

Reimaging the future of Forensic care, Detention and Recovery

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Abstract

Introduction. The artist Olivia Glebbeek organized an open podium within the context of an art exhibition in a former prison in Utrecht in 2016. This podium thematized first steps towards solving problems of the current Dutch penal and care system. Those current problems evolve around recidivism and adverse effects of incarceration on rehabilitation. The aim of this study is gaining understanding about what a diverse group of stakeholders imagines about the future perspectives of the Dutch penal and care system and the role of themselves within the system. **Method**. During a 'FutureNowExperience' focus group session as part of an art exhibition in a former prison in Utrecht, 25 diverse stakeholders of the Dutch penal and care system (ranging from ex-prisoner to professional employees) were recruited. Desired future imaginations were individually written down in Letters from the Future and then shared and discussed. The letters were collected and analyzed qualitatively based on a comparative, storyline analysis (Murray & Sools, 2014). The letters were patterned based on their desired future imaginations of the Dutch penal and care system.

Results. Two story types were identified which respectively were further differentiated into two sub types. Story type 1 envisions an internal change within the system of either a more integral collaboration (subtype 1.1) or an application of a more rehabilitative approach (subtype 1.2). Story type 2 envisions a discontinuation of the system either in relationship to a societal change (subtype 2.1) or by a replacement of a purely rehabilitative alternative to prisons (subtype 2.2). The breach of all four subtypes can be identified between the respective changes envisioned in the subtypes which are envisioned to be the purpose and currently used tools within the penal and care system. These tools are optimally adopted in the desired future in some letters, however, other letters lack a description of those.

Conclusion and Discussion. There is no clear distribution of the stakeholders involvement within the system regarding their varying professions. The desired future perspectives showed a clear influence of past developments and further adaptations of positive criminological models and theories. Despite the suitability of Letters from the Future as method for mapping diverse stakeholder's desired future imaginations and implications for first steps in solving current problems, this method does not provide clear evidence for hope experienced by the stakeholders for the future.

1 INTRODUCTION

Recently, the Dutch prison system has become the focus of international newspapers because of their low imprisonment rates. Over the past decade, more than 19 Dutch prisons closed down. The incarceration rate in the Netherlands amounts up to 82 prisoners per 100.000 Dutch residents (Subramanian & Shames, 2014). Comparing the Dutch incarceration rate with the one Walmsley (2011) states for the United States of America (which is amounting up to 716 per 100.000 U.S. inhabitants) an enormous difference is notable. Boone et al. (2019) describes the low Dutch incarceration rates as an unparalleled development in the Western World. But not only the incarceration rates of the Netherlands are found to be low. In 2017 the Dutch Ministry for Justice and Security also published statistical data of recidivism rates for incarceration gathered from 2002 to 2012. The findings have been divided into 5 different categories (adult offenders, ex-probationers, ex-prisoners, juvenile offenders, ex-inmates of juvenile detention centers) and have been monitored for a 10-year time span (Wartna, Tollenaar, Verweij, Alberda & Essers, 2017). The results show an overall decrease in recidivism rates for each category. Nevertheless, the re-offending rates from 2002 to 2012 within two years after release for the respective categories mentioned above have been: 25%; 33,9%; 47,1%; 32,6% and 57,6%, with the highest absolute fall in the ex-prisoners-category being 8.2% (Wartna et al., 2017) which is still capable of improvement.

Looking back onto the course of the penal and forensic care system, a change from punitive tenets to also focusing on resocialization and rehabilitation is notable. Due to the establishment of the Dutch Penitentiary Principles Act in 1998, the Dutch penal system became an instrument being less restricted, punitive and less separated from the outside world (Subramanian et al., 2014). Instead, the authors mention the principle of association is being used in terms of motivating and enabling inmates to establish and cultivate relationships both in- and outside the prison. Next to the principle of association, the rehabilitation and normalization principle favors non-custodial sentencing over the use of prison which results in sparingly used custodial sentences (Subramanian et al., 2014). Sentencing, regardless of a custodial or non-custodial judicial decree, targets the installment of more fundamental and functional skills that inmates will need after acquittal, which refer to a more individualized, rehabilitative and goal-oriented approach than it used to be in the past.

While incarceration is aiming for the protection of society, rehabilitation, resocialization and -integration has become part of the penal system as means of successfully returning offenders to society, meaning aiming for crime recidivism prevention which asks for more than

simply punishing offenders through incarceration (Meijer, 2017). Therefore, during and after imprisonment, offenders get supported by a substantial amount of rehabilitative services. Individualized approaches for mentally ill, drug addicted or high-profile offender all require multiprofessional teamwork connection. Those multiprofessional teams might be composed of housing agents, employment agents, social workers, financial and debt relief supporters or reintegration supporters for example. However, it is questionable whether the system nowadays focuses too much on measurements of offenders personal progress which would benefit the larger society but in turn is not outweighing the costs of providing those services (Meijer, 2017).

Looking from a broader, more general, social level to a more individual level, research suggests that the execution of penal and care system might have adverse consequences for prisoners (Dirkzwager, Nieuwbeerta & van der Laan, 2015; Pogrebin, Stretesky, Walker & Opsal, 2015). Even though the penal system might have become more humane than it used to be in the past and nowadays also focuses on acquiring necessary skills for crime-free functioning in the outside world during and after a sentence, research questioned the effectiveness of rehabilitating whilst incarcerating.

On the one hand, Dirkzwager and colleagues (2015) state that incarceration might bring along unintentional collateral, aversive influence on the lifespan of a prisoner. Dirkzwager et al. (2015) firstly state that having a conventional post-prison life is of high importance for reentering communal life after discharge. Secondly, it also seems to be a key factor for distancing from crime. Conventional post-prison life can be understood in terms of stable housing, employment, solid wage and marriage for example (Visher, La Vigne & Travis, 2004). Antithetical to the enablement of forming stable post-prison circumstances is the effect of imprisonment onto those factors. Incarcerating offenders might indirectly, unintentionally and adversely affect the success for resocialization and rehabilitation regarding those conventional life circumstances (Dirkzwager et al., 2015).

On the other hand, Pogrebin and colleagues (2015) researched adverse effects of rehabilitation and called this phenomenon "the parole paradox" [p. 413]. It describes detrimental interference effects that rehabilitative services may have, causing an inhibition of the ex-offenders' possible identity change. Rehabilitation is a process of supervising parolees in regular meetups and establishing important contacts aiming for the promotion of integration, yet, when supervision gets too intense, it might attract the opposite. In a study of high-profile ex-offenders, Liem and Weggemans (2018) found that the majority rather perceives rehabilitative contributions as intense control. Building and maintaining a conventional life is

being complicated in terms of restrictions regarding housing, employment or prohibited areas. Even though parolees might experience personal complications in connection with following certain rehabilitative and re-integrative programs as supervision periods or community services, criminological research also states that those programs, to a more or lesser extent, are negatively correlated with recidivism (Zebel, Alberda & Wartna, 2014).

As criminological literature on the Dutch penal and care system indicates, it is well known and researched that discrepancies between objectives of the punitive and rehabilitative components influence the interplay. While the punitive component is questioned of not being humane and rehabilitative enough (Cullen & Genderau, 2001), rehabilitation and re-integration programs have been under constant critics about their effectiveness in the early stages of their implementation (Martinson, 1974). A major group of research states a "nothing-works"-attitude had been implemented in the past, which only led rehabilitative components serve as a placeholder for humane reasons (Cullen & Gilbert, 1982; Nelissen, 1998, Cullen & Genderau, 2001). Nowadays, however, a contrary movement is noticeable with more programs and institutions orientating on the "what-works"-body of research which especially focuses on rehabilitative and skills-building interventions (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; MacKenzie & Farrington, 2015). It also is known that re-offending cannot be reduced by implementing a "one size fits all"-approach and therefore rather needs individualized case assessment on researchbased principles which is the fundament of the "what-works"-movement (Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2005). Within this "what-works"-attitude, there have been numerous criminological studies focusing on which factors heighten the effectiveness of programs or certain interventions. Amongst others, the role of hope also seems to play an important role (Ronel & Elisha, 2011).

Snyder, Irving & Anderson (1991) define hope as a positive motivational state that is based on a sense which is interactively derived of successful agency (also called willpower) and of the pathways to meet goals (also called waypower). Thus, agency is the motivational component of thought that starts and maintains action directed towards a goal and pathway describes the perception that effective routes towards that goal can be developed. Hope has been shown to be applicable to the performance at, amongst others, the workplace (Youssef & Luthans, 2007). High-hope individuals are more likely to constructively deal with setbacks, find alternative routes towards their goals and are overall more productive (Adams, Snyder, Rand, King, Sigmon, & Pulvers, 2002; Peterson & Byron, 2007). Low-hope people, however, are less likely to pursue alternative pathway thoughts and strategies and therefore less likely to

commit to change (Peterson & Byron, 2007; Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003). While hope theory can be applied in various organizational domains, on a more individual level hope also relates to initiate behavior change.

