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## Norwegian and Latvian cooperation in correctional services

A qualitative analysis of the role and effect of the Norway Grants to the Latvian probation and prison service

Master's thesis in European Studies  
Supervisor: Kristian Steinnes  
Trondheim, May 2018

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## **Acknowledgement**

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Kristian Steinnes, for his guidance and good advice.

I would also like to thank Steinar Egil Hagen and the staff at the Norwegian Embassy in Riga. Thank you so much for the support I received from the very moment I selected my topic, and for opening so many doors for me.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the informants, who so generously gave of their time and without whom this thesis would not be possible. Many thanks to Kim Ekhaugen at the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service for all the help in connecting me with other informants.

My gratitude also goes to; Maiken and Roberta, for all your proof reading and comments. To my fellow students at 6B, for always providing great company during long working hours. To my supporting family. Last but not least, thank you Knut-Jørgen for always being so patient and helpful.



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## **List of abbreviations**

AC	Addiction Centre in the Olaine Prison
DPP	Donor Project Partner
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EM	Electronic monitoring
EU	European Union
KDI	Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service
KRUS	Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy
LPA	Latvian Prison Administration
PO	Program Operator
SPS	State Probation Service





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## Chapter 1: Introduction

On 14 December 2017 the European Economic Area (EEA) countries signed a cooperation agreement for a new round of EEA and Norway Grants with Latvia. In a speech during the signing, the Norwegian state secretary Jens Frølich Holte highlighted the excellent results from the Correctional Services programme.<sup>1</sup> These putative excellent results from the Correctional Services programme were achieved during the financial programme period of 2009-2014. This programme is the focus of this study, as it sets out to analyse the role played by the Norway Grants on the Latvian probation and prison service.

The EEA Grants have existed since the EEA Agreement came into force in 1992, when three of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries and the European Commission agreed on a financial funding scheme. The EEA Grants gave the EEA states access to the European internal market, while it intended to reduce social and economic differences between the least- and most resourceful member states in the European Union (EU). During several of the negotiation of new financial rounds, some of the EFTA-countries have shown resistance to increasing the financial contribution. The disagreements among the EFTA-countries is one of the reasons for the establishment of the Norway Grants in 2004 (NOU 2012:2, p. 762). Norway Grants is parallel scheme to the EEA Grants, and is financed solely by Norway (EEA Grants, n.d.-a).

As an employee at a Norwegian Embassy stated: “The Justice sector is the core of the state's legitimacy”.<sup>2</sup> The justice sector is a prioritized sector in the Norway Grants. It is evident by the fact that Norway Grants was contributing around €150 million to different judicial programmes in 11 European countries during the 2009-2014 period. The funding aimed at reforms in the judicial sector, increasing Schengen cooperation, combat domestic violence, and improving correctional services (EEA Grants, n.d.-b). The programme to reform the Latvian correctional services received €13 million, the largest amount allocated to the a programme in Latvia during the funding round 2009-2014 (EEA Grants, 2012).

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<sup>1</sup> This was stated during the MoU-signing which took place Rainis and Aspazija House-Museum in Riga, where I was present as the trainee of the Norwegian Embassy in Latvia.

<sup>2</sup> This was stated during a presentation by Petter Bauck, the Caunsellor for Development Cooperation at the Norwegian Embassy in Kiev, during a meeting with Norwegian student trainees from the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine in Kiev.

Interestingly, correctional service is not among the main priorities for the Latvian government. This is because Latvia struggles with a demographic decline, labour gap and a massive aging population problem (Springe, 2017). In fact, the Latvian Government postponed the construction of the first new prison to be built after Latvia regained its independence from the Soviet Union. This was done in order to gain financial “wiggle room”, intended for demographic measures and to counter problems in the health care sector (Fridrihsone, 2017). The government’s failure to make correctional services a priority in Latvia further increases the importance of the Norwegian financial contribution.

The overall objective with the EEA and Norway Grants has always been to reduce economic and social disparity. However, in the former financial period another objective was introduced, namely to increase the cooperation between the donor and beneficiary states (Regjeringen, 2013). For this reason, it became important to understand what characterises the bilateral cooperation between the donor and the beneficiary country.

My inspiration to carry out a study of the EEA and Norway Grants came through the desire of highlighting positive results. Throughout the years there has been many critical articles related to the EEA and Norway Grants in Norwegian news media. As a student trainee at the Norwegian Embassy in Riga I learned about a multitude of projects and programmes under the Grants that seemingly contributed substantially to the Latvian society. One of these programmes was the Correctional Services programme, which stood out as a supposed success. The programme targeted prisoners, a weaker and often overlooked group in the community, which heightened my personal interest for the topic. Furthermore, my traineeship provided me with access to the final conferences of the programme and key contacts. All things considered, selecting a topic for the study proved to be one of the easiest tasks during the study.

The EEA and Norway Grants have been subject to limited research. Furthermore, none interweave with the theoretical focus of this study. Previous works have among other things examined the Grants potential to reduce health inequalities, and its possible cultural impact (Corpadean, 2016; Hilton, 2014). Former master theses have examined the Grant’s effect on democracy and NGOs (Lønsethagen, 2013; Szabó, 2013), and the political representation of the Grants in Norwegian newspapers (Skogheim, 2015). This demonstrates that the financial mechanism are insufficiently researched, and none have looked at socialization and policy transfer related to the financial mechanisms.

## 1.1 Research question

This study aims to shed light on the Norway Grant's Correctional Services programme through asking the following research question:

**What is the role and effects of the Norway Grants to the Latvian probation and prison service?**

The research question is operationalized by asking the following questions throughout the chapters:

- *What characterises the bilateral cooperation in Norway Grants?*
- *In what ways have the projects been successful?*
- *Has Latvia changed norms or perceptions during the cooperation with Norway?*

This study uses an example of the putative successful programme under the EEA and Norway Grants, to address these research questions. The programme is called "*Reform of the Latvian Correctional Services and Police Detention Centres*".<sup>3</sup> Because the part of the programme involving police detention centres did not include cooperation with Norwegian project partners, the study limits itself to the first two projects. Namely, project LV08/1 "*Increasing the application of alternatives to imprisonment (incl. possible pilot project on electronic surveillance)*" and project LV08/2 "*Establishment of a new prison block in Olaine prison, including construction and training of staff*". From hereinafter referred to as the "probation project" and the "prison project". For an overview, see figure 1 at the next page.

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<sup>3</sup> Shortened to "Correctional Services programme".

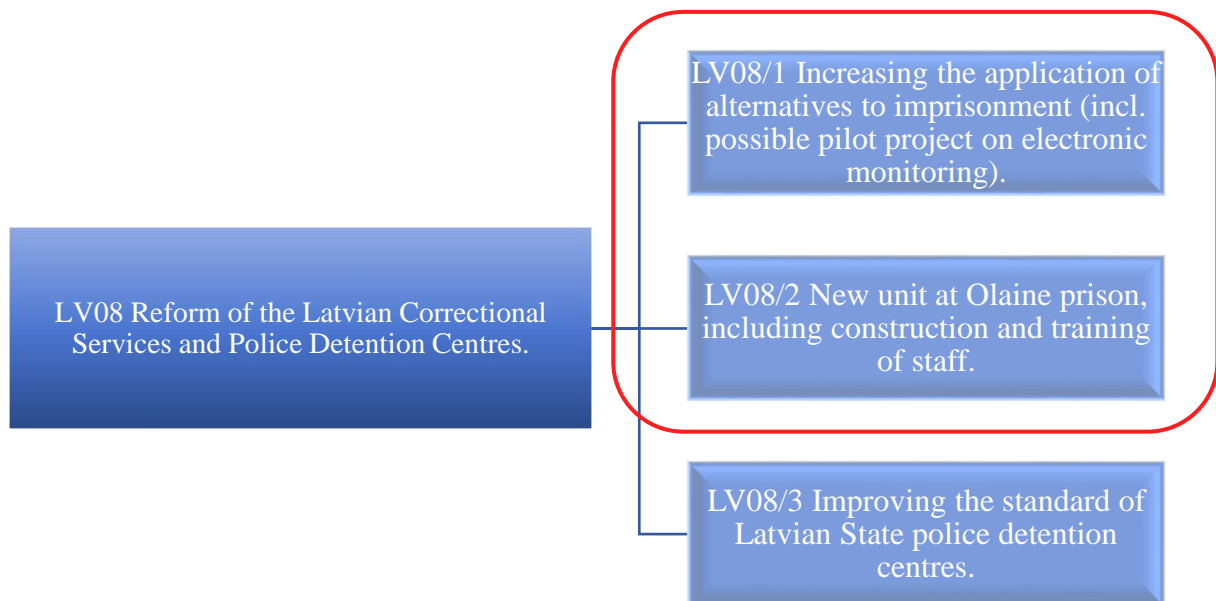


Figure 1: Overview of the correctional service programme.

## 1.2 Key concept: Correctional service

Correctional service is an important term in this study.<sup>4</sup> The task of a correctional service is to ensure a proper enforcement of both the prison sentences and alternative sanctions, for example electronic monitoring or community services. Correctional services thus include both prison and probation services. This terminology exists only in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, while other countries often practice with separated prison and probation institutions. The correctional services in Scandinavia focus on the rehabilitation of the prisoners, whereas many penal institutions in other countries have a greater focus on the punitive and isolating aspect. The sole punishment in correctional service is the restriction of liberty, and no other rights should be taken from the prisoners. In addition, there is a great focus on the principle of normality in correctional services. The objective with the principle of normality is for the inmates to have a life as similar as possible to the life outside, unless security reasons prevents it. This helps the inmates towards reintegration in the community upon release. Also, the term dynamic security plays an important part. In prisons they use the terms “dynamic” and “static” control. Static control is control with the use of locked doors, fences, bars, technology and surveillance

<sup>4</sup> The description of correctional service is from the interview with the Director of International cooperation in the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service (KDI) (Lillestrøm, 2018a), and from the webpage to the Norwegian Correctional Service (Kriminalomsorgen, n.d.).

cameras, while dynamic control is based on human contact and relations between the inmates and the staff. Static control is traditionally used in Eastern European prisons. Norway on the other hand has long used dynamic control. Dynamic control is based upon the personal relations to the convicted and their sense of responsibility and motivation to do amendments to society.

The Latvian Prison Administration (LPA) and the State Probation Service (SPS) are still two separated institutions, though for the sake of simplicity, they will sometimes in this study be referred to as *correctional services*. In Latvia there are some within the probation and prison service that wish to unite their two penal institutions into *one*, as it is in Norway. This relates to the long-term objective of reforming the Latvian penal policy in line with international standards. The study argues that the probation and prison projects' results are in line with those long-term objectives.

### **1.3 Research design**

A research design is the logic that links the collected data to the research questions, and ultimately to its conclusions (Yin, 2003). The work uses a qualitative case study as research design. A case study is a comprehensive research strategy that investigates a phenomenon (Yin, 2003, p. 9). It is preferred when it is possible to carry out direct observations or interviews of involved persons. The objective with this design is to give a better overview of the Correctional Services projects, and to attempt to explain the links between a close bilateral cooperation and successful results. The study only covers one of the programmes in the EEA and Norway Grants, making this a single case study. It examines a Norway Grants programme that is allegedly highly successful, and therefore an interesting case to study. The case involves two units of analysis, making it an embedded case study design (Yin, 2003).

A single case study does not provide sufficient data for statistical generalization (Yin, 2003), nor does the aim with a case study need to involve broader generalization. This study first and foremost tells how the individuals involved experienced the implementation of the projects and the bilateral cooperation, without the intent to directly compare it with other sectors or countries. However, by assessing the role and effects of this programme it is possible to put emphasise on elements that other financial programmes can learn from, and thereby contribute to knowledge beneficial for future programmes and projects.

## **1.4 Methodological approach**

The study is mainly composed of extensive data material collected through numerous interviews with key representatives from both the project level and the programme level, in addition to prison inmates and prison employees. A document analysis complements the data material.

### **1.4.1 Interviews**

The main data generating methods in this work is semi-structured in-depth interviews. As the study examines at the Latvian and Norwegian experience of the bilateral cooperation and success of the projects, interviews were regarded as a necessary choice of method. Semi-structured interviews are often used with the purpose of understanding the topic from the participants viewpoint, without categorizing it or in any other way limiting the research topic beforehand (Postholm, 2010, p. 73).

In total, 21 interviews were conducted. 13 of those were non-anonymous in-depth interviews conducted in Oslo, Lillestrøm and Riga. All non-anonymous informants had extensive experience from working with Norway Grants projects, and were in high positions in Norwegian or Latvian institutions. These informants were selected strategically, based on their relevant knowledge and experience. Nine interviews were carried out with inmates and employees in the new prison unit constructed during the prison project. All the prison inmates and employees has been anonymised. Topics of those interviews focused on how the inmates and workers experiences the centre and their impression of other Latvian prisons. The inmates and employees in the new prison unit were selected as informants based on voluntariness. Figure 3 at the next page shows a full overview of the informants.



<b>Total number of informants: 21</b>
<b>Programme level (3):</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Director at International Unit, Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service.</li> <li>○ Senior Advisor at International Unit, Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service.</li> <li>○ Director of the project department, Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Latvia.</li> </ul>
<b>Project level (17):</b>
<p><b>Probation project (4):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Project manager</li> <li>○ Former Corrections Professional Training Field Expert</li> <li>○ Manager of Training System Development Unit</li> <li>○ Norwegian partner: representative from Oslo Probation Office</li> </ul> <p><b>Prison project (13):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Project Manager</li> <li>○ General Director of the State Prison Administration</li> <li>○ Norwegian partners: Representative from Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (KRUS) and representative from Oslo Prison</li> </ul>
<b>External (1):</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The Norwegian Ambassador in Latvia</li> <li>○ Four employees at the Olaine Addiction Centre</li> <li>○ Five inmates at the Olaine Addiction Centre</li> </ul>

*Figure 2: List of informants*

The informants are divided into three main categories. Representatives from the programme level, the project level, and the external level. The external level includes the four employees and the five inmates at the Olaine Addiction Centre (AC), and the Norwegian Ambassador to Latvia. The ambassador was interviewed to gain insight into the bilateral cooperation between Latvia and Norway. On the project level there are informants from both the probation and the prison service, and it includes representatives from the Latvian Prison Administration (LPA), the SPS, and from the Norwegian partners. The informants on the programme level had highlighted the bilateral cooperation and results achieved in the prison project, therefore the study prioritizes interviewing more informants from that project.

Both the quantity and width of informants chosen for the work constitute a strength in the study. Having informants from both the donor and beneficiary country provided deep insights to the bilateral relations between Norway and Latvia. By interviewing both people from high positions in different correctional service institutions involved in the projects, as well as with inmates and prison employees, the study could analyse different vantage points of the projects' success. Most of the informants from project and programme level had long experience working with the Norway Grants. This gave the work basis for comparison between attitudes in Latvia before

the cooperation under Norway Grants started, and now. A challenge with the use of interviews is that the results can be biased either due the way questions were asked or how the questions were perceived. The informants could also have answered in a way they thought was expected or appropriate. The study furthermore recognizes that the informants who are involved in the projects have a vested interest in portraying both the projects and the bilateral cooperation as successful.

