

“The literature on desistance from crime has gone global in recent decades, but lacks a comparative framework for understanding cultural differences in these socio-cognitive dynamics. With this fascinating cross-cultural analysis, Dana Segev has opened up an exciting and much needed new direction in the field that will become a catalyst for future work of this kind.”

Shadd Maruna
Professor of Criminology
Queen’s University Belfast

“By examining desistance amongst probationers in England and Israel, Dana Segev’s book makes a critically important contribution to the ‘coming of age’ of desistance research. Through a careful and compelling elaboration of previously under-developed connections between sociological theory, comparative criminal justice and desistance theories — and via her own empirical work – Segev helps us understand the socio-structural, cultural and interactional dynamics at play in desistance processes. This book is a must-read for desistance and probation scholars, students and practitioners alike.”

Fergus McNeill
Professor of Criminology & Social Work
University of Glasgow

“Desistance and societies in comparative perspective extends desistance literature beyond Anglo-European countries to include Israel, uses a comparative lens lacking in much prior work and identifies social/societal factors that differ between locations. Dana writes beautifully and this is a major work for desistance scholars to consider.”

David Best
Professor of Criminology
The University of Derby



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Desistance and Societies in Comparative Perspective

Scholarly exploration into how and why people stop offending (desistance from crime) has focused on the impact of internal and external factors in processes of desistance. Prior research has, in general, been undertaken within one nation and neglected the fact that desistance processes are situated within a broad social context which shapes an individual's perceptions and actions. This book begins to fill this gap by exploring how societies and cultures shape desistance processes and experiences.

Desistance and Societies in Comparative Perspective offers findings from a cross-national comparative mixed-method study of desistance processes in England and Israel: two countries with different social-political systems and distinct cultural attributes. The study is the first of its kind in criminology, both in terms of its key objectives and the methods utilised. The findings uncover how social structures and cultures shape individual-level experience. In particular, the findings illustrate how external and internal mechanisms in desistance processes were 'oriented' in particular ways, in accordance with contextual factors. The book outlines five contextual factors which were key in shaping the dynamics of desistance across societies and cultures. These are:

- cultural scripts;
- social climates;
- shared values and norms;
- social interactions and encounters; and
- distinct cultural characteristics.

These five factors provide a contextual framework within which to understand the role of cultures and social structures in shaping agency and experiences in processes of desistance, and with which to account for variances and similarities across societies and cultures. Written in a clear and direct style, this book will appeal to students and scholars in criminology, sociology, cultural studies, social theory and those interested in learning about why and how people desist from crime.

Dana Segev completed her PhD at the University of Sheffield; MSc at the University of Oxford; and BA at Monash University. She is an independent researcher and her work explores desistance processes across countries and cultures, with the objective of uncovering the impact of contextual factors on individual-level experience. She also co-authored the edited book *Positive Criminology*.

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The *International Series on Desistance and Rehabilitation* aims to provide a forum for critical debate and discussion surrounding the topics of why people stop offending and how they can be more effectively reintegrated into the communities and societies from which they came. The books published in the series will be international in outlook, but tightly focused on the unique, specific contexts and processes associated with desistance, rehabilitation and reform. Each book in the series will stand as an attempt to advance knowledge or theorising about the topics at hand, rather than being merely an extended report of specific a research project. As such, it is anticipated that some of the books included in the series will be primarily theoretical, whilst others will be more tightly focused on the sorts of initiatives which could be employed to encourage desistance. It is not our intention that books published in the series be limited to the contemporary period, as good studies of desistance, rehabilitation and reform undertaken by historians of crime are also welcome. In terms of authorship, we would welcome excellent PhD work, as well as contributions from more established academics and research teams. Most books are expected to be monographs, but edited collections are also encouraged.

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Desistance and Societies in Comparative Perspective

Dana Segev

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To my family and loved ones, for shining a light and holding-space. May it be of benefit to all people.