The perception of capability to change is paramount and when applied to sexual offenders, a significant predictor of recidivism is the confidence in their ability to change (Hanson & Harris, 2000). When aiming for a redress of offender's macro-level socio-economic inequalities, the presence of hope is thus essential. Moulden et al. (2007) state, hope has a motivational role for change as well as perseverance. Therefore, experiencing and enhancing hope plays a crucial role on individual, collective and organizational levels to positively and proactively effect change (Snyder, 2000) which also accounts as important for institutional structures as the Dutch penal and care system. If people cannot envision change in the future, they are less likely to invest and attain their goals. For this reason, a focus of future perspectives of the Dutch penal and care system is important. Future perspectives may guide possible improvements for or solutions to existing problems of the Dutch penal and care system. Stakeholders who can envision change are high in hope and more likely to attain that envisioned goal as their motivation is high.

The positive criminological perspective has been valued in forming a more holistic view onto the Dutch penal and care system. The lack of room for optimism and change inevitably causes a reduction of responses, insight or knowledge. This accounts not only for the one's involved in the system but also the offenders themselves which is caused by a one-dimensional view.

Amongst others, Frid (2008) researched preventing factors, finding that it helps prisoners to create an inner order in their world. In this world feelings of confusion, anger or alienation that overshadow their daily lives are reduced. These factors are also combined with paying more attention to their families which can generally result in behavior change and taking responsibility for their own life. Strengths-based approaches for reintegration which are focusing less on risk assessment and more on strengths-based assessment models also have a supporting influence on the prisoners (Hunter, Lanza, Lawlor, Dyson & Gordon, 2016). The Good Lives Model by Ward and Gannon (2006) of positive criminology is an example of such an assessment model. Therefore, the positive criminological approach which is in analogy to the positive psychological approach and also focuses on "what-works", emphasizes how positive experiences can prevent a person at risk of showing deviant or criminal behavior.

In sum, the Dutch penal and care system has exemplary incarceration rates compared to other countries' rates. Yet, recidivism rates still illustrate room for improvement. The development from a punitive penal system to also focusing on rehabilitation has risen ambiguous opinions in the beginning. However, research showed the effectiveness of rehabilitative measures included in the Dutch penal and care system. It sometimes seems problematic to establish a combination of both respective objectives. Contrary to the "nothing works"-attitude against rehabilitative measures, a counteractive approach of "what-works" has been established. This counteractive approach and also the focus onto positive criminology lead to the establishment of certain theories researching factors or processes that can help in preventing people from showing deviant or criminal behavior as well. There is also focused on smaller, more rehabilitative living houses which accompany a detainees' rehabilitation under supervision. However, quantitative research does not do justice to establish a holistic picture of the Dutch penal and care system. Since the Dutch penal and care system, build up on a basis of teamwork through many different facilities, the interplay of interventions and programs and employee and prisoner contacts, a more holistic approach is needed in order to make implications about the future perspectives of the penal and care system. The state of the art is also mostly focusing on single interventions and programs, which are useful in finding helpful or hindering factors but are almost always static To evade unilateral approaches, not only focusing on single stakeholder groups as just prisoners or professionals would therefore establish a fundament for a more complex and dynamic view onto the penal and care system. Such an approach ideally should address both the social and structural processes and their possibilities or impossibilities.

The aim of this study is to get a sophisticated and deep understanding of how a diverse group of stakeholders envisions the future of the Dutch penal and care system in general, but also their individual role within this system. It seems worthwhile to figure out on which basis the future perspectives of the stakeholders are formed and what nuances or counter voices can be derived from the future imagination of the system. Therefore, the following research question has been established:

How do stakeholders involved in the Dutch penal and care system imagine the future of the system and their own role in that system?

Finally, the practical goal of this study is to make interpretations, implications and suggestions for possible improvements for the Dutch penal and care system derived from future perspectives based on a large group of stakeholders. Understanding what the stakeholders

envision as important and how they form the future perspectives can lead towards an increase in success of the system. The study can reveal valuable insights into impairing factors for success. Furthermore, it can also yield important insights or reminders on a more personal level, so the stakeholders are able to consolidate willpower for action but also establish new pathways by envisioning a future perspective.

2 METHOD

2.1. Data Collection

2.1.1 *Setting*

The research was conducted during the international art exhibition event 'Hacking Habitat, Art of Control – Utrecht 2015-2016' where more than 80 artists showed their work about the growing influence of institutions and systems¹. The art manifestation was exposed in the former Wolvenplein prison in Utrecht. Within this art exhibition, the artist Olivia Glebbeek organized an open podium where creative thinkers and doers were invited to discuss the future of the Dutch penal and care system. The day consisted of short presentations of professionals involved with the penal and care system, a movie made by Olivia Glebbeek with an experience expert as protagonist and a 'Future Now Experience' focus group in which the group of participants was stimulated to creatively write and share their future perspectives. After registering for the podium, a mail was sent to the possible participants entailing a flyer of the days' schedule (Appendix A). This day of discussion and workshops took place on the 29th of April 2016.

2.1.1. Participants and Recruitment

The participants of the current study were recruited by artist and organizer of the event Olivia Glebbeek who invited people of her network from varying involvements within the penal and care system. The current study data was purposively sampled. All of the participants have been personally involved with the Dutch penal and care system. During the focus group session, a total of 34 participants were recruited with an age range from 27 to 67 (M 45.5, SD 11.86). The number of included participants was N=25, who have allocated their Letters from the Future for research reasons. The focus group consisted of a great variety of stakeholders. A great heterogeneity was reached by composing the focus group out of many varying professions: 5

¹ For further information visit: https://hackinghabitat.com/nl/ or https://www.facebook.com/pages/Hacking-Habitat/193367317701250?fref=ts

experience experts (ex-prisoners and/or relatives of ex-prisoners), 4 artists of which some are directly involved with the art exhibition and others also relatives of experience experts, 2 researchers involved within the context of penal and care, 3 professionals involved with day care centers, 7 professionals involved with reintegration (as debt relief officers, budget control agents, housing agents, social workers), 1 psychotherapist and 3 professionals involved within the penal and care system (as police agents). As part of another research project based on the future perspectives of the Dutch penal and care system, a questionnaire was also completed by the participants. However, this questionnaire was not of further use for this report. The ethics committee of the faculty of behavioral sciences of the University of Twente approved of the research (ethics approval number: 16132).

2.1.2. Procedure

The flyer that the participants received beforehand, contained information about the content and goal of the podium. A week before the art exhibition, participants again received an email with a Qualtrics Survey-link. This link provided the participants with information about contact details of the researcher. Furthermore, the participants were asked to complete a form which gathers biographical information as their function or role within the Dutch penal and care system (Appendix B).

The 'FutureNowExperience' was hosted by Dr. Anneke Sools which provided this study with the participants' future perspectives. Sools, Tromp and Mooren (2013) stated that the 'FutureNowExperience' is a focus group methodology (as cited by Sools, 2020) which has been used in this research. Therefore, the participants were divided into four groups which were very heterogeneous and varied on grounds of their participant's involvement with the Dutch penal and care system. Furthermore, it has been paid attention to separate parties of a working collaboration from different functions (for example experience expert and rehabilitation officer) within the penal and care system into different groups. This guaranteed for the development of an open and creative setting in which participants feel free to interact openly. Dr. Anneke Sools shortly introduced the exercise and started with a guided meditation practice. Sools asked questions as 'What is the ideal penal and care system to you?' to stimulate participants in imaging the ideal penal and care system for themselves. After that, the focus group was provided with a pen and a sheet of paper stapled to a carbon paper so a direct copy can be created. The exercise of imagining an ideal future for the Dutch penal and care system was accomplished by individually writing a letter from the future. Approximately 20 minutes were given to write this letter from the future. After finishing the letters, the participants were

stimulated to share those letters with each other and mention points of inspiration for example. The four groups created a collage each about the penal and care system with the aid of pens, scissors, magazines and glue. Those collages were hung up and one representative of each group presented it. On basis of those collages, the focus group discussed the current state of the Dutch penal and care system and what improvements can be made. The focus group session closed up after a general speech and reviewing the art exhibition.

As participation in this research was on voluntary basis, participants who were not willing to provide their letter marked the sheet with a red dot sticker. Data analyzed and displayed was handled in confidential manner and processed anonymously. The letters were transcribed from the handwritten format. After having established a computerized form, the letter was translated into the English language. All documents were then saved encrypted.

2.2. Material: Letter from the Future

Writing the Letter from the Future had been instructed by illustrating to concentrate on the future self or someone/something else that should be in focus. Initially, the method of future imagination has been particularly used for the research area of health psychology (Sools, Tromp & Mooren, 2015) for acquiring knowledge of the imaginations of participant's personal futures. For criminological research of future perspectives, this narrative futuring method is suitable as the letters of the future allow mapping a variety of future imaginations with close relation to everyday life (Sools, et al., 2015). Since changes within the Dutch penal and care system are frequently adapted, the method offers a variety of valuable forms of future perspectives. However, for an optimal fit for the purpose of this study the instructions of the letters from the future have been modified. The participants were told to imagine themselves stepping into a time machine. They were instructed to write the letter from a future time and to a recipient both open to choice in the context of the Dutch penal and care system. The participant is stimulated by asking to write about the imaginations vividly. There were no restrictions whether the letter has to be in a personal or collective stance. Dr. Anneke Sools was present during the whole 'FutureNowExperience' focus group session and therefore able to instruct and further support the respondents with eventual questions, stimulation in sharing experiences and reflections, reading out and listening to the letters (Sools, 2020).

