centre, 1x prisoner operates a picture framing workshop. Most women work within the garden centre and the kitchen.
Education	Teachers from the local high school conduct training and education classes at the prison, teaching oral, reading and numeracy skills. Cooking classes within the kitchen facility are utilized as a math teaching tool	Teachers are employed by Kriminalvarden. At Ystad, basic adult secondary subjects are taught, literacy training etc., also Swedish classes for migrant prisoners. Higher education is possible if the resources are available.	Teachers are employed by DCS, the Education Centre at Boronia is staffed by a Manager, and a variety of teachers (1-4 teachers working part time). Subjects taught include: vocational classes, a few TAFE (Technical College) subjects – e.g. community services, basic hairdressing, certificate classes. Other programs evolve around employment and life coping skills, these include subjects such as basic English, math, computing, art, and sewing. Programs that utilize these teaching these skills include: NOW – New Opportunities for Women, SOSG – Standing on Solid Ground.
Volunteer Assistance	An organisation called “Retretten” visits the prison regularly, “Retretten” members		There are non-resident indigenous support people available to support the indigenous

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	<p>are all former drug abusers or have a criminal history and Prison management consider that their personal experiences were “worth their weight in gold” to the Ravneberget women. There are also regular visits from a volunteer organization called” Jurk” which is comprised of law students, whom assist Ravneberget women with questions, complaints, applications etc. that the prisoners do not want to submit to the prison officers directly. Red Cross also have a volunteer division that assists Ravneberget prisoners upon their release, by arranging social and leisure networking opportunities allowing the women an easier transition back into society.</p>		<p>prisoners, these can either be a departmental staff member, or a respected outside elder.</p>
<p>Rehabilitation programs</p>	<p>WIN - conversation group for women. The aim of WIN is that the women prisoners will have expanded their knowledge, gain self-awareness and social skills and built up new options in their life once released, as an alternative to a life of crime. Methodology used by this program is derived from motivational conversation (MI), learning theory, cognitive psycho logo and humanistic psychology. WIN deals with issues such as identity, self-esteem, openness and communication, change and choice, drugs and addiction, grief and loss, children, anger, bordering others, violence, networks and relationships. WIN is conducted in groups of five to eight</p>	<p>WIN – Ystad Prison has been using the Norwegian WIN program since 2006. WIN is synonymous with winning over ones’ addiction, participants work on developing a life-map and a plan for self-change. Program content is as per the Norwegian program. WIN groups meet two to three times a week for 14-16 sessions. Four individual sessions are available. PRISM - Programme for Reducing Individual Substance Misuse. It is a CBI therapy program based on social learning theory. PRISM is for abusers of alcohol, drugs and/or prescription medication whose crime is linked to the abuse, PRISM is operated on an individual basis</p>	<p>Pathways Program - An intensive, therapeutic, 126 hours - 21-week program focusing on reducing reoffending and substance abuse. Pathways uses a cognitive behavioural approach to change antisocial thinking and behaviour and to enhance prosocial thinking, attitudes and beliefs, to assist offenders, avoid both recidivism and relapse. It is built around key topics for self-improvement, including: engaging in a working alliance based on trust self-assessment and evaluation through self-disclosure and receiving feedback, developing knowledge about the processes of change, patterns of alcohol and other drug use, criminal thinking and</p>

