

# **Community Corrections in Israel**

## **Introduction**

Israel's criminal justice system differs from that of many other western countries. While its legal system is deeply rooted in the British mandate and British laws and legislation, since its inception in 1948, the government has evolved and developed its community-based corrections services for those convicted of crimes. Israel offers community correctional options in the form of probation and parole services. These two community modalities are separated from one another and work independently. While both are operating under the Israeli Ministry of Labor and Welfare and/ or the Ministry of Welfare and Social Services, and most recently, The Ministry of Labor, Welfare and Social Services (i.e., depending on the governing administration at the various periods, the name may change but its overall function remains). Each was established as a result of different legislation that emerged from different needs, and is aimed at targeting diverse populations. Yet, both are driven by the rehabilitation and reintegration ideology.

A unique approach geared toward the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders in the community was adopted by the state of Israel from its earliest days (Diamant, 2016). Such an approach was deemed to be the most effective in reducing recidivism. The humanistic approach of rehabilitation and reintegration was further emphasized in a public committee tasked with the examination of sentencing policies and intervention with the convicted offender—the Dorner Committee 2015 (Lernau, 2019). In her report, Supreme Court Judge, Miriam Dorner concluded that the rehabilitation of offenders in the community should produce many superior outcomes, like lowering recidivism rates and integrating offenders to lead normative and meaningful lives, than simply incarcerating offenders. It was further noted that there is no evidence to support the anticipated utility of incarceration and becoming more punitive by toughening sentences (Dorner Report, 2015).

## **Israeli Corrections – Data in a Nutshell**

Israel is a relatively young country (incepted in 1948), and also a small country in terms of both land (about 290 miles north-to-south and 85 miles east-to-west at its widest point), and population. According to the Israeli Central Bureau Statistics (CBS.Gov, 30 December 2021) at

the end of 2021, Israel had 9.449 million people, about 74% of the population Jewish, 21% Arab Israelis, and 5% defined as other (i.e., not Jewish and not Israeli Arabs). This is important to place the correctional population of the country in context. In the same year, 2021, there were 9,430 people under institutional incarceration—both prison and jail, with another 4,260 under prison's community service (i.e., *'Avodot Sherut'*-work release programs) that served their time in the community (not probation or parole). Another 4,390 individuals were held in separate facilities for homeland security-related offenses (Israeli Prison System, 2021). Individuals supervised in the community under probation supervision—both juvenile and adults—counted for over 34,200, with another 3,812 supervised by the Prisoners' Rehabilitation Authority (PRA). It is important to note that community corrections supervision in Israel, both probation and parole, are managed separately from the incarceration population. Specifically, while both probation and parole in Israel are under the responsibility of the Ministry of Welfare, jails and prisons are under the responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Security Affairs.

### **Probation**

The Israeli probation service provides a host of services. Since Israel is a welfare country, probation services are provided under the Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs' responsibility, are anchored in the country's penal code, and are considered an integral part of the country's criminal justice system. As such, the agency is responsible for the intake, supervision, treatment, and rehabilitation of those suspected of criminal activity, convicted offenders, and victims. In that regard, the Israeli probation system can be considered a combination of social work with elements of law enforcement, with a strong emphasis on the service aspect. This is particularly so for services rendered to minors and young adults convicted of crimes. The probation service in Israel is distinct between adults—individuals aged 18 and older—and youth younger than 18 years of age, and receive different services.

The overall goal of probation is to reduce the risk of criminal activity by evaluating the risk of the offender, circumstances of the crime, and other related community and familial factors and recommend alternatives to punishment and incarceration including offering recommendation for its direct services and supervision. The Service further aims to supervise and provide treatment and rehabilitation in the community for those convicted of crime while reducing their odds of recidivism.

Specifically, the above goals are addressed by providing various levels of supervision coupled with therapeutic interventions. The Service further examines and applies alternative solutions to non-normative behaviors while positively promoting the strength of individuals convicted of crimes to assimilate into the community. Such a process is achieved by using an individual legal process by which personal aspects of the individuals are brought to the fore, and their socio-psycho state is evaluated and taken into consideration, along with the circumstances of the crime committed. In that regard, the Service is tailoring an individual service suite and recommendations for more appropriate punishment alternatives with the aim of minimizing the potential devastating harms caused by incarceration. All this occurs before sentencing as part of the presentencing investigation and recommendations that culminate in the PSI report.

### ***Juvenile Probation Services***

The juvenile probation services operate in three major disciplines: (1) Psycho-social investigation of juveniles involved in criminal activity and were referred by the police and/or the courts, the conduct and submission of pre-sentencing investigation as well as providing treatment in compliance with court orders; (2) Arrestees investigations – examination of alternatives to arrest and supervision of those minors released on bail; (3) Investigation of minors as mandated by the Amendment to the Law of Evidence (Child Protection) of 1955.

These disciplines aim to serve three main goals that are at the heart of the juvenile probation services: (1) assistance to the criminal justice system in tailoring judicial decisions to the individual juvenile defendant; (2) providing an informed opinion and pre-sentencing report to the referring agencies after the completion of the psycho-social investigation and a thorough intake; and (3) providing therapeutic intervention with juveniles who broke the law in an attempt to change their behavior and reduce their odds of recidivism.

To achieve the above goals, the assigned probation officer chooses the proper course of action and treatment in accordance with the offense. Specifically, there are four types of treatment. This first, *Conditional Treatment (CT)*, is aimed at youth and juveniles who have committed a minor offense or misdemeanor; this is their first offense, and no criminal record has been documented.

The police usually warn the individual and refer him to probation services. The probation officer provides an intake to determine the psycho-social state of the juvenile and provides treatment as needed. The second is *Conditional Drug Treatment (CDT)* – following the attorney

general's decision, minors whom the police established suspicion of using illegal substances and are first-time users (no dealing or trafficking) are referred to diagnosis and short-term intervention (no more than four months). The intervention includes repeated urine samples and individual and/or group therapy. The aim is to prevent relapse and recidivism. If the juvenile/minor actively participates in the treatment and demonstrates a willingness to abstain from further use of the illegal substance, a recommendation by the probation offices will be made to seal the case without bringing any charges. Third, *Crime Conditional Treatment (CTC)* applies to minors who have committed a crime (e.g., usually a felony). In these cases, both the minor and his family are invited for a psycho-social screening and intake to identify the circumstances of the crime, previous and further involvement of the minor in illegal behavior, family climate, and functioning in school or employment. At the end of the process and in accordance with the findings, a recommendation by the probation officer will be submitted to the prosecution with a recommendation to either seal the case without any further charges or to pursue further legal action (e.g., restorative justice, electronic monitoring, or admission to a boarding-school as a form of supervision while diverting from prison) . The last course of treatment is (4) *After Criminal Charges (ACC)* – after criminal charges are brought against the minor and with the referral from the police prosecutor, the minor and his or her parents are brought to the probation officer for a psycho-social screening and intake, similar to the process described at the *CTC*, earlier. According to the findings and determination of the probation officer, a recommendation will be made for the needed course of action, either within the probation services or by an external agency, along with a recommendation to seal the record or continue the criminal process.

In case a determination was made by the police prosecutor (e.g., police prosecution unit tasked at bringing criminal charges against suspects), to bring the minor to court, make an arrest or any other further criminal proceedings post-indictment, the probation officer may be tasked with one of the following: (1) preparation of a pre-arrest report and recommendation for alternatives to the arrest and plans for supervision; (2) preparation of the pre-sentencing report to be presented to the court after the conviction, or (3) Implementation of the probation order, or the court orders following Section 26 of the Juvenile Act (1971) by direct involvement of the assigned probation officer and collaboration with other therapeutic services. Specifically, this means removal of the minor from his direct family while remanding him to the supervision of a

responsible adult, that is not the parent of that minor, to a period set by the court while limiting the rights of the parents as guardians for that set period.