As a narrative futuring method, the Letter from the Future is advantageous because it allows to map a variety of future imaginations which are in close relation to everyday life (Sools et al., 2015) and asks for minimal time consumption. Moreover, the method does not require

any specific writing skills (Sools, Tromp & Mooren, 2015) which made every letter collected and provided for the research suitable and meaningful.

2.3. Data Analysis

For data analyses, it is chosen for a comparative, storyline analysis based on Murray & Sools (2015). They have established a step-by-step guide to narrative analyses, which forms the fundament of the analysis applied to the letters from the future. However, this guide was modified in the execution of steps for the purpose of this study (see Table 1). Therefore, the Letters from the Future were exclusively analyzed by means of storyline and comparative analyses, as these two analyses allow to analyze each letter regarding its elements, but also to map the letters of the participants without losing its context and background.

Table 1. Adjusted Step-by-Step Guide to Narrative Analysis.

Part	Step		
	Introduction 1.	1.	Formulate case title
1.		2.	Establish overview of story
		3.	Formulate storyline title
II.	Storyline analysis	4.	Identify and describe storyline elements and
	, , ,		breach
III.	Comparative analysis of stories	5.	Make comparison of similarities and differences
			between stories based on storyline elements
		6.	Pattern into story types and eventually subtypes
		7.	Describe narrative elements of story
			type/subtypes and assign respective prototype
		8.	Write multivoiced narrative summary of story
			types/subtypes

Source: based on Murray & Sools (2015, p.139)

In the following paragraph, the step-by-step guide is described in more detail:

Part I, Steps 1 to 3: Introduction

Firstly, each letter of the future was carefully read, and a case title was assigned. On grounds of the broad overview of the story the letter entails, a storyline title was assigned.

Part II, Step 4: Storyline analysis.

Secondly, the storyline analysis was performed via a pentad of storyline elements (Fig. 1). These storyline elements are divided into agent, purpose, setting, act/events and means/helpers which reveal information about the story's structure. *Agent* addresses the main character of the letter. The agent needs to be distinguished from the narrator who is telling the story as the agent is the one in action. A storyline can also entail more than one agent or a switch of agents. *Purpose, Intention, desired* or *feared goal* is another element. It describes the purpose driving the agent in the story and can be expressed explicitly or implicitly. *Setting* describes the environment in which actions take place. This includes the physical environment as well as the emotional and psychological state of the agent. *Act* and *Event* both describe actions of the agent, however, they distinguish the way those actions are performed. An act is an action performed due to the desires of the agent, whereas an event is a response to or of external circumstances. Therefore, acts are active, and events are passive. Consequently, acts and events can be used to distinguish the extent of the agent's control in a situation. Another element is called *Means* or *Helpers*. It describes matters helping or hindering the intentions of the story. Those means include tools, people or circumstances for example.

Besides those five elements, a storyline also contains a *Breach* which describes an imbalance between two elements of the story. Thereby, the breach connects elements and conveys the motivations behind the story itself. The breach can be assessed implicitly or explicitly. For example, it could be expressed in the inability of the agent to reach a certain goal with his currently available means or also a lack of resources available to the agent to reach a certain goal.

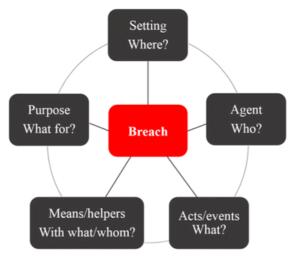


Fig.1 Pentad of storyline elements. Source @Anneke Sools, Storylab University of Twente (inspired by Burke, 1969)

While analyzing each letter for the respective storyline elements, it is tried to stay as close to the written text as possible. Therefore, the letter sentences were first coded with different abbreviations for each explicit element. However, in case the narrator was not addressing an element explicitly but rather implicitly protruded this, it was also noted.

Part III, Step 5: Comparative analysis.

Next, the letters were compared of similarities and differences between stories based on their storyline elements (Part III, Step 5). The patterning into story types was established around a certain element of the story and further divided into subtypes based on the distinction of that element. The consequent subtypes were summarized on basis of their respective narrative storyline elements (Part III, Step 8). Therefore, multivoiced narrative summaries of the subtypes were established by combining sentences of the patterned letters which described elements of the respective subtype. A prototypical letter which shared the most characteristics was assigned for the respective subtypes (Part III, Step 8) and also displayed after the elements of the storyline analyses in the result section.

This is a good method to figure out where participants see impairments and abilities for improvements within the Dutch penal and care system. Storyline analysis yields insight on elements that might be lacking but also on others that are being vividly described. It places the experience made into context and checks for the reason that just this experience is made and considered for placing it within the storyline.

3 RESULTS

Stakeholders imagination of the future Dutch penal and care system

The letters could be patterned into two story types. These two story types display the stakeholders' different future imaginations of the Dutch penal and care system which are derived through varying numbers of letters that will be explained below.

Story type 1 envisions an *Internal Change within the Dutch penal and care system* and is acquired from N=13 stakeholder letters. This story type can further be distinguished into two subtypes which yield information of the starting point where the change should be executed:

- (1) a change of collaboration derived from N=4 letters and
- (2) a change towards applying a more rehabilitative approach derived from N=9 letters.

Story type 2 envisions a *Discontinuation of Prisons* and is acquired from N=12 stakeholder letters. This story type can further be distinguished into two subtypes that form the fundament for the execution of discontinuation:

- (1) a societal change derived from N=7 letters;
- (2) a purely rehabilitative alternative for prisons which is derived from N=3 letters and

For story type 2, a third subtype was initially found which is derived from N=2 letters. This subtype is a mixture of the two subtypes namely envisions a societal change and purely rehabilitative alternative for prisons. Therefore, this subtype is not separately explained. Only new information is explained under the associated respective elements of the other two subtypes of story type 2. Furthermore, only elements important to the research questions will be explained in the result section.

The result section will start with a broad introduction of the two story types "Internal Change" (3.1) and "Discontinuation of prisons" (3.2). The respective subtypes will be explained separately starting with the multivoiced narrative summary, followed by the storyline analysis. The storyline elements of each subtype will be presented in chronological order as agent, purpose, setting, acts/events, means/helpers and the breach. Finally, a prototypical letter of each subtype will be presented.

There is no clear distribution of the stakeholder's letters regarding their position within the penal and care system. Both story types consist of letters written by ex-offenders, relatives of ex-offenders, reintegration officers and police agents. However, story type 1 consists of all letters written by researchers and top-600 employees, whereas story type 2 consists of the letters written by the artists and psychotherapist.

3.1 Story type 1: Internal Change (N=13)

These letters have the shared characteristic of envisioning an internal change within the future Dutch penal and care system. Even though all story type 1 letters have the vision of an internal change in the future system in common, the change differs and can be patterned in either being in relation to a change of integral collaboration (subtype 1) from N=4 letters or a change in the approach as foundation of the Dutch penal and care system from N=9 letters (subtype 2) which explains the division of the story type into two subtypes. Nonetheless, the letters of this story type share the presence of imaging a system with components of incarceration and

rehabilitation. The stakeholder's letters also show commonalities regarding an imbalance between the two elements 'means' and 'purpose'.

3.1.1 Subtype 1: Establishing Integral Collaboration (N=4)

Multivoiced Narrative Summary

The collaboration is too fragmented now, everyone is just doing their own thing - that is what I want to change. Specialism is often the reason for many different agreements, fragmentation. Therefore, I want to tell you about the penal and care system I am working in right now. No case management at 1 point but during a long term period. This case management is integral and a director carries ultimate responsibility and is responsible to prevent working across purposes and signalize system errors. It is a joint effort to change, letting each other know what one needs to get one's work done, to get supported, knowledge is important, but more essential is respect. For this reason, I am sending you an update about the past week. I went to Ikea with Maarten for a job interview on Monday. It went that well that he got accepted straight away. Good, right! With the reintegration officers, it is agreed upon that he only needs to get in touch with them once in a month. The debt relief starts right away, and all debts are going to be incorporated. THIS collaboration guarantees that the systems are working less across purposes or include too many consultants in 1 case. The municipality needs to support him and is responsible for the monitoring.

Level 1: Storyline analysis

Agent

In this subtype, the agent displays a person involved or affected by the collaboration of the working partners within Dutch penal and care system. Usually, this agent is employed by the penal and care system and mostly operates within the narrator's profession.

On the one hand, the agent describes how work specifically for themselves will be optimally executed ("I am sending you an update of the past week. I went to Ikea with Maarten (name anonymized) for a job interview on Monday. [...] Good, right! With the reintegration officers, it is agreed upon that he only needs to get in touch with them once in a month [...]"). On the other hand, the agent describes how the organizational structure of the Dutch penal and care system should be build up in general. Usually, the letters apply varying agents in control. Some letters switch from having an individual agent as "I" or "the director" to "we" or "this collaboration" as collective agents. A specific example of the usage of individual as well as

collective agents is: "I am not the specialist but keep the overview [...] I often use humor [...] We are clearly and in time letting each other know as something is not working (yet)[...]". An example for a collective agent is: "The director must be able to activate all partners with each other and to let them work within 1 INTEGRAL plan. This includes formal and informal network. But also the officer, lawyer and police agent. THIS collaboration guarantees that the systems are working less across purposes [...] The director carries ultimate responsibility and prevents working in a vacuum [...]".

