https://doi.org/10.22364/jull.10.14

Multilevel Shared Management for Policy Design and Problem Solving. Case of an Idle Group – Released from Estonian Prisons

M.A., PhD candidate **Tuuli Stewart**
Extern in the School of Governance, Law, and Society, Tallinn University
E-mail: *tuulist@yahoo.com*

Consultant: *Dr. iur.* **Ando Leps**
Nominee for Stockholm Science Prize in Criminology, 2018
E-mail: *andoleps@hot.ee*

The focus of the paper is on the application of the subordinates involving governance (SIG) model and its design in a certain context through problem identification method. The proposed social involvement model is combining shared governance with independent actors and traditionally subjected (subordinate) parties as counterparts. As an example of the policy design mechanics, the case of socialization of returners from prison is chosen to build a model: an opportunity and preparedness in finding legal engagement for the (re)entry into society are the key components that may tackle high recidivism rate in the region. Seemingly, the current system already has a shared governance model in use, government working with NGOs and with the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund. This cooperation however has resulted with no substantial results from the perspective of rehabilitation and (re)socialization – Estonia remains one of the high incarceration and recidivism areas in Europe. The paper argues that current target in data collection (knowledge formation) and in preparation for (re)integration is set following institutional interests instead of systemic logic with a focus on results. The search for better solutions must therefore continue.

Keywords: multilevel governance, shared policy design, involvement, sustainable communal development, security, SIG model, data collection, action research, knowledge formation.

Content

Abbreviations

EU – European Union
EUIF – Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund
ExQ1 – focus group interviews with the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund (EUIF) specialist
ExQ2– the questionnaire results for the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund (EUIF) specialists
MinJust – the Ministry of Justice, Estonia
MinSoc – the Ministry of Social Affairs
PICS – the post-incarceration syndrome
PrQ – the questionnaire for male inmates and its results (570 valid respondents from all three Estonian male prisons)
SIG model – the subordinates involving governance model

Introduction

All that is valuable in human society
depends upon the opportunity for
development accorded the individual.

Albert Einstein

The paper is not discussing prison or any penal matters as such. The focus of the paper lies on a model, where a subject or subordinate idle group in a society (its members) are brought into the decision-making process as counterparts in the public policy design through shared management.[1] The reasons for this approach are explained by the rationality in knowledge formation and top-down vs. bottom-up relationships in the community. Prisoners as temporarily idle group but expected entrants to the society with different power relation and even culture are used as a sample. The overall objective of the underlying study was to define the problem and to propose a solution to socialization of idle group(s) in the frame of existing circumstances. Principles in any different case should be adjusted to realities in order to offer practical advice.[2] Recidivism is one of the problems that affects society on multiple levels. The paper introduces a model that was created to ease departure from a recidivistic circle for these offenders who have a potential for a legal adjustment after imprisonment. Similar models could be moderated for different idle (minority) groups, including immigrants, idle youth, long-term unemployed,

[1] See: *Charron, N.* Government Quality and Vertical Power-Sharing in Fractionalized States. Publius 39, No. 4, 2009, pp. 585–605; *Charron, N.* Power Sharing, Ethnoliguistic Fractionalization and Government Quality. *QoG Working Paper Series*, No. 8, 2007, pp. 1–44.

[2] See: *Akers, R. L., Sellers, C. S., Jennings, W. G.* Criminological Theories: Introduction, Evaluation, and Application, 7th ed. Oxford University Press, 2016.

persons with improving or partial disabilities or those discouraged in their adjustment to labor market or occupational activity.

For a few decades, public service systems are transforming into market-like organizations of service delivery.[3] The prison system is not exception in attempts to make the "service" more efficient at the same time meeting changing requirements (offenders' human rights e.g.). The core principle in public spending is that a "service" should be available for as few as possible but to as many as needed, considering the overall functioning of the society. Most social aid (if to consider prison to be one of those) systems are closed by their functioning to the public.

The use of NGO services in prisons to the system of private prisons[4] have been considered but rejected, social contacts and public involvement in the punitive system are minimal or nonexistent – prisoners are idle until they are released and reenter society with obligations and expectations ahead. The (in)efficiency of the current governing is seen in its "product" that is released in the public or evaluated in time. Even though, an outsider has almost no say in the operation of prisons as an example, the debate about the outcome of a punishment and expected rehabilitation should be more of the interest of executives and scholars. The 1960s penal reforms in Finland were designed and executed by a small group of scholars and executives, the involvement of the public was not considered necessary. In Estonia, a similar has happened but the grounds and reasons for that have been different.

Why prisoners? Why Estonia? From its establishment in 1918 the country has had (one of) the highest imprisonment rates in comparison with other states – Scandinavia, USSR, the immediate neighbors. At the same time, the rate of criminality was the lowest during the Soviet era. This draws interest to the rehabilitation system operational efficiency. From the philosophical side, an understanding of the relations between a person and state, the allowed and prohibited, accepted measures of protection and adjustment are continuously acute in Europe. From the practical side, it affects every member of the society through multiple effects like:

- public safety and security;
- social cost, demographics, emigration;
- labor market, social practice;
- personal gain or loss (applied to family members, children);
- public (and personal) spending on imprisonment and rehabilitation.[5]

It is difficult to estimate the total of any national spending on crime or recidivism. The average annual cost per inmate in the United States is estimated from \$31 282[6] to a mean salary in USA of \$40 000[7]. In Estonia, the direct incarceration cost per inmate exceeds this more than twofold.[8] At the same time, Estonian prison investments are two times less than those of Finland.[9] Some traits that are believed to be characteristic to small states (Estonia's inhabitants slightly exceed 1M people), like informality of structures and procedures,

---

3 See: *Pierre, J.* New Governance, New Democracy? *The QOG Institute* 4, 2009, pp. 4–25.

4 See: *Cheung, A.* Prison Privatization and the Use of Incarceration. The Sentencing Project, 2009.

5 Very difficult to calculate, as it consists of parts that are interrelated and divided between different ministries of the state.

6 *Henrichson, C., Delaney, R.* The Price of Prisons What Incarceration Costs Taxpayers. 2012.

7 *Darity, W., Hamilton, D.* Bold Policies for Economic Justice. The Review of Black Political Economy, 2012.

8 *Vanglad* [Prisons]. Aruanded ja Palgad [Reports and Salaries]. *Annual Reports*, 2015.

9 *Mäe, I.* Estonian Prison Investments Twice Smaller than in Finland. Postimees, July 17, 2015.

multifunctionalism of civil servants and organizations oppose "personalism" of roles and functions.[10] Reducing the number of inmates by diminishing recidivism seems like an opportunity for direct saving and a positive influence on the social cost. Recidivism in Estonia has received targeted attention on the state level but still is high compared to European averages.[11] Exact reconviction rates in Europe and worldwide are calculated by different methods, which makes them difficult to compare. The methodology differs even within Estonia.[12] Another problem with the comparative statistics is that newer EU member states are often not included in the international statistics.[13] Crime rate in Estonia has been evaluated as medium or even safe,[14] the problem for the small state is the number of inmates per capita and high rate of recidivism.[15] The latter could be treated as an inefficiency of current measures – convicted once means that the person gets trapped. This leads to the understanding that punishment is not for the crime but punished person gets cut off from the active part of society. Solution is seen in improvement of the efficiency of the current system in leading subjects out of the cycle of recidivism through a legal occupation and meaningful skill-advancing activity.[16] The author is not naïve – no model is going to eliminate criminality from society. To offer a feasible opportunity and to facilitate the return into society, however, should be the goal.

Another target of the research was unexpected but became as important as the original set goal – the lack of proper methodology in gathering the statistical and comparable data asked for a bottom up action research method and the approach brought up discrepancies that haven't been described by other researchers. The method of critical thinking was not originally scheduled but was tailored to this study and became a necessary and inseparable part of it. This involved analysis and evaluation of theories that have formed the basis of traditional studies. It appeared that theoretical perspective may change rapidly in transformation societies and affect both, the setup and outcome of the studies.

---

[10] See: *OECD*. Estonia: Towards a Single Government Approach. 2011.

[11] See: *Ahven, A., Salla, J., Vahtrus, S.* Retsidiivsus Eestis [Recidivism in Estonia]. 2010; *Ahven, A.* Vanglast Vabanenute Retsidiivsus. 2010.

[12] See *Ahven, A. et al.* Kuritegevus Eestis [Crime in Estonia]. 2015, 2016. *Hilborn, J.* Ülevaade Kuriteoennetuse Planeerimisest [Review of Crime Prevention]. 2007; *KESA-Mauritius*. Retsidiivsus [Recidivism]. 2007.

[13] See *Council of Europe*. Annual Penal Statistics. Recidivism Studies. 2017; *Fazel, S., Wolf, A*. A Systematic Review of Criminal Recidivism Rates Worldwide: Current Difficulties and Recommendations for Best Practice. Plos One, Vol. 10, 2015.

[14] *OSAC*. Estonia 2015 Crime and Safety Report. 2015.

[15] See: *University of London ICPR*. Estonia | World Prison Brief. WPB, 2017.

[16] See: *Altmäe, E.* Retsidiivsust mõjutavad tegurid valitud kuriteoliikide näitel [Factors that Influence Recidivism. Based on Selection of Crime Types]. Thesis, MA, 2015; *Meier, R. F., Miethe, D. T.* Understanding Theories of Criminal Victimization. *Crime and Justice* 17, 1993, pp. 459–99; *Harper, L.* The Four Theories of Victimization. Soapboxie, 2014; *Hilborn, J.* Ülevaade Kuriteoennetuse Planeerimisest [Review of Crime Prevention]. 2007; *Pease, K.* Repeat Victimisation: Taking Stock. Crime Detection and Prevention Series, 1998.

1. Defining the problem of current policing

Defining the problem for policy design, e.g., in policing,[17] important distinction is that problem-oriented policing describes comprehensive framework for improving (e.g. the police's) systemic capacity to perform the mission. Problem-oriented policing impacts everything the system does (the police do) operationally as well as managerially.[18] The term "problem solving", used from the 1980s, more specifically describes the mental process of the problem-oriented policing.[19] The same basics apply to the problems in resocialization through the penal system. The basis for the application is true and appropriate information of the situation so the methodology of knowledge formation stands out. The history of the components of today's multilevel governance in rehabilitation and shared management applied onto inmates, dates back a long time: once the world's largest prison Australia, the old Central Prison of Raleigh, Bastøy, Delancey Street, Papa Giovanni project,[20] etc. These examples did not lead to the devolvement of power from the state. The key to resocialization was purposely executed through occupational involvement and encouragement of one's abilities.

Defining the case in hand, we are playing with two interrelated aspects:

- expectations towards the state (institutional system) in terms of "rehabilitation" of (delinquent) male,
- value vs. bearing of the subjects (prisoners after release) expected towards the state and to the community.

