

Restorative re-integration for people leaving prison

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Abstract

This paper draws on principles of restorative justice to provide an overview of restorative reintegration for people leaving prison through a focus on restoring harms and relationships. Restorative practices have been well developed over recent years and provide effective responses to the needs of people harmed by the effects of crime, as well as those who commit crime and their communities. Following Zehr and Mika (1998), crime can be seen as a violation of both people and their relationships with one another, resulting in both obligations and liabilities for people who commit crime. In this light the purpose of restorative justice is to facilitate community healing by repairing the harm that results from crime, more specifically, the fractures within relationships between those harmed by crime, perpetrators of crime, and the community that inevitably occur following offending. This paper proposes that restorative reintegration for people leaving prison can be viewed as a socially achieved migration of identity and lifestyle (Mahmud & Rayyan, 2009; White, 2005), following five interrelated restorative elements: Restoring the desire to make a difference for others and for oneself; restoring wellbeing in those harmed by offending; restoring relationships damaged by the offending; restoring belonging and full citizenship; and restoring peace/shalom to society.

Introduction

Reintegration as a NZ Corrections focus

Effective reintegration for people leaving prison is a current focus in New Zealand, which seeks to be “a world leader in reintegration” (Swain, 2004) on behalf of public

safety and the maintenance of a just society (Auditor General, 2013). Adding impetus to this focus, in New Zealand each incident of reoffending incurs an average cost of \$150,000 across arrest, court process and sentencing of a person to imprisonment (Prison Fellowship New Zealand, n.d.). Alongside concerns for public safety, justice and economy, the value of a focus on reintegration for people leaving prison is highlighted by Maruna (n.d., p. 4), writing,

One of the findings of this (my) research has been that, compared to active offenders, successfully reintegrated ex-prisoners are significantly more care-oriented, other-centred and focused on promoting the next generation. Reformed ex-prisoners express a desire for lasting accomplishments or 'something to show' for their lives, describe newfound pleasures in creative and productive pursuits, and often have a special commitment to a particular community or social cause (from environmentalism to youth empowerment). In short, they find a reason to live that is inconsistent with continued offending.

Thus effective reintegration into community for people leaving prison is a key emphasis in the NZ Department of Corrections' (2014) aim to reduce reoffending by 25% by 2017.

Since 2004 the NZ Department of Corrections has held reintegration to be a cornerstone of the approach to integrated offender management (Workman, 2011). To achieve this the Department assesses the risk of reoffending of people in their care, their particular needs for reintegration and their responsivity to interventions offered in order to develop a reintegration plan (Reynolds, 2013). The plan includes assessment at the start of the sentence, is reviewed during time spent in prison, and develops a release proposal to include "whoever it needs to in that proposal to ensure the proposal works" (Workman, 2011, p. 5). To further extend the coordination and effectiveness of reintegration plans, the NZ Department of Corrections employs Specialist Case Managers to take a lead role in the rehabilitation of people throughout their stay within prison, and in support of people's reintegration into the community upon release (Thorby, 2015). In alignment with Corrections' focus on reintegration, private corrections providers SERCO

employ 'Reintegration Officers' rather than Corrections Officers, whose role is to be active in sentence planning and outcomes for prisoners and "the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners" (SERCO, 2014).

Rehabilitation, reintegration and desistance

In designing the Integrated Offender Management Reintegrative Services Framework, the NZ Department of Corrections (2014) makes a distinction between rehabilitation and reintegration. While both rehabilitation and reintegration have a key interest in reducing reoffending, rehabilitation does so with an emphasis on developing the life skills of the individual person within and when leaving prison, while reintegration aims to reduce reoffending through providing social resources for and reducing social barriers to re-inclusion within society. Thus rehabilitation seeks to "train, educate, influence and/or transform offenders in order that they become generally better equipped to manage their lives positively" (Workman, 2011, p. 3), while reintegration identifies "social or environmental problems facing that offender on release" (ibid, p. 3).

A third distinct approach to reducing reoffending and promoting reintegration focuses on the term "desistance" (See for example Bevan, 2015; McNeill et al, 2015; Maruna, 2007) and highlights how a person leaving prison can permanently give up an offending lifestyle. Varying according to the age, gender and ethnicity of the person concerned, desistance literature emphasises personal life skills and life course factors alongside environmental factors (such as social bonds, employment, partnerships, and family) as influential in reducing reoffending and achieving reintegration. Through a desistance lens reintegration is seen as a process which may include lapses, relapses and recoveries across time (Bevan, 2015). A desistance approach highlights the possibility that people can change, the difficulties facing people leaving prison and their need for support, the value of individualising responses to people's needs, the development of people's access to social capital and the importance of addressing structural barriers to reintegration (Opie, 2012).

Restorative practices

Reducing re-offending, desistance from crime, rehabilitation and reintegration are all of interest to practitioners and theorists taking a restorative justice perspective. Marshall (2014) points to a current emphasis on restorative practices in New Zealand, highlighting that “Government has expressed its support for increasing the reach of restorative interventions and the practitioner community is steadily expanding and diversifying” (p. 24). This paper draws on the language of restorative justice to offer an overview of a restorative reintegration process for people leaving prison. This includes an emphasis on reducing re-offending, and achieving rehabilitation, reintegration and desistance through personally and socially-achieved restorative processes.

In the New Zealand context and internationally, restorative practices have been well developed over recent years and already provide effective responses to the needs of people harmed by the effects of crime, as well as those who commit crime and their communities (see for example Bazemore & Maruna, 2009; Bazemore & Walgrave, 1999; Braithwaite, 2002; McCold, 1997; Mika & Zehr, 2002; Sherman & Strang, 2007; Toews, 2006; van Ness, 2003 and Zehr, 1990, 2002). The restorative justice project is summarised by Zehr and Mika (1998), who propose three core principles as the belief that criminal conduct violates both people and their relationships with one another; that crime results in both obligations and liabilities for people who commit crime, and that the purpose of restorative justice is to facilitate community healing by repairing the harm that results from crime, more specifically, the fractures within relationships between those harmed by crime, perpetrators of crime, and their communities that inevitably occur following offending. As above, this paper seeks to extend the use of such restorative justice principles to describe reintegration as the restoration of needs and relationships for all those harmed by crime, a restoration which itself is a relational and social achievement.

Key voices

Reintegration for people leaving prison has been the subject of considerable research effort (see for example Bazemore, 2005; Bazemore & Stinchcomb, 2004;

Burnett & Maruna, 2006; Fox, 2012, 2014; Maruna, 1997, 2001, 2006, 2011; McNeill, 2006; Opie, 2010, 2012; Rodriguez, 2005; Smit & O'Regan, 2014; Ward, 2013; Ward, Fox & Garber, 2014; Ward & Maruna, 2007 and Workman, 2009, 2011).

Maruna (2007) describes reintegration as necessarily centred within communities: "Ex-offenders can re-integrate themselves and communities can re-integrate ex-offenders. But the most that the State can do is to help or hinder this process" (p. 3). By this understanding, reintegration for people leaving prison is community-led, "drawing on and supporting naturally occurring community processes through which informal support and controls traditionally take place" (p. 4). Community circles of support, mentoring and direct assistance to families are all seen as means to achieve community-led reintegration. Maruna (2007) highlights reparation as central to reintegration, either as direct reparation to victims or as "actively making positive contributions to one's community in a reparative fashion" (p. 6). Within this reintegrative process, movements towards reintegration should be recognised and publically certified, offering "the chance to officially wipe the slate clean and literally alter his or her past as recognition of these forms of restitution and social contributions" (p. 9).