According to the most recent report published by the Ministry of Welfare at midyear 2021, there were 12,278 juveniles under the supervision of probation at the end of 2020. This is a decrease of 8.09% from the previous year that can be attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic, which caused several mandatory quarantines, limited outdoor activities, and imposed remote learning. The below table describes the juvenile population under correctional supervision:

**Table 1. Characteristics of Juveniles under Probation 2019–2020**

|                          | 2019           | 2020           |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Total                    | 13,359         | 12,278         |
| Gender:                  |                |                |
| <i>Girls</i>             | 1,617 (12.1%)  | 1,444 (11.7%)  |
| <i>Boys</i>              | 11,742 (87.9%) | 10,834 (88.3%) |
| <i>Age<sup>2</sup>:</i>  |                |                |
| <i>12–13</i>             | 1,086 (8.1%)   | 911 (7.4%)     |
| <i>14–15</i>             | 4,038 (30%)    | 3,469 (28.3%)  |
| <i>16–17</i>             | 7,599 (56.9%)  | 7,328 (59.7%)  |
| <i>18</i>                | 603 (4.5%)     | 533 (4.3%)     |
| <i>19+</i>               | 33 (0.25%)     | 37 (0.30%)     |
| Region:                  |                |                |
| <i>South</i>             | 2,521 (18.8%)  | 2,203 (17.9%)  |
| <i>Haifa &amp; North</i> | 4,343 (32.5%)  | 3,992 (32.5%)  |
| <i>Jerusalem</i>         | 2,356 (17.6%)  | 2,124 (17.3%)  |
| <i>Tel Aviv</i>          | 1,835 (13.7%)  | 1,592 (13%)    |

|                  |               |               |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <b>Centre</b>    | 2,304 (17.2%) | 2,367 (19.3%) |
| Religion:        |               |               |
| <b>Jewish</b>    | 8,464 (63.4%) | 7,893 (64.2%) |
| <b>Muslim</b>    | 3,920 (29.3%) | 3,539 (28.8%) |
| <b>Christian</b> | 168 (1.26%)   | 133 (1.08%)   |
| <b>Druze</b>     | 166 (1.24%)   | 130 (1.06%)   |
| <b>Other</b>     | 641 (4.8%)    | 583 (4.7%)    |

Source: Ministry of Welfare & Social Security (2021). (Percentages are rounded).

The above Table 1, an excerpt from the formal Ministry of Welfare and Social Security report, does not provide any information on the type of offenses. Information on the type of offenses for juveniles is also unavailable in any other source. Another essential point to make is that Israel has mandatory military service. For boys, it is usually 32 months, and for girls usually 24 months. This is relevant to the issue of the type of offenses, as many times, the record will be sealed and even expunged if the juvenile demonstrates a genuine desire to serve in the military

---

<sup>2</sup> The law in Israel refer to ages 18-21 as young adults and as such mandated a thorough presentencing report that will include recommendations for incarceration or alternatives to incarceration which at times made for supervision under the jurisdiction of juvenile probation.

and prove themselves during preliminary preparatory programs and during their service.

### ***Adult Probation Services***

Adult probation is tasked with providing diagnosis and intake, treatment, rehabilitation, and supervision for those accused of committing crimes and victims of crimes age 18 and older. The aims of the adult probation services are twofold: reduction of risk to society by providing a thorough intake and risk assessment (i.e., pre-sentencing investigation and report) and writing a recommendation to the court on the potential alternatives to incarceration and punishments, including the suggestion for rehabilitative sentencing options in the community. The second aim is to focus on the rehabilitation of adult criminals and their supervision for the sake of reducing

recidivism. This aim is achieved by providing supervision orders, detention, and intake while applying therapeutic approaches and result-driven practices.

The above aims are related to the four stages of probation officers' intervention in the judicial process. These stages begin with the initial arrest when the probation officer is responsible for the arrest report, release on bail, and supervision as an alternative to detention. In the sentencing stage, the probation officer is tasked with providing a report on the sentenced individual and a report on the victim (i.e., victim statement and complete victim diagnosis, as explained earlier). At the post-sentencing stage, probation officers will execute the supervision requirements. Those may include individual and group therapy, reintegration into community activities, follow-up, and supervision to assure treatment compliance. At the final stage, if an appeal on the sentence is filed, the probation officer will complete a final comprehensive evaluation that will address all the strengths and weaknesses of the individual, any progress made from the initial arrest, and the individual level of risk.

In addition to the above, the adult probation office is also tasked with providing reports to the attorney general in matters of postponing procedures, issues of prosecution, and providing treatment to offenders for whom a decision was made to either not prosecute or to delay their legal proceedings (i.e., pre-trial diversion).

To that extent, the adult probation services in Israel supervise, provide professional guidance, and are involved in the budgetary planning of the following: hostels for men convicted of domestic violence, and day centers for adult sex offenders. In addition to the above, probation representatives participate in steering committees and make a recommendation on the appointments of individuals to be tasked with evaluating risk (e.g., the particular risk of sexual/domestic violence offenders).

At the last count, according to the Ministry of Welfare and Social Security (2022), slightly more than half (11,115) of all individuals under the supervision of the adult probation office (n=20,942) were sentenced to probation. Others were under work-release, substance-abuse treatment, or under the supervision and treatment of hostels or day centers for domestic violence or sex offending (no accurate data available at the moment for the distribution of the above). More than one-third (36.6%) of individuals were jailed individuals who were referred to probation services. Of these 1,281 (6.1%) individuals were placed on a limited-time work

release alternative, known as 'Service to the Public'/'Community Service'. This probation alternative is a way for these individuals to pay their debt to the community affected by their crimes. Such an alternative is also beneficial as it eliminates the potential harm caused by removing the offender from his/ her immediate family and support network. For 403 individuals, the probation services made a recommendation to delay their legal procedures and recommended no prosecution with the option of forgiveness. For 458 individuals, the adult probation services made the recommendation not to press charges and seal the case.

Along with the most recent report published by the Ministry of Welfare at midyear 2021, there were 20,942 adult individuals under the supervision of probation at year end 2020. This is an increase of 1.11% from the previous year that can be attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic. Unlike juveniles, that saw a decrease, the adults were diverted from the prison system to reduce the number of incarcerated individuals and thus allow those deemed at low risk to stay within the community. With mandatory quarantines and limited outdoor activities, such supervision options became more vital. The below table describes the adult population under correctional supervision:

**Table 2. Characteristics of Adults under Probation 2019–2020**

|                     | 2019         | 2020           |
|---------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Total               | 20,711       | 20,942         |
| Gender:             |              |                |
| <i>Women</i>        | 1,450 (7%)   | 1,466 (7%)     |
| <i>Men</i>          | 19,261 (93%) | 19,476 (93%)   |
| Age:                |              |                |
| <i>20– 29</i>       | 9,527 (46%)  | 8,669 (41.4%)  |
| <i>30 and older</i> | 11,184 (54%) | 12,273 (58.6%) |
| Region:             |              |                |
| <i>South</i>        | 3,935 (19%)  | 3,979 (19%)    |



|                             |                    |                    |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Haifa &amp; North</i>    | 5,799 (28%)        | 5,864 (28%)        |
| <i>Jerusalem</i>            | 3,521 (17%)        | 3,560 (17%)        |
| <i>Tel Aviv and Centre</i>  | 7,456 (36%)        | 7,539 (36%)        |
| Religion:                   | Data Not Available | Data Not Available |
| <i>Jewish</i>               |                    |                    |
| <i>Muslim</i>               |                    |                    |
| <i>Christian</i>            |                    |                    |
| <i>Druze</i>                |                    |                    |
| <i>Other</i>                |                    |                    |
| Offense Type:               |                    |                    |
| <i>Domestic Violence</i>    | 3,314 (16%)        | 4,188 (20%)        |
| <i>General Violence</i>     | 4,971 (24%)        | 5,026 (24%)        |
| <i>Accidental Death</i>     | 207 (1%)           | 0                  |
| <i>Substances</i>           | 4,142 (20%)        | 4,188 (20%)        |
| <i>Sex Crimes</i>           | 828 (4%)           | 838 (4%)           |
| <i>Property &amp; Fraud</i> | 2,890 (14%)        | 3,141 (15%)        |
| <i>Traffic</i>              | 3,107 (15%)        | 3,141 (15%)        |
| <i>Other</i>                | 1,243 (6%)         | 419 (2%)           |

Source: Ministry of Welfare & Social Security (2022).

Interestingly, the number of people placed on probation due to domestic violence increased by 26.4% from 2019 to 2020. Again, this can be attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic that forced people to be quarantined in their homes, often resulting in domestic disputes that escalated to violence. Conflicts that would usually be prevented before the pandemic as people would spend long hours at work and outside the home.