Ability to place oneself onto the labor market has been and still is the pivot of it. Social security models taken from Sweden, Germany, Britain etc. are based on demarcation between the deserving and the undeserving. Characteristic to most undeserving is a believed position of self-inflicted poverty, a choice of not working to the best of one's ability. The choice, however, could only be made in a situation where the subject has a position of a real applicable choice and importantly, a new (case-adjusted) choice could be added to the proposed set. Instead of "how do we bear with them?" or "how do we care about them?", the question could rather be "what can we do in order to help them to help themselves?" Different reforms launched in the EU welfare ringleaders during the past decade (German Hartz-reform, British Welfare to Work programs, Swedish efforts to create efficient work-focused rehabilitation) all target the role of the state in the "work first welfare state".[21] The leader of mass incarceration, U.S., has also been pressured to find solutions in leading idle persons incl. released to the legal labor market and provide

---

[17] See: *Braga, A. A.* Problem-Oriented Policing and Crime Prevention. 2008; *Goldstein, H.* Improving Policing: a Problem-Oriented Approach. Crime & Delinquency, 1979; *Goldstein, H. Problem-Oriented Policing.* McGraw-Hill, 1990; *National Research Council.* The Growth of Incarceration in the United States. National Academies Press, April 24, 2014.

[18] See: *Boba, R.* Problem Analysis in Policing. COPS Publication, 2003.

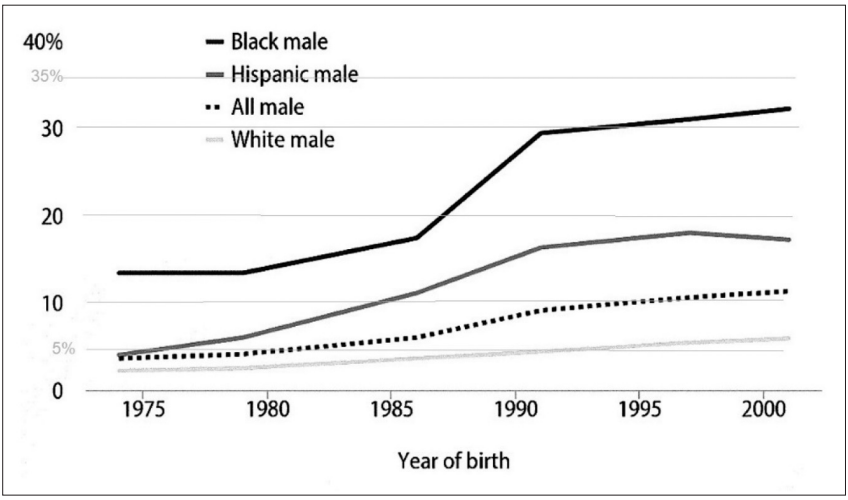
[19] See: *Scott, M. S.* Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years. COPS Publication, 2000.

[20] See: Associazione Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII; Bastøy fengsel. The Raleigh prison was designed and built by prisoners; in Bastøy prison-island in Norway even the transportation to the prison island from the mainland is done jointly with captives. Bastøy is not the only system believing that attitude and philosophy that is supported by action will change not only prisoners but also the institutions and systems. Based on: Såheim, E. Private Correspondence 2012-2017 (The founder and long-term director of Bastøy prison). Norway.

[21] See: *Stendahl, S.* Employment Support – a Normative Step Backward, Forward or Nowhere in a European Work-First Welfare State. Centre for European Research, University of Gothenburg, 2008.

explanations on why more severe penal system is not giving promised results.[22] Explanations given heretofore have not been fully supported by the respective statistics.[23] Another aspect is that those analyses[24] do not apply well to other societies or cultures, including the case of Estonia.

Figure 1. **Effect of the change of the policy.** Plot of the lifetime likelihood of a first incarceration at a state or federal prison for individuals born in U.S. between 1974 and 2001disaggregated by race and ethnicity for men (see: Cox, 2015)



Estonia is not a mass incarceration state but compared to the European average, the situation stays disturbing. Noticeable in Estonia is a trend from rehabilitative approach to punitive[25] as it has also been discussed in other cases.[26] While in the U.S. the problem of criminality has been viewed from the perspective of minority suppression (Figure 1), in the Eastern European countries persons with criminal penalty become themselves a growing but hidden minority group. Rights and obligations of citizens, as well as the state, in this new setting are asking for tailored solutions, new viewpoints, and perhaps even a change of paradigms. Academic debate in that matter should collaborate with legislative and executive power. International experts have cautioned that Estonia keeps writing strategies that are enjoyed on paper – there are too many of those but practical application is rather weak. Another weakness is perceived in the loosening link between science

[22] See: *Schrager, A.* In America, Mass Incarceration Has Caused More Crime than It's Prevented. Quartz, 2015.

[23] See: *Neyfakh, L.* Mass Incarceration: a Provocative New Theory for Why so Many Americans are in Prison. Slate.com, 2015.

[24] See: *Goodman, N.* The Weekly Abolitionist: Exploring the Causes of Mass Incarceration. Center for a Stateless Society, 2014.; *Cox, R. J. A.* Where Do We Go from Here? Mass Incarceration and the Struggle for Civil Rights. Economic Policy Institute, 2015, pp. 1–20.

[25] See: *Riigikohus* [Supreme Court of Estonia]. Karistuse Kohaldamise Etapid Eesti Kohtupraktikas. Õigusteabe Osakond, 2012; *Riigikohus* [Supreme Court of Estonia]. Ülekriminaliseerimine [Overcriminalization]. 2010.

[26] See: *Lerman, A. E.* The Modern Prison Paradox: Politics, Punishment, and Social Community. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

and practice.[27] The paper suggests a model that tailors existing knowledge and experience in involvement of subject groups to the decision-making process in a real case situation, using the frame of these strategies.

2. Rationality in Policy Design

Prison as a unique system with specific power relations gives room for lab modeling that could be applicable more widely. It could serve as an example in the design of more efficient community (or state) management.[28] However, theories that have been used in the governance design in e.g. Estonia originate from circumstances that differ from the existing ones. Therefore, illuminating the overall context, while leaving room for specific developments could help. The capability of the knowledge-based growth model to deliver its expected benefits to these areas crucially depends on tackling the specific set of socio-institutional factors, which prevents innovation from being effectively transformed into economic growth.[29]

Rational choice theory has been used to explain criminal or delinquent behavior.[30] Conversely, a real crime most frequently is not a rational act.[31] In the case of Estonia, alcohol and narcotics play significant role in criminality, as Estonians stand out with the largest alcohol consumption in OECD and has the highest number of drug deaths in Europe.[32] The goal of rehabilitation should form and perpetuate rational choices for a released in the future life. Among other factors, this aspiration is based on adequate and sufficient information that is added to a forced situation of choice and possibilities. This applies to all involved parties from individual level to institutional one (Figure 2). To make an adequate decision, the situational evaluations should be viewed with their possible opposites.[33] This, again, applies equally not only to the subjects but also to the officers/civil servants, workers of the institutions and to public attitude. The punctuated equilibrium and Tuckman model[34] in the combination with the understanding of logics in social

---

[27] See: *Kaevats, Ü.* Säästev Eesti 21 – Teadmistepõhise Eesti Tuumideestik. RiTo, 2004; *Proos, I. et al*. Demokraatia ja rahvuslikud huvid. Eesti Ühiskond. 2006; *Ruttas-Küttim, R., Stamenov, B.* RIO Country Reports. RIO Country Report, 2015.

[28] See: *UNEP*. Finance Initiative. Integrated Governance: a New Model of Governance for Sustainability. June, 2014).

[29] See: *Crescenzi, R., Rodríguez-Pose, A*. Innovation and Regional Growth in the European Union, Advances in Spatial Science. Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2011.

[30] See: *Cornish, D., Clarke, R.* The Reasoning Criminal: Rational Choice Perspectives on Offending. Transaction Publishers, 2014; *Clarke, R. V., Cornish, D. B.* Modeling Offenders' Decisions: a Framework for Research and Policy on JSTOR. Crime and Justice 6, 1985, pp. 147–85; *Akers, R. L*. Rational Choice, Deterrence, and Social Learning Theory in Criminology: The Path Not Taken. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 81, no. 3, 1990, pp. 653–76.

[31] See: MinJust. Kuritegevus Eestis [Criminality on Estonia] 2006-2015. Yearbooks, 2017; Piquero, A. R. Rational Choice and Criminal Behavior: Recent Research and Future Challenge. Routledge, 2012.

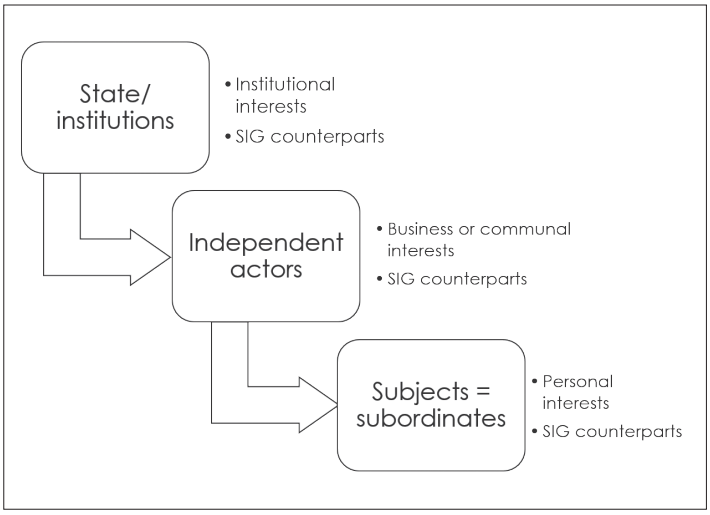
[32] See: *WHO*. Alcohol Consumption: Levels and Patterns. 2014, 1; *EMCDDA*. Estonia Country Overview. European Drug Report, 2016; *News.err.ee*. Report: Estonians Stand out for Largest Alcohol Consumption in OECD. 2015; *Finn, C.* Estonia Has the Highest Number of Drug Deaths in Europe. But Why?. *The Journal*, 2014.

[33] See: *Leps, A*. Modern Dialectical Criminology: A New Perspective on Study of Criminology. Ortwil, 2016.

[34] *Hurt, A. C., Trombley, S. M*. The Punctuated-Tuckman: Towards a New Group Development Model Towards a Case for Integration. 2007.

theory[35] lead to the practical experimenting of appropriate strategic models of change.

Figure 2. **Counterparts groups in a SIG model**



The influence of the EU governance on Eastern European national governments is often treated as a top-down power relation. The process moves from government to governance and rescaling politics has been described as the process of Europeanization. Little has been learnt about how the so-called extended parallel process model might be applied to societies and governments of new member states.[36] From the first ideas on consociational sharing of power in 1980s[37] the trends in the understandings about the power transition and its directions have moved up and down.[38]

In any case, the "quality of governance" has its primary effect on the economic growth and transition to democracy.[39] These processes require proper information and communication, which in cases of corruption, autocracy, authoritarianism,

[35] *Ford, J. D., Ford, L. W.* Logics of Identity, Contradiction, and Attraction in Change. Academy of Management Review 19, No. 4, 1994, pp. 756–85.

[36] See: *Witte, K.* Fear Control and Danger Control: a Test of the Extended Parallel Process Model. Communication Monographs 61, No. 2, 1994, pp. 113–35; *Maloney, E. K., Lapinski, M. K., Witte, K.* Fear Appeals and Persuasion: a Review and Update of the Extended Parallel Process Model. Social and Personality Psychology Compass 5, No. 4, April 2011, pp. 206–19; *Hullett, C. R., Witte, K.* Predicting Intercultural Adaptation and Isolation: Using the Extended Parallel Process Model to Test Anxiety/ uncertainty Management Theory. International Journal of Intercultural Relations 25, No. 2, March 2001, pp. 125–39.