Also central to reintegration for Maruna and others are the identity stories which shape people's lives and actions. Identity stories are described by various authors as compensatory scripts (Maruna, 2001), narrative shifts in identity (Ward, Fox, & Garber, 2014), desistance narratives (Maruna 2012), self-identity and worldview changes (Maruna & Roy, 2007), pro-social identities (Bazemore & Stinchcomb, 2004) and vision narratives (Opie, 2012). Such new identity stories (White & Epston, 1990; White, 2007) offer a socially-supported, hopeful sense of personal and social identity which can play a crucial role in shaping people's actions "in ways which are aligned to the narratives that they have constructed for themselves" (King, 2013, p. 151).

McNeill et al (2015) highlight desistance from crime. The body of research drawing on a desistance metaphor (see for example Farrall & Calverley, 2005; Farrall & Maruna, 2004; Healy, 2010; Maruna, 2001, 2012; McNeill, 2006; Opie 2012; Walker, 2009; Ward, Fox & Garber, 2014; Weaver, 2013) highlights the complexity and

difficulty of each individual's process of reintegration. Support for desistance requires building and sustaining hope, recognising and developing people's strengths, respecting and fostering agency (or self-determination), working with and through relationships (both personal and professional), developing social as well as human capital, and recognising and celebrating progress. McNeill and Weaver (2010) emphasise the place of social capital - close ties with family and friends alongside a wider network of acquaintances and colleagues - as important in successful desistance.

Championed by Ward (2002) and Ward and Maruna (2007), several authors (see for example Ward, Fox & Garber, 2014; Ward & Langlands, 2009; Ward, Gannon & Mann, 2007) draw on the Good Lives Model to conceptualise rehabilitation for people within and leaving prison. These authors describe the Good Lives Model as a strength-based approach which seeks to develop NZ Department of Corrections' Risk Needs Responsivity Model by understanding offending as goal directed, and as a person's means to achieve desired primary goods of life. According to Ward, Gannon and Mann (2007) "primary goods are states of affairs, states of mind, personal characteristics, activities, or experiences that are sought for their own sake and are likely to increase psychological well-being if achieved" (p. 91). Thus people who offend are seen as doing so in order to achieve life goods such as healthy living, knowledge, play and work, autonomy and self directedness, inner peace, friendship, community, meaning and purpose in life, happiness, and creativity. The Good Lives Model offers a twin focus of "promoting goods and ... managing/reducing risk" (Ward, Gannon & Mann, 2007, p. 92) by providing people within and beyond prison "with the competencies (internal conditions) and opportunities (external conditions) to implement treatment plans based on these primary goods" (Ward & Langlands, 2009, p. 208). By this understanding, any plan for reintegration must be tailored for each person according to the environment into which they will be released and their particular hopes for life.

Alongside these key theorists, several authors offer broad reviews of the history and development of reintegrative practices in New Zealand and internationally (see for example Bazemore, 2005; Bevan, 2015; Fox, 2010, 2012, 2014; King, 2013; Opie, 2012; Van Ness, 1997, 2003; Williams & Cram, 2012; Workman, n.d, 2009, 2011). It

is alongside these theorists and practitioners that this paper seeks to offer an account of reintegration as a socially-achieved restorative migration of identity and lifestyle.

The focus of this paper

While several authors have developed reintegration responses informed to a greater or lesser extent by restorative justice principles (see for example Bazemore, 2005; Fox, 2012; Maruna, 2006; Rodriguez, 2005; van Ness, 1997; Ward, Fox & Garber, 2014; Ward, Gannon & Mann, 2007; and Workman, 2011), this paper seeks to add to the reintegrative conversation by conceptualising the whole of the reintegrative process as an act of restoration. Alongside an understanding of restorative justice as responding to the needs of people harmed by crime, a restorative reintegration process highlights restoration of relationships harmed by crime, restoration of needs of the person who has committed crime (including restoration to full citizenship with all the responsibilities that implies) and restoration of society as a whole. The contribution this paper seeks to make is one of viewing the whole process of conviction to reintegration as a restorative one.

Restorative principles

Over the years many writers have described restorative justice. One often used description is provided by Zehr (2002, p. 37): “Restorative Justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs, and obligations, in order to heal and put things as right as possible”. As one person keenly affected by crime, Cushing makes clear that those involved are “not just our immediate family and the people in my parents’ local community ... the murder also involved the family of the people who killed my father” (Denborough & Cushing, 2002, p. 30). Giving examples of the on-going harms and needs produced by crime, Denborough and Cushing ask, “What do we do with the empty chair at Christmas time; what do we do with the ache in our hearts; what do we do with children who survive homicide; and for many families - what do we do about our material needs now that we’ve lost our breadwinner, the

person who earned the income? (p. 31). These sentiments may well also apply to the families of people imprisoned for acts of crime. Thus Zehr (1990) describes crime as a violation of people and relationships, which violation creates obligations to make things right. By this understanding justice involves those harmed by crime, those who commit criminal acts and community members in an effort to put things right, with a central focus on the needs of those harmed by crime and on perpetrators of crime's responsibility for repairing harm. Here restorative justice expands the circle of stakeholders at times of responding to crime "beyond just the government and the offender to include victims and community members" (Zehr, 2002, p. 13) (see also Van Ness, 2003; 2004).

Other authors provide descriptions of restorative justice including Marshall (1996) writing that restorative justice is "a process whereby the parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future" (p. 37). For Braithwaite (2002) restorative justice is enacted "if property is restored, if the damage done is repaired, if the feeling of safety, dignity, [and] deliberative democracy are renewed, [and] if the harmony based on the feeling that justice has been done and social relations are restored" (p. 11). A focus on repairing harm including relationships is echoed by Walgrave (2008), Toews (2006), the Restorative Justice Network (2003) and the New Zealand Ministry of Justice (2011).

Within these descriptions, Jenkins (2006) offers a caution about definitions of restorative practices which may invoke nostalgia for "a time when things were simple and uncomplicated" (p. 153). Jenkins highlights that efforts to simply return things to the way they were may well obscure unjust power relations and privilege, and represent "little more than a desire for others to relinquish resentment and bad feelings" (p. 156). Jenkins highlights the value of restitution, "a process of expanding one's understanding through acknowledging the abuse of power inherent in the original harmful action, and consideration of the feelings and experiences of the other(s) whom one has harmed (p. 156) (see also Jenkins et al, 2002).

Thus in summary, "Justice requires, at minimum, that we address victims' harms and needs, hold offenders accountable to put right those harms, and involve victims,

offenders, and communities in this process” (Zehr, 2002, p. 25). If reintegration is to be informed by restorative principles it must seek to involve all those affected by crime in putting right both needs and relationships which have been harmed.