## **Supervision Practice**

As mentioned earlier, Israeli Probation services are a discipline within social work. In its broadest sense, correctional social work focuses on individuals who broke the law, those involved in criminal activity, their victims, and populations defined as high-risk for criminal involvement. Its main aim is to focus on how behavior can change to reduce criminality and recidivism. As such, social work in corrections is defined by the target population (Friberg & Chovav, 1994). It is within this context that the social work approach will extend its focus to the general population and will aim to include those family members of the offender and their victims; by doing so, it assumes responsibility to provide relief for social distresses and provide solutions to human problems in which the existing social order fails to resolve. As such, the overarching approach is multidisciplinary in nature and combines elements not just social work, but those from sociology, criminology, psychology, psychiatry, and law. Such a multidisciplinary approach directs the Israeli probation services various supervision and intervention practices.

Specifically, the Israeli probation services offer groups, individual and family intervention, and for almost 30 years, implement restorative justice conferences.

## ***Diagnosis and Short-term Intervention***

The assigned probation officer is encouraged to apply a humanistic approach that will promote confidence in the individual offender referred to the service, acknowledging the level of stress and confusion in which many first-time offenders are found. The probation officer will provide a realistic view of the situation and the process and explains to the individual the next steps. Through the years, few assessment tools were developed to enable more accurate intake, allowing the probation officer to provide a more accurate recommendation and opinion for the police and the legal advisor by writing a detailed report for the court. This report is based on a comprehensive collection of personal information, impressions, and assessments. Further, the assessment also enables to determine the level of willingness and readiness to participate in treatment that will prompt behavioral change. Accordingly, it will also provide a short-term intervention that will prepare the individual for his/ her court appearance and sentencing.

### Release from Prison

Between 2018 and 2020, the Israeli Prison System released 31,463 prisoners from its facilities. Most of them were released without any restrictions regarding supervision or therapy (State Comptroller's Report, 2021). Specifically, according to the Israeli Prison Service, between 2018-2020, about 62% of released prisoners who were released back to their home communities without any restriction or mandatory supervision were released due to an administrative release. The administrative release is a result of a decision by the county's Supreme Court 2018 to alleviate prison overcrowding as it violates basic civil rights (see Supreme Court 1892/14). Another 27% were released after serving their full sentence, and only 11% were released under parole supervision (see table below).

**Table 3. Release from Prison, 2018-2020**

|   | 2018          | 2019         | 2020         | % 2020 |
|---|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------|
| Parole by the parole committee  | 1,648 (13.1%) | 1018 (9.6%)  | 872 (10.5%)  | 11     |
| Release from prison after complete sentencing with no supervision requirement | 2924 (23.2%)  | 2557 (24.1%) | 3017 (36.4%) | 27     |
| Administrative release from prison  | 8006 (63.7%)  | 7014 (66.2%) | 4407 (53.1%) | 62     |
| Total   | 12,578        | 10,589       | 8,296        |        |

Source: Prison Service in answer to the researchers' freedom of information request. Percentages are rounded.

The following will focus on the Israeli Parole system that deals with roughly 11% of all released prisoners. Unlike many other countries, parole in Israel is managed and operated by the Prisoners Rehabilitation Authority (PRA). As the name suggests, the ideology behind its operations is rehabilitation and reintegration. This is important because, unlike many other countries, PRA assists individuals who completed their full sentence and were released back to the community without any supervision requirement.

### **The Israeli Parole**

The Israeli version of parole, known as the PRA (*'Rasha'* as branded in the Hebrew language), is tasked with the re-entry and reintegration of criminal prisoners (i.e., different from national security prisoners) after their release from incarceration.

PRA is the state authority entrusted by law (The Parole Act, 2001) with preparing programs for the supervision and guidance of prisoners assigned to it. PRA is responsible for key functions: supervision, rehabilitation, care within the community, employment reintegration, job placement, and support during the parole supervision period.

### ***The Parole Act***

The Parole Act of 2001 constitutes the benchmark for determining the possibility of a prisoner's early release. According to the act, a prisoner (except for those serving life sentences) who has been sentenced to a term of more than six months and who has already served at least two-thirds of his sentence is entitled to request that his case be brought before a parole committee to enable him to serve the remainder of his sentence in the community. The parole board evaluates the risk, rehabilitation potential, and odds of successful reintegration and, accordingly, will not grant early release on parole to those deemed not worthy of release, and those who pose a danger to public safety.

In 2018, Amendment No. 17 to the act was approved (Parole Act, 2018), extending considerably the scope of the mechanism for early release from short sentences (except for prisoners who are a threat to the country's national security) through the establishment of a unit in the framework of the Prison Service. The unit discusses requests for parole by prisoners serving sentences of three months to one year. It operates according to the same considerations guiding the parole board, alongside which it is to make its decisions in the shortest possible time.

### ***The Parole Board***

The parole board is a statutory body, i.e., a semi-autonomous legal entity that acts by virtue of the Parole Act (2001), holding legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Till recently, parole boards in Israel were under the responsibility of the Prison Service. For years criticism had been voiced over delays in procedures and deferment of deliberations; as a result, and to improve the efficiency of the process, responsibility for the parole boards was transferred in 2016 to the court administration (Rosenfeld & Noah, 2021). Two years later, in 2018, deliberations on the case of short imprisonments were transferred back to the Prison Service.

Under the responsibility of the court administration, parole boards are headed, in most cases by a retired judge and two public figures specializing in the fields of criminology, psychology, social work, and education. The committees convene within the boundaries of the prisons, with the judge serving as Board Chairman. Appearing before the committee, on the one hand, is an attorney on behalf of the Attorney General, and on the other, the prisoner himself, generally accompanied by a private or public defense lawyer. On appearing before the board, the prisoner must prove that he has complied with two cumulative conditions: that he deserves parole and that his release will not endanger public safety. The function of the parole committee is to decide whether the prisoner is worthy of parole.

Clause 9 of the Parole Act details the committee's considerations in determining parole, emphasizing the public interest involved. The principal considerations relate to: the danger posed by the prisoner, expressed, for example, in his involvement in an overt or covert criminal action in prison; the seriousness of his offence and the circumstances in which it was committed; previous convictions; the possibility that he had been paroled in the past and had engaged once again in criminal activity; and the remaining term of imprisonment.

The parole committee attaches great importance to the question of psychological therapy in and out of prison in arriving at its decision. For the committee to have a basis for considering parole, it obtains the expert opinion of various agencies, such as the PRA, caregiving personnel in prison (e.g., a social worker), Prison Service intelligence (for reports on disciplinary offences in prison), and the prison mental health center (for example, for an assessment of all aspects relating to the danger posed by sex offenders).

In addition to information received on the conduct of the prisoner while incarcerated, the board examines the suitability of the prisoner for participation in community rehabilitation and

reintegration programs; when found to be suitable, it checks to see if a suitable program is in place that would meet his criminogenic needs and provide him with the needed supervised care. In most cases, PRA is responsible for the operations of these programs. However, some available programs are contracted to private rehabilitation agencies.

Despite the above, and in accordance with the Rights of Victims of Crime Act (2001), the victim's attitude to the possible parole of the prisoner is also considered.

The committee may entertain additional general considerations relating to the effect on public trust in the legal system, law enforcement, and deterrence, as well as the proportionality between the seriousness of the offence and the severity of the sentence served (Parole Act, 2001).

As of 2020, a pilot program for releasing minors from prison has been conducted following Government Draft Proposal No. 3711 – Adoption of the Inter-ministerial Report for the Parole of Minors. This pilot program was intended to establish continuity with respect to therapy for minors from the time of their arrest to their release through the development of a special model (Reentry Court -RC) to prepare them for their return to community life. This model transforms the complex task of rehabilitating minors into one shared effort by all the relevant agencies (PRA, probation service, the Prison Service), with the participating minors receiving much-needed attention and experiencing empowerment throughout the process.