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Series Editor Introduction

The *International Series on Desistance and Rehabilitation* aims to provide a forum for critical debate and discussion surrounding the topics of why people stop offending and how they can be more effectively reintegrated into the communities and societies from which they came. The books published in the series will be international in outlook, but tightly focused on the unique, specific contexts and processes associated with desistance, rehabilitation and reform. Each book in the series will stand as an attempt to advance knowledge or theorising about the topics at hand, rather than being merely an extended report of specific a research project. As such, it is anticipated that some of the books included in the series will be primarily theoretical, while others will be more tightly focused on the sorts of initiatives which could be employed to encourage desistance. It is not our intention that books published in the series be limited to the contemporary period, as good studies of desistance, rehabilitation and reform undertaken by historians of crime are also welcome. In terms of authorship, we would welcome excellent PhD work, as well as contributions from more established academics and research teams. Most books are expected to be monographs, but edited collections are also encouraged.

Dana Segev's book makes a real contribution to both this series and the wider knowledge base of desistance. Following on the work of Linnea Osterman, who compared processes of female desistance in Sweden and England, and Adam Calverley, who compared processes of desistance in England for three of England's largest ethnic minorities (both also published in this series), Dana's work supports the notion that macro-level processes and structures greatly shape how and why people stop offending. It is important to stress that this is not to suggest for one moment that somehow agency 'counts for nought', but rather to point to the influences that hidden or 'invisible' processes can have on all people's lives, including those who offend and those who wish to desist. Research into desistance, for so long 'trapped' in single-country or single-jurisdiction studies, is on the point of a breakthrough, I believe, into truly comparative research. Along with Linnea Osterman's study, I am sure that Dana Segev's contributions will be among the forefront of work in this field. I welcome this book into the series and congratulate Dana on her achievements so far.

Stephen Farrall
Sheffield, January 2020

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Introduction

Exploring experiences and processes of desistance across societies

I have met a few yoga teachers who said: where your eyes go, your body follows. If, in a standing pose, you stretch to the right and your eyes gaze to the right, then your body will stretch further in that pose. At a later stage of my yoga practice, I learned that this saying alludes to the yogic practice of cultivating subtle awareness of life, and became acquainted with several of its other variations. One of them is: where your attention goes, life flows. A lot of what I did in this study was to notice where the focus of attention was in England and then in Israel (in regards to a myriad of issues) and notice how life unfolded for individuals who were no longer offending. Scholarly exploration into how and why people stop offending – referred to as desistance from crime – have considered the role of internal mechanisms involved in these processes, such as motivation to stop and cognitive transformation (Farrall et al., 2014; Giordano et al., 2002); self-schemas in processes of desistance (Maruna, 2001); optimism and pessimism about the future (Bottoms & Shapland, 2011; LeBel et al., 2008); and change in individuals' preferences (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009; Vaughan, 2007). Criminologists have also considered external factors associated with desistance, such as employment and relationships (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Desistance from crime is commonly conceptualised as a process and attributed to an interaction of external and within-individual factors (LeBel et al., 2008; Farrall et al., 2010). Over the years, scholars have delved into the roles of internal and external factors, seeking to account for how desistance processes unfold, and what prompts them.

Yet, the lens through which criminologists have drawn insights and developed theories have been coloured by certain cultural understandings and assumptions, as well as being limited by the time and place that these studies were undertaken in (see Elonheimo et al., 2017). A somewhat forgotten aspect about desistance have been that these processes are situated within a broad social context which may shape the social conditions in which individuals live, as well as an individual's perceptions and actions (although see Calverley, 2013; Finestone, 1967; Österman, 2018; Savolainen, 2009). That is, when a given individual stops offending, they do so within a given society, which has certain views about crime and offenders; certain laws and ways of justice; certain architectural designs

of criminal justice buildings; certain cultural values, norms and routines; a certain cultural heritage; displays a certain attitude in regards to families; and has distinct ways of interacting with friends and acquaintances. Studies of desistance have scarcely accounted for the role of such contextual factors in possibly affecting the way individuals 'grasp' their current life circumstances and exercise agency, nor has the academic community sufficiently considered how different social environments could shape (or even alter) the role of external factors (such as relationships) in desistance.