[37] *Lijphart, A.* Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice. Routledge, 2008; *Reynolds, A.* The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy. Oxford University Press, 2002.

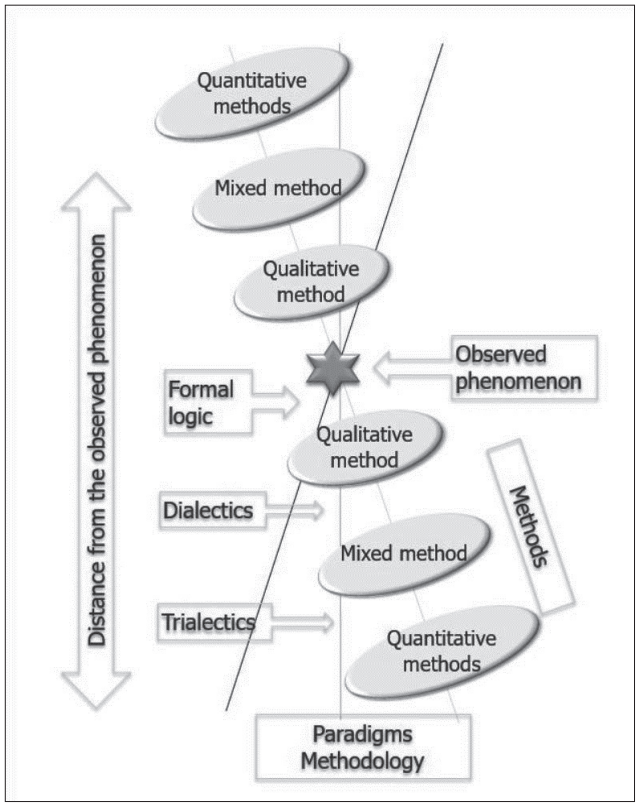
[38] See: *Travers, T.* Sub-National and Local Government in Context - 1. London School of Economics and Political Science, 2013; *Etzioni, A.* The Need for a New Paradigm. Commentary, 1994, pp. 1994–95.

[39] See: *Kanchanavipu, K.* An Integrated Model for SOA Governance. Report/IT University of Göteborg, 2008.; See about the influence of the governance on operation type and on the (business) environment: *Delsing, M.* City Networking in Europe. 2013; See about the effect on economy: *Charron, N.* Government Quality and Vertical Power-Sharing in Fractionalized States. 2009. *Charron*, *N.* Power Sharing, Ethnoliguistic Fractionalization and Government Quality. 2007.

prohibited access to involvement, high barriers to entry or political manipulations are not working.[40] Experts, as in the Delphi method, under these circumstances do not have access to policy forming; the knowledge-based development is hindered.

Multilevel governance means change. The theory of change in social structures has often been considered naïve. Nevertheless, it has its place and logic. It is important to recognize that change is not a linear movement, as promised and expected e.g. about economic growth or overall improvement of the quality of life. It has its cycles and stages. Motivation for change could be suppressed or inhibited by the lack of prerequisites, choice, and opportunity to add a new or missing particle to the existing set. The lack of choice or impossibility to influence the processes, which affect a subject, may cause apathy or rage, depending on the situation and the character, or appear in a combination. The set methodological lens may either help to see clearly or make the picture blurry (Figure 3).

Figure 3. **Lens of view**. It is adjusted by our views and choice of methodology, following methods, analysis, interpretation and presentation of gathered information. This information may help to form knowledge about the phenomenon and its causes/ effects (T. Stewart)



[40] See: *Levitsky, S.* Competitive Authoritarianism. Cambridge University Press, 2010; *Levitsky, S., Way, L. A.* The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. Journal of Democracy 13, No. 2, 2002, pp. 51–65; *OECD*. Estonia: Towards a Single Government Approach.

For building a model suitable for the context of the current time and location, the primary and essential task is to map at least these aspects:

- current situation and its trends (statics and its dynamics);
- the reasons for the choice of the method;
- understanding of the problem as a complex of interrelated aspects and factors;
- any given problem is a cause and a result at the same time;
- the content and meaning of the data at hand;
- interpret the correspondence between reality and the model;
- the level of simplification should not distort truth;
- interpretation itself depends largely on objectivity[41] or subjectivity[42] of the situation.

3. Findings: Obstacles vs. Possibilities in (Re)socialization

Findings of this paper are based on a) the questionnaire for male inmates PrQ; b) interviews and discussion groups in the EUIF, with prisoners, released and their family members ExQ1; c) questionnaire for the EUIF experts ExQ2; d) statistics from the EUIF about the released from prisons in the system of employment agency and consultation with the experts of MinJust.

PrQ: N=570 from all three Estonian male prisons compiles a valid group (approx. ¼ of all male inmates at the time). PrQ average respondent has been sentenced to prison penalty 2.8 times; harmonic mean HM=1.8; the average current time of sentenced imprisonment is 6.0 years, HM=2.3; average time spent in prison during respondent's life was 7.1 years, while 35.4% fell into the category of 1 to 5 years, but 27.5% have been imprisoned for more than 10 years. Approx. 3000 men are in prison today in Estonia (combining the sentenced and pre-trial detention), all of them (except 40 lifers) are returning to the society sooner or later.

According to PrQ:

- majority of inmates are not working and never have a chance to practice real work during their captive time even if they expressed willingness;
- there is no division in the institution between the ones who are able to acquire job after release, need temporary support to conform with the labor market demands (and the information as to what are these requirements) or who might fall into permanent social support category;
- work, if ever offered, is not offered considering actual skills; the ones who had the experience of working before, soon lose the respective skills;
- during the incarceration time, developing of social skills, abilities for re-entry into the community and labor market is marginal;
- easiest choice after release is either to return to illegal means or to become a social benefit receiver. A certain part just falls out of society, become homeless, discouraged (Table 1).

[41] The system of stereotypes, in which a person finds himself.

[42] Personal, first-hand, direct, experienced.

Table 1. **Sources of obstacles in socialization** (Stewart, 2016). The table shows example of the groups of needs at the release. Most of those problems should be addressed during the incarceration time. Especially young offenders, says Ministry of Justice, commit a crime right after release. Interviews showed that it is explained by anger and helplessness – nobody notices, no one cares.

–	Obstacles to socialization (according to the PrQ)			
Obstacle	***Affected by personal or social factors***	***Influences by prison***	***Social service (after release)***	***Respondents with this obstacle***
Addictions	***Q81***[43]	***Appr. 30 pers/year =1%/ get treated***[44]	***29% admitted an addiction***	***33% (yes + blank)***
Age (>55 years)	***19% said that age is a problem***			***<2% over 55y***[45]
Health (physical)	***Lack of information, knowledge, courage, money***	***See the budget (Figure 4)***	***Not aware of the symptoms of post release syndrome***	***interviewed, not in the PrQ,***[46]
Health (contagious disease)		***HIV, TB – not treated***[47]	***Records not accurate Us Department of State, "Human Rights Report Executive Summary 2013. Estonia," 2013.***	***Not asked***
Health (mental) (Chancellor of Justice, 2011)	***Not aware of the rights***	***Access to treatment and medications limited (Chancellor of Justice, 2011)***		***Not asked, observed, and interviewed***
Education (<9 years)	***Q4***	***Obligation to educate up to the 9th year***		***112/20% of total***
Computer	***Q14***		***CV, job adds in internet***	***131/23% of total (has not used ever or ≥ 5 years***
Social skills	***Data from Questionnaires, to be analyzed in the next step***	***The course of lifestyle***	***Interviews with the Unemployment Fund, family members***	

[43] Q…– the main question that measured that index. There might be other questions and in most cases, it is the combination that gives the picture.

[44] *MinJust*. Arengukava tegevuste ja kulude tabel 2015-2018 [Improvement Plan, Activities and Expenses].

[45] Even though the limit by the research was set at 55 years of age (the regular age of retirement in Estonia is 63 years), 109 respondents said that age is a limitation for them.

[46] Only 33,7% of young Estonian males are eligible for the service in national armed forces (2013). The rest are exempt due to poor health. There is no reason to assume that the health of prisoners is better. It is probably worse due to their age categories, lifestyle, previous habits, and access to health services.

[47] The testing and cure of the hepatitis C is expensive and is not possible with existing state budget (currently, the problem is solved thanks to the foreign supports, which end in 2015). Norwegian project "Public health" in prisons: in a year, against HIV were tested 3000 inmates, against Hepatitis C – 400 inmates. Treatment course was completed by 29 inmates *MinJust*, 2015.

Continued Table 1

Professional certificate	***Q5***	***Courses – welders, general, AA etc.***	***Some have 5 professions, but cannot find job in prison or after***	***301/53% of total (no profession or not marked)***
Education (≥9), no profession	***No other obstacles***	***The full range of professions Q18 enlisted***		***110/19% of total***
Language (Rus <2 languages)	***Q11 – 102 Q12[48] – 88 Q13 – 87***		***Total Rus = 232***	***Excluded Russians with 1 language***
No work experience and habit	***Q18***	***State statistics (the meaning of "working" in prison statistics)***		***118 (incl. the ones who did not answer)***
Finding a job	***Q62***			***160/30% of respondents***
Length of isolation this time[49] q78	***555 respondents***	***≥5 years***		***240/43% of respondents***
Length of isolation in life q79	***523 respondents***	***≥10 years***		***156/30% of respondents***
Adaptation	***Q62***			***172/33% of respondents***
Recidivism	***543 respondents***	***318 respondents in prison 1st (129) or 2nd (189) time***	***225 respondents ≥3 times, 77 respondents 5 times or more, 14 respondents 10 times or more***	***41% ≥3 times 24%=2nd time 35%=1st time***
Debts and liabilities	***Q***			***Respondents who declared that money is the main problem and they see no solution***
Homeless	***Q62***		***Respondent for whom family was the main problem and see no solution***	***115/22% of respondents***
Summary = group, eligible for work	***Number of men needing special treatment***	***X+y+…= … 48 persons/ 8% of total / 36 Est, 12 Rus***	***Number of men left from the general group***	***572 - …=***
Security		***"Anger management" and other courses for coping (MinJust, 2016b)***	***See Q82 – of the target – crimes***	***Additional penalties + black hole + health + …= 3-5%[50]***

[48] One person answered Q12=0; Q13=0 in writing. The questionnaire was completed.

[49] Many respondents said that the time, when a man brakes is about 4.5 years. After that starts the phase of apathy and hopelessness. Special and targeted rehabilitation is needed even for young men. Especially noticeable is it in cases of repeated imprisonment and lengthy solitude or punishment in black hole (the longest time in the black hole reported by the respondents was 353 days).

[50] This is a remarkable number as it matches with the number of respondents who reported that they actually work during their prison time.

The growing body of idle persons in society has forced social security systems to elaborate more regulations, aid, and support measures.[51] The problem in this case is that those measures reach neither prisons nor the released,[52] the majority of inmates have not heard of those measures. The average planned social support at the release on 2017 is 15.5€ per person: budget 23 000€/1 482 released (data of 2016).

Preparation in the penal facilities is not adjusted to the reality on the labor market:

- very few inmates have access to the courses. It is explained by the security norms, even though all male prisons in Estonia are high security facilities;
- the courses do not involve practical training;
- the equipment is outdated and limited;
- courses on practical labor are not adjusted to the reality outside – e.g. welders are one of the major groups of unemployed but this is often the only practical course in prison;
- after release, the criminal record is published in public registry – competing on the open labor market is almost impossible.