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	<p>participants. The program can range over eight to 24 meetings depending on the participants, it also includes homework, which varies from 16 to 48 hours. Completion time ranges from three to 26 weeks, depending on the group.</p> <p>Anger “Broset” model - The Anger program is offered to women whom are assessed as having violence and aggression issues, it is designed to educate the prisoner to control their anger in future. Each prisoner has a personalized plan. “The “Brøset” model uses a cognitive therapy form of treatment to regulate emotional disturbances such as anxiety, depression and anger. The program targets each participant's particular vulnerability.</p> <p>The therapy comprises individual sessions, which are both an assessment of the prisoners’ issues and an introduction to the treatment method. Participants also receive 30 hours of group therapy where they learn coping strategies via cognitive therapy. If needed, traumatic experiences are addressed by further individual conversations and consultations.</p> <p>Sense Mastery – an alternative to violence This program enables the prisoner to learn techniques that can be useful in situations where emotions can be difficult to control. The course runs for three hours per session, one session per week over eight weeks. Topics covered include: violence,</p>	<p>recognizing everyone’s specific needs. Facilitators and participants set their own targets for completion of this course, these being - abstinence or reduction of the abuse. The participant learns: to recognize the signals that trigger their addiction and crime, to increase their self-control, to resist negative temptations and to be better able to solve their individual problems related to their substance abuse. The participant trains to recognize unpleasant feelings, find stress relief and to repair relationships.</p> <p>PRISM operates over a period of 21 meetings, totaling 32.5 hours.</p> <p>Games Programs – “Stand alone games and Internet based games “ These programs are for prisoners whom have gambling and addiction issues, both programs operate via a cognitive behaviour therapy approach and can be conducted on an individual and group basis.</p> <p>Prevention AP - is primarily intended as an enhancement / booster program, coming after having already participated in other programs. Prevention AP has two target groups, crime (AP Crime) and alcohol and drug addiction (AP abuse). Participants work on an individual basis, whereby they practice managing various issues: risk situations, relapse and craving, facilitated mainly through conversation and exercises. The program requires the</p>	<p>behaviour, the principles of relapse and recidivism prevention, and increasing awareness of self and others living a meaningful, respectful and responsible lives.</p> <p>CCC – Choices, Changes and Consequences: A 100-hour therapeutic therapy program concerning general offending issues, targeting a range of criminogenic needs relating to women’s offending and aims to reduce a woman’s risk of reoffending.</p> <p>CBI – Cognitive Brief Intervention- A 20-hour motivational cognitive skills program, designed to increase awareness of how participants think about themselves and others regarding their criminal behaviour.</p> <p>Think First - A 60-hour therapeutic cognitive skills program. Covering social problem-solving skills, self-management, self-control, social interaction skills, values beliefs and attitudes</p> <p>Building on Aboriginal Skills (BOAS) - This program is designed for Aboriginal prisoners who want to reconnect with their land and culture while learning cognitive skills and positive behaviour.</p> <p>NOW – New Opportunities for Women: A program whereby women undertake a variety of educational modules aimed at improved reintegration into society; modules covered include: basic math, English literacy, job searching interview</p>
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	<p>emotion, aggression, identity and self-image, how to prevent and cope with negative reactions etc.</p> <p>Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation - “Rusmestringsenheter”.</p> <p>“Rusmestringsenheter” is a separate department - especially designed for prisoners with drug problems. Inmates have an acknowledged substance abuse problem and a minimum of two months remaining to be served. This unit houses up to seven inmates, and offers interdisciplinary treatment for substance misuse. This unit is a collaboration between Ravneberget Prison and Østfold Hospital in Social poliklinikk (SMP) in Sarpsborg. This unit consists of three prison officers and a psychiatric nurse. The prison officers have received specialised training. This team provides a program modelled on the motivational interviewing method with topics such as: identity, self-esteem, openness, communication, change and choice, substance abuse, dependency, children, grief and loss, relationships boundaries, anger, violence, network and relationships, sexuality and economy. The unit also offers ear acupuncture for detoxification and treatment of withdrawal symptoms.</p>	<p>participant to strongly want to change their way of thinking about drugs / crime.</p> <p>Steam Boiler -Is a shortened version of the Prevention AP program, it was developed by the Kriminalvarden in 2006 and includes cognitive and behavioural strategies to reduce the risk of relapse. The program consists of eight 90 minute sessions over a period of between four to 16 weeks.</p> <p>“Pulse” - Problem Solving Social Life Goals Self - Developed by the Swedish Prison and Probation Service and in use since 2012, targeting prisoners convicted of a crime involving violence. Primarily a CBT program utilizing social information processes. Originally developed for males but now used for men, women and youth. Directed at prisoners with any violence in their criminal history.</p> <p>“Pulse” consists of both group and individual sessions, where via discussions and role playing, participants learn self-control and actively practice to resist peer pressure. Each group consists of four to eight women; the support of the other participants is considered important. Individual sessions focus on the participant's needs and their specific treatment goals.</p> <p>The “Pulse” program consists of 24 group sessions and six individual meetings, resulting in 30 sessions in total. Usually operated over a maximum period of 24 weeks it can also be shorted to eight</p>	<p>skills, also how to use meditation to calm down and relax.</p> <p>Standing on Solid Ground (SSG): Is an emotional and multiple intelligence course where prisoners gain insights that help them to cultivate the emotional balance they need to maintain stable accommodation, employment, and relationships; key factors perceived in reducing the likelihood of reoffending. It is intended to address the gap between acquiring a qualification whilst in prison and being able to sustain employment after release. SSG builds on strengths rather than repairing weakness and aims to: 1. Cultivate the habit of awareness by learning to pay close attention to thoughts and feelings, 2. Build confidence and self-worth. Prisoners learn to challenge negative self-talk and begin to see themselves in a more positive light, 3. Identify values, and 4. Challenge limiting attitudes and beliefs. Learning to see things from a broader perspective is a skillful choice that prisoners are encouraged to practice.</p>
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		<p>weeks if necessary. Group sessions are for 90 minutes; individual sessions are for 60 minutes.</p> <p>“ETS” - Enhance thinking skills ETS is not directed at any particular crime, but at people who feel trapped within a criminal behaviour mindset and who want help to change. A cognitive behavioural program, where participants learn to better handle dangerous situations in everyday life via the use of group exercises, role-plays and homework assignments.</p> <p>ETS includes 21 lessons, covering 50 hours. ETS groups comprise of six to eight participants.</p> <p>“One to One” The program is aimed at men and women with a criminal lifestyle and whom have been assessed as having a medium to high risk of relapse. “One to One” is an individual program where the facilitator and client via conversation, role playing and homework assignments work with problem solving, attitudes and values issues. It is a CBT program that is based on social learning theory. The participant also practices social skills and self-control. The program can be adapted to the individual participant's needs.</p> <p>Developed in the UK and adapted to Swedish conditions, it has been used in Sweden since 2001. This program consists of 21 sessions, over 24 hours and is carried out in four to five months.</p>	
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		<p>R&R 2 for ADHD Youth & Adults Ystad Prison run this program specifically for its inmates whom have been classified as being ADHD. R&R2 is a cognitive behavioural therapy program devised in Canada, where research has shown that the R&R2 for ADHD Youths and Adults program has demonstrated improvement in ADHD symptoms, anxiety, depression, antisocial behaviour and social functioning. R&R2 teaches offenders cognitive, emotional and social skills also values that are required for pro-social competence. It trains offenders in skills and values that enable them to withstand environmental and personal factors that engender antisocial, and or lead to criminal behaviour.</p> <p>Motivation Programs MIC and BSF - two motivational programs developed by the Swedish Prison and Probation Service to inspire prisoners who need to be motivated to make a change in their behaviour. BSF can be adapted to the individual's needs, whereas the MIC program is fully adapted to each prisoner's situation.</p> <p>BSF (Behaviour Change Call) consists of an initial meeting and five subsequent individual conversations, over three to six weeks.</p> <p>MIC (Motivational Interviewing) highlights the prisoners' statements about change and strengthening their</p>	
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		<p>motivation. Occurring over three sessions for one to four weeks.</p> <p>No Specific Drug Rehabilitation Program at Ystad - Governor Wallin advises that the reason for this is that due to the low number of women inmates (and women prisons) in Sweden, Kriminalvar den has implemented a system whereby specific prisons offer specific programs. Therefore, should an inmate require a drug rehabilitation program they will be transferred to a prison that offers the specific program deemed necessary for that prisoner.</p>	
<p>Outside work and leisure programs</p>	<p>Ravneberget inmates can work or study outside the prison. Criteria for this option is:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That the prison does not offer that specific education course internally. 2. The inmate needs to complete the practical element of what course of study has been undertaken, and this is not available within the Prison. 3. The inmate is serving a long sentence, and needs a substantive reintegration to society after her sentence. 	<p>Kriminalvar den does provide the facility to conduct work or study outside of the prison environment at some low security prisons– however as Ystad is classified as a “level 2” security prison, although the option is available it very rarely occurs.</p>	<p>Section 95 - To give prisoners more opportunities for rehabilitation and re-connecting with the community before their release, minimum-security prisoners are able to take part in a range of activities outside prison that: include escorted fitness walks, escorted work details at charity organisations or specific education classes at a local training centre, an annual “Gala Day”, which members of the public can attend, also the ability to leave the prison and attend a vocational job seeking centre (within a short time prior to release). The Boronia Choir is also at times able to perform concerts at various public locations. At times women who would normally work within the Boronia kitchen are able to be catering attendants at certain functions where Boronia has provided the catering. A prisoner's</p>