Effectiveness of restorative practices

Within New Zealand and internationally, practices of restorative justice are seen as an effective response to crime and its effects. Writing about restorative practices, Umbreit and Armour (2011) described the satisfaction of those involved as “consistently high across sites, cultures and offence severity for both victims and offenders” (p. 22). In their extensive review of the effectiveness of restorative justice, Sherman and Strang (2007) found that restorative justice practices substantially reduced repeat offending for some offenders (while not all), reduced crime victims’ post-traumatic stress symptoms and related costs, provided both victims and offenders with more satisfaction with justice than criminal justice, reduced crime victims’ desire for violent revenge against their offenders and reduced recidivism more than prison (for adults) or as well as prison (for young people). Rodriguez (2005) found that “all offenders in the restorative justice program, regardless of their community’s characteristics, were less likely to recidivate” (p. 12), while a NZ Justice (2011) research project found that those people who had committed crime and undertaken a restorative justice conference “had a 20 percent lower reoffending rate than comparable offenders who did not receive a restorative justice conference” (p. 7). In a recent study of the effectiveness of face-to-face meetings of people who committed crime with those directly affected by their crime, Strang et al (2013) concluded that for those affected by crime the effects of restorative practices were uniformly positive, with significant cost benefits for criminal justice jurisdictions.

Given the effectiveness of restorative practices described, this paper suggests that restorative justice principles may prove to be equally effective in repairing harms, needs and relationships in support of the successful reintegration of people leaving prison.

Restorative reintegration

As discussed above, a number of theorists have drawn on restorative practices to shape responses to reintegration for people leaving prison. That work has produced a wide range of powerfully helpful responses including, for example, the Good Lives Model, Circles of Support and Accountability and other circle forms of meeting, Community and Family Group Conferences, mentoring programmes and empathy awareness programmes such as the Sycamore Tree. The contribution this paper seeks to make is the conceptualisation of a person's whole journey from conviction to reintegration in the light of restorative theory. In this light restorative reintegration centres on people who have committed crime taking up accountability to victims with an emphasis on the reparation and repair of needs and relationships harmed, alongside participation in a socially-supported transition to full community membership.

Guided by principles of restorative justice, restorative reintegration is shaped by key ideas and practices. Following Zehr (2002) and Workman (2011), restorative reintegration focuses in a culturally appropriate way on repairing harm, showing equal concern to those harmed by crime and those who commit crime, supporting persons who have committed crime to accept, understand and carry out their obligations, providing opportunities for dialogue between all concerned including extended family/whanau, and encouraging collaboration and reintegration rather than coercion and isolation (see also Restorative Justice network, 2003; Toews, 2006).

Reintegrative shame

Shame is an important element of restorative processes which has been widely discussed (see for example Bazemore, 2005; Braithwaite, 2002; Jenkins, 2006; Morris, 2001). Drawing on Braithwaite (1989), Morris (2001) distinguishes stigmatic shaming and reintegrative shaming to emphasise that, for restorative practices, shame is an experience which contributes to belonging rather than separation: "It means that the offence rather than the offender is condemned and the offender is

reintegrated with rather than rejected by society” (Morris, 2001, p. 10). Of shame Jenkins (2006) writes that, “It is not possible to embark upon a restorative journey without facing shame. The experience of shame is a sense of disgrace which unavoidably accompanies deeper realisations about the nature and impact of dishonourable and destructive actions” (p. 159). Here shame is understood as a pointer to the preferred values of a person who has caused harm. When a person who has caused harm sees clearly the effects of their actions, and sees those effects as contrary to their best hopes for themselves and others, an experience of shame can “inform restitution and make it possible to reclaim the man's own immanent ethics and thus gain or regain a sense of honour and integrity” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 161). It is this exploration of a person’s preferred ethics, often initially expressed as shame, which informs the first phase on the socially-achieved migration of identity and lifestyle described below.

A restorative reintegration process

Thus for this paper, as appropriate throughout their time of involvement with Corrections and beyond, a restorative reintegration process seeks to:

1. Restore for the person within or leaving prison a desire for an identity as someone who wants to make a difference for others and for oneself, and a plan to achieve that;
2. Restore wellbeing in those harmed by crime – by addressing their needs, acknowledging their dignity and seeking to promote repair;
3. Restore relationships damaged by offending – in family, whanau and community;
4. Restore belonging – by extending to the person leaving prison all the benefits and obligations of equal citizenship; and
5. Restore peace/shalom to society – by addressing the drivers of crime, such as inequality within society.

As an aid to those putting these restorative phases into operation, restorative reintegration can be thought of as a form of migration journey (Mahmud & Rayyan,

2009; White, 2005) from becoming undesired identity and lifestyle choices towards preferred desistance identity (Maruna, 1997) and lifestyle choices. This paper offers a conceptual map of restorative reintegration as a socially-achieved restorative journey between two islands, undertaken in a series of five interrelated phases (see Diagram One). At each phase of this identity and lifestyle migration restorative goals can be achieved, and each achieved goal can support moving towards the achievement of subsequent goals, leading over time to social reintegration – the restoration of harms done, the restoration of relationships, the restoration of the person’s place and responsibilities in society, and the restoration of society itself.

A migration metaphor is chosen here because it allows for discussion of the significant contributions of those seeking to migrate and those supporting them, of the conditions which make migration easier or more difficult, and of the time it takes to achieve migration goals. A metaphor of migration also invites discussion of what is being left and why, what is being hoped for and why, and how one might navigate the sometimes perilous unknowns between leaving and arriving. Further, a migration metaphor allows for an overview of a process which can involve different supporters and organisations across time, allowing individuals and helpers at different stages to see what their particular restorative goals could be, and where and how their work fits into a whole restorative reintegration process. The migration journey described is one of both identity and of lifestyle, and takes place with the necessary support of significant community members.

Putting the phases of migration into practice

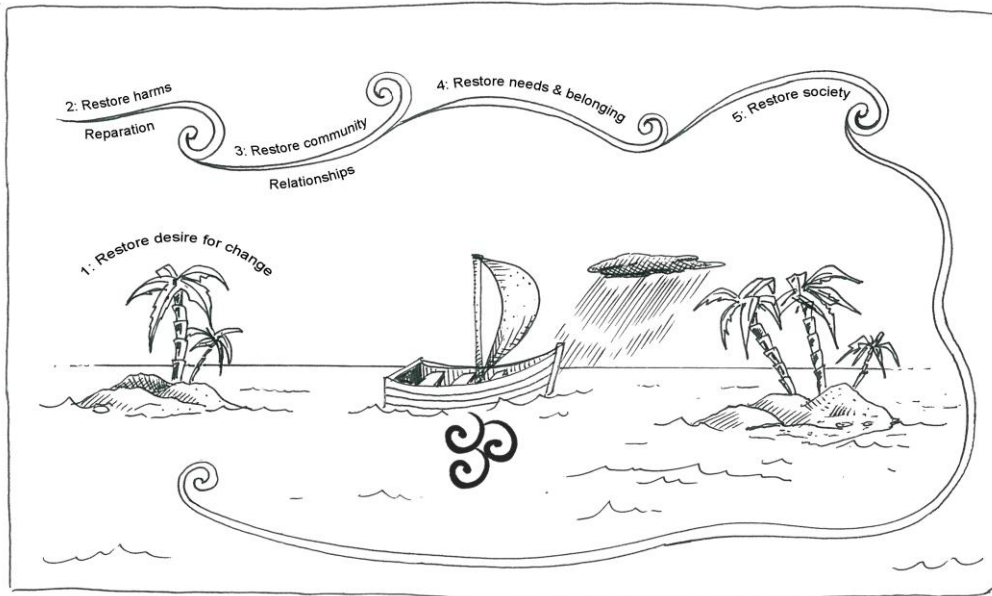


Diagram One: A socially achieved migration of identity and lifestyle.