The interviews were conducted with the help of semi-structured interview guides. The interview guides were meant to provide structure and help the direction of the conversation towards the topics relevant for the research questions. Specific interview guides were made for the different groups of informants. Four examples of the interview guides are added in appendix 2. All informants had to sign an information letter, which briefly summarized the research project and allowed me to record the interviews. All the interviews were recorded, except for the interviews conducted in the prison unit. The information letters are attached in appendix 3, one for the anonymous informants and one for the non-anonymous informants. During the interviews it was sometimes expressed that certain statements were not to be quoted, or stressed that some opinions were personal. These requests have been recognized, and the informants have had the possibility to change their quotes.

#### **1.4.2 Use of an interpreter**

The interviews were conducted in mainly Norwegian or English, and some of the informants only spoke Latvian or Russian. The language barrier between the informants and me were solved with the help of an interpreter. The main interpreter had a background both as a professional interpreter, and as an employee at the Norwegian Embassy.<sup>5</sup> The Project Manager in the SPS assisted as the interpreter in two of the interviews. In the interview with the Head of Supervision and Probation Programmes Department in the SPS, her co-worker assisted as the interpreter.

Language barriers presented some methodological challenges (Squires, 2009), which are addressed in order to strengthen the trustworthiness. It was important to maintain the conceptual equivalence of what the informants answered, in other words to keep a technically and conceptually accurate translation of a concept (Squires, 2009). The main interpreter had a good

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<sup>5</sup> The main interpreter was available for the interviews in the Olaine Addiction Centre, and in the interview with the Director General of the Latvian Prison Administration.

understanding of the EEA and Norway Grants due to her work at the Norwegian Embassy, and she knew the terminology well. The same went for the other interpreters, which both worked in the SPS. This helped secure the conceptual equivalence of the answers. On the other hand, they lacked the sociological language competence that the main interpreter possessed. However, as both the informants and the main interpreter had busy schedules, it proved difficult to use the main interpreter for all the interviews. It was far better to use interpreters without credentials, rather than not carrying out the interviews at all. It was an insurance that most of the informants in those cases had a sufficient proficiency of the English language to understand it spoken, and could therefore correct the interpreter if something was wrongly translated.

### **1.4.3 Document analysis**

Document analysis of various official documents complements the interviews. According to Tjora (2012), document studies analyses documents produced for other purposes than research. These documents give us information about the conditions at a certain time and place, and often the information is directed towards specific readers. Document analysis is regarded as an unobtrusive method, where data is generated without involving any of the participants (Tjora, 2012). It is also an easily accessible source, which can be reviewed repeatedly and on my own terms, and contains a considerable amount of data that would be difficult to collect otherwise. However, documents are not without any bias, it is therefore important to critically review the purposes and the context of the documents.

To gain a comprehensive view of the projects, it has been necessary to include a broad range of sources. Such as annual strategic reports, blog entries and guidelines for the projects. Collectively, these documents contain extensive information on the topic, which supplements the interviews. The final report of the Correctional Service programme (Norway Grants, 2018) serves as one of the main sources. A mid-term evaluation of the bilateral relations (COWI, 2016) a baseline study on bilateral relations (Kruse & Kaya, 2013) and a research by Riksrevisjonen (2013) about the EEA and Norway Grants have also been useful, as they comprise of different insights to the quality and challenges of bilateral cooperation under EEA and Norway Grants. Evaluation from the financial term 2004-2009 has been taken into consideration to gain an historical overview of the EEA and Norway Grants to Latvia (Riksrevisjonen, 2013). The Correctional Service programme in Latvia has its own website including blog posts, which have also been reviewed for this study.

#### **1.4.4 Analysis**

All the interviews were transcribed shortly after being conducted, and analysed with the use of the qualitative data analysis programme NVivo. NVivo helps to find and understand themes, key codes and trends across different forms for qualitative and unstructured data, like interviews, documents, web content and articles. With the help of NVivo I carried out a topic coding, and labelled text according to its subject (Richards, 2005, p. 88). The analysis also involved a comparison of the information received from each informant, categorized to each topic. The documents were analysed with the same data analysis programme, and the same system of topic coding.

#### **1.4.5 Trustworthiness and triangulation strategy**

The terms reliability and validity are used differently in quantitative and qualitative research. (Golafshani, 2003). While the terms are treated separately in quantitative research, they are often viewed together in qualitative research in terms like trustworthiness. The trustworthiness of the work is improved with the help of a triangulation strategy (Golafshani, 2003). Triangulation consists of combining methods, in this case combining in-depth interviews and document analysis. The use of multiple sources and a wide range of informants further creates a more complete picture of the projects' success and the bilateral cooperation.

Many of the informants were aware that I was a former trainee at the Norwegian Embassy, and had contact with the Norwegian partners during the work with the study. This was something worth considering when assessing the trustworthiness of the results, as some of the informants could have adjusted their answers according to what they deemed suitable or interesting for the Norwegian Embassy or the Norwegian partners. I would argue that the positive effects of my former role outweigh the negative. My traineeship provided me with information and insight in the EEA Grants and the Latvian history and culture, and it gave me the necessary contacts for my field work.

The trustworthiness could also be affected by how the questions were formulated, which is why it was important to ask open questions. However, during the interviews, some of the questions were still interpreted in several ways by different informants. One example is the question "what expectations did you have to the programme before it started?". Some of the informants interpreted the question to be about their *perception* of the programme rather than their *expectations* before the programme started. This illustrates the importance of analysing the data in the context of the answers, and not only in the context of the questions.

## **1.5 Theoretical framework**

The key theoretical framework in this work derives from the literature of policy transfer. The study examines the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Latvia from one of its mechanisms; socialization. To evaluate the success of the projects, the study applies a model consisting of three dimensions; process success, programmatic success, and political success.

### **1.5.1 Policy transfer**

For as long as people have travelled, they have exchanged knowledge and experience across borders. Several studies are concerned with how of policies, institutions and ideas are implemented in one political settings based on the knowledge drawn from another. Policy transfer can be defined as “a process where knowledge of how to make things work in one political system is used in the development of similar solutions in another political system” (Dolowitz, 2017, p. 39).<sup>6</sup>

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) developed a framework model consisting of a set of questions designed to enhance the understanding of the process of policy transfer. These questions are answered throughout the study. The first question is; Why do actors engage in policy transfer? Typically, two opposite reasons are put forwards as possible answers to this question – either voluntary or coercive (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). Both dissatisfaction with the status quo or a sense of uncertainty can lead policy makers to transfer policy voluntarily (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). In addition, you can point at indirect coercive transfer when the voluntary and coercive motivation for policy transfer is in a diffuse (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). Indirect coercive transfer is when externalities push government to work together to solve common problems. “Externalities” can be environmental issues, technology, the international economy, emergence of an international consensus, or the sense of being less developed than its neighbours or competitors. (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). Motivation can help explain where and why actors turn to one place for information, and how deeply they get involved in the learning process (Dolowitz, 2017).

Secondly, they ask; What is transferred? Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) classifies several objects of transfer, such as policy goals, structure and content; policy instruments or administrative techniques; institutions; ideology; ideas, attitudes and concepts; and negative lessons. Policy

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<sup>6</sup> In addition to policy transfer, this process is also known by other names, such as policy diffusion, policy convergence and lesson-drawing (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

transfer has traditionally focused less on the nature of learning and the transformation of ideas and policies in the transfer. However, those factors are important for a better understanding of the final product (Dolowitz, 2017). Stone (2004) is one arguing that transfer is more likely to be effective when a learning process is happening simultaneously. She draws attention to the “soft” form of transfer as complementary to “hard” transfer. “Hard” transfer is instruments, legislation and policy approaches, while “soft” transfer is ideas, paradigms, lessons, problem definition and policy interpretations.

Further, the third question is; What are the different degrees of transfer? Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) have categorized four different degrees of transfer; copying; emulation; hybridization; and inspiration (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). Copying, which is a direct and complete transfer, could be seen to reflect a poor search for solutions (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). Emulation involves transfer of the ideas that are behind a policy or a programme. Hybridization involves mixtures of several different policies. The final category of transfer is inspiration, which occurs when policy change is inspired by something, without necessarily having a similar end product (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

The last three questions to be answered are; “Who transfers policy?”, “From where are lessons drawn?”, and “which factors constrain or facilitates the policy transfer process?”. In the different literature on policy transfer, there are various categorization of actors involved in transfer. Norway Grants has its own framework of cooperation that facilitates transfers and bilateral cooperation, which the study assesses. Policy transfer can take place at a local, national, cross-national and international level (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000), and can be constrained by past policies, by institutional or structural factors, or by the lack of political, bureaucratic and economic resources.

Durnescu and Haines (2012) criticizes Dolowitz and Marsh for having a too simplistic approach to policy transfer. They argue that the concept “transfer” implies a process between one active and one passive party, which fails to recognize the interactive nature of such projects and that transfer is a dynamic relationship that is at least bilateral. Durnescu and Haines suggested “partnership” as a potentially useful paradigm to better understand international exchange of penal policy, “in which knowledge is reflexively exchanged between diverse actors in the service of a dynamic professional field.” (2012, p. 905). To think that “transfer” is just about transferring knowledge from one country to another is too simplistic, as is thinking that probation or prison service can be replicated. It involves the fallacy that there is a unambiguous

answer to what probation and prison service *is*, and it neglects the importance of each country's own history and culture. Therefore, the study introduces socialization as mechanism of policy transfer, to better explain the Norway Grants projects.

### **1.5.2 Sub-mechanisms of policy transfer - socialization**

There are at least 104 different terms that capture the mechanisms at work in the different literature about policy transfer. However many of the terms have interchangeable meanings (Graham, Shipan, & Volden, 2013, p. 690). Graham, Shipan and Volden have reduced these terms into four main mechanisms, namely *competition*, *coercion*, *learning*, and *socialization*. The mechanism called competition adds market discipline to government policy making, and can be characterized by a continuing strategic interaction among governments. Cohesion is the process where some actors attempt to impose policy solutions on a government, often with the presence of asymmetric power. States goes through the process of learning when decision makers seek to solve problems, and the states act as laboratories of policies. Learning from others is natural and expected (Graham et al., 2013, p. 691). Learning is a central mechanism in a cooperation such as this. However, this study choses to focus on the bilateral cooperation through the last mechanism under policy transfer, namely socialization.

Socialization is the process of introducing actors into the norms and rules of a community, and change their preferences and interests. This leads to the question; why do agents comply with norms? There are two opposing answers to that question, one from a rationalistic and one from a constructivist point of view. From the rationalist point of view, states comply with norms because of processes like coercion, calculations of the possible costs and benefits, and because of the presence of incentives. Constructivists emphasize socialization, social learning and social norms (Checkel, 2001). From the constructivist point of view one is also more interested in how collective interests emerge, and sees interests as socially constructed rather than already given (Rosamond, 2013, p. 93). "Norm" is a central term for constructivists, and it can be defined as collective expectations of the behaviour of actors within a given identity (Rosamond, 2013, p. 94). Based on a constructivist approach, I conceptualize socialization as a process in which the *socializer* sometimes affects changes in the definitions of interests held by the *socializes*. In this case the socializer is Norway through the financial mechanism Norway Grants, and the socializes are the Latvian partners. By using the concept of socialization, we can better understand the relationship between Norway and Latvia. Moreover, it helps us understand the possible results of an extensive bilateral cooperation.

Socialization might not lead to immediate changes in policy, but may lead to more stable and long-lasting changes with the help of changed values and norms (Graham et al., 2013). A socialization process implies that the actor goes from adjusting their values or norms because it suits their individual interests, to adjusting it because they view it as the right thing to do, and with that they have internalized the values, norms or preferences. This further makes the results more profound and long-lasting (Checkel, 2007, p. 13). From this perspective we can argue that a process of socialization has happened when norms are internalized. An indicator of this is a consistency of how the socializes talk about the potential new norms.

**1.5.3 Sub-mechanisms of socialization**

Checkel (2007) presents three sub-mechanisms under socialization; strategic calculation, role playing and normative suasion. Each sub-mechanism consists of its own mode of rationality, which might contribute to the effects of the socialization process. The three mechanisms and modes of rationality are illustrated in the table below (Checkel, 2007, p. 6).

<b>Sub-mechanism</b>	<b>Mode of rationality</b>
Strategic calculation	Instrumental
Role playing	Bounded
Normative suasion	Communicative

*Figure 3: List of sub-mechanisms of socialization and modes of rationality.*

Strategic calculation originates from rationalist social theory. It views agents as instrumentally rational, who make decisions based on both material and social incentives and rewards. When strategic calculation operates alone, there can, by definition, be no socialization. However, it is possible that what starts with strategic calculation develops to a compliance of norms (Checkel, 2007, p. 10). Prior to the first programme period, one of the individuals in the Latvian Ministry of Justice asked for the employees working with the projects to do whatever was necessary to get Norwegian funding (Riga, 2018b). Clearly, this individual’s motivation to cooperate with Norway was based on economic incentives. Under such conditions and instrumental argumentation, socialization cannot by definition take place. Regardless, this argumentation faced disagreements back then, and none of the informants showed any sign of thinking similarly. Thus, indicating the lack of relevance of strategic calculations in this case. Role playing has its roots in cognitive and social psychology and organization theory. This sub-mechanism causes actors to take roles appropriate in a group environment. Group environments trigger these different roles that governs the behaviour of individuals. This happens in a nonreflective manner, and leads to a superficial adoption of norms, instead of the internalization of norms mentioned above (Checkel, 2007, p. 11).



Role playing is more likely to occur when certain conditions are present. Some examples are that the contact between the partners has some significant duration, and that the contact is intense (Checkel, 2007, p. 12). The duration and intensity of a cooperation increases the probability of being affected by conflicting opinions. The cooperation through the Norway Grants is not close to be its own “society” where individuals find it necessary to take on new roles, neither are they obligated to follow certain norms in order to receive funding from the financial mechanism. Conclusively, neither strategic calculation nor role playing appears to be in action in the bilateral cooperation during the Correctional Service programme. Henceforth, the study presumes that the sub-mechanism normative suasion is at work.

Normative suasion is a more complex and enduring sub-mechanism under socialization. Actors that go through normative suasion are open for a change in preferences or interest, and an internalization of norms is an expected outcome. This happens through communication, discussion, and persuasion (Checkel, 2007, p. 20). Persuasion is when one of the sides, in a social interaction consisting of different opinions, attempts to get the other side to change their views through arguments (Gheciu, 2007, p. 178). In which it might lead to common knowledge and a homogenization of interests and norms (Johnston, 2001, p. 496). An actor can be persuaded by engaging in a process of reflection and argument. The relationship between the actor and the persuader can also affect the persuasion, as information from sources that are “liked” is more convincing. Exposure, contact and familiarity are factors that might affect an actor to prefer a source over another (Johnston, 2001, p. 497).

