

HOME-MAKING PROCESS OF EX-PRISONERS AFTER INSTITUTIONALISATION

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1. Summary

Home making is the ongoing process of creating and re-creating of the perception of home of an individual and proceeds slowly over time. When the process is disturbed by drastic happenings like detention the home-making process faces consequences. Scientific literature states that ex-prisoners face social-, economic-, political- and physical barriers in their home-making activities. The aim of this research is to get an understanding about the impact of imprisonment on the home-making process of former prisoners. The central question is therefore: How do ex-prisoners engage in the home-making process after institutionalisation in the context of the Netherlands? Answers to this question is found by internet-mediated research. Social barriers like shame, judgement and being a step behind society influence ex-prisoners home-making activities in a negative way. The feeling of being isolated is relatable for many ex-prisoners. Financial and political barriers are often in the form of not being able to open a bank account or request payments, the result is an experienced high level of stress which can lead to restlessness. An opportunity in the home making process of ex-prisoners is the chance to start over in a different environment. This research recommends the government to change legislation in a way that it is less hard for ex-prisoners to request payment or a passport and that health insurance companies are not able to reject ex-prisoners when applying for a health insurance.

Central concepts: Home, home making, ex-prisoners, institutionalization, internet mediated research.

2. Introduction

2.1 Background

Every year approximately 30,000 ex-prisoners return into the Dutch society (VNG, 2011). Scientific literature and the media tend to attain focus on re-integration from an economic perspective. Ex-prisoners struggle to find a job or to get an insurance because of their criminal records (Visscher, 2017). Also the scientific literature is focussing on the re-integration of ex-prisoners into society and how to optimize this re-integration process (Cnaan et al., 2008). Most ex-prisoners return to their former houses or become homeless after institutionalisation (The Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). Visscher (2017) argues that ex-prisoners have to find a way in society on their own because the help offered by institutions or organizations is limited. This leads often to people struggling to find accommodation in their pre-prison municipality. Do these people who return to their former houses or municipality still have a 'home' and to what extent do they try to create a place where they feel safe? This research focuses on the home-making process of ex-prisoners. A better understanding of the home perception may lead to development in the accompaniment of ex-prisoners when they return into the society.

2.2 Research problem

This research aims to get an understanding about the impact of imprisonment on the home-making process of ex-prisoners. The focus of the media is mostly based on the economic part of returning to society, for example how ex-prisoners deal with finding a job and employer attitudes towards them (Visscher, 2017; Albright & Denq, 1996). However the social challenges that arise after imprisonment are underexposed. The discussion in the media is therefore not complete which results in an incomplete image of re-integrating for society. Existing researches imply that there are certain barriers in the home-making process for specific groups in society (Meijering et al., 2016; Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Until now there are no studies based on the home-making process of ex-prisoners in the context of the Netherlands. Ex-prisoners should return into society on more levels than only the economic level and therefore other challenges arise such as creating daily routines and invest in social relations. Often ex-prisoners return to their homes or become homeless after a while and have to deal with opinions of neighbours, family and friends, which might change the meaning of their 'own' personal space.

The central research question for this research is: How do ex-prisoners engage in the home-making process after institutionalisation in the context of the Netherlands? To answer the central question multiple sub questions require answers:

- How does home making change after institutionalisation?
- What are the barriers ex-prisoners face in the home-making process?
- Which opportunities do ex-prisoners experience in their home-making process?

2.3 Structure of thesis

The theoretical framework of the research is described in chapter 2. In this chapter is concise about scientific literature about home, home-making and home-making for ex-prisoners. Chapter 3 contains the methodology for this research with attention to the data collection methods and the data analysis. Chapter 4 includes the research results and tries to analyse these. Chapter 5 answers the central question by drawing conclusion, the recommendations form the last part of this thesis.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Home

Home is an often-used concept where many researchers deal with within cultural geography. Most people in general associate the concept home with a house. The physical dwelling or house contributes to the feeling that one is home (Mallet, 2004). However home is a rather complex concept and cannot be described as a dwelling or house only. The memories, emotions, relations and feelings that are created and made within or around this house also contribute to the home (Mallet, 2004). Therefore home is a multi-dimensional concept where the house is part of the concept as a whole (Bowlby et al., 1997 in Mallet, 2004). Rivlin & Moore (2001) argue that home is always a subjective concept that cannot be prescribed to others. When people develop emotional attachment to the place where they live, their house become part of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Burger, 2011). Blunt & Dowling (2006) argue that home is constructed by the physical place on the one hand and the feelings towards this physical place on the other hand. Among these feelings are intimacy, safety and belonging but also fear and uncertainty. Within the cultural geography there are many definitions of the concept home. The most suitable definition of home for this research is: *“As a space of belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear, the home is invested with emotions, experiences, practices and relationships that lie at the heart of human life.”* (Gregory et al., 2009, p.340). This definition shows that social aspects like experiences, memories, practices and emotion contribute to the perception of home. Moore (2000) argues that home is often experienced as the safe ‘harbour’ where people can be who they want to be without anyone judging. In addition Meijering et al. (2016) argue that people associate the feeling of control with being home. This means that certain places can be claimed and shaped at the same time. This claiming of space may result in having an emotional connection with a dwelling or house.

3.2 Home making

According to Mallet (2004) home is a dynamic concept and therefore changes over time. Mallet (2004) argues that gender and age are key dimensions in the process of changing home perceptions. Also social-economic class, ethnicity and housing tenure influence the perception of home of an individual (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Memories and the perception of home are connected and over time the events and interactions that happen at this place change the dynamics of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). This perception of change of home is the concept home making. People engage in home making by the personal value they give to certain a certain place. Gregory et al. (2009, p.342): *“what home means and how it is materially manifest are continually created and re-created through everyday home-making practices, which are themselves tied to spatial imaginaries of home.”* This quote shows that the daily routines and practices adjust the meaning of home continually. This explanation will be used as the definition of home-making activities within this research. Thereby Aziz & Ahmed (2012) contribute to this definition to the ‘self’ of every individual. They argue that during the home-making process the people evaluate their own identity within the social and physical context of space.

The process of home making often proceeds gradually over time, but what happens when dramatic changes in the life of an individual take place? There are examples of situations where the impact on the home-making process is enormous. Subsequently the process of home making becomes complex and challenging for certain people (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Ex-prisoners have been taken out of their place for a certain period of time and therefore the home-making process gets disturbed. People who return into society have to connect with the places that used to be important to them. They

have to re-evaluate the bonds that they have with a certain place that might have changed because of the dramatic change in their lives.

