

Social Entrepreneurship,

a Crucial Component of Prison Reform in Greece:

Recommending a SIB model

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Abstract

This article is a proposal to reform the Greek Correctional System through the integration of work within prisons as well as an exploration of the potential to have social enterprises develop inside and outside detention facilities by means of Social Impact Bonds. It starts with a brief historical review of the right to work for people living in detention facilities and a critical assessment of the current institutional framework in Greece in relation to employment opportunities it offers. The prospects for Social Enterprises both inside and outside prison facilities are evaluated and a model of cooperation is proposed involving Third, Private and Public sector bodies. The reasons why Social Enterprises and Third sector entities in general can successfully engage in the field of social and employment integration, or reintegration, of prisoners are being elaborated on and coupled to examples of partnerships from abroad. Moreover, arguments are advanced as to the need for partnerships in terms of economy and performance along with the need to have programs, the effectiveness of which will be assessed on the basis of the development of indicators. In light of the abovementioned good practices, we therefore recommend a partnership among the Third, the Private and the Public Sector, one is duly structured and analytical as to its individual features and which concerns implementing a pilot program in Greek rural prisons.

The correctional system and penitentiary legislation in Greece. Introductory remarks

Upon undertaking to explore the potential for the development of Social Enterprises in the context of work and social reintegration programs for prisoners and detainees in Greece, first and foremost, it is imperative to investigate whether the ground for such a move is indeed appropriate and to assess against the backdrop of the current legislative framework¹ those possibilities and limitations that shape the context in which the labor rights of those social groups can be exercised.

In hindsight, the prison system, and how it has been shaped over the years, given the social circumstances and need to ensure crime prevention, crime control and social and employment reintegration, has changed in a clear and progressive manner. From the purely punitive nature of the custodial sentence in connection with the lack of post-penitentiary care provision, there is a shift towards adopting a more anthropocentric punishment model, following the imperatives of European and international treaties² which - in any case - are binding for our country and focus

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European and international treaties binding our country:

- The European Convention on Human Rights (Law 53/1974).
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Law 2462/1997).
- The International Convention on the Rights of the Child (Law 2101/1992).
- $The\ Convention\ against\ Torture\ and\ Other\ Cruel,\ Inhuman\ or\ Degrading\ Treatment\ or\ Punishment\ (L\ 1782/1988).$
- The Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and the appointment of the Ombudsman as a "National Prevention Mechanism" (Law 4228/2014).

International guidelines and recommendations that provide guidance on "soft law" policy:

- The European Prison Rules of the Council of Europe.
- Nelson Mandela Rules of the United Nations General Assembly.
- European Rules on Community Sanctions and Measures of the European Council.
- European Probation Rules of the European Council

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⁻ Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999).

⁻ Internal Regulations for the Operation of Type A and B Detention Facilities (YA 55819/2003, Φ EK B' 463) and Juvenile Detention Facilities (YA 62367/2005, Φ EK B' 889).

⁻ Security Regulations for Detention Facilities (YA 104356/2014, ΦEK B' 3581).

mainly on smooth reintegration into the community while ensuring respect for human rights.

As the interest has turned toward the social and labor reintegration of this particular group, it is clear that work is a means of social adaptation since it prepares the prisoner and supplies him with knowledge, skills and all the necessary resources which will help him after being discharged.

Correctional legislation in Greece³ has undergone three main phases, which are reflected in the corresponding standards of prison policy adopted by the Greek legislator and led to the establishment of the rights of detainees⁴, be they individual or collective (right to education, labor rights, etc.)

The first Greek prisons' legislation was promulgated in the Ottoman Decree of December 31, 1836, "On Correctional Prison", which follows the "punitive model". According to this model, through the inactivation of the individual, which is achieved by a custodial sentence, the interruption of the perpetual deviation is ensured, while isolation, including the prohibition of communication intertwined with forced labor and severe punishment, give it its punitive character.

Subsequently, under the influence of the New Social Security School and the Elementary Rules on the Treatment of UN Prisoners (1955), the Penalty Code of 1967 adopted a solidarity character, according to which the sentence as deprivation of liberty should aim not to punish but rather to reform the personality of the prisoner and his moral improvement. The purposes of the sentence changed and priority was given to a treatment based on the psycho-biological examination of the prisoner's personality, on work aimed at social adaptation and education, moral integrity, as well as on measures for a fair, impartial, human and, to the extent that was possible, to individualized punishment (Papatheodorou, 2002).