Existing literature, which compares desistance processes across gender and ethnic groups, has alerted criminologists to the fact that variation between groups of desisters is evident, and has proposed that these variations are associated with the role of broad social factors, which can impact different groups of people in different ways (for example, Calverley, 2013; Finestone, 1967; Leverentz, 2006; Österman, 2018; Reisig et al., 2007). For example, some scholars have argued that romantic relationships can be conducive to desistance among men (Sampson & Laub, 1993). However, in the case of women desisters, Leverentz (2006), for example, found that romantic relationships (at times) hindered their desistance efforts, while independence from a romantic partner had empowered their desistance process. Leverentz (2006) proposed that socially constructed gender roles account for this difference from male desisters. A very small number of studies have sought to compare the dynamics of desistance across nations and, in so doing, uncover how these processes unfold differently or similarly under different social systems (Shapland et al., 2016). This gap in knowledge, in turn, limits scholarly understanding of desistance, and criminologists face difficulty in explaining these processes in a more universally applicable way (Shapland et al., 2016). In particular, the dearth of comparative work raises a question regarding the external and internal mechanisms identified thus far by scholars: would these still work in the same way if there were changes to the social conditions surrounding the desister? As Farrall (2019) noted, cross-national comparative research in other countries and cultures is needed, in order to understand how processes of desistance are experienced and shaped by contextual factors surrounding them.

I sought to begin to fill this gap in knowledge by exploring the extent to which cultures and social structures have an impact on desistance processes and experiences, if at all. I undertook a cross-national comparative study of desistance processes in England and Israel; two countries with different social-political systems and distinct cultural attributes. The comparative mixed methods approach employed involved interviews with men who were desisting from crime and were supervised in the community (probationers); a statistical comparison of their use of time and space; interviews with people who worked with (ex-)offenders; and a comparison of the broad social, economic, political, and cultural conditions in the two countries. The study was the first of its kind in criminology, both in terms of its key objectives and the methods utilised. The overarching objective was to draw further insights into processes of

desistance and begin to uncover the role of contextual and macro social factors in affecting them. That is, I sought to alternate the place of desistance while holding steady the method of investigation in the two countries and, in so doing, learn more about the mechanisms involved in these processes and review the factors identified thus far. This book is a reworking of my doctoral thesis, which outlines the findings from this study.

It became clear at the start of this study that to understand how people stop offending in two different societies, I needed to – as the yogic saying of where your attention goes, life flows suggests – identify where the focal of attention was, both in the narratives of my participants and in the ‘cultural scripts’ of each society. Each country was inclined to highlight different aspects in regards to issues relating to crime, offenders, rehabilitation, families, friends, childhood, money, success or failure, ideal life, and social support. Identifying how each society understood these issues (Nelken, 2010) – the ‘cultural scripts’ or ‘stories’ they constructed around them and where the focus of attention was in each society – was significant in uncovering why the social life emerged the way it did, and how processes of desistance unfolded for English and Israelis participants. I seek to convey another important aspect of this study by the yogic saying above; namely, when one focuses their attention on one thing, then other things are ‘out of focus’ and are less ‘sharp’ in one’s field of vision (see also Zehr, 1990). However, these things (which are out of focus) could still (sometimes) ‘be there’. For example, when I watch a movie at home, I am preoccupied with the plot, while other things – my worries, the presence of a radiator, and what it feels like to sit on the couch – fall into the background of my awareness. The focus of my attention is suggestive of my present moment experience; yet, at the same time, my body *is* sitting on the couch, and if my focus of attention were to change, I would become aware of how it felt to sit on the couch. While I found that the two societies shared common aspects in their social life – for example, I found that both countries were concerned with the risk of offenders reoffending – the intensity of focus of attention varied between the two. England, for example, exemplified a heightened preoccupation with risk of reoffending and this had meaningful implications for the way the social life was structured and the way participants in this study experienced and engaged with their efforts to desist. It would be misleading to say that there was no risk paradigm in Israel; rather, there was a greater preoccupation with national security in Israel and less so with the risk that people with convictions may pose. This variation of ‘social attention’ had implications for the way buildings were designed, the way laws and regulations around offenders were formed, and affected self-conceptualisations of participants in this study.

An important point to highlight here is that when I identified an attribute about the social life of one country, I did not intend to suggest that this attribute was absent in the other country; rather, I intended to suggest that it emerged differently, or less intensely, and that differences in the focus of attention shaped the social life and interacted with desistance processes of

individuals in each group. The same point applies to the comparative analysis I provide at the phenomenological level; that is, an aspect experienced by individuals in one country was not completely absent in the other, but appeared in a different way and at a different level of intensity. For example, English participants talked about childhood experiences and how these affected them, but Israeli participants gave greater weight to childhood experiences and, especially, the role of their parents in ‘causing’ their offending behaviour. Hence, both groups talked about childhood experiences, but each group emphasised different aspects in their narratives. The comparative lens and variance in ‘social attention’ uncovered the role of cultures and social structures in shaping both internal and external mechanisms related to these processes, thereby addressing an important gap in knowledge.