The benefits of early release on parole received much attention in recent years. Various studies and reports acknowledge the potential harm caused by imprisonment, and thus the valuable benefits inherent in parole as an instrument that could aid in prisoners' rehabilitation, reintegration, and control recidivism while also alleviating the crowded conditions in prisons (Rosenfeld & Noah, 2021; The Dorner Report, 2015). Despite this, and as demonstrated in Table 3, the past three decades have seen a drop in the parole rate in Israel, reaching as low as 10.5% in 2020 (details made available to the researchers by Prison Service in answer to their freedom of information request).

### ***Requirements for Licensed Parole***

The Israeli Parole Act (2001) gives considerable weight to the supervisory aspect of paroled prisoners and specifies the requirements for licensed parole, including conditions that apply automatically.

Several restrictions are imposed on the paroled criminal, such as a prohibition against committing offences and leaving the country, conducting periodic urine tests, reporting to local

law enforcement stations, notifying the authorities of any change in residence, and a mandatory employment requirement (Parole Act, 2001). Additional conditions have begun to appear recently in parole board decisions, such as the duty to remain under nightly house curfew, and a new rule was recently instated according to which if a parolee commits a criminal offense while on parole, their parole must be revoked, and the prisoner returned to prison (Dagan & Sha'ar-Efodi, 2021).

In addition, all parolees are expected to fully comply with all prescribed conditions of their individual rehabilitation program. The program generally includes individual and group psychotherapy in combination with employment. In addition, by virtue of the legislative amendments to the Act for Electronic Monitoring of the Detainee and Paroled Prisoner, 2014, the parole board is allowed to condition the prisoner's release on the imposition of electronic monitoring to limit his freedom of movement. By the end of 2020, a total of 198 parolees were supervised using electronic monitoring, with average daily monitoring of 92 parolees placed under such supervision. In 2020, the parole of eight electronically monitored prisoners was rescinded (Walk & Malikson, 2021).

The PRA officer assigned to the case is tasked with preparing the supervision compliance protocol and can sometimes be the one who accompanies and supervises the parolee during his assigned parole period. In cases where the parolee violates the terms of his parole, the officer is mandated to report the incident to the parole board, which can then decide to rescind the prisoner's parole and remand him back to prison - or to extend the period of supervision.

### ***Effectiveness of Early Release***

Previous research conducted in Israel on the effectiveness of parole on reduced recidivism supports the connection between the two, supporting the argument that parole reduces the risk of a return to prison (Ben Tzvi & Volk, 2011; Peled-Laskov et al., 2019). Peled-Laskov et al. (2019), for example, found that released prisoners who had one-third of their sentences commuted and who received guidance and supervision of the PRA exhibited significantly more positive indicators than those who had served their full sentences and were not paroled, and/or received supervision and guidance. The positive results were manifested in four important indices: level of recidivism, integration of the released prisoner into employment; duration of the reported employment and wage level. The indicators refer to a monitoring period of up to three years (except for recidivism, in which case the monitoring period was up to eight years).

As stated, a key program accompanying and supervising paroled prisoners in Israel is that conducted by the PRA; in that regard these are seamless programs that not only provide basic supervision after release, but further provide guidance and treatment. The program and activities of the PRA are therefore described below in detail.

## **The PRA Program**

### ***The PRA Program and Examination of Suitability for Joining It***

Upon completion of two-third of their sentence, the prisoner is entitled to meet with a representative of the PRA in prison to evaluate their suitability for PRA's supervision and treatment program.

Shoham and Peled-Laskov (2020), who interviewed PRA therapists, found that suitability for joining the program is checked against a number of considerations, chief of which is the level of risk the prisoner poses to society. In contrast to the established assessment of risk and dangerousness, as per the law in the event of sex offences (Shoham, 2008), its evaluation as described herein is based on the professional assessment of PRA's assigned representative.

Another consideration in the assessment process and determining treatment suitability, is the individual treatment potential. Clearly, not everyone is suited to a psychotherapeutic framework and the probability of treatment succeeding depends on many factors, such as motivation to change and the prisoner's age (Shoham & Timor, 2016). Finally, admission to the program is conditional, based on the prisoner's physical and mental ability to work, cooperation with therapeutic agencies in prison, and being drug-free for at least six months.

In 2020, a total of 3,624 assessments regarding prisoner suitability were carried out ahead of the parole board deliberations. Altogether, 52.9% were found suitable for supervised rehabilitation (Walk & Malikson, 2021).

According to a recent PRA report, the number of Jewish and Arab interviewees was almost identical, and the percentage of suitable individuals was higher among the Arabs. It was also found that the percentage of suitability decreased with age, higher among married individuals and lowered among divorcees, separated men, and widowers. The highest suitability was found to be among those in possession of weapons, in criminal organizations, and for those involved in fraud and financial crime. The lowest was found among prisoners engaged in sex crimes and violence.



The professionals accompanying PRA programs include psychotherapists and employment counsellors. Psychotherapists are usually trained social workers, clinical criminologists, psychiatrists, and other personnel. Once the prisoner is found suitable, a program is tailored to his needs and can be presented to the parole board. The employment counsellors, whose backgrounds include criminology and education, are responsible for checking the suitability of the workplace proposed by the prisoner, supervising him and attending to his needs in all matters relating to employment. They are also responsible for finding other places of work, mobilizing employers, and providing occupational training for the prisoner.

***Released Prisoners under the Care of PRA***

According to the PRA Report (Walk & Malikson, 2021), in 2020, a total of 3,391 prisoners were treated by PRA, 53% Jewish and 47% Arab. Altogether, 43% of the prisoners were married, 40% single, and 17% divorced, separated, or widowed. The high percentage of married prisoners is in line with the fact that they account for a higher rate of suitability for rehabilitation vis-à-vis other marital categories.

A total of 59% were released after their first imprisonment, 26% after their second or third imprisonment, and 15% after their fourth or higher imprisonment. The table below presents the distribution of paroled prisoners under PRA supervision and treatment by the main offence (2020).

**Table 4. Distribution of Adult Paroled Prisoners in PRA by Main Offence (2020)**

| <b>Main offence</b>                           | <b>Percentage of prisoners treated in PRA (%)</b> |
|---|---|
| Drug use                                      | 25.8  |
| Violence                                      | 16.8  |
| Property crime                                | 11.2  |
| Sex crime                                     | 10.9  |
| Fraud and financial crime                     | 10.0  |
| Crime involving death                         | 8.6   |
| Possession of arms and criminal organizations | 7.6   |
| Robbery                                       | 4.8   |
| Licensing and traffic violations              | 4.3   |

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  |  |
|--|--|

Source: Walk and Malikson (2021)

It is important to mention that PRA also offers rehabilitation services in response to voluntary requests from prisoners who have served their full sentences. Data published by PRA attests to the fact that most of the individuals under their care are paroled prisoners and that only a small number receive voluntary treatment after completing their full term of imprisonment.

A comparison of data relating to the period 2018–2020 shows that in 2018, 3,518 prisoners received treatment in the PRA, of whom 2,554 were under full supervision, and 964 were treated voluntarily following completion of their full term. In 2019 a total of 3,272 prisoners were treated: 2,149 under full supervision, 355 after release following short sentences, and 768 after completing their full sentences. In 2020, 3,391 prisoners were treated: 2,117 under regular supervision, 406 following short sentences, and 868 after completing their full sentences. In 2020, the number of prisoners treated voluntarily compared to 2019 was similar; this is remarkable in view of the COVID-19 crisis, which could have harmed the readiness of released prisoners to seek voluntary treatment after completing their full sentences.

### ***Vocational Component of the PRA Rehabilitation Program***

Despite the difficulties many returning prisoners experience in finding and securing employment (Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Uggen, 2002), most Israeli prisoners are willing to accept the employment condition to earn a deduction of their sentence by a third under parole supervision. Many of these difficulties in gaining and securing employment are due to personality issues—difficulty in accepting authority—and their fragmented and insufficient work experience. Add to the above the fact that many lacks specific basic vocational skills required by many employers. To address these issues, PRA has developed a vocational support and supervision program, which takes these difficulties into account and addresses them as part of their supervision and intervention (Peled-Laskov & Bialer, 2013).