The third phase was ushered in by the Code of Conduct for Detainees⁵ of 1989 and was influenced by the gradual adoption of the European Prison Rules in 1973 and 1987. This Code is part of the "Rule of Law", which is based on respect for human rights, making the detainee participate in educational programs while promoting the social reintegration of the prisoner. The aforesaid 1989 Code stipulated

⁴ Prisoner's A – Z. Rights and Obligations

³ Correctional Code (L. 2776/1999)

⁵ See Legal Information Bank.

that prisoners should be disciplined and socially rehabilitated, that the adverse effects of deprivation of liberty ought to be mitigated, human dignity safeguarded, self-esteem encouraged and a sense of responsibility developed.

At the same time, and always within the framework of the legal model, the Code of 1989 included specific provisions on the training of detainees, on work (not compulsory), on the granting of regular, extraordinary and educational leave, on the freedom to live and the partial execution of the sentence. There were still disciplinary sentences, some rigorous methods of restoring order in the detention facilities and isolation as punishment without the guarantees of the relevant constitutional checks. The malfunctions and loopholes of the Code as well as the suspension of certain key provisions made its review and reform necessary and led resulted to the compilation of the current Correctional Code.

The role of Social Entrepreneurship in a Modern Penitentiary System

Ensuring labor rights and the right to work at a wider level has become a political battlefield over time. Especially when it comes to inmates working in prison, the issues that arise are multiple and require further discussion. Looking at this particular population, i.e. inmates, and the interaction of imprisonment and labor, it is clear that work, apart from all its benefits to the psyche, is also a means of social adaptation as it prepares and supplies prisoners with knowledge and skills which will serve them after discharge.

The institution of imprisonment attempts to combine two contradictory goals and so it does by definition. It is meant to, on the one hand, remove "criminals" from society and, on the other, to pursue their reintegration into society through correction and labor speciali sation. The steps that have been taken so far in the direction of education and vocational training in Greece are minimal and are limited to social reintegration through post-release work. As regards working within prisons, the only institutionalised action that could possibly be considered as focused towards reintegration is that of prisoners working in rural prisons.

At this point, alongside the necessity for labor in prisons, the new Law 4430/2016 on the Social and Solidarity Economy creates novel prospects. The spirit

of democracy and equality it advocates, as to the rights of people working for a KOIN.S.EP., may well be the basis for having such enterprises created by the prisoners themselves.

In Greece - despite the fact that Social Economy is anything but new - the development of that particular field did not follow the European example. Actually, it was only recently instituted via Law 4019 in 2011, a piece of legislation which five years later was replaced by 4430/2016. Therefore, 4019/2011 is the first attempt the Greek State made to conceptually clarify and regulate the field of institutionalised Social Economy.

The subject of Social Enterprises contributing to the social and work integration of vulnerable groups, including former inmates of correctional facilities, has been addressed by many writers (Nyssens, 2006). What is so particular about a Social Enterprise and its composition is that its members may come from completely different places and backgrounds, which is a challenge for the success of such ventures.

Social Enterprises in Europe, and in particular Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISEs), offer four types of employment and social inclusion programs: a) temporary work programs, b) permanent self-financing jobs, c) vocational integration through permanent grants and d) socialization through productive activity. Typical examples of Social Inclusion Enterprises with Transitional Employment Programs are enterprises offering in-house training and training in Belgian or Portuguese integration enterprises (Davister, Defourny, & Gregoire, 2004). Examples of social enterprises offering permanent self-financing positions are long-term labor integration firms in France, providing long-term employment to the jobless to enable them to acquire social and professional autonomy. In Europe there are two types of organisations that offer socialisation through productive activities: centers for adapting to working life in France and professional centers in Spain. The former employ mostly people with serious psychological and social problems (including those released from prison) while the latter create new jobs for people with disabilities. Finally, examples of Social Enterprises offering job integration through permanent grants are the so-called "sheltered workshops" of Portugal, Ireland and Sweden and tgethe "Adapted Work Enterprises" of Belgium. The above are unique

examples of WISEs since they are not "exposed" in the open labour market but provide, rather, guaranteed employment. In Greece, Work Integration Social Enterprises offer programs related to permanent self-financing jobs, but mainly socialisation programs through productive activity (Tsilikis A. Christos, 2017) and for this reason we believe they are the most suitable for work activation or re-activation within prisons.