Phase One: Restoring for the person who committed crime the desire for an identity as someone who wants to make a difference for others and for oneself, along with a plan to achieve that.

New identity claims

Restorative reintegration for a person leaving prison, described here as a socially-achieved migration of identity and lifestyle, begins with a restoration of desire to know themselves and be known by others as a person wanting to make a difference for those harmed by their crime and for themselves. In Diagram One this is shown as a migration journey from one island to another, with consideration invited of what identity claims are being left and why, what identity claims are being aimed for and why, the resources needed for the migration of identity and possible barriers to travel (White, 1997, 2005). This migration phase involves a person reviewing the effects on others and on themselves of the social conditions, the identity claims and the lifestyles which contributed to their being in prison, and taking up a desire for being differently in the world. In this phase a person's ethical hopes for life, "the kind of person he wants to become" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 157) are made visible, in order that they become available to direct the steps of a restorative reintegration process.

The aim of this first phase is twofold: In the first place it is important to explore the social and personal conditions, relationships and choices which gave rise to the crime. Alongside an awareness of the social conditions which support the presence of crime, for example “the histories of racist violence, class-based domination, sexuality-based violence, and violence against young men” (Denborough, 1996, p. 107), an awareness of personal choices and a recognition of the harms crime has produced in others (and themselves) are significant for people desiring to change their identity claims and to make a difference for others (and for themselves).

Concerning social conditions, Davies (1990) writes of “discourses” to highlight the importance of being aware of taken-for-granted ideas in society about how one ought to act. An awareness of such ideas “allows the possibility of refusal of any particular discourse or one's positioning within it, the possibility of choices between discourses, or the bringing to bear of one set of discursive practices on another to modify them and the positions being made available within them” (p. 346). While a detailed exploration of the social and personal conditions which shape identity as criminal or as desister is part of writing subsequent to this paper (see also Jenkins, 2009; White, 2007), at this point it is important to note that a person's identity is a complex interplay between social and relational positioning and personal responses. Phase one in the reintegration journey described here allows for an exploration of that complex interplay, making visible the ethical hopes which shape a person's actions and allowing for a revision of how they choose to be in the world (Jenkins, 2006).

Secondly, and before a restorative reintegration process can be entered into, a person leaving prison “must be willing to assume a new role as someone who takes responsibility for his/her actions and begins a shift in their public identity” (Bazemore and Stinchcomb, 2004, p. 17). As Zehr (2002) writes, “If crime is essentially about harm ... accountability means offenders must be encouraged to understand that harm, ... begin to comprehend the consequences of their behavior [and take up] a responsibility to make things right as much as possible, both concretely and symbolically” (Zehr, 2002, p. 23/24). As part of a reintegration journey into community, the community itself must be able to see that the person recognises their obligations to those harmed by their crime (Fox, 2014; Zehr, 2002) and takes up accountability including “admitting one's choice to commit the crime and accepting

that the victim is neither responsible for the crime nor the sentence, understanding how the crime hurt others and owning up to one's responsibility for those damages, [and] taking steps to repair those harms” (Toews, 2006, p. 46).

Desistance narratives (Maruna, 1997) and empathy for those harmed by crime (Van Ness, 1997; Ward, Fox & Garber, 2014, Jenkins, 2006) play a crucial role in this first and essential restorative step away from crime-producing identity and lifestyle choices towards the restorative reintegration of preferred identity and lifestyle choices. In this vein, King (2013) writes that desistance from crime “is accompanied by a change in identity, from that of ‘offender’ to ‘non-offender’” (p. 149). Thus the first phase in this restorative journey offers “opportunities for identity reconstruction” (Fox, 2012, p. 109). As Vaughan (2007) writes, “as individuals explore new identity possibilities, they come to regard criminal activity as incompatible with their new identity, while simultaneously distancing themselves from their past identity” (p. 394)(see also King, 2013). In the re-authoring of their identity stories (Jenkins, 2009; White, 2007, White & Epston, 1990) people become “active in the reconstruction of their community image, hence, increasing the likelihood of reacceptance and reintegration” (Bazemore & Stinchcomb, 2004, p. 15).

Practices which support the development of new identity claims include narrative therapy’s re-authoring of identity stories (Epston, 1999; White & Epston, 1990; White, 2007), and migration of identity projects (Epston & White, 1995; White, 1997, 2005). Along with a community of support (Denborough, 2008), narrative therapy explores a person’s hopes and values which may be implicit in their actions, or may be discerned from those times when their actions did not cause harm. These hopes and values can be developed into preferred and influential identity accounts (Epston, 1999; Morgan, 2000) which go on to shape the person’s actions during and after the restorative reintegration process. The practices of this first phase are detailed by Jenkins (2009), Morgan (2000), White and Epston (1990) and White (2007).

Empathy

Practices which support an awareness of the effects of crime and a desire to make a difference include empathy-developing programmes such as Prison Fellowship

International's Sycamore Tree Programme, an in-prison programme which aims to challenge people in prisons' attitudes to offending behaviour, raise awareness of the impact of crime on others and on communities, and teach the principles and application of restorative justice, along with providing people in prison with opportunities to make informed choices to change their lives (Prison Fellowship, n.d., a) (See also Walker, 2009).

It can also be seen that the second phase in this restorative journey, restoring wellbeing in those harmed by crime, also functions to develop empathy for those harmed by crime. Van Ness (1997) sees restorative meetings as developing understanding "of the crime, of the other parties involved, and of the steps needed to make things right" (p. 4), while Bazemore (2005) asserts that increased empathy may be brought about "by the stories of victims and others affected by the crime" (p. 140). Ward, Fox & Garber (2014) see such restorative practices "engendering psychological shifts in offenders such as the cultivation of empathy through the process of facing and hearing from their victims" (p. 29). Thus, once desire to make a difference has been established through the clarification of a person's ethical choices and a re-authoring of a person's preferred identity stories, the process of migration of identity continues with a focus on restoring wellbeing in those harmed by crime.