Combining varying agent stances can be interpreted as a certain interdependence of the collaboration partners. The effort of the individual agent might depend on the joint effort and collaborative quality. This interpretation would be in line with the letter about the agent's work progress update. In this letter, the agency can be interpreted as lost after fulfilling the agent's job and transferred onto the next agent. The integrality of collaboration depends on the cumulative success of the working partners. However, this interpretation might also entail a lack of responsibility or autonomy of the individual agent to reach a desires state. For example, the performance of high-quality work.

Purpose

Typically, letters of this subtype all contain an internal change in relation to integral collaboration. This can be done through a structural change of reallocation of responsibility to one case worker. But the internal change can also evolve around transparency of collaboration and communication. In three of the four stories, the purpose in the story has been reached and already influenced the setting respectively.

One letter displays a change of collaboration based on the case workers who are working less across purposes, but also a change of the structure of the system as one person is assigned for the position of the director which carries all responsibility for that case. "The director must be able to activate all partners with each other and to let them work within 1 INTEGRAL plan. This includes formal and informal network. But also the officer, lawyer and police agent. THIS collaboration establishes that the system is less working across purposes [...] The director carries the ultimate responsibility and is responsible to avert working cross purposes and signalize system errors [...].". This subtype also includes a medical letter in which the narrator's brain development is the agent. The agent notices fragmentation as a result of a lack of transparent integral collaboration and wishes that to be changed: "[... brain development] is only able to be established when collaborating with biologist, psychologist and neurologists.] It is too fragmented nows, leveryone is just doing their own thing [-] that is what

I want to change. In the future." The agent clearly states that his desire has not been fulfilled, yet. Another letter rather implicitly describes a developmental process about establishing a good collaboration: "It is a joint effort to change, letting each other know what one needs to get one's work done, to get supported, knowledge is important, but more essential is respect. I often use humor to relativize things, relaxation is necessary for a new development. [...] Growth often comes along with falling and getting back up."

Setting

Letters of this type mostly take place within the Dutch penal and care system. Usually, the setting changed towards the ability of establishing an integral plan. Thereby, the purpose has been reached and the setting adopted.

The setting within the system then evolves around an improvement of the employees communication and transparency of work within the system ("[...] no secret agendas. [...] Making agreements is surely necessary [...]") or a new way of allocating responsibility by having introduced a new case management which allocates responsibility to just one person's scope ("No case management at 1 point but during a long term period. This case management is integral [...] The director carries ultimate responsibility and is responsible to avert working cross purposes and signalize system errors [...] The municipality needs to support [him] and has the monitoring").

The lack of temporal information can be interpreted as uncertainty when the setting will be transformed exactly. Therefore, the narrator might not be able to depict an exact future time.

Acts/Events

The acts and events of those letters typically describe what the agent is doing in the future and are quite differently described in terms of their preciseness to one another. Many narrators envision acts or events on basis of their profession or status within the Dutch penal and care system. Some acts are specific actions like: "I went to Ikea with Maarten (name anonymized) for a job interview on Monday. It went that well that he got accepted straight away."), or "I am using humor many times [...]". Most of the times, however, acts are narrowly defined. The distinction between acts, events and helpful or hindering means and the setting is unclear.

The lack of precise information regarding acts and events can be explained by means of the interrelations and interdependence of the progress of one another within the current penal and care system. This would be in line with the interpretation of lacking information of the element "agent". Since the agent mostly switches within the letter from individual to collective stance the acts, events and means might be influenced the same way and are therefore only

limited described. Another interpretation of the lack of precise information regarding acts and events is also in relation with the lack of agency. The narrator does not attach importance to who is doing what, as long as it is changed. Thereby, an explanation can be given for the lack of agency and act, but in turn also for the more precise information of the setting as this is being changed by simply reaching the purpose.

Means/Helpers

On the one hand, matters that ease collaboration with each other are helpful means, too. A simplified collaboration is typically established through joint effort and clear communication regarding, agreements, plans, meetings and decision-making for example ("Making agreements is surely necessary [...]"). On the other hand, as hindering experienced is the privacy regulation of the penal and care system, which impedes a good collaboration because not all information can be shared: "The privacy should not be an obstacle in the progress of the project.". Furthermore, an increase in allocating responsibility is also mentioned as implicitly mentioned as helpful (as cited above).

Furthermore, a lack of autonomy and lack of joint effort might be implicitly interpreted as means that hinder in establishing transparent and integral collaboration. Even though, many means have only been implicitly stated as part of the purpose or setting, it might have been helpful to the agent. The lack of depiction might have the same origin as the lack of acts/events have. Because no clear agent is depicted, the letters have rather envisioned the elements as parts of the purpose or setting.

Breach

In this subtype "internal change in relation to integral collaboration", some letters lack clear information regarding the distinction of 'means' and 'acts'. Therefore, it only allows an interpretation of the location of the breach which might be located somewhere between the 'means' and the 'purpose'. The agents typically lack responsibility, autonomy for clear decision-making, and the system's structure of allowing transparent communication which results in a failure to reach the desired good collaboration between the working partners of the Dutch penal and care system. Because of the lack of available helpful means to reach a good collaboration, the assignment of specific agents cannot be made and also the acts of those agents remain unclear. The lacking sense of responsibility and autonomy might also explain setting and purpose however are described in more detail as this is out of the narrator's scope of responsibility.

Prototypical Letter

FUTURE NOW EXPERIENCE MY LETTER FROM THE FUTURE

Dear reader,

No case management at one time but during a long period of time. As long as necessary. This case management needs to be integral and not just including the visions of one authority in which the director of the case is working. The director needs to be provided with the possibility to share information with other authorities. The privacy should not be an obstacle in the progress of the project. The person is central and actively involved into the plan. The start depends on the state the client is in. The director must be able to activate all partners with each other and to let them work within 1 INTEGRAL plan. This includes formal and informal network. But also officer, lawyer and the police agent. THIS collaboration guarantees that the systems are working less across purposes or include too many consultants in 1 case. The goal has to be reducing recidivism jointly. The director carries ultimate responsibility and prevents working in a vacuum and signalize system errors. The municipality needs to support him and is responsible for the monitoring.

(name anonymized)

3.1.2 Subtype 2: Applying a more Rehabilitative Approach (N=9)

Multivoiced Narrative Summary

It is finally looked after you personally. Taken into account who you are and what works good for you. Finally, a good supervision after detention, preferably already before detention, to actually prevent it. For this reason, one can now adapt the rehabilitative approach and not always that menace of custodial sentence - the detention system has finally cleared the way for rehabilitative housing, which is an approach towards the individual. Now that I am 63 years old, I am able to support young people in rehabilitative working and thinking as experience expert. I envision a time travel into the future with the client. How do you want your life to be, what do you need form me, and what from other people?

This way, we have a humane penal/care system in which we particularly emphasize the search for strengths, talents, dreams of ex-prisoners and we do not look onto the past which is based on problems, risks and negative stuff. To solve a problem at its origin, you can avert the iteration

factor. This is one of the central points of the future criminal justice, being able to stimulate and beneficially use the pluralism of identity. By looking who you are and what works well for you.

Level 1: Storyline Analysis

Agent

In subtype 2, the agent is also depicted in an individual but also a collective stance. The agent is likely to not reach his goal by himself but rather needs support of other instances, like the community, society or penal and care system. Some storylines represent the collective agent in more abstract terms as 'it' ("It is finally looked after you personally. Taken into account who you are and what works good for you"). However, the agent is also described by simply using 'one': "For this reason, one can now adapt the rehabilitative approach [...]".

The usage of such undefined descriptions of the agent might again be interpreted as agents who lack autonomy or narrator's lack of considering and assigning a person, construct or concept as agent that can bring about the desired change of a more rehabilitative focused system. Mostly, the switch between the stances of the agents can be differentiated in terms of the agent as narrator, the agent as client/ex-prisoner and the agent as society, community or future justice system. However, to precisely differentiate the agents, there is not enough information and a lack of time to give an elaborate description or interpretation of those agents.

Purpose

Typically, letters of the subtype "internal change in terms of applying a more rehabilitative approach" are mostly preferring a more rehabilitative, positively oriented approach. Therefore, the penal and care system is wished to be less punitive: "Always that menace of custodial sentence [...]. Finally, a good supervision after detention, preferably already before [detention], to actually prevent it ". An example is for a more rehabilitative approach is: "The detention system has finally cleared the way for rehabilitative housing [...].". It is also imagined to be more individualized ("For this reason, one can now adapt the rehabilitative approach towards the individual"). In other letters, the penal and care system is desired to be more future-oriented ("But I envision a time travel into the future with [the client], the imagination. How do you want your life to be, what do you need form me, and what from other people?"). And again a few letters show a desire that the system is also more strengths-based and a more humane environment ("I hope that "we", whenever you read this letter, are having a humane penal/care system in which we particularly emphasize the search for strengths, talents, [and] dreams of exprisoners and we do not look onto the past which is based on problems, risks and negative stuff.

A strengths & future-oriented focus of the criminal justice am I therefore wishing for the future criminal justice.").