It is evident, given the above, that prisoners or ex-prisoners may work in WISEs in almost all the aforementioned types of social and work integration programs. Let it also be underlined that our proposal mainly concerns developing transitional employment and socialisation programs through productive activity inside and outside detention facilities (further details may be found in the respective section of our proposal). By way of concluding this particular part on Work Integration Social Enterprises in Greece, it is worth mentioning that the programs they offer do not belong to a more generalised strategic planning scheme for work integration and employment, unlike other countries, as Germany, for instancewhere such program implementation encompasses several players, such as central government, local job placement agencies, local government and social integration enterprises (CSEEE) (Tsilikis A. Christos, 2017). It is true that, regarding WISEs in Greece, no particular provision been made to support them despite the fact that they are an important tool in Europe aimed at tackling social exclusion and strengthening labor and social inclusion.

In contrast to Greece, there are many examples from other countries around the world attempting to integrate social-entrepreneurship in national labour market policies. Those policies focus mainly on developing programs to boost the employability of prisoners, or ex-prisoners, in and out of prison, in Social Enterprises and indeed they do have particularly positive outcomes. Such programs are quite distinct from those that are of purely consultative nature, take place within the prison and prepare the prisoner for social and work reintegration upon dismissal or the ones that offer employment and professional qualifications within prisons with the ultimate goal of skill acquisition, or updating thereof, so that detainees may have all which might be necessary for their smooth reintegration (Milion A. Fotini, 2015).

In Europe, public and third-sector partnerships have become a good practice with a view to increasing efficiency, performance and ensuring adequate funding for these programs for three main reasons. First, they offer lower cost services compared to publicly-funded programs, second, they easily attract large investment funds and third, they generally achieve their goals. But international partnerships of this type, commonly referred to as "Social Impact Bonds" (SIBs), are widespread, with more than half of them in Great Britain as the UK has developed financial tools to support them and it is indeed a pioneer in the field. The world over, 4 out of a total of 43 such SIBs concern prisons and the reduction of recidivism (including the Peterborough Prison Partnership in the U.K. and the Prison Partnership in Ryker's Island in the U.S.) and 11 (of those 43 partnerships) are aimed at reducing unemployment, which proves the flexibility and multifaceted nature of such programs (OECD, 2016) but also their adaptability (Center for Global Development, 2013).

Scotland was one of the very first countries to develop partnerships between state and social enterprises so as to reduce the relapse of released prisoners (OECD, 2016). In this context, particular emphasis was placed on enhancing Social Entrepreneurship through developing targeted actions and programs, directly or indirectly linked to the establishment of Social Enterprises within or outside prisons. The "Just Enterprise" national enterprise support program (https://www.justenterprise.org/) is being implemented, simultaneously with an investment program of £ 6 million, called the Enterprise Ready Fund (https://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/15300/ThirdSectorFunding/EnterpriseGrowthSustainabilityFund). Similar to the above is the National Program for the Development of Markets for Social Economy Bodies, which was implemented by "Ready for Business" (http://readyforbusiness.org/) and supports the development of "Social Partnerships with Public- Social Partnerships" PSP) by strengthening cooperation between social enterprises, the Third Sector in general, and public sector services (Ready for Business, 2017).

A key feature of the Public Social Partnerships (PSP) is that they actively involve Social Economy Organisations in service-planning (OECD, Policy Brief on Scaling the Impact of Social Enterprises: Policies for Social Enterprises, 2016) so that these partnerships developed collaboratively, have a sustainable and better response to the needs of its users. The model is based on public sector partnerships and social

economy actors with services developed jointly and focusing on what is both useful and functional. The model of "Social Partnerships with the State" is of particular interest as it was adopted while trying to develop innovative programmes to reform the prisons system in Scotland and the outcome was particularly positive (Ready for Business, 2017). Given that, previously, significant amounts were being spent on social and work reintegration programs, the results thereof being poor, the Scottish Ministry of Justice decided to move to a different direction and devised policies for social and employment reintegration of prisoners.