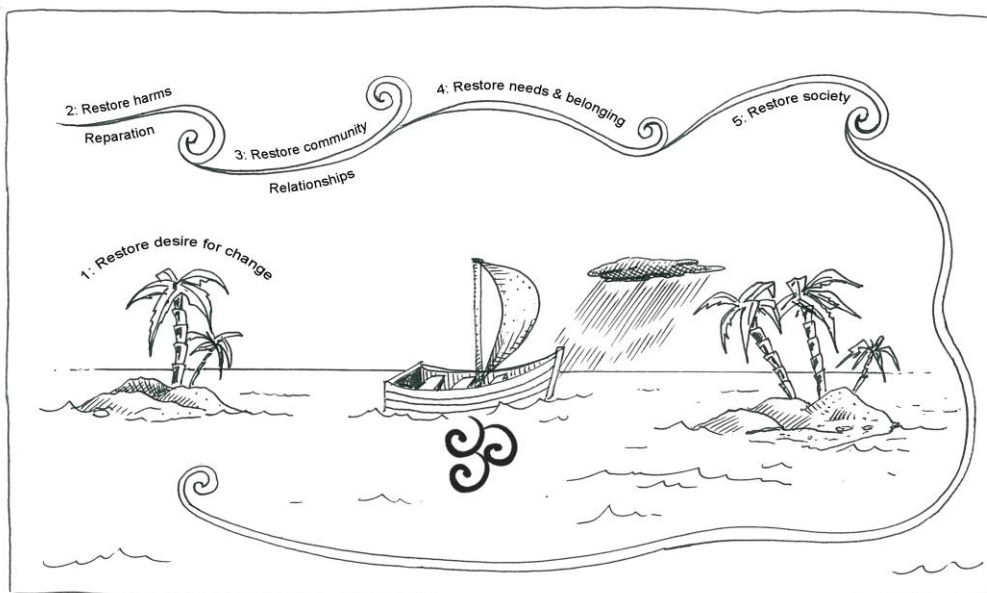
Identity in relationship

Before moving to Phase Two of this restorative reintegration project, it is useful to stress the importance of supportive relationships within a reintegration journey. At each stage of reintegrating into community, the person is supported and assisted by significant relationships, in which their "self-images as law-abiding citizens are shaped in a similar way to their identities as deviants - through social interaction with others in new, prosocial rather than deviant roles" (Bazemore & Stinchcomb, 2004, p. 15). By this understanding, "human identity is a social achievement" (Speedy, 2008, p. xiv), which is shaped by cultural and historical discourses and dependent upon social processes that are acknowledging of preferred identity claims (White, 2000).

A focus on the power of relationship and social belonging to make a difference highlights one very particular relationship which, for some people reintegrating into community, is reported to be of particular importance: a relationship with a Higher Power. Some people on a socially-achieved migration of identity and lifestyle journey report that they experience being both called to, and assisted in the undertaking of such a journey by a benign power beyond them, a power capable of offering effective assistance to their transition and to their preferred identity claims. How such a power is named and related with varies between people and cultures, but it seems important to note here that conversations which invoke the possibility of such a supportive relationship can make a real difference for some people in their experience of a reintegration journey, both as a supported individual and as finding belonging within a community of like-minded people.

In Diagram One, this possibility is represented as a taniwha (water spirit or guardian) image below the migrating boat. Those involved in migration conversations are able to invoke the presence of whatever Higher Power may make sense to them, and to wonder what part that relationship might play in resourcing this reintegration journey.

Phase Two: Restoring wellbeing in those harmed by crime – by addressing their needs, acknowledging their dignity and seeking to promote repair



As above, a first and necessary phase in a migration of identity from criminal to pro-social identities includes accepting appropriate responsibility for actions and having a

desire to make things right for those harmed by crime. Thus, on behalf of restoring wellbeing for those harmed, a person reintegrating into community admits their part of the choice to commit crime and accepts that those harmed by the crime are neither responsible for the crime nor the sentence. They understand how their crime hurt others and take up appropriate responsibility for those damages. Further, the person takes steps to repair harms done (Toews, 2006). Maruna (2014) describes such steps to repair harm done as demonstrating “a constructive effort, an offender giving something of himself” and as producing “visible ‘good’ with tangible beneficiaries in the same way that one’s crimes involve clear harms with real victims” (p. 12). Taking such tangible steps to repair harms forms the second phase of the restorative migration described in Diagram One.

Zehr (2002) writes that those harmed by crime have at least four needs which are at times neglected, including needs for information about why the offence happened and what has happened since; for opportunities to tell the story of what happened from their point of view; for regaining a sense of control over their properties, their bodies, their emotions, their dreams; and for restitution or vindication, wherein the person who committed the crime makes an effort to make right the harm, even if only partially, as a way of saying, "I am taking responsibility, and you are not to blame."

It is worth noting here that, even where a person takes up responsibility for harm done, those harmed are not required to make response. As Jenkins (2006) highlights, those harmed are entitled to make their own judgements about “whether or not to relinquish feelings, pardon or reconcile. There can be no strings attached” (p. 156).

The second phase in a reintegrative migration journey described in Diagram One offers people harmed, those who have offended, and their communities “opportunities for active involvement in the justice process as early and as fully as possible” (Van Ness, 1997, p. 2). These opportunities involve “actually meeting with each other ... each person is given the opportunity to speak, to tell the story of the crime from their own perspective” (Van Ness, 1997, p. 3), in order that those involved develop an understanding of the crime, of the other parties involved, and of the steps needed to make things right. Restoring wellbeing requires restorative

meetings aiming for and concluding with an agreement that is both particular to the dispute, and achievable by the parties: “The harm done cannot be undone, but steps - particular steps - can be taken toward redressing it” (Van Ness, 1997, p. 4). Thus the journey described here as a socially-achieved migration of identity and lifestyle begins with a shift from “a self-centred to an other-centred focus, through political realisation about the nature and effects of abuse, restitution and reparation for the harm caused, and resolution, through accepting the preferred outcomes of those that have been hurt” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 157).

Steps to redress harm may be made towards those directly affected by the crime, or indirectly through the wider community in a way “that does not necessarily require direct contact with the individual person you have hurt” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 161/162). These steps to redress may include offering “talents on projects meant to meet community needs, build community capacity and repair the harm caused by crime” (Workman, 2009, p. 15), or through practices such as paying restitution, taking programs, writing letters in which to take responsibility, donating to groups who support people harmed by crime, or helping others in the community affected by crime (Toews, 2006) (See also Miner, 2014).

There are a range of restorative practices which attempt to make things right by bringing those affected by crime together with those who committed the crime, including victim offender mediations (Van Ness, 2004) and Community/Family Group Conferencing (Ministry of Justice, 2011; Strang et al, 2013).

In victim-offender centred Community/Family Group Conferencing, facilitated by a skilled leader, the person who committed the crime and those closely affected by it talk directly with each other while families, friends or social service agencies provide support. Through a process of hearing what happened, exposing the effects for all, and an exploration of what might help make things right, the needs of those harmed by the crime are addressed alongside opportunities for rehabilitation and transformation for the person who committed the crime.

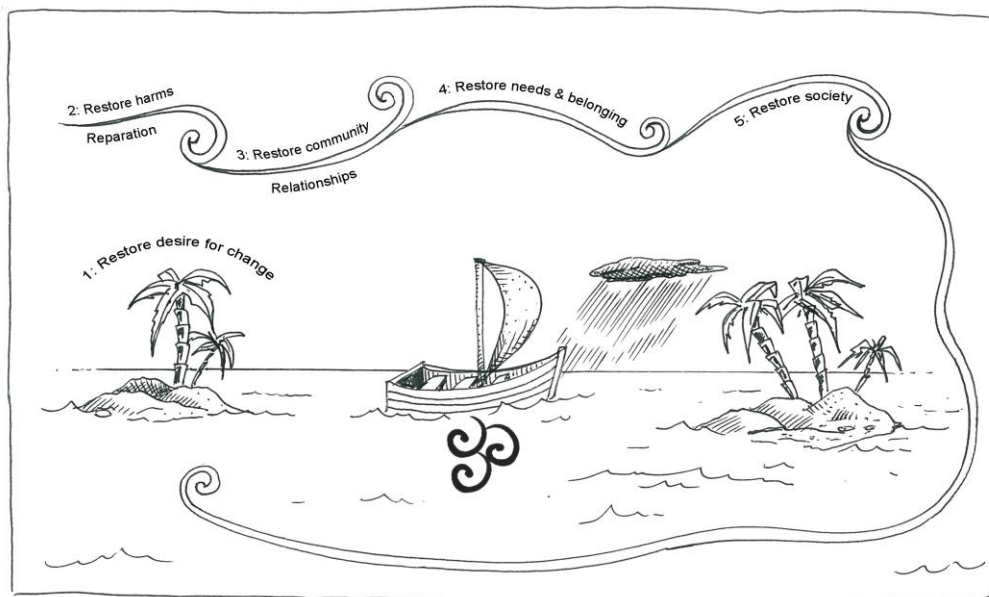
Community Panel Conferencing offers a similar form of restorative meeting to Community/Family Group Conferencing, though while the person who committed the