The interviews showed that even though the EUIF does treat released persons equally with other people, potential employers are not keen to hire "a criminal". Carrying out a penalty does not mean rehabilitation in the eyes of public. Current imprisonment policy combined with the lack of possibility to choose one's involvement in rehabilitative activity (incl. work) breaks the required elements of successful return.[53] Thereof, the study showed that the released find themselves in the position where to start over after release is even more complicated than before the sentence time.[54]

The budget of the prison service in Estonia, judging by its expense categories (Figure 4) is primarily focused on strengthening the institutional structure. Similar strategy is adhered to in other Baltic states.[55] In this budget, no expenses are earmarked to organize work for prisoners (it is done by a privately-owned organization, so the budget is not publicly available data), schooling or development programs. Neither does the budget indicate any income from the prisoners' work. About 20% of the prisoner's wage stays in his personal account. The rest, depending on the case, is divided by liabilities for the state and victims, personal obligations, such as alimonies, release fund etc. This makes the wage approx. 0.2€/h. From 2015, the education service in one of the three major prisons in Estonia is no longer offered due to the insufficient funding. The reason for the year-by-year increase of the cost of prisons in Estonia is reportedly caused by the modernization of the prison system.

---

51 See: *MinSoc.* 2015 and *Riigikogu* [Estonian Parliament], 2001 and 2005; *EUIF*, 2015.

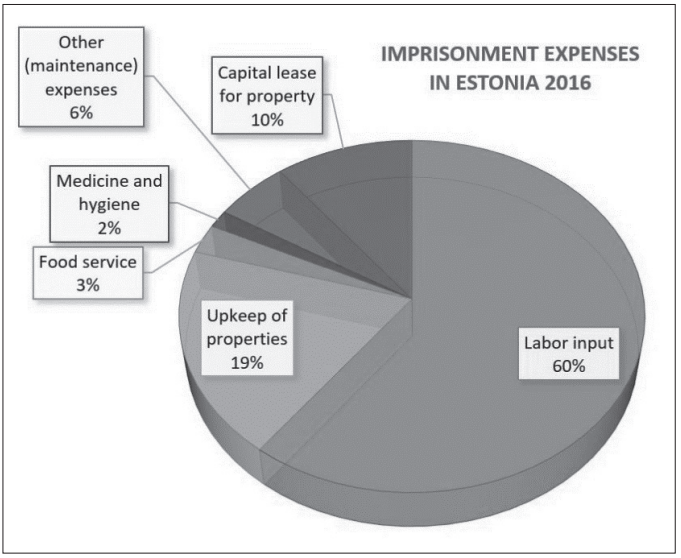
52 See: *Stewart, T.* 2014; *EUIF*, 2016; *Eesti statistika* [Statistics Estonia], 2015.

53 See: *Devetzi, S., Stendahl, S.* Too Sick to Work? Reforms in European Social Security Systems for Persons with Reduced Earnings Capacity. 2011; *Hearn, J. et al.* Studying Men's Violences in Europe. 2013; *Liiv, M., Hanni, E.* Vangide tööhõive vabaduses: vanglas töötanud ja mittetöötanud kinnipeetavate võrdlus [Employment of prisoners at realease. The cpomparison of the ones that worked/ did not in prison]. 2006; *Musgrove, K. et al.* A Program for Offenders Transitioning into the World of Work. ProQuest Criminal Justice, 2012; *The Leadership Conference Education Fund*, 2013; *Western, B.* From Prison to Work: a Proposal for a National Prisoner Reentry Program. 2008.

54 See: *MinSoc* and *MinJust*. Tugiteenus Vanglast Vabanejatele [Support service to the released from prisons]. 2014.

55 *Kamenska, A., Pūce, I., Laganovska, K.* Prison Conditions in Latvia. 2013.

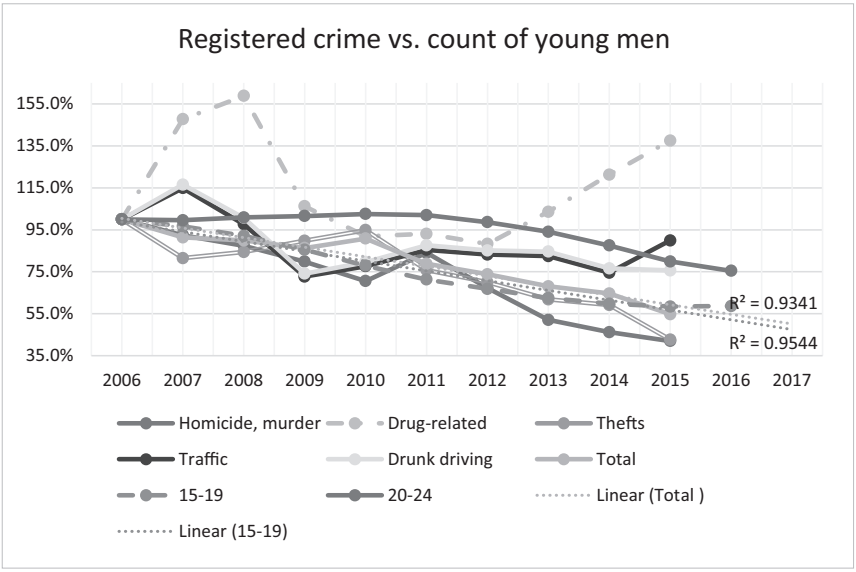
Figure 4. **Estonian prison service expenses by categories**. (MinJust, 2016) The upkeep expense per prisoner in 2016 per month was 1482€ and it is rising; total cost of food per prisoner is 1.2 € per day vs. 1669 € salary per prison worker per month (incl. labor).



Confusing statistics. Yearbooks of criminal statists and research (from the masters' thesis) about Estonia underline the importance of demographics related to crime. At the same time, this influence is not discussed at all.[56] In 10 years (2006–2015), the number of criminal acts has been reduced by 33.7% (Figure 5). The count of criminal acts is a better statistical comparison than e.g. count of prisoners as the latter depends more on the fast-changing criminal law in the region. At the same time, the count of young men in Estonia at the age group that is supplying the main part of criminality has declined by 32.9% (Figure 5). This means that criminality in Estonia has not dropped in the last decade considering that the loss on people also means less contacts, interaction, and possibility to form (delinquent) groups. Another aspect is that more and more Estonians (young men) are detained elsewhere. This number is estimated in some sources, but not known with certainty. These factors have not been discussed while explaining the criminal statistics.

[56] See: *MinJust*. Kuritegevus Eestis 2006-2015; *Altmäe, E*. Retsidiivsust mõjutavad tegurid valitud kuriteoliikide näitel [Factors that influence recidivism. Based on selection of crime types]; *Saarpoll*. Kinnipeetavate väärtushinnangute uuring [Study on Values of Inmates]. 2009. See: *Saar, J., Markina, A*. Vangide arv Eestis 1991-2005 ja selle vähendamise karistusõiguslikud ja kriminoloogilised alused. 2007.

Figure 5. **Registered crime in Estonia, 2005–2015**. The reported decline of crime was 33,66%. Estonian Police, "Registreeritud kuriteod 2005-2015," 2016



Applied practice depends more on the culture of the society, not so much on legal acts. The monopoly in the treatment of the imprisonment-punished offenders and their rehabilitation in Estonia are held by the state, as in most European countries. The trends of (male) prisoners working shows great reduction compared to the preceding times. The principle used to be that the cost of the penal system should be covered by the convicts (plus open prison) as society has already paid the social cost and suffered the damage of crime.[57] In addition, it was (at least unofficially) acknowledged that prisons hold lots of skillful people.

4. Released Persons as a Weakened Group in the Society

The study was interested in factors of prerequisites and possibilities for (re) socialization of idle group – released from prison. This relates to the reasons for recidivism. Opinion of observers and institutions on this has been expressed periodically.[58] The study asked who these men are and what are considered as reasons for their return to the criminal cycle.

The study showed that all surveyed groups see the released as a weakened group in the society. The attitude nevertheless, varied across the surveyed groups:

– Prisons were seen by all as a limiting factor for work-ability (health, habit, skills, social competencies). The same was revealed by the ExQ1 discussions. ExQ1 showed that even though there are measures to support enterprises

[57] In Soviet times, even imprisoned handicapped worked having adjusted work places and tasks (see: *Sillaots, O*. Tööhõive Eesti vanglates [Occupation in Estonian prisons]. 2003. Today, only up to 5% of prisoners work daily (*MinJust*, 2015), the industry is producing substantial loss. See: AS Vanglatööstus [Prison Industry Ltd.], 2015. The penal system entirely subsists on taxpayers and EU funds.

[58] See: K*ESA-Mauritius*. Retsidiivsus [Recidivism]. 2007; *Altmäe, E.* 2015; *Ahven, A*. Vanglast Vabanenute Retsidiivsus [Recidivism of the released]. 2010; Saarpoll, 2009.

in employing long-term unemployed persons, ex-prisoners are not accepted unless they are employed by relatives or close friends.
- ExQ2 – the specialists of the EUIF see prison-released as suitable for simple labor, characterized clients of this category as polite and willing to work. Respondents from the EUIF have not heard of the Prison Industry Ltd. or had neither details nor contacts with the representatives of this industry.
- ExQ1, ExQ2 and PrQ revealed that released are normally paid less than average or standard wage on the market.
- ExQ2 and PrQ revealed that released accept unregistered labor.[59] As salary is often not paid at all or is paid only partly, this leaves workers in a situation of no legal protection. Frequently follows an offer to pick up an illegal "job".
- The most negative attitude against prison-released as a potential work-force was expressed by those employers who had no experience with this category.
- Statistics, documents, and interviews show that the actual potential to find legal job after release is not strengthened during imprisonment – courses of small-scale entrepreneurship is offered just for few (without practice), and welding (the most common skill offered by prison) is not needed on the market (unemployment statistics).
- The attitude in **PrQ** differed a) about the person himself or b) prisoners as a general body. Most respondents were very critical about the abilities of prisoners to take active part on the labor market after release. The main reasons for the failure seen by the prisoners are shown in Table 2, Table 3. Compared to the professional skills and semi-professional hobbies that PrQ respondents reported (Table 4, Table 5), the activity offered during the captive time is not correlating.
- The main expected personal obstacles at the release are shown in Figure 6.

Table 2. **Main obstacles in finding legal job after release** (PrQ).