In 2012, the opening of a new prison, HMP Low Moss, provided a first-class opportunity for a partnership between Social Enterprises and the State in order to take the most effective measures to provide the best possible service to the prisoners. In fact, a partnership of 15 partners was developed, including Social Enterprises, public sector bodies and financiers, who jointly designed the project by signing the Low Moss PSP Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (http://www.sps.gov.uk/ Corporate / Prisons / LowMoss / HMP-Low-Moss.aspx). The partnership was headed by the "Turning Point Scotland" Social Enterprise, its ultimate goal being to provide care to prisoners and ex-prisoners (HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland, 2013). Initial planning involved supporting 750 prisoners and ex-prisoners each year. The shortand medium-term goal was to improve the situation of prisoners and to further reduce recidivism by 15% compared to its 2013 levels. The pilot phase started in 2013 and was completed in 2016; now the final stage is expected to follow.

An integral part of such programs is the part of self-evaluation and effectiveness-of-action monitoring (using indicators) through qualitative and quantitative methods (Osborne, Bond, Dutton, & Elric Honore, 2012). The results were very positive, the initiative was embraced by the political leadership and recognised by all sides. Indeed, it was decided to adopt it as a good practice for a smooth transition from prison to society. An equally interesting initiative is the "Social Impact Bonds" of the United Kingdom. This is essentially a transformation of PSPs bringing together public-sector, third-party partnerships and investors, "rewarding" the latter when the previously-agreed targets are achieved (Galitopoulou Stellina, 2016). Investors collaborate with Social Enterprise and Third Sector stakeholders and develop innovative programs while sharing financial gains between themselves. Should the objectives fail to be met, donors are not paid (OECD, 2016).

Essentially, these are "government pay-for-success" programs where the State contributes only a specific amount that is part of the overall budget of the program. The remaining amount is offered by investors who agree on the existence of specific measurable targets as well as a certain percentage of profit if goals are to be achieved (OECD, Social Impact Bonds: Promises & Pitfalls, 2015). As long as the goals are achieved, they get an increment of the initial amount, if they are not, they just get their capital back or, in most cases, they lose their capital altogether. The State is thus able to fund large-scale social and employment integration and reintegration programs whose budget would be extremely difficult to meet, particularly in times of economic crisis. Investors, on the other hand, have every interest in achieving the objectives of the program once they are able to make profit.

The United Kingdom Department of Justice, the "Big Lottery Fund" and the "Social Fund" created the world's first Social Impact Bond (SIB) in September 2010 (Dyson Mike, 2011) to fund an initiative designed with the scope of reducing by at least 10% the recidivism of 3,000 short-sentenced (sentenced for less than a year) prisoners in Peterborough Prisons (Emma Disley, 2015). If the target exceeded 10%, then the co-operators would be paid an additional, proportional, amount, and no more than 13%. The payment was to be made by the "Big Lottery Fund" on behalf of the Ministry of Justice and it is estimated that the total cost of the program amounted to half of the corresponding programs implemented through public spending.

In neighboring Italy, in 2001, the new state-of-the-art Bollate Prison was launched. In Bollate, reintegration educational programs for prisoners are implemented, and their success has led to the need to find new ways of developing educational and vocational programmes for prisoners (Araya & Tomassetti, 2012). With re-socialisation training as their main goal (Panousis G., 1987), they created, with the help of a social institution and a private company, a modern restaurant inside prison which offers its services to the citizens while providing working opportunities to the prisoners. Positive results have been achieved, on the one hand, through training and, on the other, through prisoner interaction with the "outside world".

In Italy, the "Made in Prison" Social Enterprise was established in the Jail of Lecce, where inmates are employed in the manufacturing of recyclable handbags (the raw materials for which are actually leftovers i.e. pieces of material provided by

cooperating small entrepreneurs) while the company's clientele includes ministries, supermarkets, super markets, universities. In recent years, the company expanded to involve, on the one hand, another prison ward, in one of the highest security prisons, Trani Prison, and on the other hand, people outside prisons, i.e. those who are sentenced to house-arrest and confinement (Enzo dal Verme, 2017).

In Newcastle, United Kingdom, Kirklevington is an "open-type prison" with the lowest security rating and functioning as a model Social Enterprise where prisoners are employed in a number of individual activities, such as car-washing, coffee shop, a workshop. From the onset, prisoners are aware they are involved in a research project with significant benefits for themselves but also for the local society and economy. The business is so successful it expanded to include other activities as well. The project concerns a partnership between the Kirklevington Prison Social Enterprise and the National Offender Management Service (Glenys Dame, 2016).

