

How Norway Rehabilitates Ex-Offenders with Substance Problems.

Andrine Holtren

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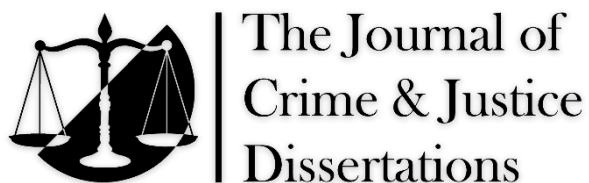
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Abstract

This dissertation provides some new reflections on work-oriented rehabilitation and “aftercare” of offenders. Over the last 50 years, there has been a rise in the diversity of rehabilitation methods for ex-offenders. This research will explore two rehabilitation methods used in two contemporary organisations based in Skien, Norway. The organisations are helping people find new ways of life after prison and addiction. The two programs provide participants with skills such as carpentering, artistry, cooking, and personal skills such as self-expression. They also focus on being a drug-free escape and aid ex-offenders get back into work. This study uses data from 5 qualitative interviews with staff members from the two aforementioned organisations, exploring their personal experiences regarding the effectiveness of their work, and their views regarding their organisation’s future goals.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this study is to analyze the structure, challenges, and complexity of work-oriented rehabilitation in Norway, with a focus on two different organizations based in Skien, Norway. The research question at hand is therefore: how does Norway Rehabilitate Ex-Offenders with Substance Problems?

Where the purpose of rehabilitation is to reduce crime and recidivism, as well as integrate the ex-offender back into society, these two organizations provide skills to achieve this (Torgersen & Hess, 2018). The work-oriented rehabilitation which is analyzed in this dissertation takes effect after serving time in prison, and/or after a person has decided to stop using illegal substances. Therefore, it is different to in-prison rehabilitation, and often referred to as “aftercare”.

Zhao, et al. (2019) states that the correctional system has lost its function and meaning if it does not help an offender change into a morally capable citizen (Zhao, et al. 2019). Kolstad (1996) who compares mental health hospitals and prisons. While it used to be a common belief that mental health patients were not able to participate in society, several studies have since proven this idea wrong. Given the proper treatment and rehabilitation, a huge majority of them were able to work, socialize and contribute to society. While this revelation has resulted in many mental health hospitals shutting down, prisons all over the world are over-crowded without hope of reducing its rising number of inmates. However, without the intent of calling prisoners mental health patients, but with the common societal belief in mind that offenders are condemned to a life of crime and lawlessness, there is hope that many can turn their lives around given the right help and circumstances.

Employment has been tied to successful rehabilitation many times. As stated by Walton and Hall (2016), being employed provides networks, healthy socialization, and pride. However, they also state that work-oriented approaches are often forgotten about. Creative outlets have been said to help reduce anxiety, aggression and struggles with self-expression (Johnson, 2008). Lastly, healthy socialization through activities with others has also seemed to be successful in developing important social skills (Zhao, et al., 2019).

Several studies have been conducted on rehabilitation of ex-offenders with substance issues. However, the Norwegian work-oriented approach, and especially that of Skien, is different to other approaches

which are studied before. Through qualitative interviews, five employees who work with substance abusers and ex-offenders every day have shared their everyday lives, personal experiences being face to face with crime and addiction, as well as the challenges in which they face. As a result, this study will explore employment in relation to crime and addiction, the value of a creative outlet and the importance of cooperation, relation building, patience, and resources. It will also offer a comparison of the UK approach and the Norwegian approach.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Rehabilitation

The concept of rehabilitation is understood here as helping someone return to a healthy and good life after prison or addiction (Cambridge Dictionary 2023). Rehabilitation of this target group should help reduce recidivism. However, the way in which rehabilitation is practiced varies depending on belief system, government, and geography. The term work-oriented rehabilitation is a translation of the Norwegian term *arbeidsrettet rehabilitering*. It includes all the ways in which people are helped back into society through employment, education, and other means, with the end goal of full-time employment. According to Arbeids- og Velferdsforvaltningen (NAV) (2013), the idea of the Norwegian model of work-oriented rehabilitation is to enhance the ability to work through practical training and education, as well as limit the harmful effects of unemployment both on a micro and macro level of society.

The Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model has been used to inspire the western world in the creation of rehabilitative programs. Risk means that the level of punishment, treatment and supervision should be coordinated with the risk of the offender. Hence, high-risk offenders should be subject to a higher degree of punishment, treatment, and supervision than a low-risk offender. Studies have also shown that exposing offenders to a higher degree of punishment than what is needed can have an opposite effect, and result in an increase in recidivism. This is also referred to as the concept of normalization because Norway focuses on providing prisoners with a life which is as close to normality as possible. Only taking away their liberty. Secondly, the need principle refers to criminogenic needs which will need to be targeted in order to reduce recidivism. This includes procriminal attitudes, substance abuse, antisocial personality traits and problematic relationships with friends and family. Thirdly, the responsivity refers to the style of rehabilitation. It should be custom-made to fit each offender's unique style of learning and strengths. The importance of this third aspect has been shown several times, for instance by looking at gendered approaches to rehabilitation. According to Zhao, et al. (2019) rehabilitation programs which show an understanding and implication of the RNR model are more successful in reducing recidivism than those who do not. Zhao, et al. (2019) also points to other benefits of work-oriented rehabilitation. Through educational training, research has found that offenders have gained higher self-esteem, higher morality, and a higher number of job opportunities upon release.