While one letter also mentions a reduction and prevention in recidivism ("To solve a problem at its origin, you can avert the iteration factor") as goal. This goal, however, does not seem to be the agent's purpose within the story world. The impression arises, that the purpose of the letter rather also functions as for that more general overall purpose of the penal and care system which, however, is not the purpose of the letter. Solving a problem at its cause is the already accomplished goal of the letter of the future, while averting the iteration factor is just the positive consequence of the accomplished goal. The prevention of relapses is described as a given goal. It rather implies that the starting point of rehabilitation needs to become the main goal to finally reach the goal of recidivism prevention and reduction. Another letter shows implicitly might aim for the agent to finally get control over his own life by building up a family, a house and a job and therefore, gets to break the circle of involvement with the penal and care system. It is not envisioned in the future agent's life anymore. The narrator's action of excluding the penal and care system in the letter of the future might be interpreted as envisioning a future in which the agent has won back control and autonomy over his life.

Setting

Letters of this type mostly take place within the Dutch penal and care system. However, besides one story which describes a situation within a living group of ex-offenders ("After having received an invitation, I am visiting a living group of ex-prisoners. I was asked to support one person of the group with [unreadable] the job search."), there is no further precise spatial information given in the other letters. Some stories do include a precise date in the future, while others only mention a year or totally lack temporal information. Some letters imply that the future has been long-awaited for: "Finally it is the time. It is finally looked after you personally." or "Finally it is the time. People experience their own problems of whatever origin in their own unique way. For this reason, one can now adapt the rehabilitative approach [...]." Stories where no precise temporal information is given, a setting where a psychological or emotional state that was wished for has also finally been reached. Typical for that subtype, those letters mostly compare the new setting and its changes, developments, growth and advantages with the old setting, its fragmentation, punishments and threats of how it used to be ("Always that menace of custodial sentence [...]. Finally, a good supervision after detention, preferably already before [detention], to actually prevent it. Not directly bringing up detention, but firstly looking at what else is possible."). The difference between the old and new setting mostly contains that the new setting has adapted towards the desired goal. The new system of penal and care is described as offering more support. On organizational level, the ministry should offer more support, which results in a penal and care system that is less punitive and more rehabilitative instead. And because of this reason the individual agent mostly being an employee commands over more freedom to support prisoners/ex-prisoners as well.

For the element setting, one letter imagines a very different setting in the future. It is unclear whether and if at all, to which extent the Dutch penal and care system is involved. The letter states that "You did not want to know anything about the government" which is the only imagination that might be in relationship to the penal and care system. The setting then changes from being a junkie who never paid attention to "[...] now you have a house with a backyard, a pet, a wife and children." The letter can be interpreted in a way the agent did not bother about laws or rules in the past. The government, however, still had a positive or optimistic influence on the future somehow.

Acts/Events

The acts and events of those letters typically describe what the agent is doing in the future and many stakeholder letters are influenced by the position of the narrator within the penal and care system. Most letters show a differentiation of agents and their respective acts. It is mostly the penal and care system that is in control of the changes needed to for the agent positively influence his work: "The detention system has finally cleared the way for rehabilitative housing [...]I am 63 years old now and am able to support young people in rehabilitative working and thinking as experience expert". Another example is: "Dear rehabilitation officer, are you still busy trying to get your number of productions? And your contact frequencies? I am busy with very different things at the moment. How my client is doing [-] that is the question." The letter creates the impression of acting reproachful and adversarial towards the rehabilitation officer of the past, but also as proud of the tasks and approach involved in the future penal and care system. The varying acts of the different agents can be interpreted as the narrator's sense of dependence onto the structure of the penal and care system and the lack of actively controlling the work situation.

It is worth mentioning, that many letters depict an event of structural change of the penal and care system as necessity before active operation can be executed. One story illustrates the future on an individual level as: "He has to let go of his past [...] Let go of what is known. [...] I will go onto a journey into the future with him, the imagination.". This creates the impression that the reintegration officer can only start envisioning the future of the ex-offender after the

event of letting go of the past has happened. This is also applicable on a more general, societal level as in the following storyline with an insight that penal law has to be focused on rehabilitation, where a shift to a different, defined as "harder criminality" had to happen before the society or penal law was able to change ("[...] the stiffening of the penal law that was followed by an opposite movement. [...] Luckily, the insight that penal law has to be focused on development and preparation arose [...]". As the letters involve different agent stances, the acts and events are also varying from agent to agent. What one agent might experience as controllable and active participation, might be an event that is out of one's control or even a setting for another agent.

Means/Helper

In many letters, the agents depict means that have not been established in the past but are present in their depicted future time. Helpful means are mostly employed by the penal and care system itself and are the application of a more holistic approach by also including the ex-offender's environment, gaining more autonomy and adjusting the financial system.

Helpful means that are in line with the results of subtype 1 are related to gaining more autonomy and/or responsibility as implicitly illustrated in this letter: "People influenced or involved in conflicts are owners [of those] again. Needs assessed [from all possible sides] of the one's involved are giving direction to what is happening next.". Another example is: "Looked into who you are and what works well for you". In some letters other instances involved with the Dutch penal and care system also have been adjusted as: "The ministry has adapted the financial system". The differentiation of helpful and hindering means is hard to establish, possibly due to the switches between but also lack of assigning specific agents.

Breach

In the subtype "Internal change in terms of applying a more rehabilitative approach" the breach is typically located between the 'means' and the 'purpose'. The stakeholders experience the punitive component of the current penal and care system as hindering and rather envision the application of a more rehabilitation focused approach. However, detention and punishment should still be part of the system but not having the status of being first option. The stakeholders rather illustrate the application of means that are focused on the ex-prisoner's future, on strengths and on an individualized, holistic approach. The current system seems like it is not doing justice for a holistic application but rather responds restrictively focusing on one side which is punitive or threatening although the purpose is to mainly apply rehabilitative

approaches. The letters imply that the agents are ready to commit and establish the change in the present, but the means currently used are in their way for actually performing the change.

Prototypical Letter

FUTURE NOW EXPERIENCE MY LETTER FROM THE FUTURE

Dear rehabilitation officer,

2049

Are you still busy trying to get your number of productions? And your contact frequencies? I am busy with very different things at the moment. How my client is doing, that is the question. He has to let go of his past but has not yet built up a new life. I am aware of the fact that, in this moment, he is living in a vacuum. He needs to let go of what is known. I know that I have to pay attention in order to prevent relapse. My methods yield clear instructions for this. The ministry has adapted the financial system for this reason. My client and I are not talking about things that are not allowed. Instead, I will go onto a journey into the future with him, the imagination. How do you want your life to look alike, what do you need from me and what from others? We are going to organize and realize this. No one is settled on a score of productions or contact frequencies anymore. The result counts.

Regards, (name anonymized)

3.2 Story type 2: Discontinuation of Prisons (N=12)

These story type letters have the shared characteristic of envisioning a future in which prisons are being discontinued. The future visions the stakeholders have are based on and divided into either (1) a societal change (N=7), (2) a purely rehabilitative alternative for prisons (N=2) and (3) a societal change and a purely rehabilitative alternative for prisons (N=3). As the latter subtype consists of combined results of the first and second subtype, results of subtype 3 will not be further illustrated. In this story type, the current penal system has been made redundant by either establishing a rehabilitative alternative or a societal change took place prior or post to the discontinuation. As prisons do not exist in the imaginations of the 12 stakeholder letters,

the future they envision is optimally not punitive and also not spatially limiting individuals anymore. The letters mostly share the positioning of the breach to be between the elements 'means' and 'purpose'.

3.2.1. Subtype 1: A Societal Change (N=7)

Multivoiced Narrative Summary

At some point, we all got the insight. This is a hopeless way. We are 10 years apart of each other but that does not matter, we are in the Netherlands but that also does not matter. Past times, the past was a time of evaluating, judging and sentencing. Because yeah, in the past there was a penal system. And everyone had to adopt. But now, I landed in a time where me-you/dualism is abandoned. We simply stopped it. What a long way have we walked till now, in the future. We had to learn to let go of rivalry and corruption as inciter and internalize trust as our basic value. As humans now live in equality with each other, there is no police anymore. And because people have more time and less stress, they are helping each other more easily. This resulted in most of the health care institutions becoming unnecessary. We have had difficulties, but finally succeeded. Especially the judges have had difficulties. From one day to another they got fired and had to become rehabilitation officers. There is no client – rehabilitation officer anymore. At a given moment we are the one and then we are the other again. In 2016, it was unthinkable that this would have happen, that criminality would disappear.