This sub-mechanism is more likely to occur when the socializers has authority within a group to which the socializing target wants to belong, and in more private and less politicized settings. It is also more likely during uncertain conditions that create cognitive motivation, and when there are fewer established beliefs and norms that are inconsistent with the norms of the socialization agent (Checkel, 2007, pp. 13-14).

#### **1.5.4 How can this study assess if the projects have been successful?**

Both projects have been presented as successful by the informants. It is common to claim success, and a Google search of the words “success EEA Grants” gave 384,000 results (accessed 18.04.18). How can we tell if the probation and prison projects are successful?

The result and achievements of objectives under the Norwegian financial mechanism are measured and documented with the help of indicators. The indicators are usually quantitative, and often involve activities or number of participators or inmates involved (Riksrevisjonen,

2013). Quantitative indicators make for an inferior measurement of the quality of the content, as a number of participants in a course tells little about the quality of the content in that course. Consequently, it is not sufficient to evaluate the success of the projects based solely on these indicators.

This study approaches the question of success by help of a heuristic model developed by Marsh and McConnell (2010), consisting of three dimensions: process success, programmatic success, and political success. Programmatic success is visible from the measurable benefits or savings from the results, and it assesses whether the intended outcomes were achieved (Marsh & McConnell, 2010). In this case, the indicators used to measure results in the financial mechanism is of relevance. The analysis also looks at other measurable benefits that can prove the projects programmatic success, such as the financial savings from having a cheaper policy solution. Political success may occur when a policy gains political popularity (Fawcett & Marsh, 2012). It is hard to assess whether a project result has increased political popularity without doing large surveys and elaborated research. Therefore, the analysis focuses on some of the media coverage, and discuss the lack of negative incidents that would capture political attention. Process success occurs when the policy passes successfully through the constitutional procedures, a process which provides legitimacy to the policy outcomes (Fawcett & Marsh, 2012). The dimension of process success also evaluates whether the policy outcome is politically sustainable, namely if it has support of a sufficient coalition (Marsh & McConnell, 2010). This measurement is of less relevance to this case, as this study does not look at the political popularity of the projects. The analysis rather looks at the general sustainability of the results.

## **1.6 Structure**

The analysis consists of three parts. The first part examines the historical development of the Latvian probation and prison service, as well as the earlier cooperation between the Norwegian and Latvian correctional services. The second part analyses the characteristics of the bilateral cooperation under the implementation of the projects, based on data from the interviews. The same part also assess the presence of certain conditions that increases the feasibility of sub-mechanism normative suasion in the cooperation. The last part of the analysis explores the factors that constrained and enhanced the results, and assesses the projects putative success based on Marsh and McConnel's model.

The last chapter summarizes the findings, and discusses whether or not the projects have been successful. The characteristics of the bilateral cooperation is summarized and categorized. It further establishes that Norway and Latvia took part in a process of socialization, and that key individuals in Latvia has changed perceptions of penalty and inmates during the cooperation with Norway. Subsequently it presents and illustrates the roles and effects of the Norway Grants to the correctional services in Latvia. The study argues that the projects were successful. However, the projects were delayed twice and encountered several challenges during the implementation. The results from the projects will most likely be long-lasting, as it has contributed to changes Latvia's penal policy.



## **Chapter 2: Correctional services in Latvia**

This chapter focuses on the necessary background information regarding Latvia's prison system and its history of overpopulated prisons; hierarchical subcultures; lack of resources, and its conservative system inherited from the Soviet Union. It further explores the history of cooperation between the Norwegian and Latvian correctional services. Finally, the chapter presents the two projects under the Correctional Service programme.

### **2.1 History of correctional services in Latvia**

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Latvia regained its independence and began the process of reconstituting their policies (Kronberga, 2016). The first legal reform was comprehensive and complicated, and did not end until late 1990s. This reason for this was that the main objective during the first years was to secure Latvia's independence and withdraw the Russian army (Kronberga, 2016). Reformation of the criminal penalty policies was one of the priorities during the state-building period (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). In 1991 Latvia had an oversized prison population with more than 10 000 prisoners, excluding the Latvians still imprisoned in Russia (Kronberga, 2016). Fifteen large prisons were inherited from the Soviet occupation all in a state of deterioration. The lack of adequate infrastructure made the prisons unable to ensure the safety of the inmates and the staff. In earlier times, re-socialization of prisoners was associated with hard physical labour. As a result, the prisons were built like labour barracks (Kronberga, 2016).

There are eleven different places of imprisonments still in use from the Soviet era (Kronberga, 2016). The oldest building in the current Latvian system is from 1833 (Riga, 2018f). According to informants at the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service (KDI) and Oslo probation office, Latvian prisons have several features in common with former Soviet states. They are comparably as most of them have overcrowded halls, gun towers, lack of staff and money, and a conservative way of thinking (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The representative of Oslo Probation services describes that:

Latvian prisons are quite representative for a lot in Eastern Europe. You can also find the same in Russia. It's a strong smell, like old man's sweat mixed with cabbage, urine, fear

and chlorine. That is how it smells in Eastern European prisons. It is insufferable warm in the summer and freezing in the winter. (Lillestrøm, 2018d)

Even though the prisons are now renovated, it is still not possible to carry out modern approaches to correctional policy (Riga, 2018f). This makes it difficult to introduce new methods in the prison system. The old prisons prior to the restoration of independence are built for the purpose of static control.

The prison system in Latvia is rather conservative, and not everyone in the system are adaptable for changes (Riga, 2018f). This conservative mindset is enforced by the lack of financial and human resources, and elements like an existing hierarchical system of subcultures among the inmates (Lillestrøm, 2018b). A report by the European Committee for the prevention of Torture<sup>7</sup> pointed to the remaining problem of inter-prisoner violence, which is a result of these hierarchies (CPT, 2017). The Latvian investigating journalism organization Re:Baltica reported about three castes in the Latvia's prison hierarchical system, the "VIP" caste, the "average thugs", and the "bottom feeders" (Springe, 2014). The "average thugs" need to comply to the "VIP" caste to avoid being degraded to the "bottom feeders". The "VIP" caste and "bottom feeders" have a significantly different social status, and they do not even use the same facilities in the prison. The system is created by the prisoners based on their own sense of justice. Government officials have reported that the prison management in those prisons do nothing to prevent it, even after receiving several complaints of the quality of life on the lowest caste (Springe, 2014).

Latvia's prison service has seen big and continuous changes, and several new laws and amendments contributed to lowering the prison population (Kamenska & Laganovska, 2015). With a total prison population of 8831 prisoners in 2000, to 3765 prisoners in 2017, Latvia has more than halved its prison population (CSB, 2018). Even with the reduction of the prison population, Latvia has remained on top of the imprisonment rates in Europe over several years (Kamenska & Laganovska, 2015). The number of prisoners is still high compared to the population size. Latvia has the second highest prison population rate in Europe with 238,9 prisoners per 100 000 inhabitants, only surpassed by Lithuania with 295,6 (Beswick, 2018). In comparison, Norway has 70,3 prisoners per 100 000 inhabitants (Beswick, 2018). Furthermore,

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<sup>7</sup> The whole name is *The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT)*.

Latvia has a high rate of recidivism. According to data from Latvian Prison Administration, more than half of the inmates are repeated offenders (Norway Grants, 2015).

Countries likely to transfer policies are often countries in transition or development, such as former Soviet states. Changes are often insisted by both the population within the countries and by international standards, such as European prison standards (Council of Europe, 2006) and the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (United Nations, 2016).<sup>8</sup> This was the case when the Latvian State Probation Service (SPS) was created. The European Commission's progress reports prior to Latvia's accession to the EU drew attention to the absence of probation service, and further contributed to developing external pressure (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). Probation service did not exist when Latvia was a part of the Soviet Union. There were few punishments not involving social isolation. "Social judgement on what effective criminal sanctions look like were restricted to a wish for very long imprisonments and preferably at conditions as rough as possible", (Kronberga, 2016, p. 74). A justice reform project, which took place with the involvement of Canada, resulted in the establishment of the Latvian State Probation Service (SPS) (Wheeldon & Fuller, 2014). Since its formal establishment in 2003, the SPS has grown in staff, programs and services (Wheeldon & Fuller, 2014).

## **2.2 History of cooperation in penal policy**

According to the Norwegian Embassy in Riga's webpage, the relation between Latvia and Norway is considered to be good (Norway in Latvia, n.d.). The cooperation between Norway and Latvia is extensive, and includes several different areas of the society, also within the field of correctional services. A Norwegian-Latvian prison cooperation started already in the early 1990s, following an initiative from the Council of Europe (Regjeringen, 2004). The cooperation was a part of the Nord-Balt Prison Project, and financed through the Norwegian government's cooperation program with Central and Eastern Europe (Regjeringen, 2006). It involved the delivery of medical supply, computers, machines for teaching the inmates technical skills, other necessary supplies, means for renovation, and study trips (Regjeringen, 2006). The Norwegian partners drove to Latvia with trucks filled with second-hand furniture, weight lifting equipment

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<sup>8</sup> The UN standard Minimum Rules were first adopted in 1955, and then remained unchanged for 60 years. It was revised in 2015, and are now known as the "Nelson Mandela Rules" in honour of the late President of South Africa.

and donated paint. At the time it felt more like a development aid, rather than an equal partnership (Lillestrøm, 2018a).

Due to the cooperation with Canada, the SPS got their initial understanding of their functions from the Canadians. Therefore, Latvian probation staff went to Canada in 2007 to learn about their work with sexual offenders, as a preparation for the first Norway Grants projects (Riga, 2018b). Additionally, the SPS was substantially influenced by the United Kingdom. At that point, Latvia chose United Kingdom and Canada over Norway as their cooperation partners due to Latvia's initial understanding of Norway. They saw Norwegians as too socially oriented, and the penal policies in Norway were not deemed appropriate for the SPS due to the differences in wealth levels (Riga, 2018b). As the SPS's Project Manager stated:

Norway is too socially oriented. That was our initially understanding about Norway. We are very strongly influenced by Canadians. And Canadians are correctionalists. They put more emphasis on correction of behaviour, and risks assessment tools. And in Norway you didn't used risk assessment tools on similar scale, you – Norwegians - just somewhat trusted people. (Riga, 2018b)<sup>9</sup>

The SPS regarded Norwegian policies as incompatible in the beginning of the first financial programme period (Riga, 2018b). The Latvian perception of Norwegian correctional service was, and to some degree still is, that Norway can have the system they have because of their economic prosperity, and their fundamental approach and moral understanding of justice, as illustrated by this quote by the Project Manager of SPS:

If you have money, you can solve whatever problem you face, but if you implement the same policies you have in Norway into Latvia, we will not be able to maintain them. So at the beginning we just took your money and did not want to hear anything about what you were doing there. And all those field trips with inmates to forest or catching some fish – that was very, very funny for Latvian. (Riga, 2018b)

As exhibited above, some aspects of the Norwegian system were even considered comical, as it was considerably different from how the Latvians traditionally have dealt with criminals.

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<sup>9</sup> Risk assessment consist of categorizing offenders into groups who have low, moderate, and high probabilities to offend (Makarios & Latessa, 2013).



## **2.3 Changes in the programme period 2009-2014**

According to the final report from the EEA and Norway Grants 2004-2009, the projects have largely achieved its objectives, and the results were visible in local communities (Utenriksdepartementet, 2012). The experience gained from the period 2004–2009 led to the changes made in the following period. EEA and Norway Grants changed from supporting numerous individual projects to large-scale programmes consisting of smaller individual projects (Utenriksdepartementet, 2012). This laid the foundation for a more stable and strategic cooperation between agencies, institutions and organizations in the donor country and in the beneficiary state (Utenriksdepartementet, 2012). The Correctional Services programme in Latvia illustrates this change, as it consists of three separate projects. Latvia received €38 400 000 in total from the Norway Grants in the financial period 2009-2014 (EEA Grants, n.d.-c). With a total of €15 360 000 the Correctional Service programme received the greatest sum in Latvia (Norway Grants, 2018).<sup>10</sup>

### **2.3.1 Probation project**

The objective of the probation project was to increase the application of alternatives to imprisonment, and included a pilot project on electronic monitoring (EM). EM is a court determined control over inmates on parole, with the assistance of electronic tracking devices attached to the inmates' legs (Norway Grants, 2018). The total budget of the project was €2 733 518,73, and it has been the most significant development project in the history of the SPS (Norway Grants, 2017). Additionally, the project included a volunteering mentor program for young probation clients, training of SPS officers to increase their professional capacity, internet based training courses, several research studies, and various measures to increase the administrative capacity of the SPS. The main objective for these new alternatives to imprisonment was to reduce the inmates' imprisonment time and to reduce the risk of recidivism (Norway Grants, 2013b). The tasks in the project have involved selection of technology and supplier, amendments of Latvian legislation (Kamenska & Laganovska, 2015), making an organizational structure, and finally, purchasing and implementation of EM (Lillestrøm, 2018d).

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<sup>10</sup> € 13 056 000 was from the Norwegian Financial Mechanism, and € 2 304 000 was the Latvian national co-funding (Norway Grants, 2018).

The Norwegian partners stated that it would be several stereotypes connected to EM, and advised their Latvian partners to address those stereotypes early. Therefore, the Latvian partners started with extensive information campaigns. The campaigns included meetings to share information about the implementation of EM to the cooperation partners of the SPS. SPS's cooperation partners include representatives of courts, prosecutors, police and local government institutions. Seminars were arranged in prisons and meetings with politicians and journalists were conducted (Riga, 2018d). Amongst others, one of the results of this information work, was correcting the misperception that EM used GPS. EM uses radio waves, not GPS, and the inmates were reassured that probation staff would not be able to know where they are at any given time (Riga, 2018d). Furthermore, it included campaigns aimed at the public, with the use of TV-commercials and posters on public buses. This had a positive effect as a larger part of the society received information about SPS's role and responsibilities (Riga, 2018d).

In Norway, it is the correctional service who determines which of the inmates are applicable for EM (Lillestrøm, 2018a). This differs from in Latvia where the application of electronic monitoring is determined by the court (Kamenska & Laganovska, 2015). When this responsibility is delegated further down in the penal system, as it is in Norway, the risk of misjudgement is reduced (Lillestrøm, 2018a). A problem related to this is that in Eastern European countries the courts have limited trust in probation service (Lillestrøm, 2018a). This makes projects like the EM program important, as it may convince the courts of its relevance and benefits when they see its functions in practice.

### **2.3.2 Prison project**

The prison project consisted of the establishment of a new prison block in a prison complex in Olaine a city in the Riga district. The project involved both the construction of the building, staff training, and implementation of re-socialization measures, and had a total funding of € 8 277 294 in funding (Norway Grants, 2018).<sup>11</sup> The new prison block, called Olaine Addiction Centre (AC) is a rehabilitation and treatment centre intended for drug-addicted inmates. This is the first initiative to fight drug addiction in Latvian prisons (EEA Grants, 2016). Drug-addicts are a particularly vulnerable group, and are neglected in the prison system (Riga, 2018a). Notably, drug use has been a growing problem in Latvian prisons, and prison staff confiscates in total more than a kilo of illegal substances each year (Norway Grants, 2013a). The Olaine

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<sup>11</sup> The Norway Grants is funding the project with € 7 035 700, and Latvia co-funded with € 1 241 594 (Norway Grants, 2018).