However, nothing can be done if offenders do not choose to or wish to participate in such programs. One way of looking at the wish to participate is through push- and pull- factors. According to Zhao, et al. (2019) there are many different aspects to this idea. Fundamentally, push- and pull-factors are those factors in which affects the individual's decision to participate in rehabilitative programs. Firstly, one can look at the "push-from-behind" aspect. This idea includes all the factors which are unconsciously affecting the individuals' thoughts and behavior. Examples are societal and psychological causes such as norms, traditions, and expectations. Pull-factors are those in which "pull-from-the-front". The motivation here is often to gain some sort of knowledge or certificate which can be beneficial in the future. For instance, participating could result in better jobs after release, better relationships with guards and other inmates, as well as self-fulfillment. In most cases participants are affected by both aspects in their decision to join (Zhao, et al. 2019).

On the other hand, a study conducted by Manger, et al. (2018) looked at some of the barriers to participation for inmates in rehabilitative programs. They looked at three different kinds of barriers: institutional, situational, and dispositional. Institutional barriers are those which makes it hard to arrange or facilitate activities which the participants would be interested in. For instance, due to lack of resources or lack of information provided. Situational barriers are those which affect the participants attitudes towards the programs. For instance, they might believe they do not need education, or they do not believe it is worth the effort. Lastly, the dispositional barriers mean those barriers which makes it harder for the participants to succeed within the programs. For instance, learning difficulties or issues with concentration (Manger, et al. 2018). In relation to this dissertation, push- and pull- factors as well as barriers are interesting because they can help the organizations understand how to recruit and keep participants within their programs.

2.2 Offender & Addiction Rehabilitation in the UK

In the UK, rehabilitation of ex-offenders and substance users happens mostly within prisons and/or in direction of probation services. Here, prisoners are provided with a case manager who will help shape their every-day lives inside of the walls to help reduce the risk of harm and reoffending. Included in these rehabilitation programs are educational and employment opportunities. These programs can also be targeted at specific types of crime, such as crimes connected to substance misuse (Taylor, 2022).

The Ministry of Justice and The Rt Hon Dominic Raab MP (2021) announced two years ago in a press release that their focus on rehabilitating prisoners in the UK would be intensified. 550 million pounds were earmarked to reduce reoffending and 3.75 billion pounds would be put towards making more prison spaces. The strategy included improving basic academic skills such as language, literacy, and numeracy. It also included more work-related approaches such as teaching offenders construction, coding, and vocational skills. The strategy is called the White Paper strategy (The Ministry of Justice & The Rt Hon Dominic Raab MP, 2021). Before this new approach in 2021, Tett, et al. (2012) argued that prison rehabilitation in the UK has often focused on improving very basic literacy and numeracy skills, rather than specific educational areas in which the individuals would be motivated to learn. Instead of this, studies found a higher success rate when the learning was fitted to the individuals' "strengths" (Tett, Anderson, McNeill, Overy & Sparks, 2012).

Duke (2013) states that the UK also took a new approach to drug rehabilitation in 2010, with the introduction of a new drug strategy. This strategy focused on reducing crime which could be linked to substance abuse through the gaining of social and cultural capital. Prisons were then changed in the sense that they would provide hard work and industry for offenders, which could act as an escape from relations and behavior which fueled addiction. An example of a program which provides rehabilitation for substance users is the Rehabilitation for Addicted Prisoners Trust (RAPt) Programme which was founded in 1991, now called The Forward Trust (Forward, 2020). This program is offered while offenders are still serving time in prison and is a full-time commitment for those who are accepted into it. Participants are also required to abstain from drug use prior to and during the course of the program. The program is set over 16 to 21 weeks and includes cognitive-behavioral therapy and treatment through Narcotics Anonymous. Additionally, they are advised to find a sponsor who will support the last few steps of their process. This way they are also able to find referrals for possible aftercare-options after they are done serving time (Kopak, Dean, Proctor, Miller & Hoffman, 2015).

When it comes to rehabilitation after release there seems to be very few options. There are options for financial support, such as Jobseekers Allowance and Universal Credit. However, there is a list of requirements which will need to be in place before applying, which can be difficult to meet or provide documentation for by someone who is homeless, doesn't have a phone or a bank account (GOV.UK). GOV.UK also refers to organizations such as Nacro and Unlock which are independent charity organizations who provide support for people who have been substance abusers or have a criminal record. It is stated on Nacro's website that they provide education and support for basic literacy and numeracy skills, GCSE's and housing (Nacro, 2023). Unlock states that they provide support in

employment, in the way that they encourage employers to hire those with criminal records, and work towards changing policies to help ex-offenders and substance abusers back into work. The way they do this is by advocating for a change in the way criminal records are made public, as well as lobby for a change of policies related to this (Unlock, 2023). To conclude then, while researching the options, it seems as if it is left to charity organizations to step in at the point of release in the UK.

2.3 Offender & Addiction Rehabilitation in Norway

Norway has been putting their spotlight on rehabilitative work-oriented programs for ex-offenders and ex-addicts for many years. According to Manger, et al. (2018), prisoners in Norway are required to participate in activities while in prison. This includes activities such as education and work-training, but also creative activities such as music-classes. The Norwegian Criminal Enforcement Law makes participation in these programs involuntary. Additionally, the vision of The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police (2008) is that rehabilitation will need to be continuous and stable in order to work. Hence, focusing on this only inside the prison or after release will not bring the same results. Coordinated effort from all parts of society is what makes rehabilitation successful.

The Norwegian system of reintegration follows the risk principle of the RNR-model. Firstly, prisoners who need to will arrive at high-security prisons. Then, after a while they will move on to lower security prisons, and finally be able to serve time in the comfort of their own home using electronic monitoring. However, bad behavior or drug use might make it more difficult to move on to the next step, or slow down the process. Then, during the last few months of their sentence, while hopefully serving from home, organizations such as the those of Skien, Norway step in to help figure out the way forward (Larsen, Hean & Ødegård, 2019). This “ladder” is also important in the implication of the normality principle, which is a pillar in the justice system in Norway. Therefore, they should be allowed to live as normal lives as possible while being incarcerated (The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police, 2008).