Level 1: Storyline Analysis

Agent

Letters of this subtype use different stances of agents as well. In some letters, the narrator of the letter is also part of the collective agent. In line with the findings displayed in the letters of story type 1, the agent switches from 'I' to 'we': "By now I am doing this together with others. We are trying to connect with each other and one another.". In one letter, the narrator is also part of a collective agent that is built of all rehabilitation officers. This agent is fighting against another group which consists of all judges: "What a long way have we walked till now, in the future. Especially the judges have had difficulties. From one day to another they got fired. All of them became rehabilitation officers. [...] And the rehabilitation officers have enjoyed it, their work continuously became easier. [...] and this is how I got here, to the warm island near Uruguay.". The narrator might want to create the impression that the judges are agents but as

well hindering means for reaching the desired goal. In other letters, the narrator is the only agent in the letter and describes the change that has happened without depicting the agent who performs it. The narrator broadly introduces the recipient by giving information regarding the setting or events that just happened: "I don't know which year it is, but I also don't bother. We are in the Netherlands, but that also does not matter. All borders are open, and many different cultures are living together. Prisons do not exist anymore, and people have lesser problems because everyone has a basic income and people work as what they like or think of as important." Regarding this lack of agent description, different interpretations can be made. First, the lack might be caused as a result of not knowing who might be able to perform that change. Second, the narrator does not emphasize the agent as it is not important who carries out the purpose as long as it is carried out. Or third, the agent includes every human and therefore the narrator chose the term people. Even though the latter interpretation might be most likely given the societal change as purpose of the letters, the narrator then also lacks the description of acts. In general, the agent in the letters of this subtype is not able to reach the desired outcome alone, and it can therefore be interpreted that the collective stance is used as an aid to perform.

Purpose

The purposes illustrated by the letters are varying from one another. They can be patterned as a form of societal change in general, however, this societal change is diversely depicted. Some letters explicitly and implicitly envision a society without any judgements ("I landed in a time where me-you/dualism is abandoned.[...] The judgmental system in which we used to live in is passé"). Moreover, some envision a society that lives in equality ("There is no police anymore, not necessary as humans live in equality with each other" and "Personal happiness became equal to collective happiness."). Other stories also imagine that there is no criminality anymore in the future whether this is in the personal development of life ("Drugs, criminality, fit] was a daily ritual. Now everything is different. I have a well-paid position [...]") or societal development ("In 2016, it was unthinkable that [it] would happen that criminality would disappear."). The majority of letters depicts the purpose to be reached in the future. However, one letter rather depicts the purpose as not yet reached and can also not imagine what the change would look like: "That is when humans do get involved or involved more easily, and everyone knows that it is a process, a development, which asks us to use all manpower that we have to step forward into the unknown. Because we never know where we will end up, as for example I don't know how this will be going". Therefore, all letters envision societal change in general,

however, it is not possible to make a uniform conclusion about the exact societal change that is envisioned.

Setting

The letters mostly give elaborate depictions of the setting in which the imaginations take place. Typically, the setting is placed in the Netherlands, after a societal progression has been performed which resulted out of or in the redundancy of the penal and care system. One narrator envisions to have moved to an island near Uruguay. However, the setting and action still takes place in the Netherlands. No consensus can be established out of the letters about the chronology of what changed first as many letters do not envision the pathway. Other letters state that a discontinuation resulted out of the societal change: "Suddenly, we abandoned neoliberalism and looked around astonishingly. What now? [...] Personal happiness became equal to collective happiness. [...] We had to learn to let go of rivalry and corruption as inciter [...] We had to learn to no longer live in a society on basis of mistrust, but we had to internalize trust as basic value." This part can be interpreted that the societal change which is based on trusting each other results in the discontinuation of prisons. Another possible future envisions the two changes as parallel events: "Past times, the past was a time of evaluating, judging and sentencing. Because yeah, in the past there was a penal system. And everyone had to adopt. [...] Especially the judges have had difficulties. From one day to another they got fired. All of them became rehabilitation officers. It was difficult for them to not sentence and evaluate, but do the opposite and listen, join in and think.". In this letter, judges are being fired and transformed into rehabilitation officers which makes penal system redundant and forbids judgements on societal level.

Acts/Events

Many letters start with an event that needs to happen before the agent can get active: "Suddenly, we all got that insight. This is a hopeless way." Only after this event has happened, the agent further imagines: "Suddenly, we abandoned neo-liberalism and looked around astonishing. We learned we have to let go of rivalry and corruption as inciter and behave differently to the humans around us.". Another example where the collective agent is actively involved in the societal change process after the event of abandoning dualism is: "I am in a time where meyou/dualism is abandoned. We simply stopped it. [...] We are meeting each other for getting advice, to be heard, to rant and then go our own way again". In another letter, the inactive-active distribution of the agent is depicted the other way around. The agent has no control of societal change as it has its roots in natural selection: "Needy, egoistic and mean people slowly

died out which resulted in a nice distribution of wealth." However, the agent also states that people are now helping each other, and the system had to be discontinued because of the redundancy: "because people have more time and less stress, they are helping each other more easily. Most of the health care institutions became unnecessary.".

Means/Helpers

All letters miss any description of helpful means while some letters offer room for interpretation of the means that might have been hindering in establishing the discontinuation. As many letters describe the future setting quite vividly, detailed information is given about what the future looks like. This might be a reason for not explicitly describing hindering means anymore. What can be interpreted is that the narrators might have envisioned means as prisons, punishments or judgements/judges as hindering for example. Those are the components discontinued in the future setting: "Past times, the past was a time of evaluating, judging and sentencing. Because yeah, in the past there was a penal system. And everyone had to adopt.". As all letters envision a discontinuation of prisons and a societal change, it can be interpreted that some punitive components of the system and also some components of the society hinder in reaching a desired outcome: "Suddenly, we abandoned neo-liberalism and looked around astonishingly". Even though information about hindering means can be gathered implicitly, information of helping means is also lacking. A possible explanation for this lack might be that the agent does not know with which tool or helper the desired outcome can be reached or what the agent might need to be able to perform a change as consequence of a lack of imagination or control over the situation.

Breach

The breach in this subtype is typically located between the elements 'means' and 'purpose'. As letters are inconsistent in providing clear information about the means, it impedes the location of the breach explicitly. In some letters the lack of elaborate descriptions of the means that are helping or hindering can give advice that the breach is implicitly positioned there. The lack of information about the breach might be explainable in the complexity of the letters. Fundamental for those letters are the discontinuation and a whole new way of society and living together. The narrator can envision a future setting, the purpose of the future setting and how the agents act and are involved within this setting. However, the narrator is unsure of what might lead to this new system and society of the future. Not only lacking knowledge of what might help, but also lacking experience of being helped, lacking a voice that is heard or the lack of control of accomplishing might be possible explanations why narrators lack to provide information. Nonetheless, even though the means seem to be unknown, the purpose of the letters is reached.

Prototypical Letter

FUTURE NOW EXPERIENCE MY LETTER FROM THE FUTURE

Dear reader,

We are 10 years apart from each other. I am in a time where meyou/dualism is abandoned. We simply stopped it.

There is no client – rehabilitation officer anymore. At a given moment we are the one and then we are the other again. We are meeting each other for getting advice, to be heard, to rant and then go our own way again. There is no judgement, no good or bad.

Education has changed: no prices, no grades, no competition. But research relating to the moon, cultures, history and agriculture. The judgmental system we used to live in is passé. And education was the first step for this.

3.2.2. Subtype 2: A Rehabilitative Alternative for Prisons (N=3)

Multivoiced Narrative Summary

Big grey walls separate him from this meeting. My brother who vanished behind barbwire. It was so weird that people who needed treatment were locked up in prisons ten years ago. Today, it is 2026 and the house has been finalized. The big grey walls have disappeared. No little grey cells, no bars. Everything we wanted is there. It became some sort of living community. Even pleasant together. Now offenders have a choice: they can either temporarily live in a strictly structured environment which resembles the prisons of the past or they can choose their own approach. When you come living here, you immediately become part of the group. Here, there is much room for creativity, work, gardening and sport. Also, all rehabilitation officers and instances involved are coming to you if they receive a call and if needed even all together show up. Everyone in the house is a mate of someone and has a mate in someone. I am still working as rehabilitation officer and coach people in establishing and executing their own approach of rehabilitation. The atmosphere, respect and self-esteem are fantastic within the house.

Level 1: Storyline Analysis

Agent

Both letters illustrate the agents involved in the new setting. Typically, the narrator is still working as rehabilitation officer and (ex-)prisoners are depicted as agents. The agent is being described as not belonging into the system ("Addicts, psychiatric patients and intellectual disabled people. Everyone who actually does not belong into the penal system and rather needed care".). However, this letter depicted two further agents which are all working together and profiting from each other within the new rehabilitative alternative. The second agent in this letter is a professional worker who also is the narrator of the story ("I myself do work in the Atelier and workplace to help residents with making all their fantasies reality.") and the third agent is the living group of the house which also adds value to work towards the desired outcome: "Everyone in the house is a mate of someone and has a mate in someone. You are helping each other with needs that you might have, you are caring for each other and hopefully also support each other in rehabilitation.".

Purpose

The purpose of the letters is mostly about winning (back) autonomy through the purely rehabilitative alternative. The setting itself, the discontinuation of the current penal and care system and instead the replacement with a more rehabilitative alternative is the desired outcome: "[In this small facility], they are allowed to autonomously work on their problems." Another example is: "Big grey walls separate him from this meeting. My brother who vanished behind barbwire. [...] 40 years later, big grey walls have disappeared. [...] No little grey cells, no bars. It became some sort of living community. Even pleasant together". It can be implied that the rehabilitative process is based on establishing a more autonomous and independent life of the agents.