AC is built with the purpose of being alcohol and drug-free, and includes rooms intended for group therapy, physical activities and socialization (EEA Grants, 2016).

The project was introduced in three steps. The first step consisted of the methodological preparation; how to recruit and train staff, and how to select, evaluate and work with inmates. The content of two re-socialization programs, from Poland and Norway respectively, was implemented and adapted to the local circumstances in Latvia. The second step consisted of constructing the physical environment of the centre, the new prison ward. The third step was to open the doors for the inmates (Riga, 2018e).

The re-socialization program Pathfinder originates from Oslo Prison, introduced in 1992 under the name “Stifinner’n” (Oslo, 2018). The Pathfinder program emphasises socialization and help the inmates prepare for their release. The re-socialization program from Poland, the Atlantis program, focuses mainly on therapeutic activities. There is one department for each re-socialization programme. The Olaine AC has an assessment department and department for women. The assessment department is where the inmates first arrive, and is meant for assessing and adapting the inmates into the system. The department for women was added after the construction of the centre, and was not originally planned for (Olaine, 2018b).<sup>12</sup>

At Olaine AC the inmates work daily on their addiction and reintegration into society (Olaine, 2018a). The principle of normalization is emphasized, which is why the inmates have family days and regular sport activities. Inmates are encouraged to pursue new hobbies, and they are taught everyday chores like cooking etc. (Olaine, 2018a). The centre has large common rooms intended for socialization with other inmates and employees, and most of the inmates share double rooms. This is a vast improvement from the overpopulated sleeping halls other prisons have. In other prisons the inmates can often chose to work or study, however none of these initiatives help the inmates towards self-improvement (Riga, 2018f). The motivation for working or studying often to receive payment or to be granted early release, while the motivation for inmates in Olaine AC is to improve themselves and to overcome their addiction (Riga, 2018f).

The Olaine AC can accommodate up to 200 inmates, and it was initially intended for fifteen staff members. Although, at the time of my visit there were only 47 inmates. It was decided that the majority of the staff was to be recruited from outside of the prison system (Riga, 2018f), to avoid any legacy or traditions from older prisons (Riga, 2018e). The staff received 6 months of

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<sup>12</sup> This is the first time a Latvian prison has men and women in the same prison building (Olaine, 2018b).

training prior to the opening of the centre (Olaine, 2018b). “At the very beginning I had worries that we would simply create another prison for 200 inmates”, emphasised the Project Manager of LPA, “A good prison, high quality, but still a prison.” (Riga, 2018e). This quote indicate that the Latvian cooperation partners were motivated for substantial changes with sustainable effects. To simply build a new prison ward for the sole purpose of increasing the prison capacity would not make any sustainable changes. The staff I interviewed all expressed similar values and motivation for working at the centre, namely to rehabilitate and re-socialize the inmates (Olaine, 2018a).

The inmates interviewed at the centre mentioned several distinctions between the Olaine AC and other prisons in the Latvian prison system. A contact person in Olaine AC is responsible for considerably fewer inmates compared to a contact person in another Latvian prison (Olaine, 2018b). This gives a contact person in Olaine AC far more time with each inmate. As told by inmates in the centre, the staff in the Olaine AC shows a different attitude and approach towards inmates compared to what they have experienced elsewhere (Olaine, 2018a). They further expressed that the inmates were being treated as equal human beings in the centre (Olaine, 2018a). Differences between the inmates and staff are less significant compared to other prisons. A clear documentation of this is the absence of uniforms among the staff in the AC. Uniforms create distance, and the lack of uniforms has eased the communication in the prison (Olaine, 2018a).

The objective of the prison project was to build the new centre, adapt the re-socialization programs to Latvian conditions, and to strengthen the profession capacity of prison officers (Norway Grants, 2018). All of these objectives were steps towards reducing addiction while inmates are in prison. However, this project also had an ideological side, as it aimed towards being a core of a penal system more similar to the penal system in Western nations (Norway Grants, 2014). This quote written by the Project Manager for the programme’s website illustrates this accurately: “[T]he project really is at the crossroads between the isolating policies of yesterday, aimed at punishing criminals, and the rehabilitating policies of tomorrow, nurturing a philosophy that sees the penal system geared towards human growth.” (Norway Grants, 2014)

## **Chapter 3: What characterises the bilateral cooperation?**

Cooperation is a prerequisite for strengthening bilateral relations. “Bilateral relations” is a broad term, and can refer to both political, economic, cultural and historic ties (FMO, 2016). This chapter first analyses how the bilateral cooperation has been carried out during the two Norway Grants projects. Further it examines the mechanism and actors that forms the bilateral cooperation, and on what level the policy transfer has taken place. Drawing on data from the interviews, this chapter closely examines what characterises the bilateral cooperation.

### **3.1 Cooperation in the probation project**

During the 2009-2014 financial term, the SPS cooperated with the Estonian Ministry of Justice, the Confederation of European Probation, as well as with their Norwegian partners. The Norwegian partners were Oslo Probation Service, Ila Detention and Security Prison, and the Norwegian Mediation Service. A representative from Oslo Probation Service was interviewed for this study. Oslo probation service was the SPS’s main project partner in implementing the EM system. Their role was to help facilitate during the implementation, and to share relevant knowledge and experience (Lillestrøm, 2018d). In the early days of the cooperation, Oslo Probation service remained on the side line. They attended cooperation meetings, and were consulted regarding gathering information (Lillestrøm, 2018d).

The SPS primarily tries to find new policies or ideas on a national level, and learn from other experts in Latvia (Riga, 2018b). Some of the methods established in the projects founded by Norway Grants, were created in Latvia (Riga, 2018d). If the experts cannot be found in Latvia, then the SPS search at a cross-national level. When they look for policies or lessons to be drawn on a cross-national level, the country of origin is less important (Riga, 2018b). The SPS also sends their experts on international conferences to bring new knowledge back, since it is cheaper than getting international experts transported to Latvia (Riga, 2018b).

During the probation project the Norwegian partners emphasized that it was not necessarily an advantage to learn about electronic monitoring from Norway, considering that the laws and the political, social and economic situation is considerably different in the two countries. (Lillestrøm, 2018a). This means that the answers to issues and challenges that applies to Latvia are not necessarily found in Norway (Lillestrøm, 2018d). By being substantially dissimilar countries, the Norwegian partners could experience difficulties contributing with anything as

project partners. This was the case in the probation project, as pointed out by the representative from the Oslo Probation Office:

It is quite clear that Latvia chose a different approach than we did. They chose the same technological solution, but the similarities ended there. Target group for example, the regulations and who decides who gets electronic ankle bracelets. Everything is different. Therefore, you also have completely different challenges to deal with. (Lillestrøm, 2018d)

He further emphasized that: “[N]orwegian and Latvian correctional service are not similar. That means that the issues applicable for Latvia, you would find possible solutions on rather in other neighbouring countries instead of in Norway.” (Lillestrøm, 2018d). The solution was to seek advice and a cooperation with a neighbouring country with similar conditions, in this case Estonia.

### **3.2 Cooperation in the prison project**

The Norwegian cooperation partners in the prison project were Oslo Prison and the Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (KRUS). When the project started, the representatives from Oslo Prison were involved in everything from helping prepare curriculums for the staff to conducting information work. The information work was done by conducting information meetings in all the prisons in Latvia, with the objective to defuse and neutralize scepticism to the new prison unit and its methods (Oslo, 2018). Oslo Prison was also of assistance in forming and planning the Olaine AC. They were the ones who convinced the LPA to build a gymnasium hall that could be used both for sports and for family days, and they gave advice for the layout for the building and rooms (Oslo, 2018). The wish to continue learning and harvest experience from the Norwegian partners has continued with the Olaine AC, and they have applied for more funds to be able to continue the cooperation with their Norwegian partners (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The Project Manager of LPA portrayed the Latvian and Norwegian cooperation in the prison project in following quote:

[M]y initial doubts about success or results to be achieved within this project was dispersed by the Norwegian partners. Because if we implement a European project, Europe is the only donor. However, if we implement the Norwegian project, Norwegians are not only donors, but more. (Riga, 2018e)

Initially, the other Norwegian partner KRUS’ only purpose was to educate the staff in the Latvian prison service. KRUS disagreed, rather they wanted to help them develop new methods

and learning aims to achieve more sustainable results (Lillestrøm, 2018c). After further discussion the parties agreed on the content of the cooperation, which would involve developing plans for learning, as well as training of the new staff for the Olaine AC (Lillestrøm, 2018c).

The informant from KRUS underlined that there was a lot of enthusiasm and aspiration for learning among the Latvians (Lillestrøm, 2018c). In Latvian correctional service they have a traditional scholastic way of teaching, which is why the new learning methods KRUS implemented was appreciated. In KRUS they use methods like group work, seminars, problem-based learning, and students learning from other students. In Latvia they do not have all the necessary facilities and modern tools for all these methods (Lillestrøm 2018c).

### **3.3 What or who are involved in transferring policy?**

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) presents nine main categories of actors involved in policy transfer.<sup>13</sup> These categories are not as relevant considering the actors in the Norway Grants projects, as the financial mechanism has a unique framework for cooperation. This framework includes the Cooperation Committee, Donor Programme Partners, and different tools like the bilateral funds, mechanisms to facilitate donor project partnerships and reporting requirements. Different policy entrepreneurs have been mentioned by the informants as well.

One of the most relevant elements in the cooperation is the Cooperation Committee (CC). The CC's role is to advise the development and implementation of the programme, as well as being a tool to strengthen bilateral relations (FMO, 2016). The Committee has regular meetings where representatives from different institutions and authorities meet and discuss the development and challenges. In the CC-meetings the content and formalities are established by the Programme Operator (PO) (FMO, 2016), which is the Latvian Ministry of Justice. The PO is responsible for dispensing funding to projects according to the agreed upon criteria. The work environment at the CC-meetings was good, which made it easier to solve challenges during the implementation of the projects (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The fact that the CC had representatives from all levels of the cooperation made it easier to resolve imminent challenges, as the Director of International Cooperation at the KDI stated:

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<sup>13</sup> These nine categories of actors are elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs/experts, transnational corporations, think tanks, supra-national governmental and nongovernmental institutions and consultants.

The positive is that all the levels are represented. [...]. [Y]ou have many representatives from the PO, you have representatives from the correctional service, or the Prison Administration and Probation Service, all on the same meetings. The General Director and the Director of the Probation Service was present. This means that you can determine, change, and make adjustment together with those who are in charge. (Lillestrøm, 2018a)

Another relevant element in the Norway Grants framework for cooperation is the Donor Programme Partners (DPP). DPPs are often public authorities with national mandates within their fields, often with a lot of international experience (FMO, 2016). The KDI was the DPP for both the probation service, prison administration, and the police administration in Latvia. The objective of having a DPP is to facilitate networking, and to exchange, share and transfer knowledge, technology, experience and good practices (COWI, 2016). The DPP is also present in the CC-meetings, and they were encouraged to discuss the contents in CC-meetings with the DPP (FMO, 2016).

It could be argued that the Programme consisted of several policy entrepreneurs, one of Dolowitz and Marsh's (2000) categories of actors involved in policy transfer. The informants highlighted a wide spectre of individuals when asked, "Who have been the main driving forces for the programme to succeed?". The majority of the informants highlighted the achievements of entire work teams during the projects, yet some mentioned specific individuals as well. The project leaders of the probation and prison project, the General Director of the LPA, the Head of the SPS, and the Project Managers in the PO and the DPP were the individuals mentioned most frequently. They all have highly relevant positions for the projects, and have, based on the data from the interviews, been dedicated throughout the entire project period. At a political level, both the Norwegian Ambassador in Riga and the Latvian minister of Justice have been mentioned as visible supporters. They were present in many of the conferences and events organized throughout the implementation period (Riga, 2018d; Riga, 2018e; Lillestrøm, 2018a), a presence which has improved the publicity of the projects. Furthermore, it is a presence that seemed to have been appreciated, as this following quote indicates: "I can only say that the experience and our cooperation with the Embassy has been very good, very needed. We have always felt the presence and the interest of the Embassy, in whatever we do within the program." (Riga, 2018f).

The Norwegian embassies' role in regards to the EEA and Norway Grant is to spread the knowledge of Norway's contribution, to be a link between the academic communities in the beneficiary countries and in Norway (Riksrevisjonen, 2013), and to provide information and



support in their respective countries (COWI, 2016). They are effectively the observer for the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. Nevertheless, they have no formal role linked to the management of the financial funds (Riksrevisjonen, 2013).

The bilateral cooperation is also facilitated through several tools and measures, such as bilateral funds at national and programme level, donor programme partnership, mechanisms to facilitate donor project partnerships, and reporting requirements (FMO, 2016). The bilateral funds are meant for activities like conferences or study tours, and 0,5% of the total Grants is earmarked for this purpose (FMO, 2016). The fund at national level finances initiatives of interest for both the donor and beneficiary states, in order to strengthen cooperation. The funds can finance two different types of measures. Firstly, the search for partners, the development of such a partnership, and preparation for an application. Secondly, it is used for networking, sharing and transfer of knowledge, technology, experience and best practice within the relevant programme area.

### **3.4 Is the Norway Grants succeeding in strengthening bilateral relations?**

Interviewer: In your opinion what is a good bilateral cooperation? Like the perfect bilateral cooperation, how do you imagine it?

Participant: Like we have it now. It is as simple as that! (Riga, 2018a)

According to the mid-term evaluation of the bilateral relations under the EEA and Norway Grants (COWI, 2016), majority of the beneficiary institutions with a Norwegian partner reported that their partnership was a crucial element in the implementation of the project. Additionally, the evaluation found that the objective of strengthened bilateral relations has been reached. It became clear that a positive outcome from the projects affected the participants' opinions in a positive direction, meaning that good results often increased favourable attitudes towards the bilateral cooperation. The majority, 69 % of the respondents to be exact, perceived an increase in awareness, positive attitudes and trust.

Almost all of the informants were asked the question, "what is a good bilateral cooperation?" in the interviews. A recurring tendency was that the informants answered this question based on the experiences they have had of the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Latvia. Therefore, while analysing the answers, the study also analyses the current state of the bilateral relations between the respective cooperation partners.