3.3 Barriers in home making for ex-prisoners

Ex-prisoners have been taken out of 'their' place for a certain period of time. When ex-prisoners return to their pre-prison addresses the process of home making is influenced (Harding et al., 2013). Harding et al. (2013) argue that the amount of ex-prisoners in Michigan returning to their pre-prison neighbourhoods is low. Only 41% of the ex-prisoners return to an area that is at least within half a mile of the location where they lived before, for the context of the Netherlands this information is not clear. Although the research of Harding et al. (2013) cannot answer the question why so few prisoners return to their pre-prison addresses they come up with some hypotheses:

- Families and partners may have moved away;
- Families and partners may have broken contact with the ex-prisoner;
- Returning to old environments may increase opportunities to renewed involvement in the criminal circuit.

These different hypotheses imply that social limitations influence the home-making process. Braithwaite (1989) argues that shame is one aspect where ex-prisoners have to deal with after returning into society. The attitude towards the ex-prisoner of family, partners, neighbours and other people who were part of the ex-prisoners life, may have changed. Therefore it is imaginable that ex-prisoners are uncomfortable when they return to their pre-prison addresses. Also socio-economic factors influence the home making of prisoners. The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) argues that about one third of the ex-prisoners lose their housing because of being unable to communicate and negotiate with the housing corporations, the ruling legislation (political barrier) or the fact that ex-prisoners are unable to pay rent (financial barrier). Besides social and socio-economic factors, physical limitations are obstacles in the home-making process of ex-prisoners. The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) argues that an high amount of prisoners have significant mental and physical health problems. They state that untreated, a prison regime can make these health problems worse which is an extra difficulty in finding or keeping a home and a job. Some ex-prisoners are unable to organize their daily routines because of these mental problems. Being unable to contribute in the daily activities and routines leads to the feeling that someone is not in control. Wiles et al. (2009) argue that being in control is an essential part in feeling at home.

Halderen et al. (2015) argue that ex-prisoners often deal with an addiction of drugs and alcohol. This is often a reaction to the emotional and traumatic experiences during their youth or their imprisonment. In some instances ex-prisoners have no place to go after their imprisonment and become homeless. Rivlin & Moore (2001) define homelessness as the inability of people to find accommodation for a longer period of time. Being homeless does not exclude an individual from home-making activities. Homeless people often think about ideal homes in the future or about homes from the past (Horwitz & Tognoli 1982 in Rivlin & Moore, 2001).

3.4 Conceptual model

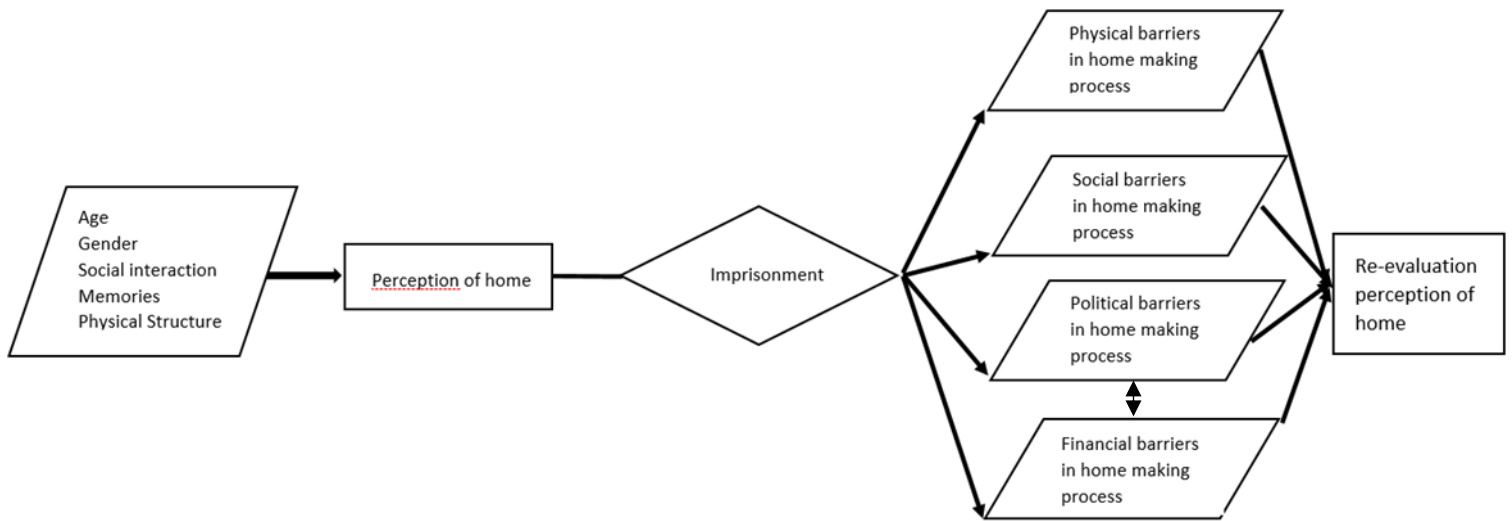


Figure 1: conceptual model

The conceptual model, see figure 1, is a display of the connection between factors and happenings that shape the home-making process of ex-prisoners. The conceptual model must be read from left to right. The arrows show that there is an influence. The normal line (between perception of home and imprisonment) is a single step, not an influence. The column on the left are factors (based on scientific literature) that influence the definition of the perception of home for an individual. The perception of home does not influence a prison sentence and therefore the link between perception of home and imprisonment is a single step. The diamond implies that there is a new situation that influences perception of home. Imprisonment can influence the home-making process by four factors based on scientific literature. Note: an ex-prisoner might experience only one barrier in the home-making process which changes his perception of home. But it is also possible that an ex-prisoner experiences multiple barriers in the home-making process. The last column shows that the different barriers in the home-making process of ex-prisoners.

4. Methodology

4.1 In-depth interview

The aim of this research is to get an understanding of the feelings and emotions towards the concept of home. Therefore my research will conduct data in a qualitative way. Qualitative research is based on feelings, values and emotions (Clifford et al., 2010). Conducting data in a qualitative way suits this research question best because of this focus on feelings. In-depth interviews provide an useful setting where respondents can give valuable information about an often subjective concept. By talking face to face with the participants the answers they give are more meaningful because of the extra personal dimension (Lindsay, 1997). In-depth interviews suits this research as the amount of possible participants is low in the context of Groningen and the amount of useful data from an in-depth interview is high. Due to some unfortunate happenings during the period of doing research the method of data collection had to be changed. The original plan of interviewing had to be replaced after weeks of preparation and effort.

During the period of the research the possibility of interviewing an ex-prisoner could still emerge which meant that there had to be an interview guide and a permission form, see appendix 1 & 2. The interview guide is combined with another researcher who does research on ex-prisoners. The number of possible participants is low in the context of Groningen, therefore the interview guide answers research questions of two researches about ex-prisoners. The permission form informs the participants what the researcher intends with the given information. Before the interview starts the researcher and the participant will fill in a permission form so the aim of the research is clear to the participant. By doing so the participant chooses what will happen with the collected data and how the interview will be used for research proposes. This permission form includes questions about recording the interview, how to make sure the privacy of the participants is protected and that the interview will not harm the participant.