Bjorvatn (2019) looked at the system of in-prison rehabilitation and concluded that prisons in Norway help reduce recidivism because of the mandatory participation in rehabilitation. This study conducted in Norway showed that in many cases, prison-time is more successful at reducing recidivism than fines and other sorts of punishments. Statistically, those who are sentenced to time in prison are 50% more likely to get into employment after their time is served. At the same time, the study shows that those who spent time in prison were 40% less likely to commit crime again, than those who were served “kinder” forms of punishment such as fines or community service. At the same time, the study showed

that prison was more harmful to those who were employed previous to their sentence. This is because the prison time breaks up their résumé and therefore makes it harder to get back into work. It has been suggested to increase the use of electronic monitoring for those who fit in this group because it would allow the offender to continue education and employment while serving their time. All in all, the best strategy is the one which helps the offender continue with work and employment, because it gives them an alternative to criminal activity (Bjorvatn, 2019).

It is also important to include here a section on the new approach to punishment for drug use in Norway. Since 2016, the government has been debating whether to remove prison-time for personal drug use and replace it with rehabilitation in the form of medical treatment. This proposal meant that small personal amounts of illicit drugs would be decriminalized. However, there would still be a requirement for mandatory counselling. Agreeing to receive counselling would then result in the record being deleted. Not accepting the counselling would result in punishment, to emphasize the fact that it is still illegal. It is also argued here that the reason for the change is that punishment did not seem to help the problem, in addition to other adverse effects of the criminalization. Examples are stigma, marginalization, and social exclusion (Kammersgaard, 2023).

2.4 The Value of Income and Employment

Orsagh and Witte (1981) conducted a study which tried to explain the connection between recidivism and monetary income. They explained that many choose crime as an alternative to legal work, because it, among other reasons, provide them with wealth. This is also argued by Bjorvatn (2019) in the sense that criminals are often “normal” people who have chosen the path of crime in order to gain income instead of regular employment. To illustrate this, Orsagh and Witte (1981) use the BES-model. The BES-model is a refined neoliberal model based on the ideas of Beccaria, Ehrlich and Sjoquist, where well-being is related to economic status. Briefly, this means that maximum wealth is equal to maximum wellbeing. However, the model also assumes that every hour worked legally needs to make up for an hour of working illegally. Hence, the income accumulated in that hour needs to be greater than what could have been accumulated illegally if the individual wanted to choose legal employment. Secondly, there needs to be no care for any ethical implications with either activity. Lastly, it has to be mentioned that legal activity provides steady and predictable income, while illegal activity is unpredictable, based off success and subject to the fear of punishment. Therefore, the risk taken by participating in illegal activity needs to be smaller than the monetary equivalent to succeeding. While the relationship between crime and money has been studied and disregarded many times, this study targeted those criminal individuals who look at monetary gain as their main motivation for committing crime. It found

that for these individuals, work-oriented approaches to rehabilitation can be successful (Orsagh & Witte, 1981).

These theories can also be used to explain the relationship between unemployment and crime. While it has seemed difficult to statistically pinpoint the correlation between unemployment and crime, it has been proven that many ex-offenders end up in unattractive jobs, which lead to unemployment later on and can therefore result in recidivism. Hence, Orsagh and Witte (1981) state that the only way to get ex-offenders and drug addicts to turn their lives around are if they are provided with stable and pleasant jobs which provides them with enough income. A study conducted in Sweden found a statistically significant correlation between unemployment and property crimes such as burglary, car theft, bike theft and fraud (Edmark, 2005). Therefore, one can draw the assumption that appropriate and enjoyable employment can help reduce the rate recidivism for property crimes.

Walton and Hall (2016) looked at the connection between addiction rehabilitation and employment. They tried to find whether participating in job situations or simulating them for the purpose of practice or experience, can improve results for those going through addiction rehabilitation. They state that employment can provide healthy ways to deal with difficult emotions, as well as be an arena for pride, achievements, healthy networks, and socialization. The study found that out of 12 cases 11 of them showed that rehabilitation was more effective when it is work-oriented. Programs which facilitate this kind of work practice are also helpful in removing barriers such as lack of readiness, criminal background check policies, a broken resume or lack of transportation due to loss of a driver's license. The study concludes that work-oriented approaches to rehabilitation of addicts is very successful, but very underused.

2.5 The Value of a Creative Outlet

Another tool which is used to rehabilitate ex-offenders and addicts is art. Johnson (2008) has studied the importance of art in prison. He expresses that art programs in the United States have declined, due to the belief that prisoners should not be granted luxuries as such. He also states that while there are more art programs in the UK, they also experienced a huge decline in the 1990s due to low budgets. While it is hard to find direct evidence that art programs help reduce crime and recidivism, Johnson (2008) states that there are many benefits to including it in rehabilitation programs. Firstly, art can be used as therapy. For those who struggle with communication or literacy, art can be an outlet, as well as a tool to create a bridge between therapist and patient. It can also help patients understand their own emotions and behavior and explore themselves in a different way. For those who experience a lot

of anger and aggression, it can also be a safe and acceptable outlet. Finally, it produces concrete items of discussion as well as means of measuring progress.

Another study which focused on the impact of learning and arts in prison was conducted by Tett, et al. (2012). This study came after another study from Scotland, which found that traditional approaches to education were not effective enough to engage prisoners and did not help their literacy and numeracy skills. At the same time, it was found that prisoners were less likely to have negative associations to creative learning methods. As a result, Tett, et al. (2012) tried to investigate the effects of art programs. They found many advantages, including improvements in literacy and numeracy skills, cooperation skills, self-confidence, and motivation to live a crime-free life. Additionally, activities such as creative writing and performance in front of an audience had a huge impact on the individual's self-expression.