crime and those closely affected do still both talk to each other, the key in this form of conference is for the community group or panel to have the appropriate information from both in order to produce a plan, an outcome that the community panel is charged to achieve. This particular structure fits well with an emphasis on the reduction of reoffending rates more so than reconciliation and healing, though the latter are of interest in the process. In this structure both the person who committed the crime and those directly affected by it are more removed from the final outcome than in the Community/Family Group Conferencing scheme.

Group-to-Group Centred Conferencing is another type of restorative conferencing often seen in indigenous justice settings (e.g. marae-based (Maori meeting space) or other Polynesian traditional group-based approaches). Here the extended families of the person who committed the crime and those directly affected by it meet to address the offending that has occurred. As Denborough and Waldegrave (2002) describe, for members of collective cultures, issues of restoration can be complex: “It is not just a matter of an individual working out whether he/she wishes to forgive another individual” (p. 57). While people do experience guilt individually, “they also experience it collectively – whether as part of a cultural group, a gender group, an interest group, etc” (ibid, p. 57). Like the Community Panel scheme above, an entity other than the person who committed the crime and those directly affected by it is charged with the responsibility to produce a plan to address the offending. The person who committed the crime and those directly affected by it participate as part of their respective groups, but this is at the families’ behest, while the families take the initiative to talk. In Group-to-Group Centred Conferencing the first line of reconciliation and restoring balance is between or among the extended families and only secondarily the person who committed the crime and those directly affected by it.

Such facilitated restorative meetings create opportunities for those harmed by crime to have their needs heard and met as much as possible, and form a critical step in the reintegration of people leaving prison. Once harm done by crime has been attended to as much as possible, a restorative reintegration process can turn attention to restoring wider relationships damaged by crime.

Phase Three: Restoring relationships damaged by offending – in family, whanau and community



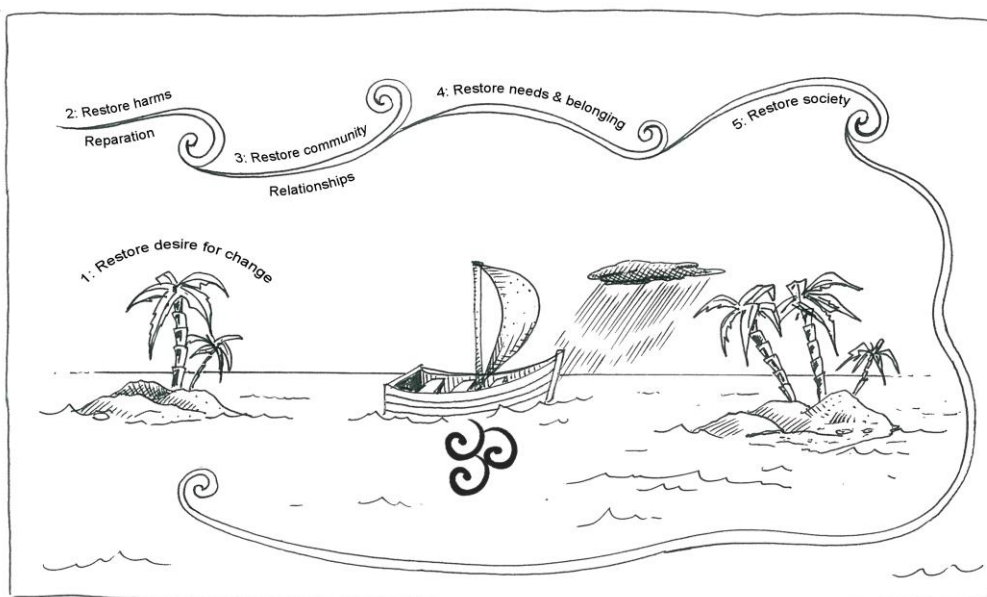
The next phase in a restorative reintegration process attends to the restoration of relationships within families, whanau and wider community groups. Highlighting the importance of relationship to reintegration, Ward, Fox and Garber (2014) draw on Zehr and Mika (1998) to describe restorative justice as facilitating community healing, “by repairing the harm that results from crime, more specifically, the fractures within relationships between victims, offenders, and the community that inevitably occur following offending” (p. 2).

Alongside the restoring of relationships which can also be effected through the repairing of harm described above, a significant way to achieve restoration of relationships harmed by crime is through witness circles and community circles (known in narrative therapy as outsider witness processes (Andersen, 1991, 1992; Griffith & Griffith, 1992; Russell & Carey, 2004; Smith & Gibson, 2006; Walther & Fox, 2012) and definitional ceremonies (Myerhoff, 1986; White, 1995, 1997, 2000; White & Epston, 1990), and also as reintegration circles (Pranis, 2005)). Both these circle processes gather a team of community support people (witness circles are smaller than community circles) whose role is to listen to tellings and re-tellings of the person’s efforts to make things right, and their attempts to take on new identity

stories and lifestyles. Once they have heard, witnesses and community members are invited to respond by saying what has stood out for them in what they have heard about the person and their efforts to make things right; how what they have heard has connected with their own life experience, and how listening to these stories may impact them in the future. These sites of telling and re-telling of actions in keeping with preferred identity stories act as powerful witnessing to new identity claims, and provide opportunities for community members to affirm people’s preferred identity claims and the actions taken in keeping with them. The Circles of Accountability and Support which are described in more detail below as part of a restoring of belonging also function to restore relationships with wider community members harmed by crime.

Having restored a desire to make a difference, attended as much as possible to restoring relationships harmed by crime, a restorative reintegration process turns attention to the restoration of belonging for the person leaving prison. The processes of restoring a desire to make a difference (Phase One) and restoring harm done to people and relationships (Phases Two and Three) already contribute significantly to a restoration of belonging for the person leaving prison. The next phase extends this process further.

Phase Four: Restoring belonging – by extending to the offender all the benefits and obligations of equal citizenship



The next phase in a restorative reintegration process is the restoration of belonging for the person leaving prison by extending to them all the benefits and obligations of equal citizenship. This phase includes both relational belonging within community and a restoration of access to healthful and effective life practices for the individual. Having taken up a desire to see things changed, and having taken steps to repair harm done and relationships damaged, the focus of this restorative process turns directly to the person leaving prison and their needs for inclusion and belonging. As stated above, the obligation to put right is first and primarily for the person who has committed the crime. However Zehr (2002) also highlights that “for offenders to successfully carry out their obligations, they may need support and encouragement from the wider community” (p. 29).