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			<p>involvement in these outside activities is always based on a security assessment.</p> <p>Repay – is where section 95 approval has been granted and a select group of prisoners are escorted to various organisations to work for free over a period of approximately 5-6 hours per day. These organisations are generally charities, and retirement villages.</p> <p>PEP – Prisoner Employment Scheme. Is a scheme whereby the prisoner and a specific employer may apply to DCS for the prisoner to return to that place of employment during normal working hours, consequently returning to Boronia after work has finished for the day. Section 95 must have been granted prior to PEP being approved. It comes with strict guidelines and rules such as: no communication/contact with family nor friends at, or on the way to the work environment, no internet communication, no access to mobile phones. Prisoners can use their own private vehicles or catch public transport. Wages from such employment are banked into the prisoner's private bank account.</p> <p>Homestays -: This is an option whereby within the last 12 months of their sentence a prisoner can apply to DCS for permission to return to their family home for a 24-hour homestay once a month, gradually progressing to fortnightly and once a week within the last month of their sentence. This is only approved after close</p>
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			scrutiny of the family members, home environment and general locality. The prisoner is restricted in just what they are permitted to do whilst at home and is not eligible for the Homestay program until they have served 12 months.
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Figures.

Figure 1. Components of Data Analysis: Interactive Model – page 22

From: Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 12)