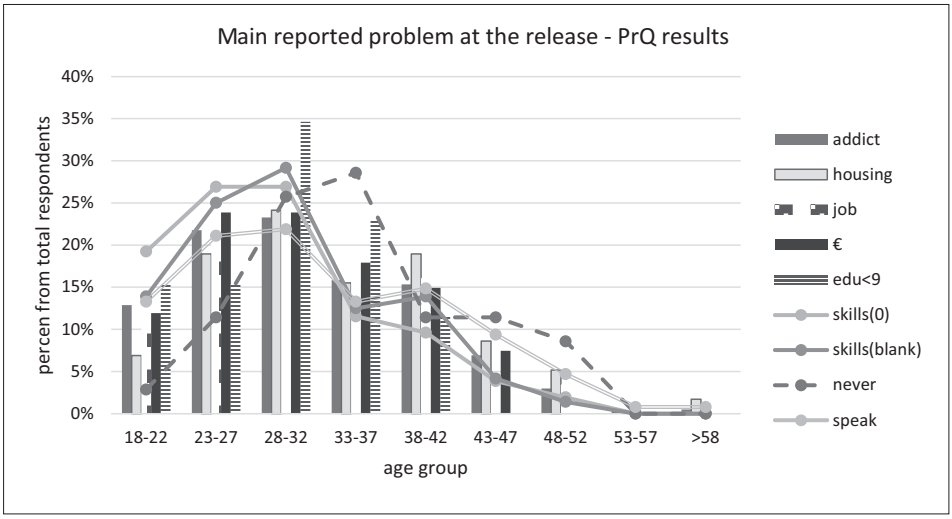
Obstacle	*education*	*skills*	*criminal record*	*lack of help*	*lack of support (state)*	*general attitude*	*personal problems**	*something else*
Response	***66,1%***	***54,4%***	***38,1%***	***39,1%***	***47,4%***	***53,3%***	***77,7%***	***26,7%***

Table 3. **Perceived hindrance in life (PrQ)**

Hindrance	*money*	*education*	*skills*	*age*	*family*	*criminal record*	*something else*
Response	***58,9%***	***32,1%***	***23,5%***	***19,1%***	***10,7%***	***57,7%***	***16,0%***

[59] This means that no state taxes are paid on this work, the worker has neither social guarantees, nor a contract.

Figure 6. **Expected personal problems at the release**. € – income, financial resources; edu – lack of sufficient education; skills (0) – no proper work skills; skills (blank) – not answered, considered (by the researcher) poor; never – never used a computer; speak



Could we see this group as a ***minority or a weakened group*** in the society? The use of term "minority" regarding persons with criminal record has been argued. Traditionally, minority as a term has been used to designate women, ethnic or cultural groups or, in the 21st century, a person with disabilities or distinct sexual orientation.[60] Considering the limiting characteristics pertaining to the released from prisons,[61] the term applies prior to their conviction and often strengthens after release, the connection between belonging to the minority and potential criminality is there. This logical thread is supported by the conflict theory.[62]

Regionally, other agendas besides security have been seen behind captive punishment policies, e.g. ideas that imprisonment is used to regulate excess unemployment or that the problem is still related to the leftover of slavery and racism and political populist interests.[63] In Estonia, no explanation has been given regarding the interest of the state or any of the political forces on the existing policy that keeps prisoners, esp. male prisoners (95%) out of work or meaningful

[60] See: *Hartsock, N.* Rethinking Modernism: Minority vs. Majority Theories. Cultural Critique 7, 1987, pp. 187–206; *Nemeth, C. J.* Minority Influence Theory. Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology, No. 218, 2010; *Lewin, K.* Action Research and Minority Problems. Journal of Social Issues 2, 1946, pp. 34–46.

[61] *McNamara, A.* The 'Special Needs' of Prison, Probation, and Parole. 2007.

[62] See: Goar, H. Conflict Theory and Deviance: Discovery Service for Academic Library of Tallinn University. Research Starters: Sociology, 2015, 7; *Furman, N., Ackerman, R. et al.* The Criminalization of Immigration: Value Conflicts for the Social Work Profession. Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare 39, No. 1(2012): 169–86.

[63] See: *Myers, S. L., Sabol,W. J.* Unemployment and Racial Differences in Imprisonment. The Review of Black Political Economy 16, No. 1–2, June 1987, pp. 189–209; *Sutton, J. R.* Symbol and Substance: Effects of California's Three Strikes Law on Felony Sentencing. Law & Society Review 47, No. 1, 2013, pp. 37–72; *Goodman, N.* Exploring the Causes of Mass Incarceration. Cox, Where Do We Go from Here? Mass Incarceration and the Struggle for Civil Rights. *National Research Council*. The Growth of Incarceration in the United States. 2015.

activity.[64] Additional limitations and obstacles after release leave little alternatives for legal income.[65] Europe is looking for new forms of engagement and occupational networking.[66] This is one of the groups not involved in these reforms. This sector of public service in Estonia seeks fresh solutions as the official communal interest fails to match the results or resources spent. Private prisons have been discussed but rejected. The experience with third-party project-managed rehabilitation services (which is the wave) is not giving results.

5. In Search for Solutions – SIG Model

The suggested program focuses on work placement and executable activity for the released. Activation policies of the EU are expanding obligation to work to new social groups. The process of redefinition has begun. It has been well established that unemployed citizens have a duty to actively seek jobs. The new development here is who is included into the definition of "the unemployed".[67]

All respondents confirmed that social skills diminish in prison, the released have a distorted sense of reality, and that imprisonment is a life-changing experience. Interviews revealed that health problems will usually deepen in prison; however, temporary detachment from addictions is possible. Employers prefer people who can be trained at the site – suitability and targeted skills are proven fast. This explains the popularity of test-job and job-practice. Work-habit is weaker among younger offenders. Statistics shows that former offenders use EUIF services after release more in recent years. This has not shown effect on recidivism rate. Decentralization is a multidimensional phenomenon, involving not only the assignment of expenditure and revenue responsibilities among various levels of governing but also the extent of subnational policymaking autonomy.[68] High territorial imbalances of a state tend to increase inequalities and corruption while the effect of decentralization in the developed world may be either neutral or even contribute to the reduction of regional disparities.[69] In Estonia, the trend is towards increasing territorial contrast and it intensifies.

In the search of solution, the integration program for idle groups SIG was created. The graph of the model is provided in Figure 7, see the description under the section "**Novelty of the model**". The proposed model is to balance centralized governing, which has failed to solve certain problems. Based on the principle of subsidiarity, the goal of decentralization is to bring governing closer to subjects. This could increase efficiency, accountability, and transparency. Power belongs to the actors. Actors create complexity. Tackling the critical issues involved, the integrated SIG model of governance (Figure 7) has been developed and presented to be applied to the sample circumstances. It helps to clarify **the relationship between governance, service-based business environment and subject's interests** (Figure 2) as well as brings improvements to the overall shared governance model. The best

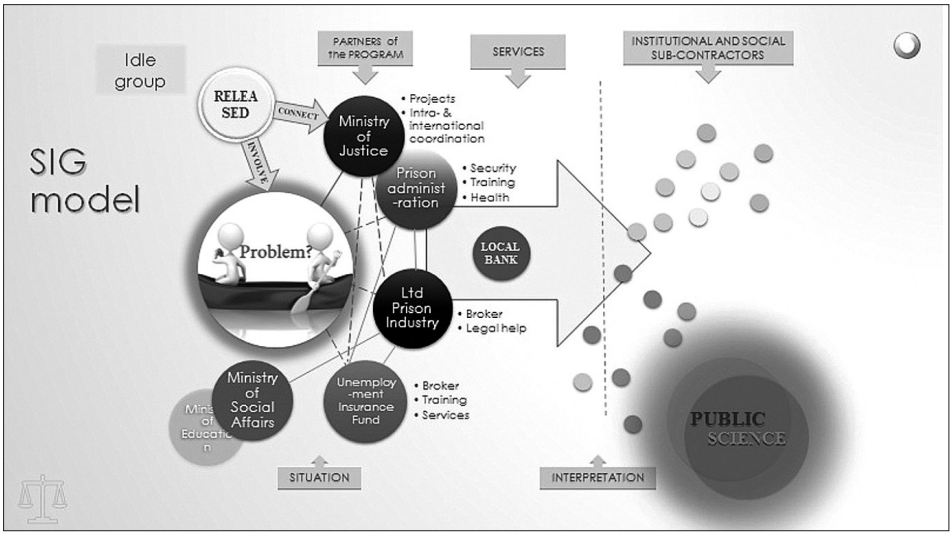
[64] See: AS *Vanglatööstus* [Prison Industry Ltd.], 2015.
[65] See: *Riigikontroll* [The National Audit Office], 2002.
[66] See: *Devetzi* & *Stendahl*, 2011.
[67] See: *Stendahl*, 2008.
[68] See: *Rodríguez-Pose, A., Krøijer, A.* Fiscal decentralization and economic growth in Central and Eastern Europe. Growth and Change, 2009.
[69] See: Rodríguez-Pose & Krøijer, 2009.

way for testing the idea was conducting action research by its latest definitions.[70] The effect of the SIG model is appraised from these main viewpoints:

- efficiency – business interest;[71]
- social development;
- tension reducer – political interest.[72]

As a derivative, additional interests could evolve: bottom-up and mixed-scanning strategy in community development, stability and dispersal of real information through new actors as counterparts in the process. This may lead to new innovative solutions. The goal of integrated governance is to maximize value for the society generally and shareholders in particular. True, as a possible downside, decentralization has been seen as a possibility for corruption. In addition, it has been argued that multiple layers of governing in decentralization may reduce accountability by blurring the divisions between different tiers and making it difficult for the public to direct their concerns or credit about delivered services.[73]

Figure 7. **SIG model**. Subordinates-involved governance model with the participation of a subject group (developed and presented by T. Stewart).



[70] See: Williamson, T. Work-based learning: a leadership development example from an action research study of shared governance implementation. 2005; *Wicks, P. G., Reason, P.* Initiating action research: Challenges and paradoxes of opening communicative space. 2015; Reason, P. Journal of Management Inquiry, Vol. 15 No. 2, June 2006, pp. 187-203; Reason & Bradbury. The SAGE handbook of action research: participative inquiry and practice. 2008; Coghlan & Brannick. Action Research and Organizational Development. 2014.

[71] See: *MinJust*, 2015; AS *Vanglatööstus* [Prison Industry Ltd.], 2015.

[72] See: News Portal, 2014; *Riigikontroll* [The National Audit Office], 2002.

[73] See: *Varraich, A.* Decentralisation, the road to better Quality of Government? 2011; *UNEP.* Integrated Governance: A new model of governance for sustainability. 2014.

Proper methodology here is of an utmost importance. Criminal behavior is not one-dimensional phenomenon; it is always related to the specific society that fosters it.[74] The proposed SIG model is (in moderation) applicable to diverse idle groups. The underlying beliefs for the proposed model are:

- the term "criminal (act)" by its origin defines that it will never be tolerated in a society therefore the problematic opposition with the group always remains;
- crime was born with the first men on Earth but crime is not dull, consequently, the measures against it should accordingly be stable, persistent and, at the same time, continuously developing. The same applies to rehabilitation measures;
- the meaning of the modern Western penal system is that a human, who walks out of the prison gate, is capable and ready to join the society on an equal or better footing than the one who started the penal turn;
- the ones in need often do not know what they need, especially in cases where they have not experienced variety of options. This applies also to the participating experts and specialists. Trust about the so far opposing parties should be learnt;
- under the circumstances, there is no access to the prison or penal system from outside. Therefore, the model is designed for the after-release time knowing that this work should be applied to the sentenced person from the very beginning of detention;
- when dealing with humans, averages often do not lead to the truth;
- alternatives to the current low efficient models exist.

The key or pivot of the modified shared governance model SIG proposed in this paper is:

- dynamic and adjusting to the focus group, participatory counterparts, and contracted partners;
- involved are the groups and individuals that in traditional models have been treated as subjects or top-down subordinates;
- it would force the state power to lean closer to civic society and initiate changes both from top-down and bottom-up directions – one would correct and balance the other and foster subsidiarity, possibly leading to mixed-scanning strategy;
- involvement of neutral counterparts would balance the influence of political and strict business interest, helping to retain the model more systematic and sustainably adequate;
- the model is not limited by the number of participants;
- it does not require immediate changes in existing policies or legislation;
- while properly applied, all the involved parties have an opportunity to be heard and to act as experts on the problem in hand.