As well as a need for welcome, people have practical needs such as for employment, accommodation, education & training, skills for life, welfare and family and community relationships (New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2014). Smit and O'Regan (2014) emphasise that the days following a person's leaving of prison can be very difficult, reflecting “the fact that the person is not only likely to face a range of temptations (drugs, alcohol, former criminal associates), but can also include a number of stressors, such as loneliness, having nowhere suitable to live, being out of work, and having insufficient funds to re-establish their lives” (p. 29) as well as access to reporting requirements for police or parole (See also Gilbert et al, 2014; Leafe, 2015; Opie, 2012). Thus while continuing to emphasise that “a key determinant of [accountability] is the sense that the offender has made appropriate amends” (p. 23), Bazemore and Stinchcomb (2004) argue that “a crucial element in successful re-entry is the willingness of the community to accept the prisoner's return” (p. 23) and “creating or harnessing communities of concern” (Fox, 2014, p. 108).

Within those communities of concern, Fox (2012) offers that “the first step is to treat [a person returning to community] as a valid community member” (p. 111). Thus, as well as having practical needs met, people returning to community benefit from becoming re-included in community affairs. For Maruna (2012), reintegration “refers

to the restoration of the persons 'reputation' and full citizenship" (p. 74). Here the value of "redemption rituals" is highlighted (Fox, 2012, p. 162). Just as court and prison processes confer a criminal identity, redemption rituals aim to minimise a person's status as someone who has offended and enhance their status as a citizen. According to Fox (2010) these could include "rituals to mark progress, such as graduation ceremonies ... to celebrate certain milestones" (p. 345). Workman (2009) advocates status elevation ceremonies or reintegration rituals offering a chance "to officially wipe the slate clean and literally alter his or her past as recognition of these forms of restitution and social contribution" (p. 15). The witnessing and community circles (Andersen, 1991, 1992; Griffith & Griffith, 1992; Myerhoff, 1986; Walther & Fox, 2012; White, 1995, 1997, 2000; White & Epston, 1990) described above function as just such powerful rituals of inclusion and belonging. As part of responding to tellings of new and preferred identity claims, support people in witness and community circles can take opportunities to formally welcome a person, celebrate their achievements and confer a status of being reintegrated into community.

In support of people leaving prison, and while still within prison, NZ Corrections has relied on the RNR (Risk Needs Responsivity) model (Bonta & Andrews, 2007; Fox, 2014; Ward, Fox & Garber, 2014; Yesberg & Polaschek, 2014) which highlights that "programs should primarily target criminogenic needs, that is, dynamic risk factors associated with recidivism that can be changed" (Ward, Gannon & Mann, 2007). With this focus Corrections aims to support and educate people due to leave prison in personally specific ways which reduce the likelihood of their returning to prison. Outside of prison, Corrections has instituted the Out of Gate service which provides support to short-serving prisoners prior to and post release. This service includes support to access existing local services, whose role it is to ensure people's practical needs are met (Horn & Pratt, 2014). By these means Corrections aims to install "the internal conditions (i.e., skills, values, beliefs) and the external conditions (i.e., resources, social supports, opportunities) [in order to] reduce or eliminate each individual's set of criminogenic needs" (Ward, Gannon & Mann, 2007, p. 208). While this focus is described by Ward, Gannon and Mann (2007) as an "unsatisfactory response to crime because it excludes victims and communities, and thus is seen to

undermine the victim-centered philosophy of restorative justice” (p. 209), within the context of the migration journey described in this paper, these supports can be seen as one valuable part of a restorative reintegration process.

Circles

As above a significant response to restoring belonging for people reintegrating into community is the use of circles (Fox, 2013; Pranis, 2005; Strang et al, 2013, van Rensburg, 2012, 2014). Workman (2011) describes forms of circles including The Panel Model, the Mentoring Model and the CoSA (Circles of Accountability and Support) model. In Workman’s description, the Panel Model involves a single community panel that meets every two weeks. All of the returning people who have committed crime meet with the same panel on the same evening. The panel is comprised of a city official, a police officer, probation officer, re-entry coordinator, and a few volunteers. The Mentoring Model also has a panel, but unlike the Panel Model above, the Mentoring Model is individually configured for each person leaving prison and includes a single mentor for one-on-one meetings outside the panel. Mentoring has been found to have a positive effect of recidivism, especially alongside other supportive services (Marlow et al, 2015).

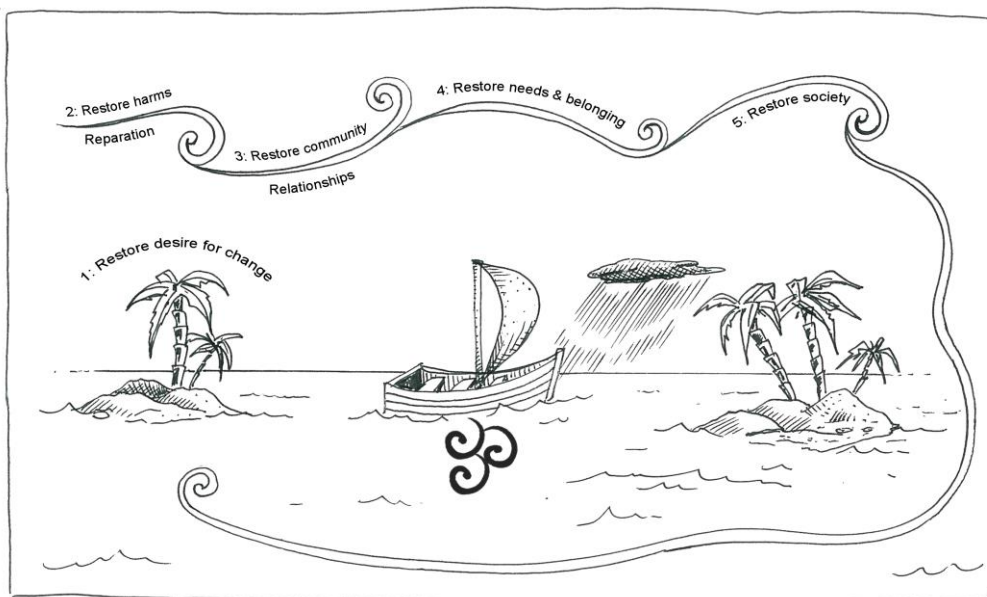
The less formal CoSA Model sometimes includes a more prescribed, occasional case conference (similar to a panel) but is mostly characterized by a smaller core of volunteers who meet as a group weekly with the core member in the community to offer support and social connection. Fox (2013) describes CoSA as “a community-based, nonprofessional model for assisting high-risk offenders returning to communities” (p. 1) within which volunteers function with the same community safety concerns as Corrections or police. Workman (2011) further describes CoSA, where the community of release is represented by a group of four to six volunteers (the Circle) who are willing to take personal responsibility for supporting the person leaving prison (Core Member) in successfully reintegrating back into the community and also for holding them accountable for their actions. Volunteers receive training and are fully informed of the core member’s history, patterns of offending and the thoughts and behaviours that are likely to signal regression. The Circles begin working with the core member before they are released and are headed by a Circle Coordinator who is connected to (and sometimes works for) other relevant agencies

and professionals (e.g. probations, the police and clinicians) and can call upon their support and advice as required. The CoSA mottos of “No one is disposable” and “No more victims,” (Hannem & Petrunik, 2007) highlight aims of reducing victimization while supporting the social needs of people who have offended (See also van Rensburg, 2012).