### 3.4.1 Mutual exchange of learning and experience

There are many examples of a lack of chemistry and top-down approaches. All these approaches that make people defensive, and makes it difficult to cooperate well. But here we have sort of been equal. And that has been the key to a good cooperation. (Lillestrøm, 2018a)

This quote by the Director of International Cooperation at the KDI emphasizes the importance of being equal partners. He further observed how Norway saw the learning process as mutual and had a lot to gain from the cooperation with Latvia:

This is never a “one-way learning”. It is not like Norway is travelling to Latvia and “evangelize” Norwegian correctional service. It goes in both directions. I firmly believe that there is always something to learn. [...]. Because the correctional service, the prison system, is so closed. It is a organization with monopoly in both countries. And you can always talk with another prison in Norway about your challenges and learn from them, but we are nonetheless a monopoly organization with our rules and everything. So we develop blinders<sup>14</sup> [...]. The moment you poke your head outside the borders, whether it is in Latvia or another country, there is always something to learn. (Lillestrøm, 2018a)

Mutual exchange of knowledge and experience was highlighted as a motivation for cooperation for both Latvian and Norwegian informants. The representative from KRUS mentioned this in a similar manner, and exemplified with the probation project: “To have mutual exchange of experience is also an objective for the cooperation on its own. And you can achieve that goal when you have completely different target groups.” (Lillestrøm, 2018d). Norway and Latvia used different target groups for the electronic monitoring, creating a big dividend with a mutual exchange of experience. Latvia had a more challenging target group consisting of inmates with long sentences, whereas Norway had the simplest target group of inmates convicted to short sentences.

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<sup>14</sup> Blinders, a limitation or obstruction to sight.

### **3.4.2 Structured, but informal**

Several of the informants emphasized that a good bilateral cooperation required clear aims and objectives, and precise directions and plans to be adept to reach those aims (Lillestrøm, 2018b; Oslo, 2018; Riga, 2018d; Riga, 2018e). As the former Manager of Training System Development Unit at SPS emphasized:

[S]uccess is closely linked with our capability to define our needs and what the project should do to fulfil these. It is not simply an experience of exchange, we need tools, we need methods. If you are able to define your needs and define exactly what you need from Norway, then Norwegians are very supportive. (Riga, 2018d)

This included clear expectations of each other's role in the cooperation, in addition to a good understanding and acceptance of the differences between the cooperation partners. The mechanisms under the Norway Grants cooperation framework, such as CC-meetings, was essential to keep the cooperation structured.

One informant answered that a good bilateral cooperation is when the formal aspect of the cooperation develops into something more informal (Lillestrøm, 2018a). Others also draw the comparison from a good cooperation to that of having a cooperative relation similar as a friendship, involving free and open communication regarding various challenges and issues (Riga, 2018b; Riga, 2018e). The Project Manager of the LPA stated similarly: "Of course, I believe it is a goal oriented managed process. But it is very important that bilateral cooperation also transforms from formal cooperation arrangements into a human cooperation. Into something friendly." (Riga, 2018e). The representative from Oslo Prison who visited Latvian prisons, initially experienced that there was considerable scepticism towards the content they shared. However, during the informal smoking breaks, people started asking sincere questions, and showed curiosity and openness. This informal communication was experienced as more effective (Oslo, 2018). Van Kleef, Steen, and Schott (2017) support the claim that informal socialization has an important impact on the outcome of the socialization. A study by Lawson, Petersen, Cousins, and Handfield (2009) highlights how informal socialization, rather than formal, is the most important process of facilitating knowledge sharing.

### 3.4.3 Local implementation and willingness to learn

The Norwegian partners were not trying to transfer their policy to Latvia (Lillestrøm, 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2018d). The Norwegians shared their experience, without insisting that Latvia should do it the same way. One informant called the Norwegian partners for “sparring partners”,<sup>15</sup> someone the Latvian partners could discuss challenges and different options with (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The Norwegian partners gave advises, but there was always a focus on local implementations (Lillestrøm, 2018d). The representative from KRUS emphasized:

However, the Latvians were the ones at the wheel. We were consultants and advisers, and whenever we disagreed – we disagreed. We did manage to do a whole lot of cooperation. But the important part is that the beneficiary countries own the content. (Lillestrøm, 2018c)

This was confirmed by the Project Manager of the SPS: “Norwegians never pressured. And we appreciate it. [...] They always said, «be careful, what we have here might not work in your country»” (Riga, 2018b). While the role of the Norwegian partners was to give advice and share information, the Latvians themselves would decide what they wanted to implement. According to the Project Manager of the LPA, the Norwegian partners did not pressure them on time either:

They observed and supported the process of change within our system. And accepted that we have our own pace of moving forward. So, the factor which helped to implement project in good quality and to achieve those results, is that we didn’t feel this pressure from the supervising institutions of the project or from the Norwegian side. (Riga, 2018e)

When looking at the focus for the local implementation and adjustment of policies, one can conclude that out of the four categories of different degrees of transfer presented in the theory, copying was least applicable. Both the Norwegian and Latvian partners emphasized that it was not possible to copy policies, it must be adapted to the local conditions. As the representative from KRUS stated: “You cannot really take something and transfer it to somewhere. But you can take the idea, and you can adjust it, and you can make sure that it can work in those circumstances.” (Riga, 2018a). Both emulation and hybridization can contribute explaining the transfers in the prison project. The ideas behind the Pathfinder program in Olaine AC derives from Oslo Prison and was adapted to Latvian conditions, which can be categorized as

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<sup>15</sup> A “sparring partner” is, according to Merriam Webster dictionary, a person that someone has serious but friendly arguments with.

emulation. And the implementation of the Polish Atlantis program made it possible to classify the transfer in the prison project as hybridization, a mixture of several different policies.

The informants emphasized repeatedly the importance of adjusting everything to local circumstances. It was necessary for both parties to be proactive in order to maintain a responsible policy transfer (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). Meaning that an open mind and willingness to learn about their partners' political system, history and culture was a prerequisite, as it provided necessary knowledge to adapt the policies to local conditions in a responsible way.

#### **3.4.4 Developing trust**

When you meet with the same individuals in meeting after meeting, it is possible to achieve continuity and stability (Lillestrøm, 2018a). With this stability it is possible to develop a level of acquaintanceship and mutual understanding, and further establish a high level of trust. These are factors that develop over time. This stability was especially apparent in the CC-meetings. The Director of International Cooperation at the KDI emphasized especially the importance of the Director General of the LPA:

Another positive thing [...] is that Latvia have had the same General Director [in the Prison Administration] for the whole programme period. In other countries they have shifted the General Director three-four-five times. From there, the General Director replace all the people closest to them. Which means that we need to start - not from the beginning, but from a few steps behind. And therefore, loses a lot of time. This has not happened in Latvia, and it's the only country with stability during the whole period. (Lillestrøm, 2018a)<sup>16</sup>

Cooperative relations need to be in a continuous process of nurturing, and a significant concept for nurturing is trust. Vangen and Huxham (2003, p. 11) discuss trust as being a cyclic process, where partners take a risk and form expectations about the outcome each time they cooperate. Each time the outcome meets their expectations the level of trust is heightened, and it increases the chances that the partners have positive expectations of their next encounter. Reciprocity of trust is another element in the cycle, where one partner show more trust, because they are themselves being trusted by the other party. Trust can make cooperation more effective, as it simplifies the collecting and interpretation of information, hence allowing partners to behave

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<sup>16</sup> In April 2018 the Cabinet of Ministers in Latvia extended the mandate to the General Director until 2023 (Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Latvia, 2018).

in the most beneficial way without fear of being exploited for one's vulnerability (McEvily, Perrone, & Zaheer, 2003, p. 93).

Trust was mentioned as an important factor for a good cooperation by many of the informants (Lillestrøm, 2018a; Riga, 2018a; Riga, 2018b). This involved the importance of having partners who were reliable and available. Additionally, there was a gratitude for the trust where both parties had confidence in that the partners would be successful in their tasks (Riga, 2018a), instead of meeting them with critique at every turn. The fact that the KDI could ask their Latvian partners if a master student could interview central authorities and inmates in a prison in Latvia, proved that there are good bilateral relations. According to the Director of International Cooperation at the KDI this would not have been possible in other countries they cooperated with (Lillestrøm, 2018a). Effectively, this demonstrate the high level of trust between the Latvian partners and the Norwegian partners.

### **3.5 Sub-mechanism of socialization – Normative suasion**

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, normative suasion was the most probable sub-mechanism of socialization take effect during the Norway Grant projects. The likelihood of the presence of normative suasion increases if the socializes have few inherent or inherited beliefs that are inconsistent to the new beliefs (Checkel, 2007, p. 13). The SPS is a good example of this, being a new institution with minimal of inherited philosophy from the Soviet era (Klišāne, Jurevičius, & Judins, 2013). Therefore, as pointed out by the former Manager of Training System Development Unit in the SPS, it is easier to introduce new methods in the SPS (Riga, 2018d). This same condition also explains the challenges of changing the interests in the LPA, as a majority of its infrastructure and methods are inherited from the Soviet era. The continued existence of the hierarchical prison systems indicates that this is the case (CPT, 2017). At the same time, the prison system was in an uncertain state and received criticism from international institutions regarding a lacking quality in the prisons. The LPA was thus motivated to accept new knowledge (Checkel, 2007, p. 13), and has individuals in important positions in the prison system whom are driving forces for changes (for instance the General Director of LPA and the Head of SPS). The construction of the Olaine AC, as well as the plans to construct the new prison in Liepaja based on the same way of thinking, indicates that the dominating motivation in LPA is to think differently.

If the socializer is a member of a ingroup as the socializes wants to belong to, a change of the interests is more likely to occur (Checkel, 2007, p. 13). Latvia and Norway cannot easily be

grouped in the same category in regard to correctional service. They are two distinct countries considering factors such as history, culture and socioeconomic status. Hypothetically, if Norway is a country where Latvia can find a lot of good lessons regarding correctional service, they are not necessarily automatically motivated to “join” the same ingroup. Quoting Laila Medin of Latvia’s ministry of justice, to *The Economist*, “We will never be fully Norwegian but we can be less Soviet” (*The Economists*, 2016). This indicates that even though Latvia is not in pursuit of a “membership” of the same ingroup, they nevertheless want to develop their correctional service in the same direction as Norway.

I could even say that through those Norway Grants projects, if we speak generally about the Latvian nation, Norwegians have this positive soft power over our nation. As a result, when we speak about Norway [...] it’s now also about a certain set of principles and values which got together people of similar believes here in Latvia. (Riga, 2018e)

The quote by the Project Manager of LPA illustrates that Norway has a degree of soft power over Latvia. Soft power involves persuading others to want the same outcome as oneself (Johnsen & Rieker, 2014). The manager of the prison project similarly expressed, that it was a strong argument in national debates to follow Norwegian methods: “By following Norwegian example, we put a big dot at the end of the discussion we were having” (Riga, 2018f).

If the socializer avoids lecturing and demanding, and rather acts based on their principles, change of interest is more likely to occur with the socializing target (Checkel, 2007, p. 14). As demonstrated, the Norwegian cooperation partners have no interest in lecturing and demanding. The following quote by the Director of International Cooperation in the KDI both illustrate the lack of demanding, and the presence of discussion:

[I]f you are going to learn something new - I can tell you something now, and you completely disagree. But if we spend a lot of time, repeating and discussing, allows you to have your own opinions, discusses further, then over time, you change your views. (Lillestrøm, 2018a)

Whether or not this classifies as persuasion, meaning if Norway deliberately attempted on changing views in Latvia, is difficult to say. But it is in practice exchange of knowledge, and might lead to increased common understanding of penal policy. The persuasion can be affected by the relationship between the two parties as well, and the data from the interviews revealed a close connection between key individuals on the Norwegian and Latvian side. One neat example of this is that when the Project Manager of LPA are going vacationing in Norway this

summer, the Director of International Cooperation in the KDI will help plan the excursion and even borrow him his car (Lillestrøm, 2018a).

The final condition to consider that might indicate the presence of the normative suasion mechanism, is to have a less politicized setting. Several informants mentioned terms like “friendship” and “informal” when describing the cooperation between Norway and Latvia. Based on that, it is viable to assume that the setting for bilateral cooperation are not politicized, and therefore contributes as a condition in which norm suasion is more likely to occur.

This chapter has highlighted that Latvia and Norway enjoy an extensive bilateral cooperation. Whether or not socialization have occurred is difficult to conclude by considering the bilateral cooperation solely, however it has assessed the presence of several necessary conditions for the presence sub-mechanism normative suasion. The next chapter further assists in proving the presence of socialization, by examining if the projects’ results show a significant change of norms and values.



## **Chapter 4: In what ways have the projects been successful?**

This chapter assesses the success of the projects by evaluating it in the categories from the heuristic model by Marsh and McConnell, presented in the introductory chapter. Secondly, it explores if the two projects were successful, and what factors contributed to improving or constraining the results. First, the study looks at how “soft” transfer in the projects shows a change of perception among the Latvian cooperation partners.

### **4.1 “Soft” or “hard” transfers**

Both the probation project and the prison project led to cases of hard transfers. The technical solutions to the EM, the construction of Olaine AC, training of prison officers and the two re-socialization programmes from Norway and Poland are the most distinct examples of hard transfer. Norwegian partners are generally critical of “hard” transfer, as neither construction of new buildings nor conducted training courses give guarantees of lasting changes in attitudes towards inmates which is important because changes in attitudes make for more sustainable results (Daugavpils, 2018). Both projects further led to changes in legislation, further ensuring lasting results. Some of the changes in the legislation were necessary for the implementation of the projects, like the adoption of internal rules for penal institution units for addicts (Norway Grants, 2018).

The “soft” transfer is far more difficult to assess, as ideas or lessons are hard to specify and measure. Though the results from the interviews has revealed changes in how the Latvians views punishment and treatment of inmates, it is still difficult to know exactly what led to those changes and how extensive and lasting the changes were. The Norwegian partners have noticed a change in attitude in the Latvians, however those changes might not be as apparent in the society and the prison system (Lillestrøm, 2018a).

The changes are illustrated by the difference in the initial reactions to methods and habits found in Norwegian prisons, and how the Latvian partners eventually adopted the same principles in the Olaine Addiction Centre. A senior adviser at the KDI described how:

[d]uring the planning of the projects, many people have said «of course you can do it like this, because you are in Norway, have a lot of money, and things are different. But it is not possible to do this in Latvia». Then it is very interesting to see, at a later state of the

project implementation, that many of the issues which allegedly were impossible to implement in Latvia, actually have been implemented. (Lillestrøm, 2018b)

Many of those examples were related to the principle of normalization in prisons, and having trust in the inmates' ability and will to change. One example was to take inmates on excursions outside the prison. This concept humoured the Latvian partners in the early stages of the cooperation (Riga, 2018b). Interestingly, the inmates at Olaine have been on several trips at this point, including going mushroom picking and finding a Christmas tree (Olaine, 2018a; Olaine, 2018b). Another example is how the employees at Olaine AC do not wear uniforms (Lillestrøm, 2018b). The probation project has not had clearly visible examples of lessons from Norway compared to the prison project, except for transfer of the technological solutions to EM (Lillestrøm, 2018d). However, the Project Manager of SPS stated that knowledge has been transferred to them as well, even though it is less visible than the example in the Olaine AC:

We just don't look towards Norway to transfer Norwegian policy to Latvia. Maybe some values and attitudes we recognize as very useful, and in prisons they try more to copy Norwegian models. [...]. But sometimes we can get some useful learnings. And definitely we understand much better Norwegian culture and why people think as they do in Norway. Why you have so strange criminal justice policies, and why prisons have knives on them and all this stuff. (Riga, 2018b)

The changes in attitude that the Norwegian informants observed, are supported by the data from the Latvian informants. Several informants have stated that their initial attitude towards the Norwegian "philosophy" changed during the cooperation. The former Manager of Training System Development Unit of the SPS illustrated: "Step by step we got acquainted to this philosophy, and accepted it here in Latvia" (Riga, 2018d). Furthermore, they now understand the value of having a different perception and treatment of inmates.