Stichting WIJ Groningen offers help to ex-prisoners with questions that can be linked to reintegration in society in the context of Groningen. This organization promised that it would be possible to get a few ex-prisoners willing to participate in this research. After a couple of weeks it turned out that there were no ex-prisoners willing to participate. There is another organization that operates at a national level, Exodus. The conversation with this organization did not lead to a setting where the researcher could interview ex-prisoners. The last attempt of getting in touch with ex-prisoners was to make a flyer, see appendix 3, that the researcher gave to the person who distributes the homeless

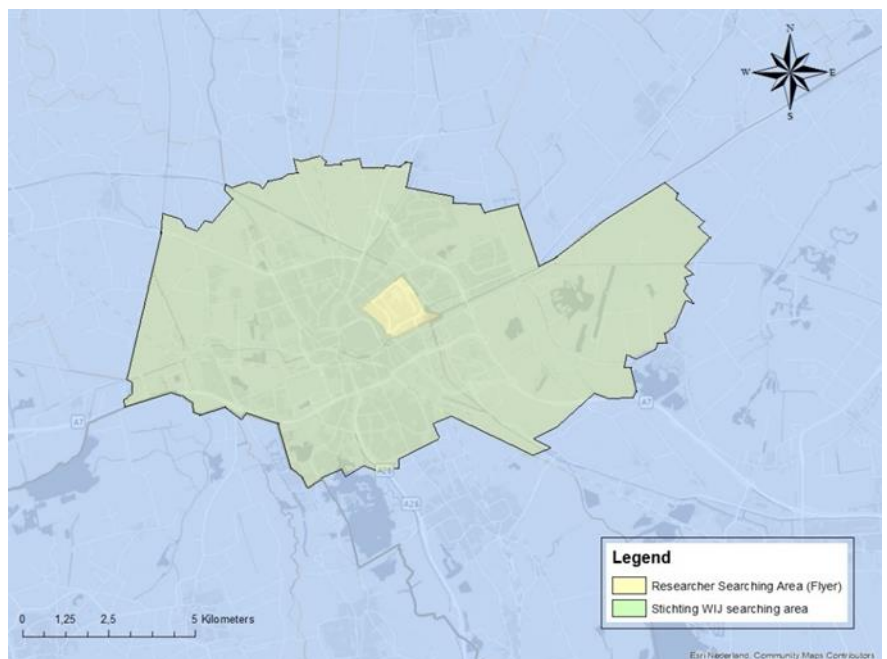


Figure 2: searching areas

newspaper in front of a supermarket where the researcher works. This person has conversations with almost every person going to that supermarket in the Oosterparkwijk, it could be possible that he knew someone who has been in prison in the past. Next to that the researcher has placed the flyer on the information board at the same supermarket. But also this attempt to get in touch with ex-prisoners failed. Figure 2 shows the searching area of Stichting WIJ and the attempt of the researcher to get in touch with ex-prisoners.

4.1.1 Internet-mediated research

Instead of interviewing the ex-prisoners this research switched its data collection methods towards internet-mediated research. Clifford et al. (2010) argue that internet-mediated research means that online questionnaires, different types of virtual interviews, sites, ethnographies and experiments are investigated to collect valuable data. Dodd (1998) argues that internet-mediated research can be valuable. To make sure internet-mediated research is done right the plan of the researcher had to be systematically and efficient (Clifford et al., 2010). Internet-mediated research requires structure and needs to be systematically done. Internet-mediated research may be a solution to provide a broader analysis in combination with face-to-face methods. During the period of doing research the possibility of onsite research could still emerge, the goal was to create this 'triangulation' of different methods.

The fact that this research is based on secondary data causes that the central question had to be reframed. Researching the influence of institutionalisation on the home making process of ex-prisoners in the context of Groningen was not an option. The secondary data is from ex-prisoners at a national level and therefore the context of Groningen had to be changed to the context of the Netherlands. If it was possible to ask specific questions the quality of the data would increase. Internet-mediated research has the limitation that the researcher cannot ask deeper questions about the home-making process of ex-prisoners. The researcher has to 'find' data about the subject home making of ex-prisoners. The result is that the amount of data is not as comprehensive as it would be when interviewing ex-prisoners.

4.2 Data collection

Internet-mediated research is used to find valuable quotes from ex-prisoners. As the time for collecting data was running out, a plan had to be created how to scan the internet in the most efficient way, as internet-mediated research is time consuming. To make sure that analysing the data and writing the research was not getting into trouble, the deadline of the period used for data collection was set at the 13th of May. The total time span of scanning the internet was from 9 May until 13 May. The approach that is used to collect the data in the most efficient way, was to search for certain terms. To prevent to get lost in searching on Google, the thirty first 'results' were researched on Google.

LexisNexis is an archive of all the newspapers in the Netherlands. The last two days of collecting data are used to search through this archive of different newspapers. As the amount of 'results' on certain terms are relatively low and are shown multiple times, the researcher has decided to scan all the news articles

Date	Selected medium	Searching terms	Amount of 'results'	Number of valuable quotes
09-05-2018	Google	" <u>Interview met ex-gegetineerden</u> "	45.400	23
10-05-2018	Google	" <u>Verhalen ex-gegetineerden</u> "	41.100	13
11-05-2018	Google	" <u>Ex-gegetineerden AND thuis</u> "	60.400	5
12-05-2018	LexisNexis	" <u>Ex-gegetineerden AND thuis</u> "	702	5
12-05-2018	LexisNexis	" <u>Thuisgevoel AND ex-gegetineerden</u> "	1	4
13-05-2018	LexisNexis	" <u>Ex-gevangen en AND wonen</u> "	353	5

Figure 3: Overview data collection

within the searching terms. The searching terms are in Dutch because this research focusses on the context of the Netherlands. Figure 3 shows the table with the date of the collected data, the medium that is used to find useful quotes, the searching terms that were used on that date, the amount of 'results' and the number of valuable quotes that were found.

4.3 Data analysis

The data were analysed in the programme Atlas.ti. This program provides structure in qualitative data in the way the researcher wants. The programme allows the researcher to create labels so the answers of participants can be categorized, these labels are called 'codes'. The codes are constructed by the theoretical framework and by the answers the participants give. The codes that are created based on the theoretical framework are called deductive codes. Clifford et al. (2010) argue that deductive research means that you test reality with arguments found in scientific literature. Inductive research works the other way around and means that the researcher starts with collecting data and tries to create a scientific argument. Therefore it is also possible that participants come up with new feelings about their home-making process that were not anticipated which results in new codes, these codes are called inductive codes. The data is categorized under these different codes which results in a categorized overview of quotes that belong to the same code. By doing this it is possible for the researcher to detect patterns in the collected data. To categorize the collected data even more the researcher has distinguished themes, codes and subcodes. The different themes consist of different codes who contain the quotes belonging to that code. Some codes are general and consist of multiple subcodes.