A lot of the literature presented, from the UK and from Norway, is based on what happens inside the prison. There seems to be a lack of literature and studies conducted on services for aftercare. This might also be because there is a lack of available services, or that they are in general hard to come by. While spending the time inside the prison walls learning new skills and preparing for the time after release is time well spent, there are many issues in which need to be solved once the day of release comes. As stated, employment training after release can offer valuable lessons, as well as provide networks and help which can help individuals stay out of crime and prison (Walton & Hall, 2016). Also, repeating an important part of the first paragraph, rehabilitating addicts should help reduce the cost of crime and unemployment on society to benefit on both micro and macro levels (NAV, 2013). This is where Norway's solution to aftercare comes in.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The reason for doing science is to understand reality. Because of this, the researcher is required to conduct research in which reflects the full aspect of reality. The chosen methodology is therefore essential. Methodology within the human sciences is divided into two groups: quantitative and qualitative. A quantitative approach would result in statistical data and is very useful when trying to find correlations, relationships between different factors, or trends among large groups of people. The qualitative approach on the other hand tries to find more in-depth data on personal experiences. This is very useful when trying to study attitudes or lived experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). In order to fully understand the Norwegian approach and provide in-depth data, the qualitative method seemed appropriate. While a quantitative approach could help understand basic structures and results of the rehabilitation, a qualitative study would hopefully go deeper in the analysis of the every-day life and practices of those working in these facilities. As that is the biggest benefit of the qualitative research method (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

To capture the full lived experience of those who were interviewed it was important that the questions were semi-structured. There are three types of interviews: unstructured, structured, and semi-structured. Unstructured interviews mean the participants can talk freely about their experience without interruption. The researcher will identify a topic and ask the participant to talk about the topic in any way they choose. This approach will often provide the richest data. The second type, structured interviews, are made using a set questionnaire. The participants are all asked the same questions. The third option is the semi-structured interview. While this approach provides more structure than the unstructured types of interviews, it also allows the participants to expand on the topics in which they believe to be more important. Therefore, some participants might talk a lot about a topic in which the researcher did not deem the most important. Here, an interview guide may also be used, but can be customized to each participant and each interview. For this research, this method was beneficial because the study was conducted on two different organizations. Therefore, this gave room to the participants to express how their organization was unique, while also providing some guidelines for comparing the two in the analysis. The semi-structured interview provides rich data, formed by the participants, while also staying within the topics and questions in which the researcher wants answers to (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

3.2 Sampling

After researching the area of work-oriented rehabilitation in Norway, the chosen organizations were found and contacted via email. Interviewees were elected due to their role in providing rehabilitation for the participants. The aim was to have different people with different backgrounds and work-experience to participate in order to gain different perspectives. Due to this, the sample originally consisted of one social therapist, three social workers, one leader of the organization as well as one carpenter. The social therapist has the responsibility of talking to participants, following their development, and often meeting them before they start the programs. The leader of organization number one has the economic and administrative responsibility but is also very invested in the everyday lives of both employees and participants. The three social workers are all employed within organization number two, and work on a one-to-one level to help individuals get into appropriate work-training. Due to unforeseen circumstances, the carpenter was not able to participate. Therefore, his role is interpreted from the answers of his co-workers.

Interviewees were given the options of virtual interviews, or face to face interviews at a location of their choosing. All participants chose to conduct interviews at the establishment of their organization. This allowed the participants to find quiet rooms without distractions where they were comfortable. Because the interviews were conducted at the residence of the organizations, it means that some observation has also contributed to the way in which this study is analyzed by the researcher at hand. This should not impose any ethical harm but needs to be considered in the analysis due to the way it may change an objective analysis to have factors of subjective opinion (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

3.3 Interviews & Interview Guide

In order to conduct a successful semi-structured interview, a brief interview guide was made beforehand (to be found in Appendix C (Norwegian) and D (English)). The questions were split into categories, structure and everyday life within the organizations, cooperation, challenges and resources, results, and finally, goals for the future. Because the interviews were supposed to be semi-structured, the interview guide was mainly a reference point during the interviews and the participants were encouraged to speak freely around these topics. Additionally, the last question was *“Is there anything you feel I have not touched upon which you think is important to include?”*. As a result of this, interviewees talked about topics such as drug-free socialization, personal challenges, and motivations of the participants in which they work with from their personal perspectives, success-stories of individuals who have participated, and other themes in which they deemed important. The interviews

were also recorded, with interviewees consent via the consent form. The reason for this is to allow the researcher to conduct a more accurate study and analysis.

3.4 Analysis of Interviews

It is important in this section to note that the personal perspective, opinions, and observations of the researcher is always going to affect the outcome of the study (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Additionally, because the interviews were conducted in Norwegian and since translated to English for the analysis-section of this study, there is always a risk that some of the meaning might have been lost in the translation process. This is also a challenge because the personal perspective of the researcher, while being fluent in both English and Norwegian, could impact the way in which the words are translated. However, the researcher was aware of the issue and has worked to keep the objectivity of the study as intact as possible.

At the same time, it is important to note that the qualitative method considers the idea that the view of every informant is the truth. Therefore, the reality is assumed to be exactly how the interviewees have explained it to be (Torgersen & Hess, 2018). It is also important to note, again, the personal bias of the researcher. While doing everything to ensure the interviews are not affected by the point of view of the researcher, one will never be able to completely remove the subjectivity. Because the questions are shaped by the researcher, as well as the analysis, the study will always be subject to the personal view of the researcher. However, one can always try to not affect the research by, for instance, not asking questions which are leading in any way, and always try to analyze from the point of view of the participant (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Unfortunately, there is no way to remove all personal bias.