In addition to European countries, nonetheless, there are also examples of Social Enterprises based inside prisons in the American continent, a fact which again proves that the model we propose for work integration within Greek detention centers is applicable and that it can effectively help reform the Prison System. In several American States, apparently, there are social enterprises: the Delancey Street Foundation in California, Learning to Earn Project in Georgia, The Five O'Clock Club in New York, Riker's Island in New York, Coffee Creek Prison Project - Entrepreneurship Program (PEP) in Texas, Curry New Venture Initiative in Manitoba.

Based on the aforementioned, it is crucial for incarcerated people to work so as to prepare for "post-prison life". Apart from the positive effects work has on prisoner psychology, by making them a "useful" member of a "closed" prison society, avoiding the institutionalisation and deactivation of their personality, the right conditions are being created and act as a catalyst to the smooth reintegration of prisoners into society while preparing them for reintegration into the national labor force.

The Suggested Model

The previous analysis clearly demonstrates that the issue of labour and social integration and reintegration of prisoners and ex-prisoners has been central to prison policies in Greece and the rest of the globe. There is ample evidence of the fact that ensuring the (exercise of) right to work and the smooth social integration of the individual in society greatly contributes, in combination with other factors, to the achievement of the goal of any penitentiary system that is, no less, to minimise scope for relapse (Davis, 2013).

In light of the above, we are attempting to develop a comprehensive proposal for the implementation of social and employment integration/ reintegration programs for prisoners and ex-prisoners through public-private partnerships and the relevant involvement of social enterprises taking into account the special characteristics of the prison system of Greece. These schemes actually are applied policy practices combining the theoretical background, which was delineated in the previous paragraphs, to modern-day examples applied internationally. Drawing on good practices from international and European literature, we schematically summed up the SWOT analysis below, listing the strengths of the proposal that follows, threats, opportunities and risks that may arise in applying such models to Greek reality. (The results of the SWOT analysis are summarized in the table below.)

Table 1 - SWOT Analysis

SWOT Analysis	
Strengths	Weaknesses
 Develop measurable indicators for quality and achievement of objectives Reduced public participation coupled with designing and developing more effective programs Continuous evaluation Focus on achieving goals More effective programs 	 The need to reform the legislative framework to provide employment opportunities through partnerships and establishing Social Enterprises within prisons Lack of a culture of partnerships Securing money to support

Opportunities	wider partnerships • Possible lack of investors in the beginning • A small number of organizations are active in social & employment integration and reintegration Threats
 Strengthening Social Entrepreneurship Development of wider public- private partnerships Reduce relapse Prison decongestion Reinforcement of employment, mainly at local level Saving public resources 	 Appearance of isomorphic phenomena in Social Enterprises Gradual privatisation of important public structures for social & employment integration and reintegration

The development of indicators to measure quality and achievement of objectives is a key element for the proposed model and it is being implemented for the first time in Greece. The use of indicators is expected to make a key contribution to the effective monitoring of integration and reintegration programs as well as to the ongoing evaluation of the work carried out by each and everyone of the members of the partnership and also as a whole.

It is also important to reduce public sector participation, while more effective programs are being designed and rolled out, which in turn will help save public resources. Through the implementation of such programs, based on wider partnerships between the Third, the Public and the Private sector, it is possible to strengthen social entrepreneurship, too, which is in turn expected to lead to further growth for the Social Economy in Greece. The shift towards ia holistic prison system through Third, Public and Private Partnerships and the effective use of indicators along with the remaining building blocks of the model, which we will be elaborating on in the following paragraphs, are all expected to prop up the effort to develop programs that will lead to - substantially - reducing relapse, consequently relieving the already-burdened-with-overpopulation prisons.

Upon further and deeper analysing the results, as presented in Table 1, it turns out there are some weaknesses, most importantly the existing legislative

framework and the need to have it reformed so that it may provide legitimate scope for work within detention facilities, and for it to make in particular a clear provision for the establishment of Social Enterprises within prisons. This weakness can be coupled to the small number of actors involved in the social and employment integration and reintegration of the community as previously mentioned in this article. The lack of a pro-partnership culture may be the main reason why there have been no such actions in Greece so far and it may also be an inhibiting factor in promoting partnership models overall. However, by assessing and exploiting the good practices that have been applied for many years at an international level, and by taking into account the Greek experience and reality, this obstacle can be overcome. Securing sufficient resources to support such partnerships can be a potential challenge for the Greek reality of the current economic crisis given the lack of a collaborative culture and consequently of strategic investors.