These patterns that can be found in the data are reflected through the theoretical framework. By doing this it is possible to see if the patterns correspond with the theoretical framework and with the expectations of the researcher. The researcher will try to draw parallels between scientific literature and the collected data and analyses the differences and similarities and tries to explain them. What are the results of other studies and how are these results comparable to the collected data of the researcher? The quotes will be used to construct an scientific argument and a nuanced overview about the home making process of ex-prisoners after institutionalisation.

4.4 Ethical considerations

By using a method of doing research that is relatively new the ethical questions arise at almost every point in the process of doing research. Clifford et al. (2010) argue that the online research ethics are not established yet and the debate about what is ethical and what is continuing. In terms of privacy the question arises if data that can be found on the internet can be used by researchers? Hewson et

al. (2003) argue that data that is voluntarily is made available on the internet should be accessible to use for research proposals. Therefore it was decided to use the stories and quotes given by ex-prisoners. Multiple ethical features can be copied from conventional research methods like the use of pseudonyms for the names of the persons giving information. Protecting privacy of respondents is essential in doing research (Clifford et al., 2010). Some sites of organizations mention that it is not allowed to use the stories of ex-prisoners without permission. These organizations all gave permission to use the stories of ex-prisoners. Clifford et al. (2010) argue that personal information given by participants should not be accessible to the public but only for the researcher. The collected data that is collected from the internet is stored in a password secured document on a password secured computer.

4.5 limitations

A limitation of the data is the fact that the researcher was not able to conduct primary data. As a consequence the answers that were found remain superficial in some cases. The second limitation is that the researcher is unable to cross subjects which are often not talked about because the information is too personal. When doing interviews the researcher tries to create trust and a safe environment for the participant which could provide personal answers. Based on scientific literature the researcher was planning to ask questions about mental and physical health problems that were experienced as a barrier in the home-making process of ex-prisoners. As mentioned earlier The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) argued that there was a significant amount of ex-prisoners that face mental and physical health problem. Internet mediated research in the way the researcher has used it could not steer the information ex-prisoners give in any way. This resulted in only one quote about mental and physical health problems due to their imprisonment. If the researcher had the possibility to ask multiple ex-prisoners specific questions about mental and physical health problem there might have been a pattern. The lack of secondary data about this subject has the consequence that the researcher is not able to write an paragraph about which mental and physical health problems occur to multiple ex-prisoners and to what extend these problems cause problems in their home-making activities. Also the consequence of being unemployed on the home making process of ex-prisoners is not clear. The stories suggest a pattern but without being able to ask deeper questions the researcher is not able to suggest what these consequence enhances.

5. Results

5.1 Social Barriers in home making process

A pattern that could be found in the collected data were the social barriers ex-prisoners face in their home-making process. Ten different ex-prisoners provide information about social barriers they experience after institutionalisation. The first social barrier that is experienced is shame. Multiple ex-prisoners mention the fact that shame influences their lives in different ways. Wouter (52) for example decided to tell nobody that he is been institutionalised for a period in his life. In this case the persons around the ex-prisoner did not reject the ex-prisoner, the ex-prisoner himself decided not to tell anyone about his past. He mentions that it is difficult to keep silent about ten years of his life:

Wouter (52): *“Op een paar mensen na, weet niemand wat mijn verleden is. De laatste maanden valt me dat zwaarder. Tien jaar is een groot deel van mijn leven, het is lastig het daar nooit over te hebben.”* (Schemkes & Vischer, 2017)

As Braithwaite (1989) mentioned that ex-prisoners often deal with shame and therefore experience a feeling of discomfort in places that link to their pre-prison time. For some ex-prisoners shame plays such a prominent role that the persons that mean the most to them are not contacted for months after being released. Berend (49) did not call his mother or grandma for eight months because he was ashamed. Every day Berend (49) would postpone his intent to call his mother and grandmother:

Berend (49): *“Ik dacht elke dag om vijf uur als de deur achter me dicht ging: morgen maar eens bellen.”* (Pronk, 2011)

The second social barrier ex-prisoners face is judgement. People that stand close to the ex-prisoners are experiencing judgement of other people and therefore cut ties with the ex-prisoners. Therefore the ex-prisoners experience rejection of the people that stood close to them, this results in the feeling of being isolated (Pronk, 2011). As ex-prisoner Arsen mentions that his friends let him down during his period in prison:

Arsen: *“Het contact met mijn moeder was niet goed en vrienden vallen heel snel weg als je in een moeilijke situatie verkeert.”* (Cohen, 2017)

Besides people that are important to the ex-prisoners there are also the people that have a link to the ex-prisoner in another way than being a friend or family. As stated earlier Harding et al. (2013) suspect that ex-prisoners face judgement after their time in prison and presuppose that judgement could be the reason why many ex-prisoners do not return to their pre-prison addresses in the context of the United States. Numbers that mention the amount of ex-prisoners that choose to not return to their pre-prison neighbourhoods are not available for the context of the Netherlands. But this situation might be the same for the Netherlands as multiple ex-prisoners for example mention that neighbours and people living in the same neighbourhood judge them on their history. The feeling of powerlessness is predominantly present and is experienced as hard and unfair among ex-prisoners. The neighbourhood may feel unsafe as a consequence which affects the home-making process of the ex-prisoner in such a way that the person avoids contact with other people. Marion (51) argues that she has the feeling that the neighbourhood is full of uncertified judges who have created an negative opinion about her based on her history and not based on who she is as a person.

For Marion this feels unfair as her punishment of institutionalization is over but the people in her neighbourhood refuse to give her a second chance.

Marion (51): *“Weet je, je denk dat je straf erop zit, maar dan woon je ineens in een straat vol ongediplomeerde rechters. Het is menselijk om een oordeel over iemand te hebben, maar je mag me niet véroordelen. Als je vrijkomt, verdien je een tweede kans. Hoe moet iemand anders in vredesnaam ooit z’n leven beteren?”* (Schemkes & Vischer, 2017)

The third social barrier that can be described as a pattern is the fact that the ex-prisoners, especially the ex-prisoners who have been institutionalized for more than three year, mention that they had or have the feeling that they had to catch up with society. This does not directly influence the home making-process of ex-prisoners but might be an indirect barrier. For instance multiple ex-prisoners mention that they did not know how to use a public transport card because they were used to buying tickets. Also the smartphone is mentioned a couple of times, before institutionalisation the mobile phone was used to call and now the mobile phone has a whole different function in society. During the institutionalisation it is often possible to watch the news channels to prevent being isolated from the world ‘outside’. Wouter (52) has tried to keep up with society but nevertheless society has developed to quick. This results that he is not able to work as a systemspecialist as he has done his entire life.