Tried in New Zealand with people convicted of sex offences, CoSA circles draw from prison ministry volunteers, who may at times allow core members to live with them for a period of time, providing a family atmosphere, intervening to help repair relationships with core members’ families, and modeling “prosocial, normative behaviours such as honesty and reciprocity” (Fox, 2014, p. 15).

Within the wider community a great many organisations work to facilitate a restoration of belonging for people leaving prison including, to name just a few of the many, the National Urban Maori Authority, PARS (formerly Prisoners Aid, now renamed People at Risk Solutions), Pathways Trust, Prison Fellowship New Zealand and Te Hikoitanga, all aimed at providing resources needed and recruiting the social support necessary for successful reintegration – the restoration of citizenship - within community.

Phase Five: Restoring peace/shalom to society – by addressing the drivers of crime



A final phase on a migration of identity and lifestyle journey which leads to restorative reintegration for people leaving prison pays attention to the society within which people returning and their supporters will live. Zehr (2002) writes that communities need “encouragement to take on their obligations for the welfare of their members, including victims and offenders, and to foster the conditions that promote healthy communities” (p. 18), including attending to social inequalities. That a response to inequality is required is not in dispute. Toews (2006) writes that

One doesn't have to look far for real-life examples. White people tend to have more power than people of color. Men may be valued more than women. The rich have more political clout than the poor. The free are seen as more worthy than the imprisoned. These inequalities play themselves out in the workplace, home, schools, government, and elsewhere (p. 14).

In a similar vein Denborough (1996) asks, “How will we acknowledge the histories of racist violence, class-based domination, sexuality-based violence, and violence against young men?” (p. 107). In a later paper, Denborough and Waldegrave (2002) highlight the importance of placing conflicts in their broader social and economic contexts, writing that

Families who are experiencing the effects of unemployment and overcrowded housing are often labelled as multi-problem families, or dysfunctional families and these definitions are frequently taken on by family members themselves. In order to increase the likelihood of a restoration of relationships within the family, we work to free families from the burden of these negative definitions ... Conflicts are much more likely to occur within families if their continuous wider social experience robs them of their dignity (p. 58).

Denborough (1996) highlights the challenge of restoring society, describing the notion of rehabilitation as “being challenged by the reality that most prisoners will be returned to the same social conditions that generated the crimes in the first place”.

Denborough proposes instead a “moving towards cultural and community building processes” (p. 163).

Such community building may begin with restorative conferencing, and the relationship building which can develop between a person who has committed crime and community members when working together on restorative service projects. Such relationships can grow into networks of families and support groups. Beyond this, work that leads to repair and redemption, to changes in individual and public identities of incarcerated persons, to assistance for those in need, to the building or repair of physical structures, or to the improvement of the natural environment all fit the definition of restorative community building service (see also Denborough, 2006).

One example of a community-based response to restoring society is the work of the Family Centre, who’s counselling, research and social development work is based on a concept of ‘Just Therapy’ (Waldegrave, 1990; Waldegrave & Tamasese, 1993). By this understanding, attention is paid “to the broad cultural, gender, social, spiritual, economic and psychological contexts underlying the problems experienced by those with whom therapists work” (The Family Centre, n.d., p. 1). Examples of community development research completed by the Family Centre include papers attending to resilience in sole parent families (Waldegrave et al, 2011) and to wellness among young people (Waldegrave & Waldegrave, 2009). Studies such as these seek to make public the social drivers of inequality and distress with a view to reshaping public policy and response.

One of the most powerful responses to restoring society is offered by people who have themselves experienced reintegration from prison. Denborough and Waldegrave (2002) write about members of groups who experience social and other hardships and may “choose to join groups that are struggling on those issues” (p. 58). Through actions shaped by new identity claims as someone who helps others through service, people “can demonstrate an unselfish commitment to promoting the next generation - manifested through parenting, teaching, mentoring, and generating benefits for others” (Bazemore & Stinchcomb, 2004, p. 16). People who have lived experience of reintegration bring specialist knowledge to the service of others. .As Burton (2013) writes “There is nobody in America who can tell us more about prisons

than we already know. I spent 25 years in prison. No matter how many books you've read, no matter how many studies you did, you don't really understand prisons the way I do. I bring a different kind of insight to the research process" (p. 5).

Making a difference in society informed by lived experience is not confined to those who have caused harm. People harmed by crime also seek to make a difference in the wider society. Denborough and Cushing (2002) write of Cushing's response to the death of his father by murder:

The work of organising gatherings of murder victims who are opposed to the death penalty is really a way that I honour him. I honour what's good about him, and like any of us who are involved in criminal justice reform work, we realise that the best way we can honour our loss is to do something positive ... I see this work as honouring my father's life and the values that I consider to be his legacy (p. 32).

This critical aspect of reintegration – supporting people to make a difference within the wider society – is indicated in Diagram One above by the line which returns to the first island. In this phase, along with their supporters, people successfully reintegrating into their communities, alongside those who have been harmed by crime, may offer their unique skills and perspectives to others in making a difference to society. This important point also applies to participant involvement in research into restorative reintegration as highlighted by Marlow et al (2015) writing of the "import of involving formerly incarcerated adults in the design, implementation, and testing of interventions intended to support their reintegration efforts" (p. 91).

Conclusion

New Zealand seeks to be "a world leader in reintegration" (Swain, 2004), on behalf of public safety and the maintenance of a just society (Auditor General, 2013). Restorative reintegration makes it possible that people returning to communities can be described as significantly more care-oriented and other-centred, as expressing a desire for something to show for their lives and as offering a special commitment to their communities and causes. As Maruna (n.d., p. 4) writes, "In short, they find a reason to live that is inconsistent with continued offending".

This paper has described an overview of restorative reintegration for people leaving prison. It describes five interrelated phases of a migration journey back to community as restoring desire to make a difference, restoring harm done by crime, restoring relationships damaged, restoring the person to full citizenship, and restoring wider society. While each of these phases contributes to the success of the others, each phase also draws on the particular skills and resources of those helping at each point. This restorative migration metaphor supports participants at each point to see what could be required of them, and to see where their actions fit into a whole process of restorative reintegration. As a result people working in different areas of a restorative reintegration process will be able to support the work of others before and after them who, like them, stand alongside people leaving prison and those harmed by crime and their communities as they work together to make things right. Subsequent writing will explore the five restorative phases in detail, looking at how each phase can be accomplished, and theorising how and why those practices have desired effects.

One final comment

This paper describes an overview of restorative reintegration for people leaving prison as a socially-achieved migration of identity and lifestyle. Amongst the academic language and references it would be easy to forget the people who are at the heart of this work: people harmed by crime, and people leaving prison along with their supporters and communities. Although this paper has described a process of restorative reintegration, it is people – individuals and communities – who take part in that process. And for each person and community the process is undertaken in specific and unique ways. This paper does not assume that what is described is an easy process, nor a necessarily trouble-free process for those involved. To leave already known and workable identities and lifestyles and to begin to move towards partially known and hoped for identities and lifestyles carries a significant risk of losing what one has, and not achieving what one hopes for - to be left in a worse situation than when one started. The exploration of ethical hopes and values described as Phase One in this process guides a person's subsequent steps along

the way. But at every stage the person leaving prison and returning to community relies on the commitment and support of all those involved – for as long as it takes.

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