The interviews were analyzed using the method of thematic analysis in the program NVivo. According to Maguire and Delahunt (2017), this method is appropriate for an undergraduate dissertation because it is accessible and flexible. Additionally, it is a way for the researcher to become comfortable with the method, as it is also a basis of learning how to do many other kinds of analysis (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Different sections were coded under categories which were supposed to help make a system before the analysis. The main themes which were set in the end were: structure and action, challenges, resources and economy, values, results, and goals for the future.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Lastly, for the methodology, it is important to consider ethical issues with this research. It is stated by Roberts and Hyatt (2019) that all research requires ethical consideration. Hence, any research will need

to protect participants, as well as the data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Because of this, none of the research in this dissertation was conducted before the supervisor had understood and approved it. The reason for the need of a pre-approval is to make sure the participants will not feel discomfort, stress or embarrassed. It is also important to make sure the participants will not experience any threats to their reputation after the interviews are conducted. Their privacy and comfort is vital to successful research.

The first ethical consideration highlighted by Roberts and Hyatt (2019) is informed consent. As mentioned under sampling, the participants in this study were asked to read through and sign on a consent form. The consent form included a few points that were important before any questions were asked. Firstly, the participants were informed of the study and the way in which their participation could have an impact. Hence, they were informed that this is an undergraduate dissertation project focusing on the way in which rehabilitation is provided in Skien, Norway. Secondly, they were informed that they were able to withdraw from the study at any point without consequences. This also meant that if they were to withdraw after the interview was already done, their transcript and recording would be deleted immediately. Additionally, they were informed that their recording would be deleted upon finishing the transcription, and that the transcribed documents would be deleted upon the submission of the dissertation. They were also informed about their anonymity and confidentiality. This meant that their real names would never be used in the study. Finally, it included the names and email addresses for both the researcher and the supervisor, which could be used to ask questions or to retract any bit of information (Roberts & Hyatt, 2019; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The mentioned consent form is to be found in Appendix A (Norwegian) and B (English).

Confidentiality is a term in which is important to highlight. It requires the researcher to be alert when analyzing and interpreting the data in order to ensure it is not used in any way that the participants did not agree to beforehand. Because of this, both the names of the participants and the names of the organizations are not mentioned. Instead, each participant is given a letter in place of their name, and the organizations are referred to as number 1 and number 2. Hence, A and B work within Organization 1, and C, D and E work within Organization 2. This is because referring to for instance their role within the organization, followed by the name of the organization, could result in them being identified (Roberts & Hyatt, 2019).

Finally, the ethical issues concerning the interpretation and reporting of the data will need to be considered. Here, it is important to provide real and honest data, which does not hide any negative results. Also, it is important not to generalize the results. Hence, applying the findings on other groups,

countries, or situations. In this research only 5 employees ended up being interviewed. Therefore, this is not necessarily a representative selection. While this might affect the results, the most important aspect is to be aware that the results are not necessarily applicable to other employees of the same profession. Optimally, more people would have been interviewed. However, as this is an undergraduate dissertation, nor the time or the resources were available in order to conduct a larger study (Roberts & Hyatt, 2019).

Chapter 4: Findings & Discussion

4.1 Structure & Everyday Life

The two organizations based in Skien, Norway, provide rehabilitation for those who have served time in prison previously, are former drug addicts, or a combination of both. According to the functioning environmental therapist employed in organization number 1 (O1), when it comes to the work-oriented approach, this organization provides two ways of achieving certificates of apprenticeships. Firstly, participants are able to learn how to repair cars and motorcycles. This program is a practical alternative to a program which is traditionally a lot more theoretical. Therefore, they also cooperate with schools close by who offer these programs. Secondly, they provide skills in carpentering. Again, the participants are offered a more practical alternative to gaining the skills needed to work as a carpenter. In this program, they produce items to sell, such as wooden houses to protect trashcans from hard weather, and complete jobs at people's residences such as build porches. Interviewee A states that he has seen several people move on from this program and into employment in ordinary carpenter businesses (interviewee A). Furthermore, they provide activities such as painting, cooking, social trips out in nature, music, theater and driving classes. While these activities are not necessarily work-oriented, they are supposed to help with social knowledge, dealing with anxiety and difficult emotions and gain skills which can be beneficial in work situations (interviewee B).

The second organization (O2) works in a different way. Here, participants within the same target group are referred by the municipality. Then, the employees go through a screening process which should help establish motivation, background, and interests. They use forms and one-to-one conversations and spends time getting to know each individual. Then the most common way for rehabilitation is practical training. This organization provides training at their establishment in the form of a second-hand store. Depending on the interests of the participants they can be placed on the floor or in the storage rooms. They offer experience of sales and customer service, but also painting and restoring of furniture. This is a good way to begin simulating work situations. However, this organization also, and more often, places individuals in "real" work situations by cooperating with businesses in the area. After a while, they also discuss paid positions at the establishments if it seems to be a good match (Interviewee D).

“This is to have a taste of different kinds of occupations, to network, get a connection within the industry. Always based off what they wish to do”, (Interviewee D).

In relation to the push- and pull-factors presented by Zhao, et al. (2019), the earning of a certificate of apprenticeship through O1, and the work experience acquired through O2 should work as strong pull-factors, because they can be beneficial in the future.

4.2 Creative Outlet

In addition to the work-oriented activities, O1 offers a creative room to their participants. Here they are able to learn pottery, crocheting, painting, and sewing. They also have a professional artist come in and teach her skills three times a week. According to interviewee B, if participants are suffering from anxiety, they are likely to use this room as a place to find peace.