Wouter (52): *“Voor mijn gevoel was er niet eens zoveel veranderd in de maatschappij in die tien jaar. Natuurlijk was de techniek vooruit gegaan, waren de telefoons veranderd. Voor mijn straf was ik systeemspecialist, dus ik was al veel met die veranderingen bezig. Ik heb het ook zoveel mogelijk bijgehouden toen ik binnen zat. Toch heeft de techniek mijn kennis ingehaald, zodanig dat ik mijn werk als systeemspecialist niet meer kan uitvoeren.”* (Schemkes & Vischer, 2017).

5.2 Financial- and political barriers in home making process

Financial barriers are often caused by political barriers in the home making process of ex-prisoners. Multiple ex-prisoners mention that after their imprisonment they struggle with things like opening a bank account or taking out insurance. Pauline & Schuilenberg (2013) confirms that there is selective exclusion of ex-prisoners at health insurance companies in the Netherlands. Health insurance companies are allowed to create different levels of risk connected to population groups in society, ex-prisoners is one of those population groups. As a consequence health insurance companies are allowed to reject requests for an insurance. The same happens within the banking industry, for ex-prisoners it is hard to open a bank account after institutionalization. Marion (51) states that she did not know how to build a stable basis after being released. Questions like how to get access to a house or apartment, an identity card, payments and how to pay off debts, are arising without knowing the answer. It took her two years before she found a house.

Marion (51): *“Waar ik vooral tegenaan liep, was een nieuwe basis opbouwen. Hoe krijg ik een huis? Een bankrekening? Hoe regel ik zo snel mogelijk een identificatiebewijs? Ik had geen geld, dus had een uitkering nodig. En hoe moest ik de schulden van voor mijn straf aflossen? Het heeft twee jaar geduurd voor ik een eigen huisje had.* (Schemkes & Vischer, 2017).

Visscher (2017) confirms that having criminal records results in a difficult position in finding a job on the labour market. Halderen et al. (2015) argue that work could have a inhibitory effect on criminal activities as the ex-prisoner has more money to spend than living of payments and there is less time

for criminal activities. Being unemployed might have an impact on the home-making process of ex-prisoners but the collected data did not include quotes about unemployment and the effects on the home-making activities of ex-prisoners. Having debts certainly does, having debts results in restlessness where the ex-prisoner is not able to relax and to unwind. The consequence is that multiple ex-prisoners indicated to deal with stress.

5.3 Opportunities in home making process

The collected data show a pattern of an opportunity in the home making process. Multiple ex-prisoners mention that the pre-prison living situation was not stable. As a consequence a misstep is lurking, seizing the drugs or committing a criminal activity was in most cases easy. By being institutionalised the ex-prisoners had plenty of time to contemplate about life. They can decide whether they want to continue with their way of living or that they want to change. Multiple ex-prisoners decided that starting over in a different place so the environment does not invite them to fall back. Harding et al. (2013) suggested that this could be a reason for the low percentage of ex-prisoners to their pre-prison neighbourhoods. Harding et al. (2013) implied that not returning to pre-prison neighbourhoods could be seen as a way of fleeing from the criminal activities and gangs. The context in the Netherlands differs from the context of the United States but the reason for not returning to pre-prison neighbourhoods or addresses is the same. Multiple ex-prisoners mentioned that they decided to move to a different place with a stable environment to start over. Ex-prisoner Farhid for example mentions that he decided to live in a house with specialists to help him reintegrate in society. He moved to another city because a new environment would make it more difficult to fall back in old habits like drugs and alcohol addiction (Halderen et al. 2015). Another ex-prisoner with a comparable situation decided to do the same.

Mike: "Voor mijn was het ook belangrijk dat ik niet in mijn oude woonplaats bleef waar terugval niet uit kon blijven. Een nieuwe omgeving voor een nieuwe start." (Exodus)

Most ex-prisoners often are helped by organizations that offer them shelter and help them with the financial struggles they deal with. Almost all ex-prisoners that give information about their situation are helped by an organization. These organizations offer shelter and help with financial struggles like having debts, finding a job and request payments. The ex-prisoners need to ask for help and then commit to these organisations. Most of the time the ex-prisoners experience these assisted living environments as another prison as they get an amount of money every week and are not completely free in what they do. After a period of time all the ex-prisoners mention that living within houses of these organizations was needed in order to start over. As Lenny (53) mentions that when looking back at the period that living in an assisted living environment created a safe environment.

Lenny (53): "Achteraf gezien was het Exodushuis juist een veilige omgeving voor mij. Het vertrouwen moest nog groeien. Toen dat vertrouwen er eenmaal was, kon ik mijn ei kwijt en liet ik het toe om op de vingers getikt te worden. Gaandeweg begon ik het als prettig en een opluchting te ervaren dat dingen bespreekbaar waren. Maar ook praktisch: ik ging gebukt onder schulden en Exodus haalde die kopzorg weg door een uitkering voor mij aan te vragen." (Exodus)

As a result multiple ex-prisoners consider these assisted living environments as their home. As Blunt & Dowling (2006) that feeling home is a combination of feelings and emotions, and a physical structure. The feeling of safety is argued to be a cause of feeling at home. The ex-prisoners get a room and there is often a shared living room.

Chris (25): *"Ik verwachtte een soort drugsopvang, maar ik kreeg meteen een goede indruk. Ik voelde me op mijn gemak, de keuken was schoon, er was een huiskamer en ik kreeg meteen een eigen kamer. (Exodus)*

Ex-prisoners are allowed to personalize their rooms to stimulate the feeling of home as a room is transformed to an 'own' place. Multiple ex-prisoners mention that living in an environment with other people with a comparable life track creates friendships. According to Blunt & Dowling (2006) social interaction is a component of feeling at home. These assisted living environments meet almost all the components mentioned in scientific literature, as a result multiple ex-prisoners consider these place very positive and even their home.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

After institutionalization ex-prisoners engage in different ways in the home-making process. As Aziz & Ahmed (2012) argue that home making is a subjective concept and is therefore different for all individuals. However it is possible to find regularities and this is the case for ex-prisoners. For ex-prisoners the feeling of being home does not differ from other individuals. Home is a combination of a physical space and the feelings attached to this place (Blunt & Dowling (2006). The ex-prisoners imply that experience the feeling of safety contributes to the feeling of being home. As most of the time ex-prisoners spend a lot of time in an unstable situation (youth, pre-prison and detention), a stable and safe environment contributes to the feeling of being home. Being able to personalize the physical space contributes to the feeling of creating an own place where people feel that they are in control.