The model would give motivation to reduce the cost and social effect of related foregoing problem. Employment or occupational development factor described in this model is an essential aspect of what has been called the active welfare state

[74] See: *Piquero, A. R.* Rational Choice and Criminal Behavior: Recent Research and Future Challenges. 2012; *Steinberg, L., Morris, A. S.* Adolescent Development. Annual Review of Psychology, 52, 2001, pp. 83–110.

or the work first welfare state[75]. Without truly realizing the circumstances and consequences of change (also in the past), no reform would bring an essential change or expected effect[76].

Novelty of the model in the Estonian rehabilitation system is the combination and cooperation between different governance levels plus involving all these counterparts into the policy design (Figure 2 and Figure 7):

- state government level – ministries (social, education, health, interior affairs, justice);
- local government level – city government, regional authorities (best connected to the location, local resources, and contractors);
- independent/state office(s) – in this case, e.g. Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund (EUIF);
- nongovernmental level – the organizing and coordinating body (for the program or project) – currently, the programs and projects are mediated and controlled by the state;
- entrepreneurs – might be employers or experts who could be involved on contractual basis; the level could consist from sole entrepreneurs (the most common type of entrepreneurship in Estonia);
- communal savings and loan associations – local credit associations,[77] which indirectly stand for all stockholders and the public;
- mixed/integrated level – institutional and social sub-contractors could be from any of abovementioned structural levels of economy and society;
- media, other contractors (not mentioned above), international networks.

The reasons, why government cannot lead this another "project" of rehabilitation is answered above. In 2003,[78] the government of Estonia formed the Crime Prevention Council[79] that involved experts, members of the government, scientists, police and even church. In 2013, the council was declared having no legislative or executive power and was called back.[80] The experts of crime prevention and rehabilitation are now sought based on short-time projects, which are evaluated by the Ministry of Justice.[81] Partly, the current inefficiency originates from the system's power relations that cause elimination of important counterparts from the communication and leads to the lack of information in statics and dynamics of the process. The outcome is a situation where the system works to sustain itself (Figure 4) but much less to benefit its target group and the society as a whole.

---

[75] The concept of "work first" has been used in the North American context (U.S., Canada) to label welfare reforms, which focus on transiting welfare recipients from benefits to private-sector jobs. In 1995, the Work First welfare reform bill was introduced for debate in the U.S. Senate by Democrats and the following programs have been subsequently institutionalized in different states. The American way of activation through work has been associated with "workfare": government schemes where unemployed and disabled people must work in return for their benefits. The running of workfare schemes is **outsourced to a range of public, private, and voluntary sector providers**, who sub-contract parts of their schemes to charities and community groups.

[76] The investigation of the causes and effects has proven that longer sentences and mass incarceration do not work. What works, might be having more policemen on duty. See: *Schrager, A.* 2015.

[77] *Riigikogu* [Estonian Parliament], 1999.

[78] According to *Ilvest, J.* 2013; *MinJust*, 2014; *MinJust*, 2015.

[79] *Riigikogu* [Estonian Parliament], 2003.

[80] *Riigikogu* [Estonian Parliament], 2015.

[81] *MinJust*, 2014; *MinJust*, 2015.

6. Group Description

The research that underlies the present paper proves that the paradigm of shared governance is also applicable to penal systems. It is essential that there would be an opportunity not only willingness to take part. Therefore, the program accepts persons from the target group (Table 1) who:

- have been in prison not more than two times (non-recidivistic), preferably not longer than five years in total;
- are free of addictions;
- of working age (20–55[82]), able to adjust existing skills and knowledge;
- have completed at least 9 classes of education (the basic required level) and meaningful work experience;
- have certified profession or extensive traceable experience on professional field, if the profession is rare or individually taught;
- agree to the terms of the program;
- are willing to work legally, starting from an entry level, if needed and based on his personal adjustment pace.[83]

The program offers temporary residency for the released; it is a starting point and a springboard for those who need it. Advisable stay in the program would be one year with the prospect of extension according to the reasonability. Some may be hired for the program itself. A former convict is a part of the problem; at the same time, the former convict is a part of the solution.

The extremely negative and judgmental attitude towards the released was underlined by most respondents in the research. The basic argument, when talking to the top administration of justice executives or public was that prisoners are drug users who have no education and poor, if any, skills. Besides, they cannot be trusted. Even "official" reports perceive all the released as an identical body and often describe them as nonhumans.[84] Statistics about the prisoners disagree with this preconception. Unbreakable traps are believed to be characteristic for minorities in general.[85] The influence of the prison time is obviously grave, affecting more than some other forms of idleness in a society. **The goal of the SIG model is to start separating from the "average" the clusters that need the least help in their change of criminal patterns and would be able to receive help from the model's program** (see below). The rest should be separated according to their need for aid.

The capability of released felons to work is often questioned. There are problems that ask for involvement but there lies also exciting potential (Table 4, Table 5):

- approx. ¼ of respondents reported an addiction;[86]

---

[82] According to the Statistics Estonia, 2017, the average age of Estonian men lived without (functional health) limitations is 53,7 years.

[83] See: *Gorski, T.* Articles, 2014.

[84] See: *Mauritiuse Instituut*; *Sisekaitsekadeemia* [Estonian Academy of Security Sciences], 2007 and 2000–2015.

[85] See: *Steinberg* & *Morris*, 2001; *Davis*, 1998; *Gould*, 1996; *Wacquant*, 2002; *Cox*, 2015; *Harper*, 2014. What appears from the angle of prisoners is not necessarily the same print.

[86] Question 81: "Do you have any addictions that you have been told require treatment?" Addictions recognized in this research included drugs, alcohol, and certain types of compulsive behavior (sexual offenders, chronic thieves, and uncontrollable driving). The answer was not directed, the figure corresponds with statistical data.
The fact that Estonia is leading among the EU states concerning drug problems adds another nuance to the set of problems and deserves close attention since this is an example of a specific cluster that requires different measures.

- average education of prisoners was 10+ years; 66.7% had 9–12 years; 2.3% are reaching for the higher education (have applied or are taking correspondents courses). There are persons with an academic degree (MA or corresponding). Prison system in Estonia supports educational development up to the ninth grade (the basic education). For the employers this level is not attractive;[87]
- the average knowledge of languages was 2.3 languages; many respondents reported more than three languages spoken and read; this average among Estonians (of the respondents) - 2.6 languages was significantly higher than of Russians – 1.7;
- computer skills depend heavily on the time spent in prison where the use of computers and digital technology is not allowed;
- 51% of respondents had a certified profession prior to their imprisonment, almost none had an opportunity to practice while in prison (prison work is low-skilled maintenance in the block);
- to the question "what are you good at?" most respondents replied that it was their job, many had specific hobbies, younger respondents were (semi) professionally involved in sports (not practiced in prison). Many said that there is nothing they can do or have practiced (12 questions covered various aspects of work experience);
- 35% of the respondents had worked with their last employer for more than two years and their average working period with their last employer was 4.9 years;
- mental disorders[88] and overall health[89] – all family members underlined the hardships of the transition period after release. For prisoners, the PICS syndrome came as a surprise. Work is a basis for healing and reconnecting with the family. Dignity is the key, not only a right.

Table 4. **Evaluation of skills**. Q: What instruments/ tools do you handle well? High self-esteem = persons who responded that they are good at all or most (PrQ)

	blank	*self-esteem*	*welding*	*mechanic*	*construction*	*computer*
Responses	***23,2%***	***16,5%***	***6,8%***	***31,4%***	***43,3%***	***10,2%***

[87] See: *Oras, K.* Tööle värbamisel arvesse võetavad kriteeriumid tööandjate ja vilistlaste pilgu läbi (the Criteria on Recruitment through the View of Employers and alumnus). Tallinn University, 2014.: Since prisoners do not work, they lose practical skills and habit to work. Obtained new vocational certificates (mostly welding) are considered formal.

[88] If the figures are correct (see: *Andersen*, 2004; *WHO*, 2015) these people should not be in prison but receive a proper treatment in suitable institutions. It is not determined whether they were ill when sentenced or has their health deteriorated during the penal time.

[89] One of the symptoms is heavy decline of mood and optimism about the future. The bandwagon effect was noticeable – in the questionnaire Tuuli Stewart, Interviews and Questionnaire 2013–2015, issued 2016. people underline the overall negative attitude even after the punishment has been undergone.

Table 5. **Skills and serious hobbies**. Reported by PrQ

Q: What tools are you skillful with?	*(blank)*	*self-esteem*	*welding*	*mechanic*	*construction*	*computer*
Results: % of positive answers	*23,2*	*16,5*	*6,8*	*31,4*	*43,3*	*10,2*
		self-esteem		*no work*	*incl. business*	
Q: What are you really good at?	*blank*	*nothing*	*everything*	*sports*	*work*	*smth else*[90]
results: % from those who answered	*20.9*	*15.3*	*4.4*	*5.8*	*47.0*	*33.5*
Number of the question in PrQ	*64*[91]	*65*	*66*	*67* (sports)*	*67* (work)*	*no hobbies (marked)*
Results: % of positive answers	*59.3*	*62.8*	*85.2*	*44.6*	*7.7*	*13.7*

7. Impact: How Does It Work

The proposed model relays on **creative** not on normative **methodology**, it is flexible and dynamic. The model in this context is concerned with the penal time and release in the case of prisoners but it could be referred to a preparation time for immigrants, gradual partial recovery time for handicapped or vocational training for young. Adjustments are expected while applying the model to these other cases based on the possible input of the minority or subject group, existing governing model(s), the definition of the problem and other circumstances.

The program, based on the presented SIG model is designed to promote motivation of the excluded or idle social groups by changing patterns through responsibility. The model acknowledges the stages of change and treats all participatory groups as learners and subjects of change. The model offers practical help through shared information; it uses motivational interviewing of the subject group members and pro-social modeling as a way of learning.

The program combines methods for reducing exclusion, building trust and inclusion for all participating parties. Proposed platform, ideally, is a safe place for rehearsal and practice of governing for all counterparts with the help of the other counterparts. It receives support from professionals of the associated fields (preferably, not representing the involved institutions), cooperation creates better understanding between the otherwise opposing or dominating parties. The model of subject or minority involvement is not limited by its volume but it should be kept local in its communication forms. The model and its executive program are not governed by state institutions, it is neither a classical bottom-up approach nor an independent initiative.[92] Practical implementation relays on political course. What it needs is will and courage of all the involved parties to attempt the change.

[90] E.g.: language, cooking, communication, thinking, creative activity, music, learning, sales, with women.

[91] 64: Are you able to continue at the job that you had before imprisonment? / 65: Do you think this profession really suits you? / 66: Why? (confidence, esteem) / 67: What else do you like to do (as a profession or a hobby)?

[92] See: *Etzioni, A.* 2009, 1999/ 2000, *Etzioni, A.* 2009; *Aresti*, *et al*., 2012 and *Delancey Street*, 2015.

True, the program is not guaranteed to work for all. However, programs that have involved suppressed or groups with limited power as meaningful counterparts have been successful in positive participation of this group in society and shown more efficient policy involvement than most government-initiated top-down tactics.[93] This relates to the theory of standpoint and strong objectivity described by feminist theorist S. Harding[94] – the notion that the perspectives of marginalized and/or oppressed individuals can help to create more adequate understanding of the world.