According to international literature, Social Enterprises working with public bodies (PERSE research) often exhibit isomorphism trends, i.e. practically, over the years, their business character and orientation is altered, they lose their purely social footprint and their bottom-up character, and at the same time they are directly dependent on the collaborating state organisations and programs. Then, there is the risk of such a partnership leading to privatisation of structures and a substantial withdrawal of the state from major areas of action.

The study of available Greek and international literature indicates that systems which are based solely on public participation have largely failed to achieve the basic goal of less relapse and at the same time proved extremely costly and ineffective.

In proceeding with the presentation of the proposed partnership model, we shall attempt to analyse how the various co-operating bodies work together and interact to achieve the desired result. The overall structure is illustrated in the next flow chart and may be explained as follows.

Flow chart

7. Return of Principal plus Interest

2. Coordinate, Structure Deal, & Manage Performance

INTERMEDIARY

2. Coordinate, Structure Deal, & Manage Performance

SERVICE PROVIDER

3. Deliver Services

4. Achieve Outcomes

EVALUATOR

Figure 2. Impact Bond Mechanics

The Potential and Limitations of Impact Bonds: Lessons from the First Five Years of Experience Worldwide Global Economy and Development Program – BROOKINGS

First, the Ministry of Labor, Social Security & Social Solidarity, which is responsible for Social Economy and Social Entrepreneurship, in direct cooperation with the Ministry of Justice (the competent ministry responsible for the operation of prisons) shall set forth the guidelines and objectives of the proposed program. The guidelines are the minimum requirements the program should meet, while the targets are measurable and refer to either reducing recidivism and increasing reintegration, or to the training and employment integration of beneficiaries.

Monitoring the achievement of objectives is directly linked to the development of (qualitative and quantitative) indicators, which will be used for the first time in our country (for such programs), and is an innovative element for such initiatives. The structure, the components, as well as the selection and development of indicators and program objectives should be based on the results of a research that will be carried out by a scientific committee set up to this end.

In a second phase, and once the present situation has been determined by the Research Group, the competent Ministries will communicate their intention to implement the program and invite all stakeholders and investors to express their interest to participate in the program. Partnerships are invited to submit a concrete

action plan, describing the precise way in which the various actors shall participate along with their previous experience in the field (based on the field of specialty) and an estimated budget for the operating costs. At investor level, proposals will concern the funds they intend to make available, amounts that may come from corporate social responsibility programs or any other source. A deposit will be made on an one-off basis, at the moment the investor with whom the ministries will cooperate in the Social Economy Fund is chosen. That step shall ensure, on the one hand, that the amount will be readily available to meet the operational needs of the program, so the weight shifts from the State to the investor and that, on the other hand, should the investor choose to withdraw from the program before it is completed, then the amount will still be in the reserves of the Social Economy Fund and available for use even in future programs.

Once the process of proposal submissions for partnerships and investors is complete, the evaluation of these proposals will start and eventually the final selection of the scheme to be undertaken will be made. Then, as the final partnership and investor scheme, which will undertake the implementation of the program, is established, the workload will be distributed to the operators, based on the initial statement of activity of the respective body, and the implementation of the program will kick off. Based on the experience of other countries having implemented similar types of programs, it is appropriate to develop a pilot project of limited duration to anticipate failures and problems that may not have been thought of during the initial design.

Rural prisons in Greece can very well be used to implement a pilot project since the organisation of work within them is aimed at manufacturing products that could easily be made available to the local communities by setting up one or more Social Cooperative Enterprises within the prisons. Currently there are 4 rural detention facilities located in Kassandra, Kassaveteia, Tirintha and Agia respectively. On the basis of the latest census that the General Secretariat for Crime Policy of the Ministry of Justice carried out on 2 May 2017, a total of 719 people are serving their sentence in rural prisons throughout Greece (see Figure 2), a population sufficient to develop integrated employment programs for prisoners, on both a pilot and on a more permanent basis.