“Many are suffering from anxiety after a lot of isolation, whether it is from prison or from home... being social with people and big gatherings is a little scary. So, it can be safer to come there and find their place and calm”, (Interviewee B).

The same was found in the study conducted by Johnson (2008), although it was more focused on creating a bridge between patient and therapist in medical therapy situations, there is reason to believe that art is a good supplement in the work-oriented rehabilitation process because it helps deal with negative emotions.

Furthermore, they offer a place for participants to learn to produce music and theater. It was stated by Tett, et al. (2012) that being on stage and performing can encourage greater self-expression. This was also found in O1 (Interviewee A). This organization provides their participants with the option of acting in a theater which sets up several performances a year and had over 2000 people in the audience in the previous year. While talking about the results of these kinds of programs, he stated:

“It gives the participants a feeling of mastery... I can use one example ... one of the participants was interviewed for a local newspaper and told her story (...) She started with making coffee and was included in that way. After a while she would get three lines to read out loud during practice and it was the worst thing she had ever done. (...) she has become so secure in her role now that she has fun on

stage, enjoys it, and has also become very good at what she does ... almost like a prompter to everyone else when they forget their lines”, (Interviewee A).

He also continues to state that he believes the skills learned through this are transferable to other areas of life.

“When you get a feeling of mastery in one area and you feel safe there, it is easier to seek out other challenges which can give interpersonal skills. Then when you are safe in one place you can work on other relations, work with developing other areas of life which are difficult”, (Interviewee A).

4.3 Income & Employment

Neither of the organizations provide direct income for the work training in which they facilitate. Participants are paid through NAV, just like any other unemployed person in Norway. However, there is a demand from NAV that those who receive money need to be work-hunting or participating in programs such as the mentioned (Interviewee C). Therefore, participating is still a way for the participants to earn benefit. Additionally, the end goal of the program is to ensure employment. Bjorvatn (2019) stated that the best form of rehabilitation makes employment a good alternative to crime.

“We see that this system works. Out of this target group, we can see that many have a broken resume. They have a lot of open areas and some of them do not have any work experience at all. If they were to apply for work in the ordinary way, they would be at the back of the line. This way, they are able to come in and show off their skills, while we are paying attention to them. (...) then, if everything is working as it should we start negotiating a paid position, because that is the goal”, (Interviewee C).

However, when looking at this through the BES-model, assuming that level of wellbeing is equal to level of income, it seems as if those criminals who commit crime on the basis of monetary income would not be interested in these kinds of programs. There are many ways in which these individuals would make more money doing illegal work. A quantitative study on the participants of these programs and their main motivation for doing crime might be interesting. However, without statistical backing, there is reason to believe that some might still be interested due to the long-term gain. Because the BES model

considers the risk, stability, and ethics, some might consider finding employment this way a safer option (Orsagh & Witte, 1981). There is also reason to question whether ex-offenders who are motivated by monetary income might be more interested in work-oriented approaches such as provided by O2, than those programs which focuses on literacy, numeracy, or therapeutic gains.

One of the many things in which both organizations deemed important was finding the correct work position for the right person. In the study conducted by Orsagh and Witte (1981), it was concluded that the only way to get offenders and drug addicts back into society is by providing them with stable, pleasant jobs with a satisfactory level of income. Unattractive jobs lead to more recidivism. This also refers to the RNR model introduced by Zhao, et al. (2019). Responsivity means the importance of fitting the style of rehabilitation to the individual. This is done by both O1 and O2 because the participants are able to choose what activities they want to participate in, and because the screening process in O2 is used to custom-fit their employment training.

“We spend a lot of time trying to find the right person for the right placement. It is not like that here... I’m sure that is how it used to be in this field earlier; that if there was a spot at a local grocery store then a participant would be put there. We spend time beforehand mapping and listening to what they want to work with themselves, because we know very well that if they are going to succeed then we need to get them into a workplace and an occupation which they wish to be in”,
(Interviewee C).

This is also important when looking at the institutional barriers to participation (Manger, et al., 2018). When it is difficult to find activities or programs which fit the needs or interests of participants, they are also less likely to participate or gain any valuable experience in the process. Barriers such as a lack of driver’s license are also addressed by O1, where a volunteer has started holding driving lessons for those who need it (Interviewee A). Also, in relation to addiction and employment barriers, it was found by Walton and Hall (2016) that employment also offers healthy ways to deal with difficult emotions, provides healthy networking and removes barriers such as lack of readiness.

4.4 Drug Free Environment & Healthy Socialization

Both organizations focus on a drug-free environment and healthy socialization and networking. They both do regular drug-testing of their participants. O2 also expresses the importance of being honest towards the employer when finding work placements.

“When we are in contact with employers, we are always open and honest immediately about where we come from and what target group we represent. (...) at the same time, we are quick at selling them in through talking about what kind of treatment they have gone through, how long they have been sober, the fact that they are followed by a drug consultant, and that they are required to pass a urine test two times a week. (...) when we meet with employers it is rare that they ask about drugs. Instead, they are more focused on who are you? What have you done previously?” (Interviewee C).

At the same time, they state the importance of being patient and allowing the participants to make mistakes and relapse. They do not automatically lose their placement if they relapse. Instead, they are followed up closely. However, after some time without success, some are asked to come back when they are motivated to live a drug-free life (interviewee C). This is the same for both O1 and O2.

Meanwhile, as mentioned by participant A, there is a mutual respect within O1 that the organization, the activities, and the building is drug-free. While some may relapse in their spare time, it rarely happens that participants come to activities while being affected by drugs. Because of this, the participants can be secure that they will come to a place which focuses on other aspects of their life and provides them with an escape (interviewee A). This also provides them with a drug-free network, which some call their family.