Ex-prisoners face different barriers in their home-making process after institutionalization as mentioned in the theoretical framework. Ex-prisoners deal with social barriers, political and financial barriers. Examples of social barriers in the home-making process are shame, judgement and the feeling of being a step behind of society. Being ashamed can influence the home-making activities in such a way that relatives and friends are not contacted after being released. Shame in combination with judgement of friends and family that stop the contact with ex-prisoners, causes that multiple ex-prisoners feel isolated and lonely. This is according with Blunt & Dowling (2006) who state that social interaction contributes to the feeling of being at home, the lack of social interaction influences the home-making process in a negative way.

Political- and financial barriers in the home-making process of ex-prisoners often combine. Due to legislation and freedoms that are given to insurance companies and banks it is difficult for ex-prisoners to get a health insurance or to open a bank account. Without an insurance and bank account it is hard to request a payment or get access to a house. Also the fact that the position on the labour market is relatively weak because of criminal records. For multiple ex-prisoners this results in an experienced high level of stress which could result in restlessness. This high level of stress caused by the inability to arrange a passport, bank account or house is an inductive finding.

Organizations play a key role in reintegrating in society as professionals help the ex-prisoners for example with request payment. These organizations often offer ex-prisoners shelter in an assisted living environment. According to multiple ex-prisoners these places feel like another prison at first but when trust is growing the feeling of safety replaces the feeling of being locked up again. The reason is that the environment is safe, plenty of social interaction and the possibility to personalize and create an 'own' place

Opportunities in the home making process of ex-prisoners are underexposed in scientific literature. Other studies, at least in the context of the Netherlands, about opportunities in the home-making process of ex-prisoners do not exist. This research shows that the ability to start over after institutionalization is an opportunity in the home-making process of ex-prisoners. Multiple ex-prisoners mention that the environment before institutionalization was unstable or unsafe. The people and environment around the ex-prisoners is often seductive to commit criminal activities. To make the decision to start over in a new environment often is experienced as a positive change.

6.2 Recommendations

The home-making process for ex-prisoners is relatively under-represented in scientific literature. As this research had to deal with unfortunate happenings the presence of primary literature is lacking. Future research is recommended to interview ex-prisoners directly about the consequences of institutionalization on their home-making process. Ask personal and deeper questions to require answers that illustrate the way ex-prisoners engage in their home-making activities would be interesting.

To reduce stress levels of ex-prisoners I recommended the government to change legislation in such a way that health insurance companies are not allowed to reject ex-prisoners as they apply for an health insurance. Requesting a payment or a passport should become easier for ex-prisoners as this research has shown that the inability to arrange this by yourself leads to high levels of stress.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Lynn en Wessel bieden de participant een kopje koffie/thee aan.

Introductie:

Allereerst bedankt dat u wilt meedoen aan dit interview. Wij zijn Lyn Möhlmann en Wessel Posthuma en wij zitten in het laatste jaar van de studie Sociale Geografie en Planologie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Voor ons afstudeerproject doen wij onderzoek naar waarom mensen zich verbonden voelen met plekken nadat ze tijdelijk buiten de samenleving hebben gestaan. Daarnaast zijn we benieuwd naar de manier waarop u zich thuis voelde en voelt voor, tijdens en na uw tijd in detentie. Door u te interviewen hopen wij een beter beeld te krijgen van de situatie van ex-gedetineerden. We zouden van dit interview graag een geluidsopname willen maken zodat de betekenis van uw woorden niet per ongeluk verdraaid wordt. Op deze manier kunnen wij het interview meermaals luisteren en hierdoor veranderen wij uw woorden niet onbewust. Als u akkoord gaat met de geluidsopname dat zal deze opname veilig bewaard worden op een computer met een wachtwoord in een afgesloten bestand met wederom een wachtwoord. De geluidsopname is alleen toegankelijk voor ons en onze studiebegeleiders. Na vier maanden zullen de opnames weer verwijderd worden. Heeft u hier bezwaar tegen? Wij zullen uw naam niet noemen in ons verslag, tenzij u dat graag zou willen. Dit om uw privacy te waarborgen. U mag zelf bepalen of u de vragen die we stellen wilt beantwoorden en u mag te allen tijde stoppen met het interview. Daarnaast is het altijd mogelijk om na het interview aan te geven dat u wilt stoppen met deelnemen aan het onderzoek zonder dat u hier een verklaring voor hoeft te geven, dit kan tot 2 weken na het interview. Heeft u op dit moment nog vragen voor ons? We hebben een toestemmingsformulier opgesteld waarin u de keuzes kunt aangeven, zullen we die even doornemen?

“Toestemmingsformulier invullen Zie Bijlage 2.”

Heeft u voordat we beginnen nog vragen of opmerkingen over het interview?

Algemene vragen

1. Zou u iets over uzelf kunnen vertellen?
 - Waar komt u vandaan?
 - Waar bent u opgegroeid?
 - Wat houdt u bezig in het dagelijks leven?

Voor detentie

2. Zou u ons kunnen vertellen welke plekken voor u belangrijk waren voor detentie?
 - Wilt u deze plekken aangeven op deze kaart (Maptionnaire)?

Als het antwoord thuis is dan:

3. U heeft net aangegeven waar u woonde, kunt u uw thuis voor detentie beschrijven?
 - Waarom is uw voormalig thuis belangrijk voor u?
 - Als antwoord kort is: zou u daar een voorbeeld van willen geven?
4. Waarom voelde u zich thuis op deze plek?
 - Waardoor kwam dat?
 - Voelde u zich vertrouwd op deze plek?
 - Voelde u zich veilig op die plek?
 - Waardoor kwam dat?
 - Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan”