8. Funding and Fiscal Scheme of (Re-)entry Model

Heated discussions about the wave of expected immigration in 2016 has resulted in solutions in just weeks: the state government of Estonia found a funding to be directed to the local government for residences. An immigrant would pay for the rent and utilities only when he (she) has found a job. In case the person is unable to find a job, government would cover the cost of living while the apartment belongs to the local government. The mediating body between the local government and the person who rents the apartment is a third partner. Similar principles were successfully used after the WWII. [95] SIG model program would apply similar principles.

Important points regarding the financing and the program:

- this is not another version of Scandinavian model where the entire responsibility lies on the state or on society (like Makarenko's Gorki Colony[96]). This is not the current Estonian system where the entire responsibility is on the shoulders of the released and the state is mostly acting as a charging, assessing and punitive body. The responsibility is shared between all counterparts;
- the interest of the state (institutions), public (employers, taxpayers) and most of the released is ***shared*** – work, proper income, and a shelter for the start, which would give an *option* (not a guarantee) to choose between criminal and legal paths;
- the program is neither political, nor religious;
- ***employers*** already have a fiscal support system from the state.[97] Despite that, the employment for a released is mostly possible based on personal contacts. The program offers a bridge to society;
- ***local stock savings bank*** – local bank means regional savings and loan association or mutual loan association/society.[98] A local credit society is a better advocate for local interests, more interested in regional development, more flexible, more open for innovative or alternative solutions than a big

[93] See: New School of Convict Criminology, 2015; Journal of Prisoners on Prison, 2015; British Convict Criminology, 2014; Prison Fellowship, 2015; Associazione Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII, 2016.
[94] Society for Social Studies of Science, 2013.
[95] See: T*abasz, T. F.* Toward an Economics of Prisons. D.C. Heath, 1976.
[96] See: *Halvorsen, T.* 2014; *Filonov, G. N.* 1994.
[97] See: *EUIF.* Work ability reforms. Estonia, 2015.
[98] There were two of those in Estonia in 2015 – Tartu Credit Cooperative (Tartu Hoiu-laenuühistu) and Tallinna Hoiu-Laenuühistu.

international one with standardized mentality. In cooperation with the counterparts, the program oversees the interest and fiscal discipline of all;[99]
- ***conditional temporary housing*** – housing for released is formally offered already but is not connected to development program or work attempts. In addition, it does not cover the actual needs;[100]
- ***conditional temporary basic income*** – the place for living, food (made at the place) and work are provided to the ones who comply with their contract regarding the program. Evaluation is carried out by the consensus of the Board of the program partners (Figure 7) considering all aspects of security and personal growth according to set goals (as it was done in prison by the officer, now is created by the person himself with the help of professionals);
- the program presents **contract, obligation, responsibility** vs. opportunity and possibility;
- ***loan*** – set up like a student loan – while a person is still busy with "growing stronger" he/ she does not have to pay. The relapse from the program brings discontinuation of the support. The loan is not to be used privately – it is backed up (for the bank) by the program and is evaluated by the program;
- ***credit*** for the person's own business – obligation to return only when the business succeeds.[101] The payment schedule is to be discussed with the program (who supports and mediates the credit) and the development support (educational, consultation) should be available for 3–5 years;
- ***motivation*** – a system of motives. By giving rights, responsibility is expected in return. Trust is the key for all partners but this trust does not have to be naïve, instead it is a form of supportive cooperation;
- ***criteria*** for evaluation of success – evaluation is done by the range of experts (see Table 6).

Table 6. **Functions of the partners and counterparts**. SIG (T. Stewart)

	Gov Office 1	*Gov Office 2*	*Office 3, 4, 5*	*Bank*	*Released / immigrants/ disabled*
Previous function	***Top-down governing***	***Directed***	***Not asked***	***Foreign international fiscal interest***	***Subject***
Expected function	***Horizontal partner***	***Partner***	***Expert***	***Advisor and mediator, developer***	***Consultant, participator, executor***

Where does the money come from? From the state institutions, which have funds and measures already created - ministries (social affairs, justice, education), projects from specific foundations (incl. the EU), and donations. The cost of incarceration (Figure 4) exceeds the cost of the program in folds. Profit of the activity comes to the program and is shared for the purposes that the Board has approved (might be someone's enterprise, startup for an apartment, child support, ticket, schooling etc.). The principle is not democratic but communitarian.[102]

[99] See: *Ahrend, et al*. Passing the Buck? Central and Sub-national Governments in Times of Fiscal Stress. 2013; Power Sharing, Ethnoliguistic Fractionalization and Government Quality. 2007; *Charron, N*. Government quality and vertical power-sharing in fractionalized states. 2009.

[100] See: *EUIF*, 2015; *MinSoc*, 2014; *MinJust*, 2015.

[101] Japan was one of the economies that used this kind of system for the recovery from the WWII.

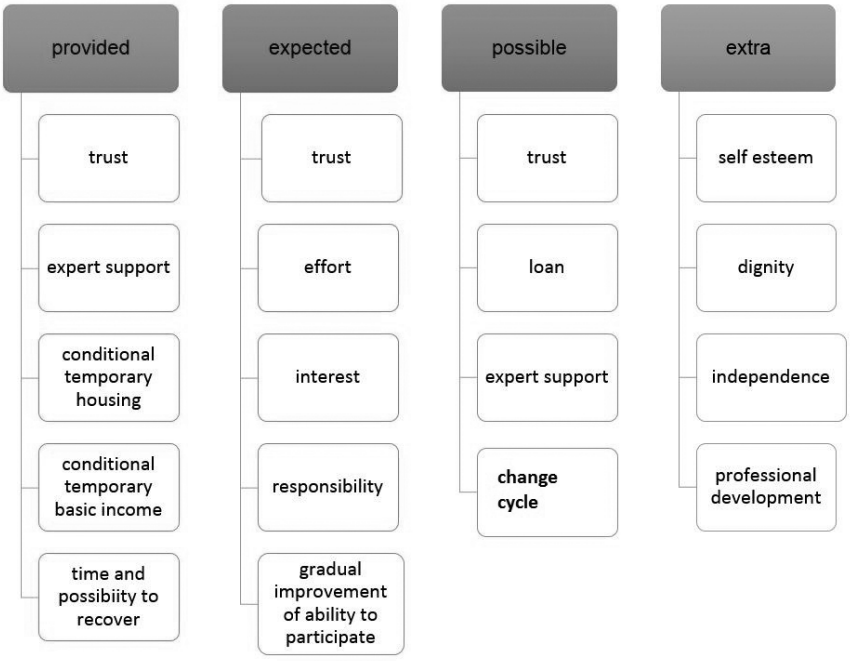
[102] See: *Etzioni*, 2007; *Etzioni*, 1999.

What kind of work would they do? After the immigration news broke, many companies announced that they could offer jobs, as there was the state's support. Based on the PrQ, the activities that would be affordable for a released at once range from moving to renovation, welding, artist, chef (for a school), sports instructor, planting of greenery, carpentry, mechanics, community services etc. This belief is reinforced by other researches.[103] The work schedule and placement depend on committed crime, needed recovery and possible persisting (acquainted) problems.

Who is responsible when something goes wrong? The outcome is not set to be 100% success. This is a dynamic and real system offering an opportunity not a guarantee. The experience of other forms of long-term socialization programs prove that expected success is at least 60–70%. What exactly is recognized as a success is to be defined case by case in the cooperation with experts and considering personal goals. The difference from the privately ran enterprises is a strong involvement of experts and specialists, incl. correctional institutions (Figure 8).

Limitations. The questions often asked: Can the model and its application program improve an inmate's attitudes and behaviors? Does it increase the probability of lawful life and reduce the likelihood that another crime would not be committed after release? Could such a program reduce prison populations and costs? The author believes that the model is not a miracle cure for all but it could start the process and be a remarkable example that would encourage other forms of good governing in its adjusted forms. Expected limitations have been listed above. The main lubricant for the development of the model and its application would be sincere will and considerate monitoring.

Figure 8. **The benefits of the SIG program of (re)entering the society** (T. Stewart)



[103] See: *SaarPoll*, 2009.

Conclusions

Recidivism, as an example social phenomenon, is influenced by the preparedness for the lawful life of the released by the end of the incarceration period and circumstances he meets after release. The paper argues that the current prison system in Estonia should be repositioned in society. The proposed SIG model for suitable dynamic policy design is relying on multilevel governance and shared management concepts, following principles that are applied both horizontally and vertically in the architecture of the EU democracy. The scope of this paper is also to review methodology through the critical thinking lens.

Ideally, state governments should be promoters of the partnership with civil society organizations and with the private sector to maximize scarce resources in the face of increasing demand. Practice proves that there are sectors that should be governed by state for their efficiency. This does not mean that combinations on operational level and search for better and more efficient service brokers in the ever-changing world has to end where it is today.

The extent of sharing the power and the most effective combinations are creative sum of circumstances and possibilities at place and time. The paper proposes for further discussion an example model (SIG) and its executive program in the search of feasible forms for one of the sample groups. Labor market is in demand of new forms of engagement and involvement of persons who have lost the capability for traditional full-time work or can work with a decreased capacity. Traditional models of engaging prisoners and providing an opportunity that would alter the criminal path have ended with discouraging results in the Estonian context. In addition to the proposed use, an adjusted model could work for other minority groups incl. immigrants. Ability to be competitive on the labor market involves not just basic education, skills, and knowledge but involves necessary practice and habit to work, problem-solving and coping skills. In order to involve idle groups into existing social circumstances better communication from the involved parties is needed. This communication is hindered in the sample case and should be developed by a targeted mechanism. The proposed SIG model groups inmates according to their ability to cope with the circumstances and the help needed after release, targeting the resources and channeling effect.

The proposed model combines existing attempts and measures in tackling a social problem. Solution, proposed in this model relies on trust between the other involved levels in policymaking. The practical demonstration of the model is in the phase of fine-tuning development from several aspects. This could be the first practical effect of this paper – to gather experts on the field of governing system, legislation, labor market, science, education etc. with the involvement of subjected group(s) for a brainstorming and discussion on how the model could be implemented practically in actual situation as the nuances could differ even within the same state and change shape in time.