## **4.2 Programmatic success**

Programmatic success focuses on evidence-based policy-making (Fawcett & Marsh, 2012). This case is concerned with quantifiable results, such as how many of the indicators are reached. The biggest indicator reached was to successfully develop the EM system for probation clients. A survey carried out within the framework of the projects reported that the majority of inmates confirmed the positive effects EM had on their lives (Norway Grants, 2018). The use of EM is directly profitable for the society as it is more cost efficient compared to the cost of imprisonments. The daily costs for an inmate in prison is € 30, while it costs € 9,6 for inmates

on EM (Norway Grants, 2018, p. 24). It is further indirectly profitable, both because most of the inmates can practice employment while on EM, and also EM reduces the recidivism. The establishment of an e-learning system, which is able to collect information automatically from different institutions, is both time saving and increases the effectivity and capacity of SPS officers (Norway Grants, 2018).

In the prison project they succeeded in constructing a new building, and to implement two re-socialization programmes (Norway Grants, 2018). These were the most central indicators in the prison project. In addition, other indicators have been reached, like a number of studies, re-socialization measures, trained prison officers, and the development of training topics. No exact cost saving results of the project have been mentioned, but it is safe to assume that the reduced recidivism expected in the future will be a welcome result for the public budget. Nevertheless, the statistics of recidivism will not be available until the centre has been operating for some years, thus nothing can be stated with any certainty just yet.

All the indicators were fully reached in both projects, except for the numbers of inmates involved in both the EM programme and the Olaine AC. In both projects they estimated to apply the program to 200 inmates simultaneously, which none of them did. At the time when the interviews were conducted in Olaine AC, there were 47 inmates in the centre. The final report of the programme showed that the EM project involved 156 individuals in total (Norway Grants, 2018). The SPS will continue to apply EM to inmates when the laws allow larger target groups to fill the capacity of the electronic monitoring (Riga, 2018c). The project leader of the probation project mentioned that it is no longer a goal to have “200 linked on the EM” simultaneously, and that the indicator to the probation project was written without sufficient knowledge of what that would require (Riga, 2018b). When the indicators were formulated, they did not have sufficient knowledge of EM or the necessary legislative amendments needed in Latvia (Riga, 2018b). The probation service, prison service and the KDI all agreed that it was not reasonable to expect to reach the indicator of 200 inmates at the expense of exposing the general public to unnecessary risk of threat, and risk negative public attitudes (Norway Grants, 2018). It can further be argued that it is too simplistic to claim that success is measured in whether that particular indicator is reached; or if the EM system is implemented; or Olaine AC is constructed.

Both projects give examples of good practice that can be used for further development in Latvian probation and prison service. It shows that the Latvian society can work with inmates in a different way, without compromising the security of the staff or for the society (Riga,

2018f). The Olaine AC is regarded as a huge step forward in the Latvian prison system and a crucial move in the right direction. It shows that Latvian politicians have shifted focus from punishment only, to re-socialization and reducing recidivism (Lillestrøm, 2018d). It is perceived as a good start, and the informants showed a lot of optimism regarding future development.

The General Director of the Prison Administration emphasized the importance of developing holistic changes in the Latvian justice system with the help of Norway Grants financing:

[I]t [the Norway Grant Programme] ensured an excellent cooperation between the national institutions in Latvia. The Prison Administration was in, and the probation service, as well as the state police. [...]. It made us come together and analyse the existing situation and then see what should be done. (Riga, 2018f)

The increased cooperation between the probation and prison service is a sign that Latvia is moving towards creating a *correctional service*. The projects under the Norway Grants has created a synergy among the correctional institutions, and it looks like it will continue to develop in that direction. Especially with the coordinated project for the next programme period, involving a training and educational centre that will train the staff in both the SPS and LPA. This development of increased cooperation is important, as the two institutions often share the same objectives, challenges and even the same inmates.

### **4.3 Political success**

The political success depends on the political popularity, which as mentioned, is difficult to assess. However, first it is important to mention that both projects received several positive reviews in the media in the wake of the opening of Olaine AC and the onset of the EM system.<sup>17</sup> The Olaine AC also won the jury's award in the category "New Public Structure" in a Latvian competition (Norway Grants, 2018, p. 31). Another affirmation the prison project received, as stated by the Director of International Cooperation at the KDI: "In a top-three list of successful projects listed in a report to the FMO (the Financial Mechanism Office), Olaine is number one." (Lillestrøm, 2018a). Equally important, if any major "failures" had emerged from the projects it would have had considerable political consequences in Latvia as they both had potential dangerous inmates as clients. The risk would be especially high in the probation projects, as the

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<sup>17</sup> Informants at the Olaine AC mentioned a visit by a national TV channel, and other informants mentioned articles in local newspapers. There are articles about the projects in English written news sources as well, see LETA (2017b) and Rozenberga (2016) as examples.

EM system gives the inmates a limited amount of freedom. If an inmate using the EM system had committed a crime, it could jeopardize future applications and the pace of adopting new attitudes towards inmates. The absence of a scandal can be regarded as a political success. In addition, several informational campaigns were conducted, preventing the spread of negative and incorrect information about either of the projects. Despite disagreements among staff in the older prisons towards the new methods (Olaine, 2018b), there was hardly any contention to the introduction of the projects, and the implementation occurred without negative media attention.

Results from the prison project crosses borders, and Latvia have themselves become a donor of knowledge. Experts from Denmark, Finland, Lithuania and Poland have visited Olaine to see the results (Riga, 2018f), and countries like Kyrgyzstan, Georgia and Moldova are coming to Latvia to learn from their experience (Riga, 2018d). Indeed, both the probation and prison project have received international attention and visits from others who want to learn more about their policies. This would suggest that the policies are successful.

#### **4.4 Process success**

Process success is achieved when the policy outcome is sustainable. Sustainability was a factor emphasized by the KDI as well. Will the outcome of the projects continue to develop in the same direction in the future? The employees I talked to at the Olaine AC all expressed the same values when it came to resocialization and motivating the inmates to change. According to both the staff and the inmates, there has been no negative changes in the centre's operation or staffs' motivation. The interviews done for this work were conducted a year and a half after the opening of the Olaine AC, and this shows a continuity in both the operation and the set of values they implement. Furthermore, the re-socialization programmes at the Olaine AC will be used in the new Liepaja prison (Norway Grants, 2018), which shows a continuance of the results achieved during the prison project. The Director General of the LPA emphasized how the results from the prison project would continue to be used in the future:

The project of Olaine addiction centre is a very, very special one for Latvia. Because it gave us a possibility to first test certain ideas in a pilot project, and to see how it work. [...]. And how the prison system should be organized in the future. (Riga, 2018f)

Based on the changes in norms and values mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, one can assume that the probation and prison service will continue working towards having a correctional service in the Norwegian definition, with the norms and values accompanying it. Along with the changes in values and norms, we have seen systematic and judicial changes that

further ensures sustainability of the results. These are now integrated in the operation of the probation and prison systems. When asked how he thought the projects would develop in the future, the Project Manager of the SPS answered: “The same way. Because we paid a lot of attention towards ensuring sustainability from the very beginning. We introduced something, we invested personally so much time and effort, and we would like to see this continuing to grow.” (Riga, 2018b). The Project Manager of the LPA also highlighted the continuance:

We are very well aware that one project alone cannot change the whole reality. Nevertheless, it has been a crucial push for the changes in the whole system of correctional services of Latvia. And it has shown the direction, it has shown the way, and it will not change. That is the positive message. And with this project we have shown the key components on how a modern correctional institution should be formed. (Riga, 2018e)

#### **4.5 What factors might have constrained the results?**

Different factors have complicated the implementation of the projects, possibly constrained the results, and caused delays. The launch of the Correctional Service programme was delayed due to initial discussion, preparation and signing of the cooperation agreement, thus making the implementation period nine months shorter. Both projects’ deadlines were prolonged twice, from April 2016 to December 2016 and later to April 2017. The prolonging of the deadline was caused by the complicated procurements and preparation of legislative changes (Norway Grants, 2018). The opening of Olaine AC was delayed for six months due to a delayed construction of a fence. The existing fence at the Olaine Prison caused logistical challenges as it could not be dismantled before the new fence was constructed (Norway Grants, 2018).

One of the less significant challenges during the implementation of the projects was the level of miscommunication between Norwegian and Latvian speakers. Such a challenge will always exist when working with a foreign language. Still, misunderstandings can create distance rather than build closer relations (Oslo, 2018). This was mostly acknowledged as a challenge in the beginning of the cooperation, when they had translators not familiar enough with the terminology used in correctional service. After some time, the challenge of miscommunication diminished, especially when the cooperation partners increased their knowledge of each other, and when they found a translator with sufficient knowledge of the subject matter.

The most frequently mentioned challenge involved the inconvenient and complicated bureaucratic and procurement system in Latvia. The project participants spend a lot of time and

resources on writing reports and dealing with the procurement process. Challenges with bureaucracy and procurement is common in other beneficiary countries as well (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The procurement process in the developmental phase of the EM-project was the most complex in the history of the SPS (Norway Grants, 2017). The tedious bureaucratic and procurement system lead to delays in the implementation of the projects, as illustrated in this quote by the Director of International Cooperation at KDI:

First time I was in Latvia to work with the projects was in 2014. I was in Olaine, and they showed me where the new prison department was going to be built. And it took another two years before they first broke ground. So they started the implementation too late, because it was a lot of bureaucracy and procurement rounds that caused delays. (Lillestrøm, 2018a)

Some of the challenges during the implementation of the projects were related to the staff at the Olaine AC, recruitment of staff being among the most prevalent ones. It was decided that the staff for the Olaine AC would be recruited from outside the prison system, so they would learn new methods without bringing with them old attitudes and values from other prisons. Latvian learned from Estonian experience that it is difficult to change the attitudes of prison officers. Therefore, it was considered important to start the addiction centre with a completely new staff with a new attitude (Riga, 2018d). The lack of human resources constituted another challenge related to the prison staff. The Olaine AC is in the small town, and lacked available personnel. In addition, the centre required more staff than was originally planned. Initially, they proposed 15 staff members for the 200 inmates that the centre would room. During the implementation it became clear that they would need closer to 70 staff members (Riga, 2018e). Acquiring qualified personnel in that scale would be a challenge anywhere in the Latvian prison system, not only in Olaine. The prison administration faced some difficult choices as it became necessary to find personnel within the system, one of them being to close one prison (Riga, 2018e). The second challenge was to successfully match the training with the construction process, as the training of the workers was completed long before the construction was finished. As a result, some of the already trained staff left when they could not start the work shortly after their training, and the LPA was forced to commence a new round of training (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The third challenge related to prison staff was the relation between the newly hired and the more experienced employees. It was important to bring these groups of employees together and create mutual respect, in order to avoid divisions in the prison service. This still remains a challenge (Riga, 2018f).

The biggest and most difficult challenge in the Latvian prison system was to get rid of the old attitudes and approaches to punishment inherited from the Soviet era (Riga, 2018d). The Director of the Project Department at the Latvian Ministry of Justice exacerbated this challenge in the interview.

I think the most difficult challenge is probably to overcome the post-Soviet Union kind of aura. The approach from that old type of system, that is the one that is most difficult to break. It is still there, and it is still a big problem. It was the main focus in the last period, and also in the new period, to break the circle. (Riga, 2018a)

The prison system is a conservative system that does not change very fast (Riga, 2018e), and it sets limitations to progress within the system. The Project Manager of LPA stated that; “[i]t’s very important that Norway through their Norway Grants activities target repressive institutions in Latvia like police, prisons, probation. Because those are the most conservative agencies in Latvia.” (Riga, 2018e). In addition to the rigid attitudes, the physical structure in the older prisons further complicate the implementation of modern methods (Riga, 2018d). As mentioned, the older prisons are built for dynamic security. During the interviews at the Olaine AC, several inmates and employees expressed hope for a further continuance with more inmates enrolling into the system, and that it would be a way to break the bonds to the old Soviet system.

One example of old attitude is found among the inmates themselves, and the informal hierarchical system of castes in the prisons. This caste system has proved to be a challenge for the Olaine AC. Inmates informed me how other inmates following the hierarchical caste system condemned the approach practiced in Olaine AC, as they are critical of changes in a system they themselves are comfortable in (Olaine, 2018a). It was claimed that inmates in the higher castes in the hierarchy urges others not to go to Olaine AC (Olaine, 2018a), thereby preventing inmates from applying.



## **Chapter 5: Findings and conclusion**

This study set out to analyse the Norway Grants contribution to Latvian correctional services, and the characteristics of the Latvian-Norwegian cooperation. It establishes that perceptions of penalty and inmates changed during the cooperation with Norway, from a focus on isolation and punishment to rehabilitation and re-socialization. It is safe to assume that the change of values and norms in Latvia largely was a result of the cooperation, considering that participation in socialization is established. This chapter also presents a schematic figure displaying the answer to the question “what is the role and effects of the Norway Grants to the Latvian probation service and prison administration?”. Finally, it suggests that further development of the processes analysed in this work depends on factors such as the construction of the new prison in Liepaja, and the success of the training and educational centre planned for the subsequent programme period.

### **5.1 What characterises a good bilateral cooperation?**

Chapter three demonstrates how most of the informants portrayed a good bilateral cooperation based on their own experience with the cooperation in these projects. Many of the informants described these characteristics based on their own experiences with the Norwegian-Latvian cooperation, showing that the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Latvia during these projects has strong aspects. The figure below illustrates what the informants view as important components in the bilateral cooperation within the correctional services projects.