Total Amount of Detainees' per Prison Class

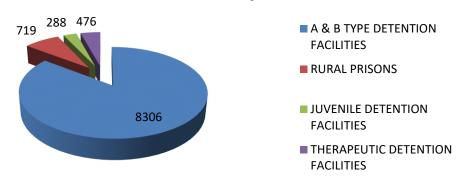


Figure 1 – Total amount of detainees' per prison class

The benefits of such an initiative can be varied and many, for both the prison itself, the inmates and the local communities. Regarding the Prison, it is easier for it to operate while at the same time the efficient assigning and management of work is facilitated. At the same time, resources are saved at both national and local levels, since a system of autonomy (cyclical economy) can be created through the integrated production and distribution of products made, even between detention facilities, helping meet the basic needs of prisoners, such as food.

According to our proposal, and as opposed to existing ones⁶, the profits made from operating the Social Cooperative Company will be distributed in accordance with the provisions of Law 4430/2016 and Article 21 which refers to the distribution of profits⁷. It should also be noted that public bodies can (according to a recent order by the Ministry of Justice and making use of favorable arrangements for the signing of program contracts between the Commonwealth of Independent States

Reserves - Distribution of profits

⁶ Earnings from the prisons of Cassandra and other rural prisons operating in Agia Chania, Cassavetia/Volos and Tiryns are managed by a special committee. Some of them are used for the needs of the prison (maintenance and purchase of machines, tools, etc.), while the rest are deposited in an account of the Ministry of Justice and used to improve prison conditions in the country.

⁷ Law 4430/2016, Article 21

^{1.} The profits of the Social Enterprises are not distributed to members unless they are employees, so that paragraph 2 may apply.

^{2.} The profits are distributed annually as follows:

a. (by) 5% for the formation of a regular reserve

b. 35% distributed to the employees of the enterprise unless 2/3 of the members of the General Assembly of the Body reasonably decide to allocate some, or all of that percentage, to the activities of item c

c. the rest is dedicated to creating new jobs and broadening its productive activity.

and public bodies) obtain products from rural prisons. Production can also be absorbed by the Municipal Groceries of various municipalities, local hospitals, campuses, soup-kitchens and other structures at local or regional level in the framework of Social Policies exercised by the Municipality or the Region. It is obvious that a stable economic and productive cooperation between a local community and a detention facility can be established.

As far as inmates are concerned, the creation of a Social Cooperative Society, besides providing significant employment, along with employment and skills / qualifications (upskiling & reskiling), offers a significant financial incentive and aid, while at the same time reinforcing self-esteem, labor reactivation, socialisation and the development of team spirit. The importance of certifying skills, existing or acquired in prison, via an official state body (e.g. EAPPP), so that the certificate may act as a passport allowing a smoother reintegration after release, ought to be highlighted. It is also important to link skills for which there is dynamic demand locally to those acquired within prisons, so that the imprisonment period become a first-rate opportunity to update training or re-training knowledge.

Local societies also benefit in multiple different ways as the products of Social Cooperative Prison Operations are produced and made available locally, while, moreover, there is scope for collaborations to develop with local private or municipal businesses and public organizations. The prisoners, thanks to the new skills they acquire through the programs, after discharge are reintegrated smoothly and make a significant contribution to the local economy and business. In addition, it is possible to develop common networks inside and outside prisons to ensure strong partnerships and economies of scale. The coexistence of co-operative principles, a cooperative and solidarity-based organization and production, applying democratic principles in decision-making and respect for the basic principle of equality are important tools for an effective social and labor reintegration which shall be as smooth as possible.

Conclusions

We approached the subject of work through a historical review of prison systems and the relevant legislative initiatives, alongside the framework for developing social enterprises while explaining the huge benefits thereof. We also combined the previous theoretical knowledge to our proposed model and as a result the following conclusions may be drawn regarding the possibilities of developing social enterprises within and outside detention facilities in Greece:

The core conclusion that comes as a natural consequence of the aforementioned is the fact that work is an integral part of a man-centered correctional system. The numerous studies, carried out abroad on the linkage of work, education and recidivism, or work in prison and reduction of unemployment, undoubtedly prove that the safeguarding of labour rights and work and training within detention facilities lead to a reduction in recidivism, since people who were released after having received appropriate training were more easily reintegrated into society (only 25% of those who had been through some in-service training in prison returned to it against 77% of the general population). Also, regarding unemployment, the acquisition of new knowledge, and/or the updating of existing know-how, allow detainees to smoothly re-integrate into the workforce, automatically removing them from the unemployed workforce.