“The idea that you have a safety net in your life because you know that you have a community. (...) You know that you belong here. Many speak of this (the organization) as their family. The employees here do not... but we realize the importance of taking care of this community, which is like family to some. (...) Simple as that, if you need help dumping trash from home, many of the participants here do not have any contacts (...) but we can help with things like these, as a part of the community here. So, we help each other a lot with things we need on the road to recovery”, (Interviewee A).

This type of drug-free socialization is also a way in which the organization follows the need principle of the RNR-model because it focuses on repairing problematic social relationships. In the bigger picture, it should contribute to lowering recidivism and motivating participants to stay out of crime and drugs (Zhao, et al., 2019). The relation building which is mentioned in the next section is also a part of this, as it works with social relationships and targets antisocial personality traits.

4.5 Relation Building

One of the biggest focuses of both organizations was relation building. They spend a lot of time getting to know each individual. They believe that this makes the participants safer and more motivated.

“I understand resources are hard to come by, and that it is hard to find the time. Therefore, many programs are time limited. But we see that the results come when safe and good relationships are built over time. When this becomes a stable factor in life when everything else is chaos. Having a few safe people in your life, whether it is employees, volunteers, or other participants”, (Interviewee A).

All three employees in O2 were also focused on this, because they believed trust, openness and honesty were important in the process of rehabilitation. Additionally, because they spend time getting to know each participant, they are also working through issues of trust and antisocial personalities (Zhao, et al., 2019). Often, the result of the patient relation work is that participants are open and honest if they make mistakes.

“We are not here to arrest anyone; we are here to help. So, we make sure they know that it is okay to make mistakes”, (Interviewee C).

“They often come to us and tell us that they have made a mistake before we get the results from the urine sample. They know it is safe to tell us and that we will not stop because of it”, (Interviewee D).

4.6 Interdisciplinary Cooperation

The vision of The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police (2008) is to provide aftercare in the form of several cooperating institutions and organizations. This was also huge focus areas in all interviews. Firstly, cooperation is important in the process of recruiting and finding new participants. For instance, interviewee B travels to Skien prison every Friday to hold music-classes for the prisoners there. He states that building relations this way makes it easier to transition into freedom (Interviewee B). They work in the same way with health clinics who work with rehabilitating drug addicts. Additionally, some prisoners who are in their last 6 months of serving time, and are therefore serving at home using electronic monitoring, are allowed to participate in these activities. The activities offered at O1 can often also be used as a way to complete community service. All these initiatives are supposed to provide safe transitions from prison and addiction into freedom.

“O2 also emphasizes the importance of cooperating with other institutions in the early stages. However, they need a referral from either the municipality or NAV in order to be able to find a place for an individual. Therefore, it can be difficult to find participants if they are not already in the system. However, as the childcare services, drug consultants, institutions for treatment, prisons and psychology services are in the picture, they are often discovered and referred”, (Interviewee E).

After this, there is also a constant focus on interdisciplinary cooperation. The interviewees mentioned cooperation with both state institutions, charities, hospitals, and schools. Interviewees C, D and E all state the importance of good cooperation in order to provide the best possible support for each individual. For instance, in a case where it is not clear whether the participant should be working 100%, the health team can give advice in which the employees as O2 can use when fitting them into a work placement (Interviewee D).

4.7 Results within Organizations

When asked about results, the environmental therapist in O1, interviewee B states that;

“Out of those who come here, 1 out of 3 make it. (...) if there is no aftercare, then it is about 1 out of 20. When asked what “make it” meant, he said: living alright. Being drug-free and not committing crime ... not dead. People get their debts straightened out, maybe they buy a place to live”.

At O2, out of their 30 participants, they are required by NAV to find permanent jobs or education for 5 each year. However, C states that they have an internal goal of 10 per year.

“And we have made it the past 7 years. We had 10 in 2022. In 2021 we had 14, and then 10, 10, and then one year we had 16. However, he also mentions here how he enjoys seeing the individuals succeed in life: When it comes to this target group, when things work out, when they become drug-free, and when they find housing, economy, network, spare time activities ... there are so many resources within this group. It is fun to see that they succeed in the opportunities they get”, (Interviewee C).

4.8 Challenges

Some of the challenges which were expressed were lack of resources and stability. As stated by Manger, et al. (2018) institutional barriers such as lack of resources can make it harder for the organizations to recruit participants, because they are not able to offer as many different activities or opportunities. Both organizations also express the wish to step in sooner, because it sometimes only takes a few days before participants are back doing crime or using drugs. Hence, resources are mentioned as one of the biggest challenges by both organizations.

“What we are missing is money. The monetary support has been the same for many years. At the same time, our expenses are rising. Paying employees, electric bills... and the support does not follow. (...) if we had a couple of hundred thousand more kroner (Norwegian currency) we would be able to do a lot more. (...) I wish to start offering activities in the evenings. There are many who could use this establishment in the evenings who spend the daytime going to school or work. They miss a drug-free and safe environment”, (Interviewee A).

“There are so many out there who need help. When it comes to some new projects we are exploring, in relation to aftercare for ex-offenders for instance, there are so few options available already. If we had more resources and the municipality had more resources, many more could get help. There is no doubt”, (Interviewee D).

In relation to stability, O2 expresses that it is a challenge to remain stable relationships with participants due to the way in which addiction and crime can affect the stability of their lives.

“Ensuring stability in the participant’s lives is a big challenge. Being able to stay in it over time ... sometimes you need to try several times ... maybe another period spent in prison before they can come back and try again”, (Interviewee B).

“When you are addicted there is very little stability. Maybe they do not show up to a couple of our meetings, we cannot reach them on the phone... sometimes there are a few weeks in between every time we reach them”, (Interviewee C).

This is an issue when it comes to the importance of relation building which was expressed in a previous section.