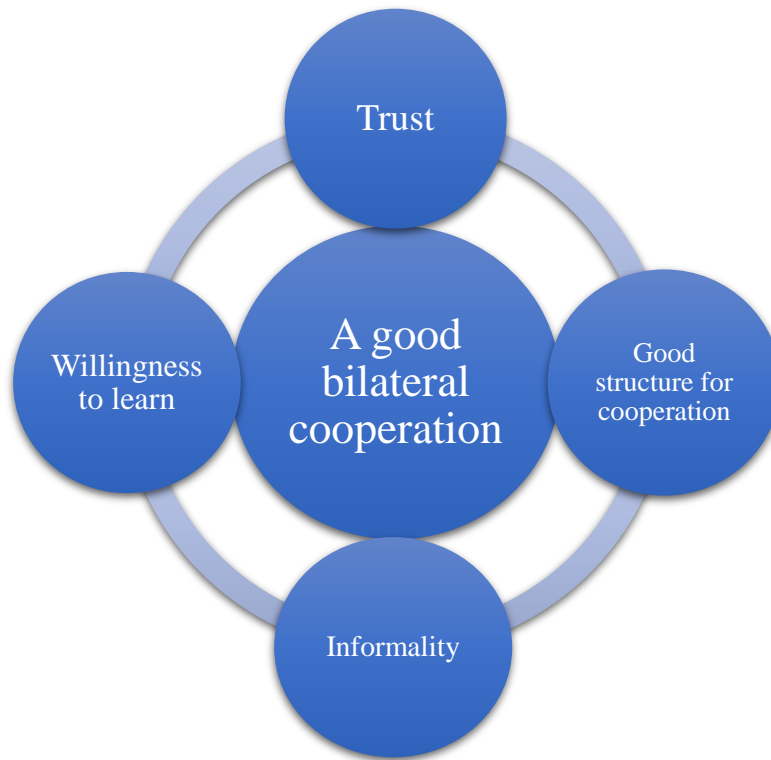


Figure 4: Aspects of a good bilateral cooperation

The first aspect of a good bilateral cooperation is to have a *good structure for cooperation*. This involves a well-functioning CC-meetings, ideally with representatives from all levels, and with a continuity of the representatives. Common objectives and a thorough understanding of the roles on both sides is also important. A degree of *informality* is the second part. Informality includes open communication, and feeling comfortable contacting each other at any time. Some of the informants also drew parallels from informality to friendship. A *willingness to learn* about the other country's history, culture and penal philosophy is a prerequisite on both sides of the cooperation. This quality has led to a great deal of discussion and mutual exchange of experience and knowledge. With aspects leading to increased knowledge included in a bilateral cooperation, it is easier to achieve policy transfer with a focus on local implementation, as both sides quickly became aware of each other's differences. The final aspect of a good bilateral cooperation is *trust*. Trust simplifies communication, as well increasing the effectivity. By maintaining a high level of trust, bilateral relations are in a continuous process of nurturing the relationship.

## **5.2 Did key individuals in Latvia change their perception during the programme period?**

The third chapter assessed the presence of many conditions of the operation of normative suasion. Firstly, SPS had few inherent beliefs and LPA was motivated to accept new knowledge due to criticism from international institutions, internal uncertainty, and key individuals in leading positions motivated for changes. LPA had some inherited beliefs that are inconsistent with Norwegian values. Norway is a country Latvia look to for learning, either it is for re-socialization programs or human rights work, and the two countries also share a close cooperation. The two last conditions of normative suasion assessed, is the fact that Norway discuss their values and norms with Latvia rather than to demand anything, and the overall informality about the cooperation. This proves the presence of normative suasion in the bilateral cooperation.

One way to determine whether socialization has taken place or not, is by considering how Latvia changed norms and values as a result from the participation in the projects in the Norwegian Financial Mechanism. Chapter four displayed several “soft” transfers, in the shape of changes of methods, habits and values. The Latvian informants could attest to a change of attitude towards the Norwegian penal “philosophy”, which includes the belief that inmates can change, the principle of normalization, and the use of dynamic security in prisons. Latvia does not rely solely on Norway for guidance, and is not pressured to follow the norms and values presented by their Norwegian partners either. However, as determined in chapter three, Norway possessed a soft power over Latvia. Norway has a specific set of values and this aforementioned philosophy in the correctional services, that several individuals in Latvia’s correctional services wants to shift towards.

The two projects were affected in different ways by the bilateral cooperation with Norway, as illustrated by the fact that the SPS only had the technological solution in EM in common with Norway. Still, as specified by the Project Manager of SPS, they learned new values from the cooperation with Norway:

[T]hat is something that comes with time and understanding of Norwegian approach, that if you trust people they behave better. And if you treat them [inmates] like animals, they will also behave like animals. I think today we understand very well that our best learning

from Norway is humanity. To believe in people, to work with them, and to believe that people can change. (Riga, 2018)

If the norms and values are internalized, one can conclude that socialization has taken place. The preferences of re-socialization and the belief that inmates can change under the right circumstances were consistent throughout all the interviews on project and programme level on the Latvian side. This consistency and confidence showed and illustrated throughout the study, proves that the values and norms are likely to have been internalized. Consequently, the study argues that socialization in fact has taken place in the Norwegian-Latvian cooperation, and that key individuals in Latvia's probation and prison service have changed norms.

However, the study can only prove that changed perspectives and norms have taken place amongst the individuals in key positions in the Latvian prison and probation service, and the employees in the Olaine AC. When discussing the process of persuasion, debating and sharing knowledge which contribute to changes in values, the Director of International Cooperation in KDI highlighted that "this practice has not been done with the rest of the correctional service in Latvia. And the society wants inmates to have it worse than the rest, because they have done something wrong". (Lillestrøm, 2018a). Chapter four addressed the challenge of these old Soviet attitudes and approaches to punishment that still exist in the prison system. However, based on this study alone, it is difficult to assume anything more specific.

### **5.3 What is the main role and effects of the Norway Grants?**

The figure on the following page is a schematic answer to the main research question, "What is the role and effects of the Norway Grants to the Latvian probation service and prison administration?". This is a complex question to answer, as it involves a diverse set of factors. With the help of the data from the interviews and the documents, the study has assessed a set of roles the Norway Grants can arguably possess, and the effect of these roles. In addition, the mechanism used to achieve these effects is presented in the middle column.

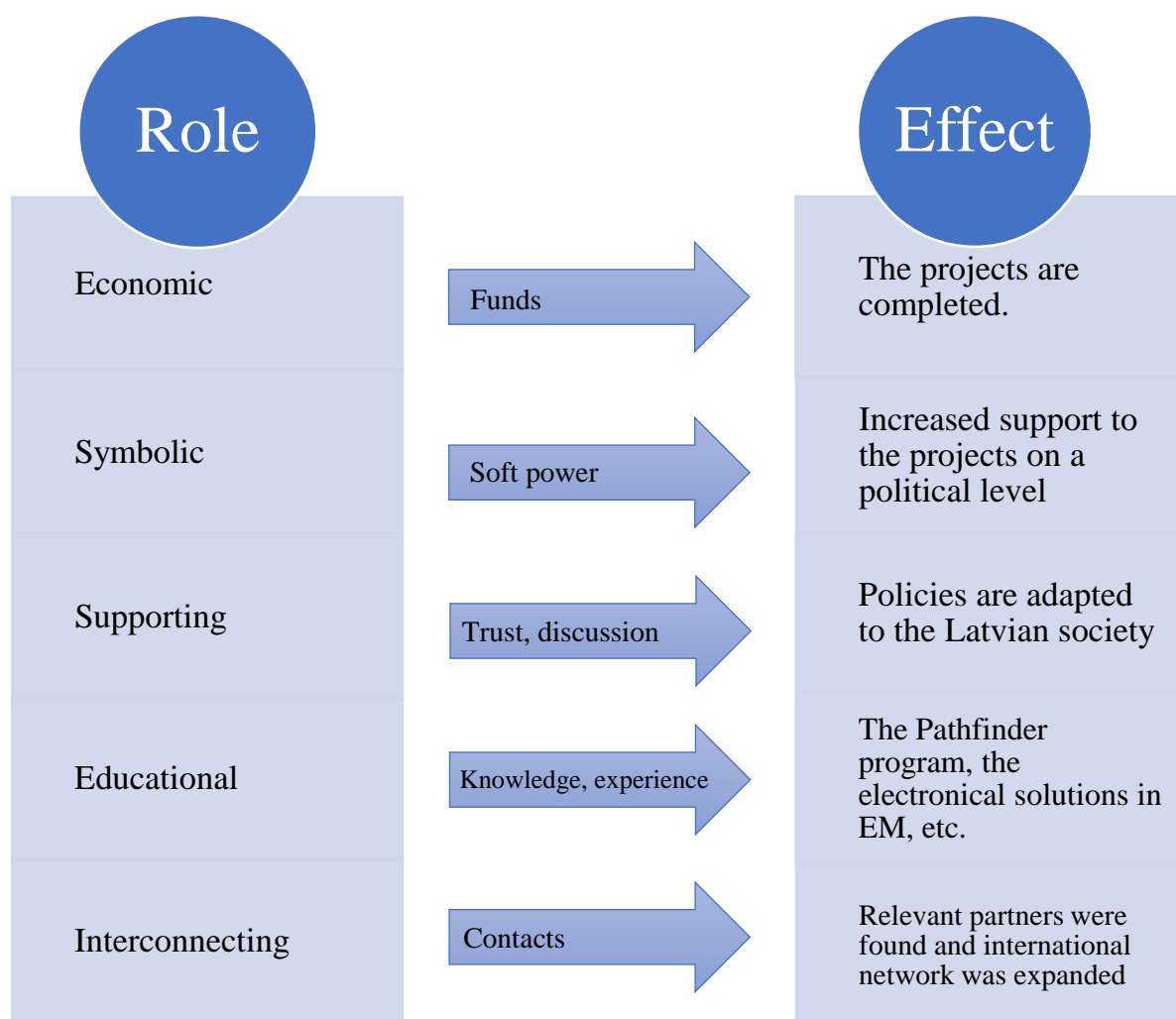


Figure 5: The roles and effects of the Norway Grants

This is a figure composed of several elements that seeks to clarify a rather complex observation. The different roles and mechanisms in Norway Grants have several effects, and each effect is the result of different factors. The results are difficult to illustrate more specifically due to dependencies and interactions between the different elements. Then, for the sense of comprehension the roles are connected to the most direct and predictable effect.

The *economic role* is the most obvious one, and consists of the financial funds. Without any available funds there would not be any results at all, making the economic role rather overarching and thereby affecting every aspect of the projects. Still, the most direct effect is the completion of the projects. The *symbolic role* is there due to the soft power Norway has regarding penal policy, likely because of the favourable statistics of recidivism and strong reputation in the field of human rights. According to some of the respondents, this has led to

increased political support for the projects and the new values and norms. The *supporting role* requires a high level of trust. The trust the Norwegian partners illustrated, for example by not pressuring their Latvian partners into specific directions or choices, led to the successful adaptation of policies to the Latvian society. The supporting role is further practiced with the help of discussion, and this is where the term “sparring partner”, as stated by one of the informants, comes to use. The *educational role* is visible especially in the Pathfinder program and in the technical solutions found in the EM project. These are the two biggest and clearest examples of the effects of Norway Grant’s educational role. An exchange of experience and knowledge is crucial for this role. This exchange goes in both directions, and Norwegians learn from Latvians as well. The *interconnecting role* consisted of helping find relevant partners for the projects and increasing Latvia’s international network of penal policy experts. The Norwegian partners were not alone in having this role, as Latvia also had relevant contacts within the field.

It is not possible to isolate the effects, and thereby knowing which actors, mechanism or other external factor that to the greatest extent have contributed to the results. Furthermore, as the figure only illustrates the roles of the Norway Grants, it does not include any of the external factors, nor the effect the internal motivation and key individuals in Latvia has for the results. Even so, this study has demonstrated that Norway Grants had a significant impact on the Latvian prison administration and probation service. The effects the Norway Grants have had on the projects might still be muffled by internal disagreements or challenges in the correctional services, or by external factors.

#### **5.4 The future of Latvia’s correctional service**

For the next programme period a training and educational centre will be built in Olaine, where all the staff in the prison and probation service in Latvia will receive future training (Lillestrøm, 2018a). The training centre will be a cornerstone for the educational needs in the prison and probation service in Latvia (Riga, 2018a). The correctional services in Latvia are currently missing a proper educational system, as the current training facilities lack sufficient capacity and have poor facilities (Lillestrøm 2018c). All the cooperation during the Norway Grant that has involved training and seminars were not able to guarantee sustainability, as there is always the possibility that people who have received training would eventually leave that field (Lillestrøm, 2018c). The future educated staff will receive practical experience after the training at the educational centre at one of the two new prison wards that also will be constructed as part of the next programme, or at the Olaine AC. The new training and educational centre and all the future generations that will be taught there is a big next step towards changing attitudes,

from the inherited values and ideas from the Soviet Union, and to a modern approach with a focus on resocialization (Riga, 2018a). Through established bilateral cooperation and knowledge of how to cooperate, the next programme period might perhaps meet fewer challenges during the implementation. As a Senior Advisor in KDI highlighted:

The positive is that although things might have taken some time in the last programme period, most things will go faster in the new programme period. Contacts have been made, people have worked together and got to know each other. We all know how things work now. (Lillestrøm, 2018b)

The experience and knowledge acquired from the projects will continue through the construction of the new prison in Liepaja as well. The latter was originally planned to be built by the end of 2018. The General Director of the Prison Administration declared in a news article back in 2014 that there was a chance that it would not be built, as it is difficult to prioritize prisons when “retired people need to count every cent” (Springe, 2014, p. 5). As pointed out in the introduction, the construction of the prison has been put on halt. The lack of financing that is delaying the construction is a result of the construction companies going over budget for the new prison (Riga, 2018f), and demands from a political party. It involved the transfer of a sizable portion of the state budget to demographic measures, as Latvia is struggling with a continuous demographic decline (LETA, 2017a). Latvia has had a decline in population for several decades, due to a high migration rate and a low birth rate. This has led to a looming labour gap and a rapid aging, especially in the country side.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, as the Latvian finance minister Dana Reizniece-Ozola told the Latvian information agency; “If we have to choose between support to families with children or higher costs for construction of a jail, I support the first idea” (LETA, 2017a).

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<sup>18</sup> For more about Latvia’s demographic challenges, see the series of articles “Latvia’s ageing dilemma” in the investigative news organization Re:Baltica. <https://en.rebaltica.lv/investigations/latvias-ageing-dilemma/>

## 5.5 Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to answer the question of *what are the role and effects of the Norway Grants to the Latvian probation service and prison administration*. These roles and their effects have been identified and explored throughout the study, and are illustrated in figure five. The work is built on a comprehensive qualitative data collection, consisting of a total of 21 interviews. Most of the informants are key individuals in the Norway Grants projects or in Latvian correctional service. The research question has been examined descriptively through exploring both projects and the characteristics of the bilateral cooperation. It has been examined analytically as well, by studying the bilateral cooperation under the socialization theory and the success of the projects through the policy success model.

The policy transfer theory has been used to address several questions. Regarding why actors engage in policy transfer, the recurrent motivation is to improve the penal system, to decrease the prison population, and increase the conditions for the inmates. The content of the transfer could have been described in greater detail, but the key aim was to assess the soft transfer of values and norms. Most of the content in the projects is hard transfer, including the construction of the Olaine AC, implementation of the “Pathfinder”-program, and technical solutions in the EM system. The assessment of soft transfer proved that Latvia has adopted a substantial extent of the penal “philosophy” found in Norway. Almost nothing is directly copied when transferred, except for less significant concepts like prison staff without uniform. Whatever the rest of the transfers are classified as, the most important knowledge from this was to adapt everything to local conditions. The transfer happened with help of effective CC-meetings, the DPP, and key individuals such as Project Managers, the General Director of the LPA and the Head of the SPS. The most central transfers came from Norway, Estonia and Poland.