While some prisoners can secure employment on their own, and sometimes even while still in prison, PRA representatives will assist in making the necessary initial contact for those unable to. It is important to note that whenever parolees secure employment on their own, their employment can be vetted by PRA officers or even the police, from which the parolee must secure prior approval. Upon employment, PRA representative, usually the assigned parole

officer, will monitor regular work attendance by visits to the workplace. The frequency of visits varies from one to three times a month and is determined by the prisoner 's risk level. It is important to note that according to the Director of the Employment Department of the PRA, many Israeli parolees regard these visits positively and only occasionally ask that they be conducted out of view of the employer and other employees (discussion with Gidon Bialer, September, 2018; Shoham & Peled-Laskov, 2020). The vocational aspect of the supervision is not limited to simple supervision, but is viewed more holistically and involves employment-related counselling.

In 2020, vocational counselors were responsible for 1,617 parolees, a slight decrease from 2019, when there were 1,792 parolees under vocational supervision. Of importance to note is the fact that during 2020, PRA opened a vocational guidance centre where personal vocational workshops were held to develop basic skills in the use of computers and technologies and give guidance for receiving professional training, academic scholarships, and vocational placement. An additional proof of PRA 's dedication to investing in parolees vocational training came in the form of allocating an additional budget of 450,000 NIS (equivalent to roughly about \$140,000) aimed to encourage parolees to participate in a vocational training program (Walk & Malikson, 2021).

### ***Friendly Employers***

The literature contains references to the deep concern of employers regarding the employment of released prisoners (Albright & Denq, 1996; Fletcher, 2001; Hoffman, 2002; Holzer, 1996; Western et al., 2001). Acting on this fear, PRA developed a unique employment program known as the 'friendly employer program'. This program aims at maximizing compatibility between prisoner and employer.

A friendly employer is a person willing to employ released prisoners and help them integrate into the job market while approving the presence and guidance of PRA personnel at the workplace as counselors and professional aids to the parolee. The employer is endowed with understanding and sensitivity to the parolee's needs and helps him both occupationally-economically and emotionally-socially. The friendly employer program focuses on locating a suitable employer, training the parolee for work, and assisting both. It is important to stress that personnel from PRA place considerable emphasis on open communication that enables the

parolee to discuss any emerging challenges and problems with his employer so that these will not mushroom into a bigger problem, and also to ensure that the employer properly address them. Things like low self-esteem, a sense of failure, poor education, and family issues, are often at the heart of most emerging problems. Positive rehabilitative and employment reintegration outcomes, of the friendly employer program, were documented by Peled-Laskov & Bialer (2013) who found that parolees who were engaged by friendly employers maintained their position longer than those who worked for regular employers.

It should be noted that in Israel, there is a willingness by Israeli employers to hire released prisoners, despite their apprehensions (Timor & Shoham, 2014). This willingness seems to stem from, among other things, an important value in Judaism that encourages the integration of people who have deviated from "the straight and narrow" and seek to reform their ways. In addition, Israel is a small country under constant security threat. This creates a sense of mutual responsibility and a sense of family. Beyond that, people tend to know each other more and are willing to help and arrange work for each other. Simply put, the social networks in Israel are more closely tied than those in other western countries, adding to it the informal moral obligation that "All of Israel are responsible for each other ", a well-known Hebrew phrase that symbolizes the ideal of brotherhood and mutual responsibility.

In addition, and unlike many other western countries, employers in Israel have limited access to the criminal record (The Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Law, 1981, 2019). This fact prevents discrimination against released prisoners in hiring and contributes to the relatively low unemployment rate among released prisoners and former convicted criminals.

### ***Supervision vis-à-vis Psychological Treatment***

Every parolee under PRA 's supervision and treatment program is mandated to participate in psychotherapy twice a week: one individual session and one group session per week. Each session lasts about 50 minutes. The individual session is where the difficulties faced by the parolee re-entering the community are raised. Prevalent issues discussed in sessions include problems in the workplace, difficulty in accepting authority, coping with the temptation to return to criminality, temptations of easy profits, past traumas and incarceration-related traumas, difficulties and pressures in the family, difficulties in intimate relationships, etc. As for group therapy, the parolees are placed in a specific group mainly based on the type of crime they have committed:

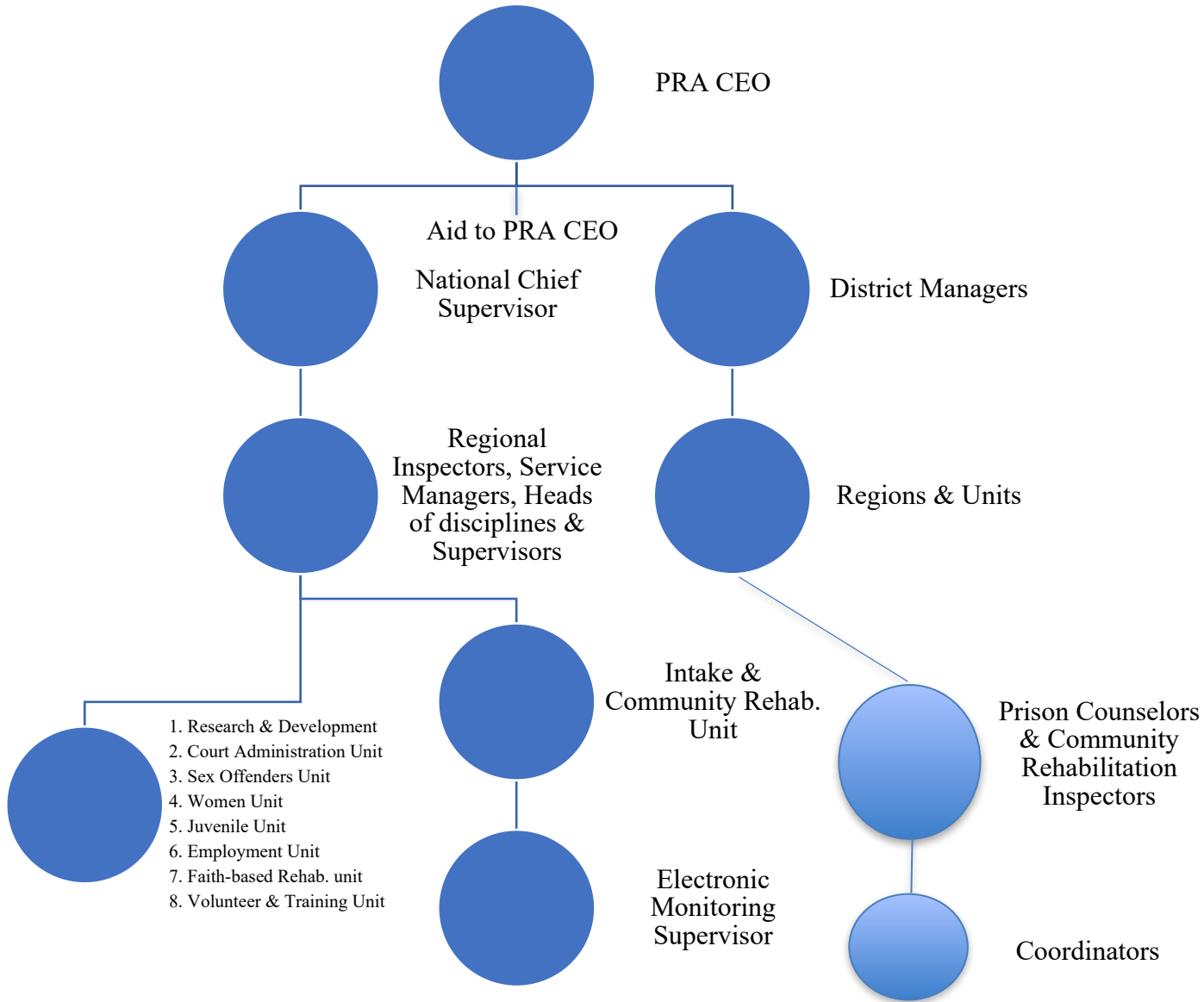
fraud, violence, sex, drugs, traffic offences etc. Problems that arise in the individual sessions may also arise in the group session, thus providing a unique opportunity for many to understand that they are not alone. The group therapy sessions provide guided peer support for the parolees and help them cope with their difficulties. One of the group therapy goals is to identify misconceptions and beliefs (such as those related to work) and try to change them (Efodi, 2014; Peled-Laskov et al., 2021; Shoham & Peled-Laskov, 2020).