Setting

The setting of this subtype is usually placed within the rehabilitative alternative for the current prisons. It is imagined that the future system is focused and based on rehabilitative measures in which no punishment or separation from society in the form that is currently used exists: "[...] Now they have a choice: they can either temporarily live in a strictly structured environment which resembles the prisons of the past or they can choose their own approach.". The other example is: "It is 2026 and the house is finalized. Everything we wanted is there. There is an

atelier, vegetable garden and even animals are there. [...] There is a workplace, a shop and web shop."

Acts/Events

While one letter does not give any information regarding possible acts or events that happen or are actively executed, the other letter describes acts vividly for each agent group. The former might be interpreted as the lack of control, responsibility or autonomy for the agent's behavior and that the future setting still possesses those. Furthermore, it can also be interpreted that the acts of the agent are not the essence of the letter, but rather the change of the setting through having established a more rehabilitative alternative for prisons is the main perspective onto the future. However, it could also mean that the narrator does not envision any possible acts or events happen to the agent. The letter imagines the agent's actions and events all aiming for unification and association by establishing a supportive, caring and autonomously living society which holds all responsibility and control. The ex-prisoner as agent "[...] will be part of the group straight away. You can decide for yourself what you contribute so the house keeps running.", which pioneered the way for the agent, however, only happened to him in first instance, that the agent will be involved straight away. It could be interpreted that everyone is welcome in the group and do not need any special skills to be accepted as residents. The second agent, the narrator, is leading the way to establish a future that the residents are working towards: "I myself do work in the Atelier and workplace to help residents with making all their fantasies reality.". The third agent, the residents and workers of the house, also care for each other and make sure that the house keeps running: "You are helping each other with needs that you might have, you are caring for each other and hopefully also support each other in rehabilitation.".

Means/Helpers

The means are depicted as being creative, having work, access to a garden and physical exercising ("There is much room for creativity, work, gardening and sport"). This might be interpreted as helping the ex-offenders to autonomously and independently work on the rehabilitation. Furthermore, the future setting allows residents to call in rehabilitation officers whenever they are needed ("All rehabilitation officers and instances involved are coming to you if they receive a call and if needed even all together"). This can also be interpreted in line with possessing more autonomy and being the own decision-makers. In the letters of this subtype, there are no explicit hindering means mentioned. However, the same interpretations can be made about the exclusion of hindering means. Those matters might have already been

removed since the setting has already been adopted and therefore, are of no relevance within the story world anymore.

Breach

The imbalance of two elements is implicitly positioned between the 'means' and 'purpose'. As the alternative form for prison has been implemented and the penal system has been discontinued, everything seems to function according the imagination of the narrator. The letters implicitly both envision a redistribution of autonomy and responsibility for the (ex)offenders own life, which is currently not given. The lack of responsibility and autonomy to independently act is therefore experienced as hindering in the current system, which results in the redistribution in the future system.

Prototypical Letter

FUTURE NOW EXPERIENCE MY LETTER FROM THE FUTURE

Dear (name anonymized),

It is 2026 now and the house has been finalized. Everything we wanted is there. There is an atelier, vegetable garden and even animals are there. When you come living here, you immediately become part of the group. You can decide for yourself what you contribute so the house keeps running. There is a workplace, a shop and web shop. We sell what we do not need. All rehabilitation officers and instances involved are coming to you if they receive a call and if needed even all together. Everyone in the house is a mate of someone and has a mate in someone. You are helping each other with needs that you might have, you are caring for each other and hopefully also support each other in rehabilitation. I myself do work in the Atelier and workplace to help residents with making all their fantasies reality. The house is also welcoming people who are not living there but feel like visiting us, wanting to help with activities inside the house. The atmosphere, respect and self-esteem are fantastic.

4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to get a sophisticated understanding of how this diverse group of stakeholders imagine the future of the Dutch penal and care system and their individual roles

within the system. On grounds of their future imagination, the study aims for interpretations, implications and suggestions for possible improvements of the penal and care system.

In this study, two main story types could be identified. While the first story type describes an internal change within the system, the other story type rather imagines a discontinuation of prisons. Story type 1 has further been distinguished into two subtypes which either consist of establishing an integral collaboration or applying a more rehabilitative approach. Story type 2 can further be divided in two subtypes which either illustrate a societal change or a more rehabilitative alternative for prisons Regarding the distribution of the letters, no clear division of stakeholder groups and their functions is notable. Story type 1 consists of researcher letters, offender letters, reintegration officer letters and police agent letters. Story type 2 embraces all artist letters, offender letters, reintegration officer letters and psychotherapist letters. As the Dutch penal and care system functions on basis of hierarchies, this finding is quite remarkable. In this study, the varying forms of future perspectives cannot be mapped regarding those hierarchies. Instead, the patterned letters from the future of the Dutch penal and care system consist of many varying hierarchical positions and functions. This finding underlines the importance of researching diverse stakeholder groups as many varying opinions can be analyzed and patterned.

The breaches of all four subtypes are located between the elements 'means' and 'purpose'. Summed up, the stakeholders future perspectives all envision a structural change of the system to take place in the future. However, the breaches of the story and subtypes evolve explicitly or implicitly around varying imaginations. Stakeholders who envisioned an internal change of the system, mostly lack depictions of agency, actions and means to accomplish this internal change. A reason for this lack can be explained based on uncertainty of who has responsibility to initiate this change. Stakeholders might lack responsibility or autonomy to initiate this themselves. The stakeholders which envisioned the purpose of establishing an integral collaboration within the penal and care system mostly imagined helpful means as clear communication and joint effort. However, since the purpose has been reached and the future setting adopted, implications can be made that privacy and no clear agreements between the different parties of the working collaboration are hindering the purpose of establishing integrality in the current system. Stakeholders who envisioned a more rehabilitative approach within the current penal and care system, also envision an adaptation of the financial system. This could imply that financial support is not given in the current system to adopt a more rehabilitative approach. Stakeholders who depicted a discontinuation of the penal and care system, mostly lack descriptions relating the acts and means. Instead, they vividly described

the future setting which also might imply that the stakeholders lack a feeling of autonomy or control to initiate change. The stakeholders who envisioned a societal change which made the penal and care system redundant, implicitly state the goal of living in a future society of equality, free of judgements or where no criminality exists anymore. This would mean that the means as prisons, punishments and judgements applied by the current penal and care system are hindering to reach this societal progression. However, it remains unclear in which chronology the societal change and discontinuation of the penal and care system emerge. Stakeholders who depicted a purely rehabilitative approach which made the penal and care system redundant, imagine creativity, work, gardening and sports as helpful means to reach the purpose. This could implicitly also relate to a lack of control, autonomy and responsibility to decide about someone's own life as a purely rehabilitative approach and the means depicted involve a great amount of independence.

Comparing these findings of hindering means with the history of the Dutch penal and care system, a great overlap of the directions of past developments with the future perspectives is noticeable. The history of the Dutch penal and care system shows developments from dissatisfying humane conditions to accomplishing a more rehabilitative system. After more humane conditions had been established, reducing recidivism also became an important topic that has been focus of many studies. Thereby, rehabilitation became a valued mean to attain this goal. The penal and care system developed further towards a system being less punitive but also more restorative in the sense of reintegration into society. These developments are in line with the stakeholders' prevalent future perspectives. All stakeholders ideally envision a system that consists of less punitive components. Instead, the future system should even increase the focus on approaches relating to rehabilitation, future orientation, strengths-based and individualized working methods.

Meijer (2017) explains two different models of rehabilitation which can also be applied onto the two story types of narratives. While story type 1 rather consists of elements of the authoritarian and paternalistic model in which rehabilitation is used to provide skills which increase chances to obtain a reduction in recidivism towards benefitting the larger society, story type 2 is applicable with the second model which is humanistic and liberty centered. The focus lies on the individual's own insight and uses self-discovery obtained by dialogue. It also entails a cost analysis which provides assessment of the financial prospects. Moral, respect and autonomy are being exercised and, in general, the model forms a more individual focus. Story type 2 shows many similarities with this model as many letters envision more respect,

autonomy, a better atmosphere and self-esteem within, if it can be called collaboration as sometimes those borders are not given in the envisioned future.

Furthermore, the findings also show commonalities with positive criminology. First, most stakeholders envision a decrease in punishment or incarceration. Many of them find an alternative replacing the old prisons with a less delimitative alternative. Those alternatives can be compared to more individualized programs as already established. Second, nearly all desired future perspectives include conceptual positive criminological models or theories. The two story types can be differentiated regarding their respective representations of salutogenic approaches. First, future perspectives of story type 1 involve means and purposes based on future orientation, strengths-based approaches and inclusion of talents and dreams. Second, they also implicitly involve means as reallocating autonomy and responsibility within the system. While future perspectives patterned as story type 2 rather focus on acts and means that are social, caring and promoting unification and association between worker and offender. An alternative explanation for this found parallel with story type 2, might be the linkage of the discontinuation of the penal and care system to the societal progression. Societal change is seen as necessary for a decreased or discontinued punitive system (Ronel & Elisha, 2011; Meijer, 2017). Therefore, society also has to act accordingly to preserve this freedom of unnecessity of a penal system. Consequently, people might adapt towards behaving more social, caring and promote unification and association.