Sources

Bibliography

1. *Aarna, O.* Kodanikuühiskond ja jätkusuutlik Eesti. RiTo, 2007, pp. 159–167.
2. *Akers, R. L.* Rational choice, deterrence, and social learning theory in criminology: The path not taken. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 81(3), 1990, pp. 653–676.
3. *Akers, R. L., Sellers, C. S., & Jennings, W. G.* Criminological theories: introduction, evaluation, and application. 7th ed., Oxford University Press, 2016.
4. *Boba, R.* Problem Analysis in Policing. COPS publication, 2003.
5. *Braga, A. A.* Problem-oriented policing and crime prevention, 2008.
6. *Charron, N.* Power Sharing, Ethnoliguistic Fractionalization and Government Quality. QoG Working Paper Series, (8), 2007, pp.,1–44.
7. *Charron, N.* Government quality and vertical power-sharing in fractionalized states. *Publius,* 39(4), 2009, pp. 585–605.
8. *Clarke, R. V., & Cornish, D. B.* Modeling Offenders' Decisions: A Framework for Research and Policy on JSTOR. *Crime and Justice*, 6, 1985, pp. 147–185.
9. *Cornish, D., Clarke, R.* The reasoning criminal: rational choice perspectives on offending. Transaction Publishers, 2014.
10. *Cox, R. J. A.* Where Do We Go from Here? Mass Incarceration and the Struggle for Civil Rights. Economic Policy Institute, 2015, pp. 1–20.
11. *Crescenzi, R., & Rodriguez-Pose, A.* Innovation and Regional Growth in the European Union. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg. 2011.
12. *Darity, W., & Hamilton, D.* Bold Policies for Economic Justice. The Review of Black Political Economy, 39(1), pp. 79–85, 2012.
13. *Delsing, M.* City Networking in Europe, 62, 2013.
14. *Devetzi, S., & Stendahl, S.* Too Sick to Work? Reforms in European Social Security Systems for Persons with Reduced Earnings Capacity. Kluwer Law International, 2011.
15. *Etzioni, A.* The Need for a New Paradigm, (Fall), 1994–1995, 1994.
16. Fazel, S., & Wolf, A. A Systematic Review of Criminal Recidivism Rates Worldwide: Current Difficulties and Recommendations for Best Practice. Plus one (Vol. 10). Public Library of Science. 2015.
17. *Ford, J. D., & Ford, L. W.* Logics of identity, contradiction, and attraction in change. Academy of Management Review, 19(4), 1994, pp. 756–785.
18. *Furman, R, Ackerman, A R., Loya, M, Jones, S, Negi, N.* The Criminalization of Immigration: Value Conflicts for the Social Work Profession. Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 39(1), 2012, pp. 169–186.
19. *Goar, H.* Conflict Theory and Deviance: Discovery Service for Academic Library of Tallinn University. Research Starters: Sociology, 7, 2015.
20. *Goldstein, H.* Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach. Crime & Delinquency, (April), 1979, pp. 236–258.
21. *Goldstein, H.* Problem-Oriented Policing (*Butcher, P. A. & Roberts, I. C.* (eds.)). McGraw-Hill, 1990.
22. *Goodman, N.* Center for a Stateless Society. The Weekly Abolitionist: Exploring the Causes of Mass Incarceration. 2014.
23. *Harper, L.* The Four Theories of Victimization, 2014.
24. *Hartsock, N.* Rethinking modernism: Minority vs. majority theories. Cultural Critique, 7(Autumn), 1987, pp. 187–206.
25. *Hearn, J., Novikova, I., Pringle, K. et. al.* Studying Men's Violences in Europe. 2013.
26. *Henrichson, C., & Delaney, R.* The Price of Prisons What Incarceration Costs Taxpayers. 2012
27. *Hullett, C. R., & Witte, K.* Predicting intercultural adaptation and isolation: using the extended parallel process model to test anxiety/uncertainty management theory. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 25(2), 2001, pp. 125–139.
28. *Hurt, A. C., & Trombley, S. M.* The Punctuated-Tuckman: Towards a New Group Development Model Towards a Case for Integration, 2007, p. 7.
29. *Kaevats, Ü.* "Säästev Eesti 21" – teadmistepõhise Eesti tuumideestik. Riigikogu Toimetised (RiTo), 2004, pp. 44–51.
30. *Kamenska, A., Pūce, I., & Laganovska, K.* Prison conditions in Latvia. 2013.
31. *Leps, A.* Modern dialectical criminology: a new perspective on study of criminology. Tallinn: Ortwil, 2016.

32. *Lerman, A. E.* The modern prison paradox: politics, punishment, and social community. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
33. *Levitsky, S.* Competitive Authoritarianism. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
34. *Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A.* The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. Journal of Democracy, 13(2), 2002, pp. 51–65.
35. *Lewin, K.* Action Research and Minority Problems. Journal of Social Issues, 2, 1946, pp. 34–46.
36. *Lijphart, A.* Thinking about democracy: power sharing and majority rule in theory and practice. Routledge, 2008.
37. *Maloney, E. K., Lapinski, M. K., & Witte, K.* Fear Appeals and Persuasion: A Review and Update of the Extended Parallel Process Model. Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 5(4), 2011, pp. 206–219.
38. *McNamara, A.* The "Special Needs" of Prison, Probation, and Parole. 2007.
39. *Meier, R. F., & Miethe, T. D.* Understanding Theories of Criminal Victimization. Crime and Justice, 17, 1993, pp. 459–499.
40. *Myers, S. L., & Sabol, W. J.* Unemployment and racial differences in imprisonment. The Review of Black Political Economy, 16(1–2), 1987, pp. 189–209.
41. *Nemeth, C. J.* Minority Influence Theory. Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology, (218), 2010.
42. *Neyfakh, L.* Mass incarceration: A provocative new theory for why so many Americans are in prison. 2015.
43. *Pease, K.* Repeat Victimisation: Taking Stock. Crime Detection and Prevention Series. 1998.
44. *Pierre, J.* New Governance, New Democracy? The QOG Institute, 4, 2009, pp. 4–25.
45. *Piquero, A. R.* Rational Choice and Criminal Behavior: Recent Research and Future Challenges. Routledge, 2012.
46. *Proos, I., Kaevats, Ü., Kivirähk, J., Pettai, I., & Vetik, R.* Demokraatia ja rahvuslikud huvid. Eesti ühiskond. 2006.
47. *Reynolds, A.* The architecture of democracy: constitutional design, conflict management, and democracy. Oxford University Press, 2002.
48. *Saar, J., & Markina,* A. Vangide arv Eestis 1991–2005 ja selle vähendamise karistusõiguslikud ja kriminoloogilised alused. 2007
49. *Schrager, A.* In America, mass incarceration has caused more crime than it's prevented. Quartz, 2015
50. *Scott, M. S.* Problem-oriented policing: reflections on the first 20 years. COPS Publication, (October), 2014.
51. *Steinberg, L., & Morris, A. S.* Adolescent development. Annual Review of Psychology, 52, 2001, pp. 83–110.
52. *Stendahl, S.* Employment support – a normative step backward, forward or nowhere? In a European work-first welfare state. Centre for European Research, University of Gothenburg, 2008.
53. *Sutton, J. R.* Symbol and Substance: Effects of California's Three Strikes Law on Felony Sentencing. Law & Society Review, 47(1), 2013, pp. 37–72.
54. *Tabasz, T. F.* Toward an Economics of Prisons. D.C. Heath, 1976.
55. *Travers, T.* Sub-national and local government Sub-national and local government in context – 1. London School of Economics and Political Science, 2013.
56. *Vihalemm, P., Lauristin, M., Kalmus, V., & Vihalemm, T.* Eesti ühiskond kiirenevas ajas [Estonian Society in Accelerating Time]. Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2017.
57. *Witte, K.* Fear control and danger control: a test of the extended parallel process model. Communication Monographs, 61(2), 1994, pp. 113–135.

Reports

1. *Ahven, A.* Vanglast vabanenute retsidiivsus, 2010.
2. *Ahven, A., Leps, A., Tammiste, B., et.al.* Kuritegevus Eestis (Crime in Estonia), 2015, 2016.
3. *Ahven, A., Salla, J., & Vahtrus, S.* Retsidiivsus Eestis (Recidivism in Estonia). 2010.
4. Council of Europe. Annual Penal Statistics, 2017.
5. Department of State, U. Estonia 2013 Human Rights Report Executive Summary. 2013.
6. EMCDDA. Estonia country overview, 2016.
7. Estonian Police. Registreeritud kuriteod 2005–2015, 2016.
8. ICPR, University of London Estonia. World Prison Brief, 2017.
9. JustMin. Kuritegevus Eestis 2006–2015. Yearbooks, 2017.
10. *Kanchanavipu, K.* An Integrated Model for SOA Governance. Rapport Nr.: Report/IT University of Göteborg, 2008.

11. *Liiv, M.-L., & Hanni, E.* Vangide tööhõive vabaduses: vanglas töötanud ja mittetöötanud kinnipeetavate võrdlus, 2006.
12. National Research Council. The Growth of Incarceration in the United States. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2014.
13. OECD. Estonia: Towards a Single Government Approach, 2011.
14. OSAC. Estonia 2015 Crime and Safety Report, 2015.
15. Riigikantselei [Government Office of Estonia]. Täitmata riigisisesed ülesanded [Unexecuted intrastate tasks], 2017.
16. Riigikohus [Supreme Court of Estonia]. Karistuse kohaldamise etapid Eesti kohtupraktikas. Õigusteabe Osakond, 48, 2012.
17. Statistical Bureau Estonia. Statistics Estonia, 2017.
18. The Leadership Conference Education Fund. Charting a New Course for Re-Entry and Criminal Justice Reform 2013, p. 36.
19. UNEP Finance Initiative. Integrated Governance: A new model of governance for sustainability, (June), 64, 2014.
20. Vanglad (Prisons). Aruanded ja palgad (Reports and Salaries). *Ruttas-Küttim, R., & Stamenov, B. (2015)*. RIO Country Reports. Euroopa teadusuuringute ja innovatsiooni vaatlussüsteem. Eesti 2015. Blagoy Stamenov; RIO Country Report, 2015.
21. WHO. Alcohol Consumption: Levels and Patterns, 1, 2014.

Programs and Projects

1. *Cheung, A.* Prison privatization and the use of incarceration. The Sentencing Project, 2009.
2. JustMin. Arengukava tegevuste ja kulude tabel 2015-2018 (Improvement Plan, Activities and Expenses), 2015.
3. MinSoc, & MinJust. Tugiteenus vanglast vabanejatele, 2014.
4. MinSoc. Tugiteenus vanglast vabanejatele [Support Service for The Released from Prisons], 2014.
5. MinSoc. Tugiteenus vanglast vabanejatele [Support Service for The Released from Prisons], 2014.
6. *Musgrove, K. R., Derzis, N. C., Shippen, M. E., & Brigman, H. E.* Pirates: A Program for Offenders Transitioning into the World of Work - ProQuest Criminal Justice. The Journal of Correctional Education, 63(2), 2012, pp. 37–48.
7. *Western, B.* From Prison to Work: A Proposal for a National Prisoner Reentry Program. The Hamilton Project, (December), 2008.

Thesis and Research Papers

1. *Altmäe, E.* Retsidiivsust mõjutavad tegurid valitud kuriteoliikide näitel. Magistritöö, 2015.
2. *Hilborn, J.* Ülevaade kuriteoennetuse planeerimisest/ Review of Crime Prevention, 2007.
3. KESA-Mauritius. Retsidiivsus, 2007.
4. Riigikohus [Supreme Court of Estonia]. Ülekriminaliseerimine, 2010.
5. Saarpoll. Kinnipeetavate väärtushinnangute uuring, 2009.
6. *Stewart, T.* Interviews and Questionnaire 2013–2015, 2016.

Media Sources

1. News.err.ee. Report: Estonians stand out for largest alcohol consumption in OECD. 2015.
2. *Finn, C.* Estonia has the highest number of drug deaths in Europe. But why? The Journal, 2014.
3. *Pihl, K.* Eesti vanglate valitseja Priit Kama vägiteod (Heroic deeds of the dynast of Estonian prisons). Eesti Ekspress, 2015.
4. *Mäe, I.* Estonian prison investments twice smaller than in Finland – Economy – Estonian news in English. Postimees, 2015.