PRA offers diverse therapy groups to address the various criminogenic needs of participating parolees. Thus, groups exist that focus on the subjects of law-breaking, bible studies, habit change, short prison terms, psychodrama, employment, life skills, mindfulness and youth advancement. During the COVID-19 epidemic, when many were isolated, PRA further emphasized support group therapy. In 2020, 66 groups operated in the community, most of them dealing with the causes of legal disobedience and law-breaking; these did not include groups that existed in hostels/halfway-houses, youth and young adult units, and in units for released female prisoners.

### **The Organizational Structure of PRA**

The organizational structure of PRA headquarters, district, and regional branches is characterized by a small number of managing supervisors overseeing the various activities. PRA activities are carried out in various districts and regions (southern, central, northern and Jerusalem), with each district containing several regions (Walk & Malikson, 2021). See the figure below.

**Figure 2: Organization Structure of Israeli PRA**



**PRA Activities in the Community**

Apart from its responsibility for preparing and running rehabilitation programs for paroled prisoners, PRA has some additional functions, namely: formulating rehabilitation policy for prisoners; initiating the establishment and development of auxiliary services in the framework of prisoner rehabilitation; liaising between government ministries, local authorities and other agencies on aspects relating to prisoner rehabilitation; proposing and initiating legislation concerning prisoner rehabilitation; acting to raise public awareness of prisoner rehabilitation,

provide for their rehabilitation and assimilating released prisoners into their home communities and the general society.

PRA carries out activities in various venues, including employment workshops in prisons. It maintains contact with therapeutic agencies in the community (addiction centers, centers for the homeless, probation services, welfare services, legal assistance, mental health services, therapeutic communities, and interaction with various non-profit organizations). It helps prisoners to receive their benefits (in terms of social-security benefits, food-stamps, debt management, management of bank accounts, assistance in payment of rental dues, etc.). It provides mentors for parolees and their families, student guidance, and assistance to families (through workshops in financial management, parenting and organization of children 's activities), and recruitment of students and volunteers. At present, there are about 44 volunteers in PRA.

In addition to the above, PRA manages four hostels/ halfway-houses (among others, for prisoners convicted of domestic violence and for women with addictions). In 2020, a total of 179 parolees received treatment in these locations. The Ministry of Labor and Welfare operated additional residential settings aimed at parolees with substance addiction in collaboration with PRA. These settings offered treatment for 173 parolees. However, there are other residential places that target youth, sex offenders, mentally ill parolees, elderly women and the physically challenged (Walk & Malikson, 2021).

The hostels are intended to provide intensive holistic solutions for extreme cases among the parolee population, namely those who cannot be rehabilitated in their native communities. These settings are characterized by a high level of supervision alongside a nurturing home environment for comprehensive treatment and rehabilitation.

In 2021, PRA intervention was extended to include additional residential settings, such as Shoshan House (providing an out-of-home setting for youths and young adults), a halfway house for women, a holistic center for treating domestic violence, a Torah hostel, and a general hostel for parolees with serious criminal records, those who served long sentences, and chronic recidivists.

## **References**

Albright, S. and Denq, F. (1996), 'Employer Attitudes toward Hiring Ex-Offenders [Electronic Version]', *Prison Journal*, 76(2), pp. 118-137.

- Augustyn R. and Sample L. L. (2017), 'Prisoner re-entry as secondary crime prevention', in: Teasdale, B. and Bradley, M. (eds) *Preventing Crime and Violence: Advances in Prevention Science*. Springer.
- Bar-Shuaa, A., Freud, A. and Faran, A. (2008), 'Restorative Justice and the Gefen Program in Adult Probation', in: Mahal, H., Chovav, M. and Golan, M. (eds), *Addiction, Violence and Sex Offenses, Legal Interventions*, Carmel Publishing, pp. 306-334. [In Hebrew]
- Behenck, A. S., Gomes, J. B., & Heldt, E. (2016). Patient rating of therapeutic factors and response to cognitive-behavioral group therapy in patients with obsessive-compulsive disorder. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 37(6), 392-399.
- Ben Tzvi, K. and Volk, D. (2011), 'Returning to Prison – Recidivism of Criminal Prisoners Released from Israeli Prisons in 2004', *Crimes and Penalties in Israel. Glimpse into Prison*, 14, pp. 10-28. [In Hebrew]
- Burlingame, G. M., McClendon, D. T., & Yang, C. (2018), Cohesion in group therapy: A meta-analysis. *Psychotherapy*, 55(4), 384-398.
- Chovav, M. (2012), 'The Legal and Organization Formation of the Israeli Probation Service. State of Israel: Ministry of Welfare and Social Services', available at: <https://www.molsa.gov.il/About/OfficePolicy/Documents/HASDARA-CHOVAV-FINAL-INTERNET.pdf> (accessed 9 July 2022). [In Hebrew]
- Dagan, N. and Sha'ar-Efodi, R. (2021), 'Support, Supervision, Level of Danger: The Policy for Rehabilitating Released Prisoners in Israel', *Society and Welfare*, 41(1), pp. 25–48. [In Hebrew]
- Diamant, A. (2016), *The Method of the Prisoners' Rehabilitation Authority*, Internal Report by the Israeli Prisoners' Rehabilitation Authority, available at: <https://www.gov.il/he/departments/pragovil-landing-page> (accessed 9 July 2022). [In Hebrew]
- Efodi, R. (2014), *Early Release of Prisoners by the Parole Committee: Rehabilitation, Penalization and Supervision Aspects*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. [In Hebrew]
- Fletcher, D. (2001), 'Ex-Offenders, the Labor Market and the New Public Administration', *Public Administration*, 79(4), pp. 871-891.
- Friberg, R. and Chovav, M. (1994), 'Specialty Within Corrections', in: Woozner, Y., Golan, M. and Chovav, M. (eds.), *Delinquency & Social Work: Information & Intervention*, Ramot Publishing, pp. 57-84. [In Hebrew]
- Adoption of the Inter-Ministerial Report for the Parole of Minors*, Government Draft Proposal No. 3711. [In Hebrew]
- Hoffmann, A. (2002), *Philosophy and Programs, Selected Articles*. Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority. [In Hebrew]



Holzer, H. (1996), *What Employers Want: Job Prospects for Less-Educated Workers*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (2021), available at:

<https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/mediarelease/pages/2021/%D7%90%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C-%D7%91%D7%A4%D7%AA%D7%97%D7%94-%D7%A9%D7%9C-%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%AA-2022.aspx>  
(accessed 13 July 2022). [In Hebrew]

Israeli Prison System (2021), available at: [https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/about/odot\\_shabas](https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/about/odot_shabas)  
(accessed 13 July 2022). [In Hebrew]

Klar-Chalamish, C., & Peleg-Koriat, I. (2021). From trauma to recovery: Restorative justice conferencing in cases of adult survivors of intrafamilial sexual offenses. *Journal of Family Violence*, 36(8), 1057-1068.

Lernau, H. (2019), '2015 – The Public Committee for the Examination of Sentencing Policies and Intervention with Convicted Offenders', Israeli Department of Justice (14 April), available at: [https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/publications/reports/roots\\_2015](https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/publications/reports/roots_2015) (accessed 9 July 2022). [In Hebrew]

Lo Coco, G., Gullo, S., Prestano, C., & Burlingame, G. M. (2015). Current issues on group psychotherapy research: An overview. In O. C. G. Gelo, A. Pritz, & B. Rieken (Eds.), *Psychotherapy research: Foundations, process, and outcome*. Springer-Verlag Publishing.

Ministry of Welfare & Social Security (2022), 'Statistical Report for Years 2019-2022', available at: <https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/publications/reports/molasa-publications-office-reports-2019-2020> (accessed 13 July 2022). [In Hebrew]

Nally, J. M., Lockwood, S., Ho, T. and Knutson, K. (2014), 'Post-Release Recidivism and Employment among Different Types of Released Offenders: A 5-Year Follow-Up Study in the United States', *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 9(1), pp. 16-34, available at: <http://sascv.org/ijcjs/pdfs/nallyetalijcjs2014vol9issue1.pdf>

Ostermann, M. (2011), 'How do Former Inmates Perform in the Community? A Survival Analysis of Rearrests, Reconvictions, and Technical Parole Violations', *Crime & Delinquency*, 61(2), pp. 163-187.