In positive criminology, the encounter with strengths and influences that are positively experienced are seen as establishing a distance between the individual from criminal and deviant aspects of life. Ronel and Elisha (2011) state: "A one-dimensional view inevitably reduces the repertoire of responses, knowledge, and insights, not only of those involved in the field but also of the offenders themselves, because it does not leave much room for optimism and change. "(p. 319). This statement has been present in all letters. The letters display a penal and care system with a more balanced view of reality in terms of allowing attention towards a salutogenic approach which can form resilience next to the traditional criminological approach. Ward and Marshall (2007) did also state that many stakeholders envision a more client centered and individualized approach towards a tailored rehabilitative change process. Therefore, a case formulation including pathogenic variables as the risk-need model but also accompanied by salutogenic factors gives a thorough understanding of what is important in the offenders rehabilitative process and successful reintegration.

4.1. Implications for future research and practice

To guarantee a successful establishment of case formulation and adaptation including salutogenic factors into the penal and care system in the future, the relevance of further positive criminological research here is highlighted. As stakeholders show a desire to adopt positive criminological models and theories, it is implied that stakeholders need to be better informed about the matters that support them in doing so. This study showed a lack or uncertainty of some stakeholders in imaging what the exact actions are, by whom they will be done and what helps them. Consequently, this can be interpreted as a lack of knowledge about the respective models or theories which comes along with not knowing who is allowed to perform those actions. For positive criminological practice, this could mean to further educate the stakeholders about salutogenesis and the possibilities of application within the penal and care system. It is also worth mentioning, that this study mostly encounters positive outcomes in which the desired future has been reached. However, even though the desired future outcome has been reached, inconclusiveness still remains about whether this is due to participant's hope. Sools (2020) noted the importance of analytically separating hope from agency to gather information about the linkage of these two. This would mean that the participant might feel hopeless which would link the lack or uncertainty of depicting agency, action and helpful means. A possible explanation for being hopeless but still envisioning a desired future setting might be due to the participants adherence of the researcher's instructions. This remaining inconclusiveness about the experience of hope for the desired future outcome offers the opportunity for future research. In this study, the participants mainly imagined future settings. This offers another opportunity for future research to gather more information about the pathway that stakeholders of the Dutch penal and care system envision towards their desired future. This might yield valuable implications for further research but also practice of positive criminology. As nearly all letters of the future involve salutogenic concepts and the past development of the penal and care system involve an increase of those, the demand of implications for the practice is given. The pathway might yield more insights into the agency, actions and means to increase the application of salutogenic concepts than the current research did. One reason for the limited depictions can be the time restriction of approximately 20 minutes that were available to the participants to write about their desired future. Another reason can be the interference with the uncertainty of agency, action and helpful means that was used as interpretation of lack in this study. As mentioned, the participants might have simply followed the instructions of imaging a desired future, however, actually lack depictions of who, by what and with what means the

desired future can be accomplished. To overcome this limitation in future research, it might be considered to establish the option of re-contacting participants for further inquiry after analyses. For this study, however, the timely restriction of further inquiry with the participant to compensate lacks and gather more data has not been an option. When re-contacting participants for further research conduct, another interesting thought relates to the changes that have happened of the desired future but also within the penal and care system. As the current study data was conducted in 2016 and the Dutch penal and care system has been frequently changing over the past few decades, this might be interest of research.

4.2. Strengths & Limitations of the study

A strength of the study is the sampling method that has been applied. The collected letters have been derived from a rich stakeholder group. As the participants have been purposively recruited during an event focusing on the possible changes of the Dutch penal and care system, many different stakeholders have been present. The participants range from ex-offenders, rehabilitation officers, researchers, police agents, artists related to the penal and care field to top 600-employees of the penal and care system, which describes an extremely diverse participant group and includes many different opinions and experiences within the Dutch penal and care system. For this reason, the sampling method should guarantee for a deep and sophisticated understanding of the future perspectives for the Dutch penal and care system which is derived through a rich variety of stakeholders. Furthermore, the method of collecting stakeholder's experiences based on the FutureNowExperience focus group and Letters from the future do enable participants to describe their opinions and experiences freely. The combination of data collection and the material used establishes a research situation in which participants can open up and write about opinions and experiences in a creative and open manner. Moreover, the stimulation to share, discuss and summarize the desired future perspectives in a collage supports the externalization of the imagined futures.

Even though the data collection and method can be seen as strengths of this study, the setting in which the data was collected raises ambiguity. On the one hand, the setting has been very valuable for research. By choosing a former prison as context of the research within an art exhibition of the art of control offers a creative and inspiring sphere to conduct this research. On the other hand, however, considering that some participants have quite intimate experiences, difficult emotions and also memories that might have been triggered by the setting, this might have had a negative influence on the procedure. Moreover, the diverse stakeholder group that

has been recruited also offers valuable and holistic insights of the opinions and experiences made within the penal and care system. However, by being asked and stimulated to share those experiences and opinions which can vary extensively from one another, some participants reacted negatively. As some of the recruited participants might have known each other and worked together, they might have experienced difficulties in remaining an open attitude and preventing or overcoming tension.

5 FINAL REMARKS

This study has despite the discussed limitations shown that all recruited participants have been able to envision a desired future perspective. The storyline analysis showed that the breach is typically located between the means and the purpose that is envisioned in the letters. The stakeholders either imagine an internal change within the future penal and care system or a discontinuation of the penal and care system. Mostly, the imagination of the future system adapts a more rehabilitation focused future system which combines traditional criminology with the newer field of positive criminology to prospectively treat offenders. The Letters from the Future have shown to be a suitable and a relevant research method to map stakeholder's desired future imaginations of the penal and care system for making implications about future. Further research should be concerned about the role of hope within those future perspectives, practical implications for the future could entail further education about possibilities of applying positive criminological models and theories.

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7 APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix A: Flyer informing about the Hacking Habitat



PILOT HET STRAF - EN ZORGSYSTEEM KAN EN MOET ANDERS

Inhoud en doel van de pilot

VIND JIJ OOK DAT HET STRAF- EN ZORGSYSTEEM ANDERS MOET EN KAN? Dan hebben we jou nodig. Iedereen die zich betrokken voelt bij de toekomst van het straf- en zorgsysteem is welkom. Samen, cliënten en professionals, ervaringsdeskundigen, studenten, wetenschappers en kunstenaars bundelen we de krachten.

Doe'

Samen op zoek gaan naar hoe het toekomstige straf- en zorgsysteem eruit zou moeten zien en wat ervoor nodig is om dit te bereiken. Wat is een betere plek voor deze bijeenkomst dan in een voormalige

gevangenis waar nu een kunstmanifestatie plaatsvindt gericht op verandering van het systeem?

Het programma

- Korte presentaties over de noodzaak van verandering van het straf- en zorgsysteem door Gert Jan Slump (herstelrecht) en Marc Rakers (<u>Eropafl</u>).
- Kunstenaar Olivia Glebbeek neemt je mee op haar reis door strafen zorgland a.d.h.v. fragmenten uit de film Een rituele dans. George Adriaan, hoofdfiguur uit de film, treedt op met liedjes geschreven in de bajes.



HACKING HABITAT

- Anneke Sools, creator van toekomstverhalen verzorgt de workshop
 FutureNowExperience waarin toekomstverbeelding en reflectie elkaar
 afwisselen en waarin je actief aan de slag gaat, zelfstandig en met
 elkaar. Na de lunch neemt Ine Gevers, curator van <u>Hacking Habitat</u>
 ons mee in een rondleiding door de tentoonstelling om zo verder
 inspiratie op te doen over 'verandering'.
- Marc Rakers sluit de dag af met een unieke act, gebaseerd op persoonlijke ervaringen in de Wolven gevangenis.

Met dank aan stichting Het Binnenstebuiten

Aanmelden kan tot 22 April.

Stuur een bericht met je naam en telefoonnummer naar email: foundation.insideout@gmail.com dan ontvang je een factuur.

Kosten deelname: 35,- euro. Dit bedrag is inclusief lunch en entree kunstmanifestatie bovendien maak je de deelname van een ander die krap bij kas zit mogelijk.

7.2 Appendix B: Collection of biographical information

Tot slot volgen nog enkele vragen over uw achtergrond: Wat is uw leeftijd?

Wat is uw geslacht?

- Man
- Vrouw

Wat is uw rol in het zorg- en strafsysteem?

- (Ex)gedetineerde of (ex)verslaafde
- Politie
- Schuldsanering
- Justitie
- Verslavingszorg
- Hulpverlener
- Daklozenzorg

- Psycholoog
- Re-integratie
- Ik heb geen rol in het zorg- en strafsysteem.
- Anders, namelijk...

Bent u in opleiding om in het zorg- en strafsysteem te gaan werken?

- Ja
- Nee

Wat is uw hoogst behaalde opleidingsniveau? (of afgerond of nog mee bezig)

- Lagere school
- Middelbare school
- Middelbaar beroepsonderwijs
- Hbo
- Universiteit

Wat is uw nationaliteit?

.

Wat is uw motivatie om mee e doen aan de pilot?

. . . .

U bent aan het einde van de vragenlijst gekomen. Klik hieronder op >> om uw deelname definitief te maken.

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname aan het onderzoek en tot vrijdag de 29^e bij Hacking Habitat! Naam onderzoekers (geanonimiseerd).