4.9 Discussion: A Comparison of Norway & England

After researching the topic of work-oriented rehabilitation both in the UK and Norway, in addition to conducting interviews, both similarities and differences between the two countries have surfaced. Firstly, the UK focus on gaining social and cultural capital in prison through hard work and industry is similar to the mandatory participation in rehabilitative programs in Norway (Manger, et al., 2018). It was stated by Duke (2013) that the purpose of this, from the UK perspective, was to find escape from relations and behavior which fueled addiction. Finding relations, a community, and activities which work as escape from the life lived before was also a big focus in both organizations which were interviewed.

Secondly, the Forward Trust program is a program offered in the UK which can be compared to the two organizations in Norway (Kopak, Dean, Proctor, Miller & Hoffman, 2015). Across all these organizations, participants are required to live drug-free lives, and they are subject to random drug tests. The Forward Trust program is also not time-limited, as addicts are able to progress through the steps at their own speed (Martin, Player & Liriano, 2003). The two organizations from Norway both focus on providing activities which are not limited to a time period. They also emphasize the importance of this in the sense that it creates long-term trust and results. At the same time, the Forward Trust Program wants to provide the same quality treatment to addicts in the justice system as is available in the rest of the community (Martin, Player & Liriano, 2003). This is similar to the normalization principle in which guides the structure of rehabilitation in Norway.

When it comes to the results, the Forward Trust program reported that 80% of their participants moved on to jobs or apprenticeships which lasted for at least 3 months in 2020 (Forward, 2020). O2 reported a success rate of 80-90% in their work-oriented aftercare program (interviewee C). Therefore, it seems as if both programs are very successful. However, it is important to note that the methods used to find these statistics are different, and therefore difficult to compare.

Meanwhile, regarding the differences between the Norwegian system and the UK system, it looks as if the UK relies more on charities such as The Forward Trust, Unlock and Nacro in order to deliver services for aftercare. The two organizations in Norway are state-funded and a part of a bigger network of rehabilitation. In relation to the idea that rehabilitation will need to be continuous and stable, as well as provided over a long amount of time in a coordinated effort of all state institutions, this is not met by the UK government (The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police, 2008).

Another difference is the focus on creativity and self-expression which was presented in O1. It was stated by Johnson (2008) that creative rehabilitative programs for ex-offenders and addicts were cut down in the 1990's due to low budgets. However, when looking at the benefits of these kinds of programs in relation to work-oriented rehabilitation, a bigger focus on this might offer some benefits. Especially since it was reported by Tett. et al. (2012) that Scotland was struggling with motivating prisoners' through traditional approaches to educational rehabilitation.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Providing functioning rehabilitation of ex-offenders and addicts is important to reduce recidivism and limit the harmful effects on the rest of the society, on both a macro and micro level (Torgersen & Hess, 2018). While there are many ways to provide rehabilitation, this study has focused on the work-oriented approach. Hence, finding employment or appropriate education in order to live a stable, “normal” life. Through work-placements and simulation, creative outlets, and the gaining of other skills, two organizations based in Norway work every day to find the best possible solutions for individuals who need them. The system works, as seen by the results, but they express a need for more resources in order to offer a broader activity specter, reach more participants and be there as soon as prisoners step out of the gates.

While not being the main argument of this dissertation, the benefits of creative activities have also played a part in relation to the rehabilitation provided. This approach seems to be a good side-activity to those who are going through the process because it helps with personal skills and motivation (Johnson, 2008). It would be interesting to conduct a larger study focused on this approach and the direct effects on recidivism.

In some ways, the UK government can be inspired by the Norwegian approach. When looking at the results, one can see that consistent and continuous rehabilitation from start to finish works. While some of the same opportunities are provided by the Forward Trust in the UK, the government seems to entrust charities such as this to do the rehabilitation job for them. If a continuous system was to be established, or if the charities such as the Forward Trust was to be funded by the state, they might be able to do even more than they already are (Forward, 2020).

For the future, a study conducted on the participants in these programs might be interesting in order to develop a better argument. This would help understand what works and what could be improved through their eyes, which again could help other organizations and institutions improve their programs.

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Appendix A – Norwegian Interview Guide

Semi-Structured Interview Questions + Notes

Struktur og Hverdag

Hva går deres tilbud om arbeidsrettet rehabilitering ut på?

Hva er din rolle i dette?

Hvor mange deltagere har dere?

Hvordan blir deltagerne rekruttert hit til dere?

Samarbeid og Tverrfaglig Samarbeid

Hvilke andre organisasjoner samarbeider dere med for å sikre et godt ettervern?

Utfordringer og Ressurser

Hva mener du er den største utfordringen dere står ovenfor?

Har dere alle ressurser dere skulle ønske dere?

Hva føler du kunne vært gjort bedre/ på en annen måte/ investert mer ressurser i?

Resultater

Hvordan er deres resultater? Statistisk, eller basert på andre mål som er møtt.

Mål for fremtiden

Har dere noen planer eller mål for fremtiden?

Er det noe du føler jeg ikke har snakket om som er viktig å få med?

Appendix B – English Interview Guide

Semi-Structured Interview Questions + Notes

Structure and Everyday Life

What do you offer when it comes to Work-Oriented Rehabilitation?

What is your role in this?

How many participants do you have here?

How are participants recruited here?

Cooperation and Intersectional Cooperation

What other organizations do you cooperate with in order to ensure functioning aftercare?

Challenges and Resources

What would you say is the biggest challenge ahead of you?

Do you have all the resources you would want?

Is there anything you feel could be done in a better/different way/ or invested more resources in?

Results

How are your results? Statistically or based on other goals which are met.

Goals for the Future

Do you have any plans or goals for the future?

Is there anything you feel I have not touched upon which you think is important to include?