The study contributes by providing insights in an inclusive bilateral cooperation, by assessing the characteristics of the cooperation between Latvia and Norway. The factors found to characterise the bilateral cooperation are illustrated in figure four, and are summarized into four categories; *trust, good structure for cooperation, informality, and willingness to learn*. It has further been established that socialization has taken place and led to the internalization of new norms and values. The study looks at the Norway Grants projects from a constructivist approach to policy transfer, based on the mechanism socialization.



When evaluating the effects of the Norway Grants, it was first essential to review the results of the projects. With the help of a theoretical model of policy success, we see that the projects evidently have been successful, despite the challenges during the implementation. The projects programmatic success shows that essentially all the indicators were reached, apart from the indicators on how many inmates both the EM and the Olaine AC were set to reach. In both those cases it has been argued that the number of inmates was not an objective, because it could limit the quality, as the indicators were set when no one really knew how they would work in practice. In the Olaine AC the empty rooms be a sign of the internal opposition to changes in the hierarchical system among prisoners, and a lack of facilities to continue the treatment in adequate conditions. The study demonstrates that it is too simplistic to claim success or failure solely based on indicators. The projects were examples of good practices that future projects will be based on, and it has successfully increased the cooperation between the SPS and LPA. This moved Latvia one step closer towards establishing a correctional service, where the probation and prison service is united.

Their political success is shown partly in the positive feedback from the media, the society, and international correctional services. The lack of negative feedback is another indication of the projects success, since a scandal could potentially have averted any impending development of those principles. The projects process success is visible in the changes of norms and values, the increased understanding of the Norwegian correctional service “philosophy”, and it is shown by the fact that the learning achieved in both projects will be continued. Based on the programme, policy and process success, the study argues that the projects have been successful.

However, the success of the projects was delayed as a consequence of the delays in the projects. The projects endured prolonged delays, both before and during the implementation. Delays affect the cost efficiency, and without the delays more inmates could have benefitted of the re-socialization programs or the EM system. Ideally, the delays ought to be reduced or eliminated with the adequate planning, measuring and monitoring. Also, the continuance and drive of this success can potentially decrease, because of the presence of continued challenges, especially the presence of rigid and conservative attitudes in the prison system. The projects encountered several other challenges also; such as miscommunication; inconvenience with complicated bureaucratic and procurement system; and challenges related to the prison staff.

Both projects have a defined cornerstone which contribute to significant changes in the way of thinking about penal policy, illustrated by the possible construction of the new prison in Liepaja. The next programme period under the Norway Grants will be continued with the construction of a training and educational centre. However, this makes the continuance of the projects good results dependent on the success of the next project and of construction in Liepaja. When the construction of Liepaja prison is halted, the future of a totally reformed correctional service in Latvia is to some degree uncertain. In other words, contextual factors and continued challenges may limit the effects of the Norway Grants projects. Although, based on the progress already made, it is difficult to imagine Latvian penal policy returning to the former practices of punishment and isolation instead of rehabilitation and re-socialization.

## Appendix 1: List of the informants

<b>Position and affiliation<sup>19</sup></b>	<b>Date and place</b>	<b>Recording/language</b>
Director of International Cooperation, Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service (KDI)	Daugavpils, 26.10.2017	Not recorded. Language: Norwegian
Director of the Project Department, Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Latvia	Riga, 14.11.2017	Not recorded. Language: English
Project Manager, State Probation Service of Latvia	Riga, 11.12.2017	Not recorded. Language: English
Director of International Cooperation, Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service (KDI)	Lillestrøm (a), 09.02.2018	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
Senior Advisor and country manager of Latvia, International Unit, Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service (KDI)	Lillestrøm (b), 09.02.2018	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
Senior Advisor, Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (KRUS)	Lillestrøm (c), 12.02.1018	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
Deputy Head of Oslo Probation Office	Lillestrøm (d), 12.02.2018	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
Inspector, Oslo Prison, Norwegian Correctional Service	Oslo, 13.02.2018	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
Director of the Project Department, Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Latvia	Riga (a), 19.02.2018	Recorded. Language: English
Project Manager, State Probation Service of Latvia	Riga (b), 20.02.2018	Recorded. Language: English
Deputy Head of Supervision and Probation Programme Department, State Probation Service of Latvia	Riga (c), 20.02.2018	Recorded. Language: English/Latvian. Interpreter: Senior Desk Officer of Supervision division, State Probation Service of Latvia.
Manager of Training System Development Unit, Latvian Prison Administration.	Riga (d), 22.02.2018	Recorded. Language: English/Latvian. Interpreter: Project Manager, State Probation Service of Latvia

<sup>19</sup> The position and affiliation of the informants written in this table applies to the position and affiliation they had during the implementation of the projects.

Project Manager, Latvian Prison Administration	Riga (e), 27.02.2018	Recorded. Language: English/Latvian. Interpreter: Project Manager, State Probation Service of Latvia
Director General of the Latvian Prison Administration	Riga (f), 02.03.2018	Recorded. Language: English/Latvian. Interpreter: Assistant to the Norwegian Defence Attaché for the three Baltic states.
The Norwegian Ambassador in Riga	Riga (g), 02.03.2018	Recorded. Language: Norwegian.
Five inmates at the Olaine Addiction Centre	Olaine (a), 26.02.2018	Not recorded. Language: English. English/Latvian. English/Russian. Interpreter: Assistant to the Norwegian Defence Attaché for the three Baltic states.
Four employees at the Olaine Addiction Centre	Olaine (b), 26.02.2018	Not recorded. Language: English/Latvian. Interpreter: Assistant to the Norwegian Defence Attaché for the three Baltic States.

## Appendix 2: Examples of interview guides

### *Example of interview guide for Norwegian informants*

- A. Åpningspørsmål
  - a. Introduksjon av masterprosjekt og informasjon om opptak
  - b. Om informanten og definisjonsspørsmål
    - i. Hva er din stilling i Kriminalomsorgsdirektoratet?
    - ii. Hvilket ansvar og oppgaver har du hatt i samarbeidsprosjektene med Latvia?
    - iii. Hvor lenge har du jobbet med EØS-midlene?
    - iv. Hvordan definerer du kriminalomsorg?
- B. Prosjektene
  - a. Hvordan vil du forklare prosjektene i korte trekk?
  - b. Hvilken forventninger hadde du til prosjektene før de startet? Var dine forventninger annerledes enn de latviske aktørene sine forventninger?
  - c. Hvem har vært de største pådriverne i prosjektene?
  - d. Hvor mye har Kriminalomsorgsdirektoratet påvirket latvisk kriminalomsorg gjennom prosjektene?
  - e. Hvilken utfordringer har dere møtt i implementeringen av prosjektene?
- C. Resultat av prosjektene
  - a. Mener du at prosjektene har vært vellykket?
  - b. Hvilken faktorer spilte inn for at målene i prosjektene ble nådd?
  - c. Hvordan mener du at holdningene til kriminelle og straff har endret seg i Latvia gjennom prosjektet? (Holdninger blant befolkningen, fagpersonell, politikere osv.).
- D. Samarbeid mellom Norge og Latvia
  - a. Hva er et godt bilateralt samarbeid?
  - b. Hva har det bilaterale samarbeidet resultert i?
  - c. Hva er motivasjonen for latviske og norske partnere til å delta i programmet?
  - d. Har motivasjonen for deltakelse endret seg gjennom prosjektet?
- E. Læringsprosessen
  - a. Hvordan oppfattet du villigheten og mottakeligheten til å lære blant de latviske aktørene?
  - b. Kunne læringsprosessen vært bedre? Hvordan kunne læringsprosessen vært bedre?
  - c. Mener du at noen av de overførte tiltakene, verdiene eller ideene har blitt til allmenn/normalisert kunnskap blant fagpersonell eller politikere i Latvia?
- F. Avslutningsspørsmål
  - a. Endringene du har sett som et resultat fra prosjektene, hvordan tror du de vil fortsette å utvikle seg?
  - b. Hva ville vært de ideelle resultatene fra dette samarbeidet?
  - c. Hvordan ville et slikt samarbeid mellom Norge og Latvia vært uten finansieringen av EØS-midlene?
  - d. Har dere oppnådd generell erfaring som kan benyttes i andre EØS-prosjekter?

*Example of interview guide for Latvian informants*

- A. Introduction
  - a. Introduction researcher
    - i. Short presentation of the background and purpose of the project
    - ii. Information about the handling of personal information and tape recordings
  - b. Introduction interviewee
    - i. What is your position in the ministry of Justice?
    - ii. What responsibility and tasks do you have regarding the EEA and Norway Grants?
- B. Correctional services in Latvia
  - a. How would you characterize correctional services in Latvia before 2004?
  - b. Which challenges in the correctional services have you considered the most difficult to overcome?
  - c. How do you think the public views corrections in Latvia?
- C. The programme
  - a. How would you describe the programme?
  - b. Which expectations did you have to the programme before it started? Were your expectations different than the Norwegian partners' expectations?
  - c. Who have been the biggest advocates/driving forces for the programme to succeed?
  - d. Which challenges have you met during the implementation of the programme?
  - e. The third project did not have any Norwegian cooperation partners. Was that project different from the other two projects?
- D. Results from the programme
  - a. In your opinion, have the programme been successful?
  - b. Which factors influenced the projects positively?
- E. Cooperation between Norway and Latvia
  - a. In your opinion, what is a good bilateral cooperation?
  - b. What has the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Latvia resulted in?
  - c. What is the motivation for the Latvian and Norwegian partners to participate in the programme?
- F. The learning processes
  - a. How has the learning process been?
  - b. In your opinion, have some of the transferred policies or ideas been transferred or internalised in Latvian correctional service?
- G. Ending of the interview
  - a. The changes you see in correctional services from the project, how do think they will continue to develop?
  - b. What are the optimal results from this cooperation?
  - c. Have you achieved general knowledge that can be used in other programmes under the EEA and Norway Grants?
  - d. Ask if the informants have any questions or any further information

*Interview guide for inmates at the Olaine Addiction Centre.*

- A. Introduction
  - a. Introduction about the project and recording
  - b. Can you tell me about your experience in Latvian prisons before you moved to Olaine AC?
- B. Experience in Olaine AC
- C. What did you know about the Addiction Centre before you were transferred here?
  - a. Did you have any expectations before you got here? (If so, what were they?)
- D. What do you think about staying in Olaine AC?
  - a. Are you treated differently here?
- E. How was it in the beginning when you got here, and how do you experience it now?
- F. Other questions
  - a. What do you think people (inmates, prison guards, or other people) think about how things are done differently here compared with in other prisons?
  - b. What do you think about the possibilities to participate in re-socialization programmes?
  - c. What do you know about the mentor programme?
- G. Ending of the interview
  - a. Any questions or any further thoughts they would like to share?

*Interview guide for employees at the Olaine Addiction Centre*

- A. Introduction
  - a. Introduction about the project and recording
  - b. How long have you worked here? How long have you worked in a prison?
  - c. Can you tell me about your experience as a prison guard?
- B. Experience in Olaine AC
  - a. What do you think about working here?
  - b. What did you know about Olaine Addiction Centre before you started working here?
  - c. Did you have any expectations before you started? (If so, what were they?)
  - d. How was it in the beginning when you started working here, and how do you experience it now?
- C. Other questions
  - a. What do you think people (inmates, prison guards, society) think about how things are done here?
- D. Ending of the interview
  - a. Any questions or any further thoughts you would like to share?





## **Appendix 3: Information letters**

Information letter to the non-anonymous informants:

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### **Request for participation in research project**

*"A qualitative analysis of the Norwegian Financial Mechanism's contribution to Latvian correctional services"*

#### **Background and Purpose**

The purpose of this project is to examine the effects of the Norwegian financial mechanism's contribution to correctional services in Latvia, and the effects of the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Latvia.

The research project is a part of a master's thesis in the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

The informants are chosen because of their relevant knowledge and/or experience of the correctional service projects in Latvia.

#### **What does participation in the project imply?**

The projects consist of in-depth interviews. The interview will take about 45 minutes. Questions that will be asked is related to the informants' role in the correctional service projects, the bilateral cooperation and which changes they have seen because of the projects.

Data will be collected by audio recordings with permission. The purpose is to keep the focus on the interview rather than on hand-written notes. Audio recordings will be deleted after it has been transcribed.

#### **What will happen to the information about you?**

All personal data will be treated confidentially. Only me and my supervisor will have access to the information.

The master's thesis may publish some personal information with permission, namely name and job title.

If I am going to write a quote it will need to be approved by you first, in order for you to make correction in case of misquoting.

The project is scheduled for completion by May 2018. The transcribed data will not be kept further than that point.

### **Voluntary participation**

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

If you have any questions concerning the project, please contact either me ([pernilsn@ntnu.no](mailto:pernilsn@ntnu.no), +47 97016020) or my supervisor ([kristian.steinnes@ntnu.no](mailto:kristian.steinnes@ntnu.no), +47 73596432).

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

## **Consent for participation in the study**

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate.

I agree that my personal information (name and job title) may be published after project completion.

I agree that the interview can be audio taped. The audio tape will be deleted after the transcription.

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(Signed by participant, date)

Information letter to the anonymous informants:

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## **Request for participation in research project**

*"A qualitative analysis of the Norwegian Financial Mechanism's contribution to Latvian correctional services"*

### **Background and Purpose**

The purpose of this project is to examine the effects of the Norwegian financial mechanism's contribution to correctional services in Latvia, and the effects of the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Latvia.

The research project is a part of a master's thesis in the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

The informants are chosen because of their relevant experience of correctional service in Latvia.

### **What does participation in the project imply?**

The projects consist of group interviews. The interview will take around 1-1,5 hour. The questions will be about how the informants feel about the Olaine Addiction Center and its practices, also compared to other experience.

Data will be collected by audio recordings with permission. The purpose is to keep the focus on the interview rather than on hand-written notes. Audio recordings will be deleted after it has been transcribed, and only me and my supervisor will have access to the transcriptions. The transcriptions will be stored at a unit separate from other data.

### **What will happen to the information about you?**

No personal information will be collected, and the informants will be anonymous.

The project is scheduled for completion by May 2018. The transcribed data will not be kept further than that point.

### **Voluntary participation**

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason.

If you have any questions concerning the project, please contact either me ([pernilsn@ntnu.no](mailto:pernilsn@ntnu.no), +47 97016020) or my supervisor ([kristian.steinnes@ntnu.no](mailto:kristian.steinnes@ntnu.no), +47 73596432).

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## **Consent for participation in the study**

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate.

I agree that the interview can be audio taped. The audio tape will be deleted after the transcription.

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(Signed by participant, date)

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