The decongestion of prisons could be considered as a consequence of the implementation of work programmes within prisons in the long run. Based on the existing provisions regarding the beneficial calculation of the penalty, as is the case in rural prisons where one day's work equals three days in detention, the issue of extending and applying this kind of benefits to detention centers of all types is raised.

Linking prison-based work with training, but mainly with vocational training and certification is proposed as a generalised good practice benefiting prisoners as it upgrades their skills and their educational level, preparing them adequately for "post-prison life". Various studies have also concluded that trained prisoners are less likely to return to prison, and a cost analysis in the US has concluded that every dollar spent on schooling is returned twice to the taxpayer (Spinelli, 2005). Therefore, the

education of the inmates not only benefits them as they acquire and / or upgrade their knowledge and skills but it also helps save State money.

In the proposed model of third sector and public-private sector cooperation, the significance of saving state resources should be highlighted. On the one hand, in our proposal, at the implementation level for such a program, the requirements for direct financial support from the government are minimal thanks to the participation of investors who undertake to cover most of the financial requirements. On the other hand, always on the basis of the proposed model, introducing Social Entrepreneurship within prisons and creating, on a wider scale, a Social Enterprises' network between prisons leads to the developing of a cyclical economy system, both at a micro-level, that is the prison facility, and at a macro-level of wider geographic units, which may cover all prisons and other Social Enterprises or private businesses. Each detention facility can supply the rest according to its manufactured products and services, while co-operation with the local community moves along the same lines. This ensures that the basic needs of prisoners, such as food, are covered by the Social Enterprise itself, and thus the public resources needed to cater to the basic needs of the prisoners are greatly reduced. The self-sufficiency that can be achieved through the vertical integration of the production of rural prison products can, in this case, leads to an ecosystem of sustainable development within prisons, with significant potential for expanding partnerships with local society and the economy.

The recommended creation of partnerships between social enterprises inside prisons with those outside, but also with public sector or the local government, is expected to help out the local economy and the national economy, in general. Given that the model of rural prisons presents fundamental structural features that can be exploited through employment and work integration programs, it is strongly advisable to create a targeted pilot project aimed, on the one hand, at setting up social enterprises within detention facilities and establishing cooperation schemes between them and the Third and the Public Sector (widening the scope of Social Economy) and, on the other hand, in the long run, at investigating the interaction between work and relapse.

Let us underline the fact that such ventures can have a significant social impact both at the level of organisations involved (Social Enterprises) but also at the level of partnerships. The resulting social and overall benefits, both economically and socially, as clearly outlined in Article 3 of Law 4430/2016, are secured through horizontal and equal partnerships. Such

partnerships may include organi sations belonging to the broader Third Sector as well as all types of Social Cooperative Enterprises. At European level, the players participating in the abovementioned schemes greatly contribute to social and employment integration programs of all types. An important position among the above entities is held by Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISE's), which constitute a key pillar of these programs. This particular type of Social Enterprise in Greece is not only underdeveloped but also its members are facing major issues, which were outlined in the first part of this article. WISEs account for 0.02% of the total Social Enterprises of Social and Solidarity Economy in the Greek registrar, which in fact demonstrates that there are still significant distortions in the Greek Social Economy ecosystem as well as in the institutional and the supportive state mechanisms towards these institutions. Taking into account the fact that out of a total of 35 total Work Integration Social Enterprises which were registered in the Registrar of Social Economy in 2016, a significant number consisted of Social Co-operatives of Limited Liability, then it becomes clear that the actual number of this type of organisations is even smaller.

Summarising the above, we believe that Third, Public and Private Partnerships can be highly instrumental in the successful implementation of social and work integration schemes through the establishment of Work Integration Social Enterprises both inside and outside prisons. The benefits are manifold and varied for the detainees, the public and the private sector as well as for the local societies and economies. The development of such programs by the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Justice is a first-rate opportunity to promote Social Entrepreneurship and Social Economy as a fundamental and integral part of a more human-centered corrective policy - and why not - as the core of a possible large-scale reform of the penitentiary system.

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