Ostermann, M. (2012), 'Recidivism and the Propensity to Forgo Parole Release', *Justice Quarterly*, 29(4), pp. 596-618.

Padfield, N. and Maruna, S. (2006), 'The Revolving Door at the Prison Gate: Exploring the Dramatic Increase in Recalls to Prison', *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 6(3), pp. 329-352.

- Peled-Laskov, R. and Bialer, G. (2013), 'Life after Lock: Contribution of Friendly Employers and Supervision to Rehabilitation of Freed Prisoners', *International Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 5, pp. 105-125.
- Peled-Laskov, R., Shoham, E. and Cojocaru, L. (2019), 'Work-Related Intervention Programs: Desistance from Criminality and Occupational Integration among Released Prisoners on Parole', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 63(13), pp. 2264-2290.
- Peled-Laskov, R., Timor, U. and Gideon, L. (2021), 'Reintegration Experiences in a Sample of Israeli Parolees who Completed their Term of Supervision: A Qualitative Study', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, pp. 1-22.
- Reitz, K.R. and Rhine, E.E. (2020), 'Parole Release and Supervision: Critical Drivers of American Prison Policy', *Annual Review of Criminology*, 3, pp. 281-298.
- Reynolds, B.L., Maurer, J.M., Cook, A.M., Harenski, C. and Kiehl, K.A. (2020), 'The Relationship between Psychopathic Traits and Risky Sexual Behavior in Incarcerated Adult Male Offenders', *Personality and Individual Differences*, 156(1), pp. 109-798.
- Rosenfeld, M. and Noah, R. (2021), '(Non) Parole Committee? Empirical Look at Parole in Israel as a Reflection of the Trend to Reduce Imprisonment', *Laws*, 15, pp. 9-66. [In Hebrew]
- Seiter, R.P. and Kadela, K.R. (2003), 'Prisoner Re-Entry: What Works, What Doesn't, and What is Promising', *Crime and Delinquency*, 49(3), pp. 360-388.
- Shinkfield, A.J. and Graffam, J. (2009), 'Community Reintegration of Ex-Prisoners: Type and Degree of Change in Variables Influencing Successful Reintegration', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 53(1), pp. 29-42.
- Shoham, E. (2008), *Supervision of Sex Offenders in Israel – Punishment or Treatment?* Perlstein-Ginosar. [In Hebrew]
- Shoham, E. (2013), 'The role of police risk assessments in judicial decisions regarding domestic violent offenses in Israel', *Canadian Social Science*, 9, pp. 1-9.
- Shoham, E., Efodi, R., Cojocaru, L. and Nicotra, E. (in press), 'Depend on whom you ask: needs and barriers of paroled Jews and Arabs prisoners in Israel', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*.
- Shoham, E., Peled-Laskov, R. (2020), 'Difficulties and Challenges in an Employment Supervision Program for Paroled Prisoners', *International Journal of Criminology & Sociology*, 9, pp. 135-153.
- Shoham, E. and Timor, A. (2014), 'Attitudes towards a Return to Community by Released Prisoners', *Israeli Criminology*, 3, pp. 81-118. [In Hebrew]
- Shoham, E. and Timor, A. (2016), 'Once a Criminal always a Criminal?' in: Shoham, E. and Doron, S. (Eds.), *Between Overexposure and Transparency – Attitudes to the Different in*

*Israeli Society*, Internal Report by the Department of Criminology, Ashkelon Academic College, pp. 361-391. [In Hebrew]

State Comptroller 's Report, 2021. [In Hebrew]

Supreme Court Case (June 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017) No. 1892/14. Available at:

<https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-1-d&q=Israeli+Supreme+Court+Case+No.+1892%2F14#cobssid=s> (accessed 12 August 2022) [In Hebrew]

Taxman, F.S. (2011), 'Moving the Field Forward Through a New Model of Behavioral Management', in: Gideon, L. and Sung, H.E. (eds.), *Rethinking Corrections: Rehabilitation, Re-Entry, and Reintegration*, SAGE, pp. 307-328.

Taylor, C.J. (2016), 'The Family 's Role in the Reintegration of Formerly Incarcerated Individuals', *Prison Journal*, 96(3), pp. 331-354.

The Dorner Report (2015), 'The Public Committee for the examination of sentencing policies and intervention with convicted offenders – Accountability', available at:

<https://www.aac.ac.il/sham/wp-content/uploads/sites/23/2019/07/%D7%93%D7%95%D7%97-%D7%A1%D7%95%D7%A4%D7%99-%D7%97%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%9D-%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%91%D7%9E%D7%91%D7%A8.pdf> (accessed 9 July 2022). [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2014), *Act for Electronic Monitoring of the Detainee and Paroled Prisoner*. [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2018), *Adoption of the Inter-Ministerial Report for the Parole of Minors*, Government Draft Proposal No. 3711, available at:

[https://www.gov.il/he/departments/policies/dec3711\\_2018](https://www.gov.il/he/departments/policies/dec3711_2018) (last Accessed August 12th, 2022) (accessed 12 August 2022) [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2001), *Parole Act, 5761*. [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (1983), *Prisoner Rehabilitation Act*. Available at:

[https://www.nevo.co.il/law\\_html/law01/p213k2\\_001.htm](https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/law01/p213k2_001.htm) (accessed 12 August 2022) [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2006), *Public Protection from Sex Offenders Act*. Available at:

<https://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/Legislation/Laws/Pages/LawPrimary.aspx?lawitemid=2000217> (accessed 12 August 2022) [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2018), *Parole Act (Amendment No. 17 Temporary Order)*. [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2001), *Rights of Victims of Crime Act*. Available at:

[https://www.nevo.co.il/law\\_html/Law01/134m1\\_001.htm](https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/Law01/134m1_001.htm) (accessed 12 August 2022) [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (1981), *The Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Act*. [In Hebrew]

The Knesset (2019), *The Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Act*. [In Hebrew]

Uggen, C. (2002), 'Stigma, Role Transition and the Civic Reintegration of Convicted Felons', in: Maruna, S. and Immarigeon, R. *After Crime and Punishment: Ex-Offender Reintegration and Desistance from Crime*. London, UK: Willan Publishing

Walk, D. and Malikson, A. (2021), *The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority: Summary for 2020*. The Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority. Jerusalem, Israel [In Hebrew]

Yalom, I. D., & Leszcz, M. (2005). *The theory and practice of group psychotherapy*. Basic Books.

Yanai, A. and Garbeli, S. (2008), 'Probation Officers' Reflections in referring juvenile offenders to "criminal mediation"', in: Chovav, M., Mahal, H. and Golan, M. (eds), *Risk to Chance – Therapeutic interventions with Juvenile Offenders and At-Risk Youth*, Carmel Publishing, pp. 109-128. [In Hebrew]

Yanai, A., Sharvit, G. and Garbeli, S. (2001), 'The Offender Victim Committee: Ways to Mediate and Address Crime in the Community', *Society & Welfare*, 21(1), pp. 36-40. [In Hebrew]

## Appendix

### Legislation Table

|    | <b>Year</b> | <b>Name of Legislation</b> | <b>Purpose</b>   | <b>Implications</b>   |
|----|-------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| 1. | 1922        | The Minor Criminal Order   | Releasing youth offenders to be supervised in the community.   | The first probation officer appointed, which signaled the establishment of supervisory social services for youth offenders in the Jewish settlement.  |
| 2. | 1937        | The Young Offenders Order  | Distinguishing between two types of youth: delinquents and those who did not violate any laws but were in need of supervision. | The age of criminal responsibility was set to 9. During this period, two separate services were in place for Jews and Arabs.  |
| 3. | 1944        | The Supervision Ordinance  | Establishing the responsibilities of probation officers, their   | The ordinance sets the national structure of an organization headed by the Chief Supervisor, who oversees regional supervisors and holds the responsibility for individual supervisor officers that |