- Doorvragen als het niet duidelijk is waarom hij/zij zich thuis voelde op die plek
5. Wat heeft u hier beleefd?
 - Grote gebeurtenissen (dieptepunten/hoogtepunten)
 - Zou u daar een voorbeeld van kunnen geven?
 6. Als u denkt aan de ervaringen die u heeft aan uw voormalig thuis, zijn die dan vooral positief of negatief?
 - Kunt u daarover iets meer vertellen?
 7. Was u graag thuis?
 - Waarom wel/niet?
 8. Had uw leven een bepaalde structuur?
 - Hoe speelde uw voormalig thuis hierin een rol?
 9. Met wie was u vooral op deze plek?
 - Wat betekenden deze personen voor u?
 - Kreeg u wel eens visite?
 - Wie kwamen er op visite? Waarom?
 - In hoeverre bepaalde de mensen om u heen of u zich thuis voelde op die plek?
 - Kunt u daar wat meer over vertellen?
 10. Hoe was de relatie tussen u en uw burenen?
 - Zo ja: Vond u die relatie waardevol?
 - Zo nee: had u hier geen behoefte aan?
 - Waarom?
 11. In hoeverre bepaalden voorwerpen en bezittingen of u zich thuis voelde op die plek?
 12. Er zit vaak een reden voor het bezoeken van een plaats, dit is vaak een manier om behoeften te voorzien. Voorbeelden zijn: eten, drinken, onderdak en rust. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u uw voormalige thuis bezocht?
 - Waarom wel/niet?
 - Een plek kan ook andere behoeften voorzien, dit zou kunnen zijn contacten met vrienden en familie of het gevoel dat je ergens bij hoort. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u uw voormalig huis bezocht?
 - Waarom wel/niet?
 - Het kan ook een plek zijn waar je jezelf kan ontwikkelen en waar je respect krijgt van anderen en jezelf kunt zijn. Heeft u ook het gevoel dat u dat op deze plek kreeg?
 - Waarom wel/niet?
 13. Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan

Als het antwoord andere plekken zijn:

3. Kunt u deze plek voor ons omschrijven?

4. Waarom is deze plek belangrijk voor u?

5. Met wie bent u vooral op deze plek?

- Wat betekenen deze personen voor u?
- Is dit een ontmoetingsplek of is het toevallig dat de personen hier zijn?
- Kunt u hier wat meer over vertellen?

6. Wat heeft u op deze plek beleefd?

- Grote gebeurtenissen (hoogtepunten/dieptepunten)
- Wilt u dit toelichten/ kunt u daar een voorbeeld van geven?

7. Als u denkt aan ervaringen op deze plek, zijn die dan zowel positief of negatief?

- Zou u dat verder toe kunnen lichten?

8. Voelt u zich op uw gemak / vertrouwd op deze plek?

- Waardoor komt dit?
- Heeft u het gevoel dat u de plek goed kent?
- Waardoor komt dit?
- In hoeverre voelt u zich veilig op deze plek?
- Kunt u dit toelichten?

9. Er zit vaak een reden voor het bezoeken van een plaats, dit is vaak een manier om behoeften te voorzien. Voorbeelden zijn: eten, drinken, onderdak en rust. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u deze plek bezocht?

- Waarom wel/niet?
- Een plek kan ook andere behoeften voorzien, dit zou kunnen zijn contacten met vrienden en familie of het gevoel dat je ergens bij hoort. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u deze plek bezocht?
- Waarom wel/niet?
- Het kan ook een plek zijn waar je jezelf kan ontwikkelen en waar je respect krijgt van anderen en jezelf kunt zijn. Heeft u ook het gevoel dat u dat op deze plek kreeg?
- Waarom wel/niet?

10. Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan

- Wilt u daar nog wat aan toevoegen?

In detentie

Ik zou u nu een aantal vragen willen stellen over uw tijd in detentie, daarbij wil ik u een aantal vragen stellen over uw eigen ruimte binnen de instelling. Wat vindt u een prettige term? (Voorbeeld: kamer, 'binnen', cel, etc.)

1. Hoelang heeft u buiten de maatschappij gestaan?

2. Hoe zag uw kamer eruit?

- Moest u deze ruimte delen?

3. Onderscheidde uw ruimte zich van de ruimte van andere gedetineerden?

- Waardoor kwam dat?
- In hoeverre bepaalden voorwerpen en bezittingen de ruimte?

4. Voelde uw kamer aan als uw eigen plek?
 - Waarom wel/niet

5. Had u een bepaalde groep mensen waar u veel mee optrok ten tijde van detentie?
 - Kunt u mij daar wat over vertellen

6. Heeft u zich op uw gemak gevoeld ten tijde van uw detentie?
 - Waardoor kwam dat?
 - Hebben die mensen waar u over vertelde bijgedragen aan vertrouwd gevoel?

7. Als u terug denkt aan het leven in detentie wat voor gevoelens roept dat bij u op?

8. Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan...
 - Wilt u hier nog wat aan toevoegen?

Na detentie

1. Wat is op dit moment uw vaste verblijfplaats?

2. Zou u ons kunnen vertellen welke plekken voor u belangrijk waren na detentie?
 - Wilt u deze plekken aangeven op deze kaart (Maptionnaire)?

- Als het antwoord andere plekken zijn (dan die verblijfplaats):
3. Kunt u deze plek voor ons omschrijven?

4. Waarom is deze plek belangrijk voor u?

5. Met wie bent u vooral op deze plek?
 - Wat betekenen deze personen voor u?
 - Is dit een ontmoetingsplek of is het toevallig dat de personen hier zijn?
 - Kunt u hier wat meer over vertellen?

6. Wat heeft u op deze plek beleefd?
 - Grote gebeurtenissen (hoogtepunten/dieptepunten)
 - Wilt u dit toelichten/ kunt u daar een voorbeeld van geven?

7. Als u denkt aan ervaringen op deze plek, zijn die dan zowel positief of negatief?
 - Zou u dat verder toe kunnen lichten?

8. Voelt u zich op uw gemak / vertrouwd op deze plek?
 - Waardoor komt dit?
 - Heeft u het gevoel dat u de plek goed kent?
 - Waardoor komt dit?
 - In hoeverre voelt u zich veilig op deze plek?
 - Kunt u dit toelichten?

9. Er zit vaak een reden voor het bezoeken van een plaats, dit is vaak een manier om behoeften te voorzien. Voorbeelden zijn: eten, drinken, onderdak en rust. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u deze plek bezoekt?

- Waarom wel/niet?

- Een plek kan ook andere behoeften voorzien, dit zou kunnen zijn contacten met vrienden en familie of het gevoel dat je ergens bij hoort. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u deze plek bezoekt?

- Waarom wel/niet?

- Het kan ook een plek zijn waar je jezelf kan ontwikkelen en waar je respect krijgt van anderen en jezelf kunt zijn. Heeft u ook het gevoel dat u dat op deze plek kreeg?

- Waarom wel/niet?

10. Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan

- wilt u daar nog wat aan toevoegen?

Als het antwoord de vaste verblijfplaats is dan:

3. U heeft net aangegeven waar u verblijft, kunt u uw verblijf plaats na detentie beschrijven?

- Is deze huidige verblijfplaats belangrijk voor u?

- Als antwoord kort is: zou u daar een voorbeeld van willen geven?

4. Voelt u zich thuis op deze plek?

- Waarom wel/niet?

- Voelt u zich vertrouwd op deze plek?

- Waarom wel/niet?

- Voelt u zich veilig op die plek?

- Waarom wel/niet?

- Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan”

- Doorvragen als het niet duidelijk is waarom hij/zij zich thuis voelde op die plek

5. Wat heeft u hier beleefd?

- Grote gebeurtenissen (dieptepunten/hoogtepunten)

- Zou u daar een voorbeeld van kunnen geven?

6. Als u denkt aan de ervaringen die u heeft aan uw huidige verblijfplaats, zijn die dan vooral positief of negatief?

- Kunt u daarover iets meer vertellen?

7. Bent u graag op uw huidige verblijfplaats?

- Waarom wel/niet?

8. Heeft uw leven een bepaalde structuur?

- Hoe speelt uw huidige verblijfplaats hierin een rol?

9. Met wie bent u vooral op deze plek?

- Wat betekenen deze personen voor u?

- Krijgt u wel eens visite?

- Als Ja: Wie komen er op visite? Waarom?

- In hoeverre bepalen de mensen om u heen of u zich thuis voelt op die plek?
 - Kunt u daar wat meer over vertellen?
10. Hoe is de relatie tussen u en andere mensen in uw omgeving?
- Zo ja: Vindt u die relatie waardevol?
 - Zo nee: heeft u hier geen behoefte aan?
 - Waarom?
11. In hoeverre bepaalden voorwerpen en bezittingen of u zich thuis voelt op die plek?
12. Er zit vaak een reden voor het bezoeken van een plaats, dit is vaak een manier om behoeften te voorzien. Voorbeelden zijn: eten, drinken, onderdak en rust. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u op deze plek verblijft?
- Waarom wel/niet?
 - Een plek kan ook andere behoeften voorzien, dit zou kunnen zijn contacten met vrienden en familie of het gevoel dat je ergens bij hoort. Zijn dit ook redenen dat u op uw huidige verblijfplaats bent?
 - Waarom wel/niet?
 - Het kan ook een plek zijn waar je jezelf kan ontwikkelen en waar je respect krijgt van anderen en jezelf kunt zijn. Heeft u ook het gevoel dat u dat op deze plek krijgt?
 - Waarom wel/niet?
13. Dus als ik het goed begrijp dan ...
- Wilt u daar nog wat aan toevoegen.

Afsluiting

We hebben nu een aantal plekken besproken die belangrijk voor u waren/zijn. Deze plekken heeft u ook aangegeven op de kaart. Het is duidelijk voor ons waarom deze plekken belangrijk voor u zijn.

- Wilt u hier nog iets aan toevoegen?
- Heeft u verder nog vragen of opmerkingen?

Dan hebben wij alle vragen gesteld die wij wilden stellen. Wij zullen dit gesprek zoals eerder aangegeven gebruiken voor ons onderzoek. Hiervoor zullen wij de geluidsopname of aantekeningen opnieuw luisteren en uittypen. Nogmaals heel erg bedankt voor dit gesprek. Het is waardevol dat u tijd heeft vrijgemaakt om met ons te praten. U heeft ons ontzettend geholpen. Wij betalen het kopje koffie voor u.

Appendix 2: Permission form

Onderzoek: home making after institutionalisation

Doel: Dit onderzoek richt zich op het home-making proces van ex-gedetineerden na tijdelijk in een instelling gezeten te hebben. Het onderzoek richt zich op wat de betekenis is van thuis in de verschillende tijdsperiodes. Daarnaast richt dit onderzoek zich op hoe de gevoelens en waarden met betrekking tot thuis veranderen door de tijdelijke periode in de instelling.

- Ik heb het doel gelezen en begrijp waar het onderzoek over gaat.
- Ik heb de mogelijkheid gehad om vragen te stellen over het onderzoek en ben tevreden over de gegeven antwoorden.
- Ik begrijp dat deelnemen aan het onderzoek vrijwillig is en dat ik het recht heb om mijzelf terug te trekken uit het onderzoek tot twee weken na het interview. Hierbij hoef ik geen verklaring af te leggen.
- Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname in dit onderzoek vertrouwelijk is. Zonder mijn voorafgaande toestemming zal geen enkel materiaal dat mij zou kunnen identificeren gebruikt worden in het onderzoek.
- Ik begrijp dat de data gebruikt kan worden in het onderzoek en dat de uitkomsten van het onderzoek gepresenteerd zullen worden.
- Ik begrijp dat alle informatie die ik geef veilig wordt bewaard. De bewaring van de informatie zal gebeuren op een wachtwoord beveiligd document op een wachtwoord beveiligde computer.

Omcirkel JA of NEE om elke van de volgende zinnen:

Ik ga ermee akkoord dat het interview als spraakopname wordt opgenomen JA / NEE

Ik wens anoniem te blijven in het onderzoek JA / NEE

Als het antwoord JA is
Mijn eerste naam mag gebruikt worden voor dit onderzoek JA / NEE

OF

Een eigen gekozen pseudoniem (willekeurige andere naam) kan gebruikt worden in dit onderzoek JA / NEE

“Ik ga akkoord met de deelname aan dit individuele interview en bevestig de ontvangst van een kopie van dit toestemmingsformulier.”

Handtekening van de deelnemer: Datum:

“Ik ga akkoord met de voorwaarden die in het toestemmingsformulier gesteld zijn en zorg ervoor dat er geen schade wordt toegebracht aan de deelnemer tijdens en na dit onderzoek.”

Handtekening van de onderzoeker: Datum:

Mocht u de aantekeningen van dit onderzoek als kopie gestuurd wil hebben vult u dan een mogelijkheid in om met u in contact te komen:

Appendix 3: Flyer

Beste lezer,

Mijn naam is Wessel Posthuma en ik ben medewerker bij deze Jumbo (2 meter lang dus wellicht heeft u een beeld bij mij). Ik studeer aan de Rijksuniversiteit en ben op dit moment aan het afstuderen. Hiervoor doe ik onderzoek naar het gevoel van thuis voor en na een periode in detentie. Ik vind het onbeschoft om zomaar contact gegevens te vragen zonder dat daar toestemming voor gegeven was, vandaar deze manier om u te bereiken. Mijn vraag is of u met mij een bakje koffie of thee wilt drinken om tussentijds te vertellen over uw woonsituatie voor, tijdens en na uw tijd in detentie.

Het is goed om te weten dat het voor mij helemaal niet relevant is hoelang uw tijd in detentie geduurd heeft en wat de reden hiervoor was. Het gaat mij puur om de woonsituatie.

Mocht u het leuk vinden om met mij ongeveer een halfuur te praten en te vertellen over uw woonsituatie dan kunt u mij bereiken via onderstaand mailadres. U kunt zelf een moment kiezen in de week van maandag 7 mei tot zaterdag 13 mei en dan bespreken we via de mail waar we elkaar treffen.

Mailadres: wessel_posthuma@hotmail.com

Alvast hartstikke bedankt!



Dit ben ik!