|    |      |   |   |   |
|----|------|---|---|---|
|    |      |   | duties, and the organizational structure of the supervision services.   | provide the day-to-day contact and treatment.   |
| 4. | 1954 | Amendment to the Penal Code (Punitive Forms) from 1954 (§ 19(g))        | Regulation of the need for pre-sentencing report in the case of minors going to prison  | Determined that no person under the age of 19 would be sentenced to prison without a comprehensive pre-sentencing report. This requirement was recently extended to age 21.   |
| 5. | 1955 | Amendment to the Law of Evidence (Child Protection).                    | Regulation of the interrogation and giving testimony in court of children under the age of 14.  | First, it created a special arrangement for the interrogation of children under the age of 14, the second, arranging their testimony in court, and the third, creating a unique arrangement whereby a child under the age of 14 may not testify in court, and instead of his testimony, his documented testimony in front of a child investigator will be submitted to court.   |
| 6. | 1959 | National Probation Act – Placing Offenders under Probation Supervision. | Defining the roles of the Chief Probation officer, who is the Head of the national probation service, and the roles of the regional and local probation officers. | <p>Following <b>Section 5</b> of this Act, the Chief Probation Officer is tasked with the organization of the national probation services and its management, providing guidance and oversight on the work of the subordinate probation officers, and is responsible for their professional advancement and promotion. He is further tasked with maintaining continuous communications and coordinating with the courts, police, correctional institutions, social services, and any other agency tasked with providing intervention to individuals who broke the law. In addition, the Chief Probation Officer will also direct the internal policies and activities regarding the records and reports submitted by the regional probation officers.</p> <p>Under <b>Section 6</b> of the Act, the Regional Probation officers are tasked with the organization and management of the services in their designated district/region and providing oversight over the work of the individual probation officers in their district/region, as well as their professional development and promotion. The regional probation officer is also responsible for the admission of those</p> |

|       |      |   |  |   |
|-------|------|---|--|---|
|       |      |   |  | individuals referred to the Service in their district and the assignment and determination of the case-load to the individual probation officers. Within this capacity, the regional probation officer is also tasked with determining the priorities and level of intervention and supervision following their risk and status (e.g., diversion from incarceration, pre-arrest, etc.). |
| 7.    | 1960 | Juvenile Act (Treatment and Supervision).                   | Separating the intervention from at-risk juveniles to those who broke the law.   | Interventions were transferred to local districts. They were assigned to special youth and juvenile case workers, and the authoritarian aspect of youth and juvenile intervention, and legal proceedings were removed from the responsibilities of juvenile probation.  |
| 8.    | 1969 | Probation Act of 1969 (New Version).                        | Efficient organization of the probation system.  | The Minister of Welfare will appoint a Chief Probation Officer for juveniles and another for adults, and they will be tasked with the organization and management for which the regulations charge them. Further, the Minister will appoint a sufficient number of probation officers tasked with fulfilling and complying with the rules set forth by section 27 of this act.          |
| 9.    | 1971 | The Juvenile Act (Judgment, Punishment & Therapeutic needs) | Increasing the age of criminal responsibility of minors from 16 to 18  | Resulted in the transfer of 16–18 years old from the adult to the juvenile jurisdiction. As such, law enforcement agencies were mandated to report juveniles suspected of breaking the law to juvenile probation agencies.  |
| 10.   | 1971 | Section 26 of the Juvenile Act.                             | Removal of the minor from his direct family while remanding him to the supervision of a responsible adult, that is not the parent of that minor, to a period set by the court while limiting the rights of the parents as guardians for that set period. | Direct involvement of the assigned probation officer and collaboration with other therapeutic services concerning the minor.  |
| 11. a | 1977 | Public Service Act  | Regulating   | Individuals convicted of crimes may be required to  |

|       |      |   |   |   |
|-------|------|---|---|---|
|       |      | Amendment #6 to the Penal Code of 1977.                                   | public service.   | volunteer their free time to benefit their community. This type of punishment is available only after the completion of a pre-sentencing report and will be performed under the supervision of an assigned probation officer. This legislation was activated in stages till 1994.                           |
| 11. b | 1977 | 'Substance Test 'Order' (§§ 82 and 83 of the 1977 Penal code).            | Regulating treatment in the community of substance abusers.   | The legislation enables the individual abuser to remain in the community for treatment pending an elaborated therapeutic treatment plan prepared and presented by the probation officer. Such an option is also viable in cases where the court determined the activation of a conditional prison sentence. |
| 11. c | 1977 | Section 86 of the penal code.   | Regulating treatment in the community for those accused of domestic violence.   | Determines the potential dispensation based on a pre-sentencing investigation and report.   |
| 12.   | 1981 | The Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Law.                   | a. Regulation of access to criminal records<br>b. Encouraging the rehabilitation of those with criminal records and their full integration into society and the labor market, so that they can turn over a new page in their lives. | Employers in Israel have limited access to the criminal record. This fact prevents discrimination against released prisoners in hiring and contributes to the relatively low unemployment rate among released prisoners and former convicted criminals.   |
| 13.   | 1982 | The Criminal Procedure Act (Combined Version) Section 187(b), and 191(a). | Strengthening the victim's voice.   | A judge, before sentencing a sex or domestic violence offender, can request, beyond a basic victim statement, that the victim, voluntary will undergo a thorough diagnosis for the mental,  |

|     |      |  |   |  |
|-----|------|--|---|--|
|     |      |  |   | <p>psychological, sociological, economic and employment damages suffered from their victimization.</p> <p>Such an amendment created a conceptual shift in the role of probation officers, that were now required to include the experience and testimony of the victim of sex crimes or domestic violence. The victim impact statement was further elaborated to have other serious felony offenses that resulted in death.</p> <p>The victim impact statement was further elaborated to have other serious felony offenses that resulted in death.</p>  |
| 14. | 1983 | Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority Act, 5743. | Regulating PRA as a state authority.  | The prisoner rehabilitation and reintegration subject gained momentum and received more well-organized and comprehensive attention. A prisoner could apply voluntarily to PRA for up to one year after release to receive psycho-sociological treatment.   |
| 15. | 1996 | The Criminal Procedure Act.                  | Regulating the issue of enforcement powers and arrests.                             | This legislation resulted in the assignment of new duties on probation services. Specifically, the new legislation mandated the completion of a pre-sentencing report, examination of alternatives to incarceration and diversion, and pre-sentencing investigation for any individual arrested for more than five days. The existing law came into effect at the end of 1998 and the beginning of 1999.   |
| 16. | 2001 | The Parole Act, 2001.                        | Regulating:<br>a. The possibility of early release.<br>b. PRA as a state authority. | <p>The Parole Act constitutes the benchmark for determining the possibility of a prisoner's early release. According to the act, a prisoner (except for those serving life sentences) who has been sentenced to a term of more than six months and who has already served at least two-thirds of his sentence is entitled to request that his case be brought before a parole committee to enable him to serve the remainder of his sentence in the community.</p> <p><b>Clause 9</b> of the Parole Act details the committee's considerations in determining parole, emphasizing the public interest involved. The principal considerations relate to the danger posed by the prisoner.</p> <p>This act determined that treatment accorded to the freed prisoner would no longer be voluntary but</p> |



|     |      |   |  |   |
|-----|------|---|--|---|
|     |      |   |  | rather formal, under the supervision and in accordance with the act. This conceptual change concerning the role of the PRA led to the restructure and revision of PRA and its operation. Several restrictions are imposed on the paroled criminal, such as a prohibition against committing offences and leaving the country, conducting periodic urine tests, reporting to local law enforcement stations, notifying the authorities of any change in residence, and a mandatory employment requirement. |
| 17. | 2001 | Rights of Victims of Crime Act.   | Regulating criminal victims' rights.   | The victim's attitude to the possible parole of the prisoner is also considered.  |
| 18. | 2014 | The Act for Electronic Monitoring of the Detainee and Paroled Prisoner. | Regulating paroled prisoner's supervision.                                   | The parole board is allowed to condition the prisoner's release on the imposition of electronic monitoring to limit his freedom of movement.  |
| 19. | 2018 | Supreme Court 1892/14.  | Alleviating prison overcrowding as it violates basic civil rights.           | The result of the decision by the county's Supreme Court is that there is an administrative release from prisons in Israel.   |
| 20. | 2018 | Parole Act, Amendment No. 17.   | Extending the scope of the mechanism for early release from short sentences. | Establishment of a unit in the framework of the Prison Service. The unit discusses requests for parole by prisoners serving sentences of three months to one year. It operates according to the same considerations guiding the parole board, alongside which it is to make its decisions in the shortest possible time.  |