In discussing the findings, I illustrate how a theme was more or less pronounced, why this was the case, and its implications for understanding the dynamics of desistance in each country. In conclusion, this book addresses the implications of understanding desistance processes in more global terms. I argue that desistance processes are shaped by (and interact with) the cultural and social contexts which envelopes them, such that external and internal mechanisms in these processes are ‘oriented’ in particular ways, in accordance with contextual factors. I identify five key contextual factors which emerged in this study and may shape the dynamics of desistance across societies and cultures. These are:

- 1 cultural scripts;
- 2 social climates;
- 3 shared values and norms;
- 4 social interactions and encounters; and
- 5 distinct cultural characteristics.

These five factors provide a contextual framework within which to understand the influence of cultures and social structures on desistance processes and with which to account for variances and similarities across societies and cultures. I propose that research into desistance should situate these processes within their wider social context and the book concludes with some thoughts about the design of future desistance studies. I highlight that a better understanding of the underlying mechanisms that drive desistance processes requires greater consideration of macro factors that shape the relationship between certain variables – such as age, employment, and relationships – and the trajectory of criminal careers.

Layout of this book

In the next chapter, I introduce the notion of desistance from crime and critically review studies in the field. Consideration is given to the epistemological heritage of desistance studies on scholarly understanding of how and why people stop offending and I clarify why it is of value to undertake cross-

national comparative research in the field. The theories and studies reviewed in Chapter 2 have informed this research and underpinned its theoretical approach. Yet, since I sought to reexamine earlier findings in the field, I turned to additional sociological theories which helped me think ‘outside the box’ of known factors and correlates of desistance. The chapter then provides a meta-sociological framework for this study, which draws from Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice; Foucault’s late work in *The History of Sexuality*; and Giddens’s theory of structuration. In Chapter 3, I introduce the two countries; cultures; and criminal justice systems, by providing a comparison of broad social factors in England and Israel. Particular attention is given to distinctive social attributes that shape everyday life and were relevant to the experience of participants in this study. Furthermore, a detailed description of supervision in the community is provided, alongside a comparison of the assumptions underpinning offender supervision. I suggest that England and Wales saw a decline of the ‘rehabilitative ideal’ and a growing dominance of risk management, managerialism, and ‘what works’ approaches, while Israel saw an expansion of the ‘rehabilitative ideal’ alongside the introduction of ‘what works’ approaches. Thereafter, I outline the methodology employed for this study; address methodological issues and ‘weakness’ relating to the comparability of the samples.

Chapter 4 begins to draw on the interviews with participants and explores how contextual factors interacted with the experience of individuals desisting from crime in England and Israel. The findings chapters are organised in accordance with major themes and topics discussed in criminological literature, so the reader could more easily see how key factors associated with desistance processes vary or correspond across societies. Chapter 4 is devoted to a discussion on supervision in the community and I draw a thread between theoretical views underpinning rehabilitation, the social context of offender supervision, narratives of participants, and agency. I propose that English participants (who were subject to a managerial and risk adverse social climate) experienced greater ‘excess’ of supervision requirements which they described as stifling their efforts to (re)integrate and a source of negative stigma. In contrast, Israeli participants (who were not subject to the same social climate) did not express a sense of restriction, and were less concerned with the labelling aspect of supervision. However, the more entrenched treatment culture in the Israeli Probation Service was woven into Israelis’ conceptions of their personality and impacted their engagement with their rehabilitation. In Chapter 5, I delve into self-perceptions and identities of participants, and compare how they conceptualised their past offending and desistance from crime. Particular attention is given to the ‘design’ of an ‘offender-label’ in each society and how it interacted with participants’ sense of identity and agency. I argue that the construction of identities (which were situated within distinct cultural understandings of ‘offenders’) varied between the countries and, in accordance with this, descriptions of *how* participants sought to desist (what actions they sought to undertake) varied.

Chapter 6 explores the ‘how’ of desistance; that is, the ‘steps’ participants described taking in their efforts to desist and their experiences in each country. I pay particular attention to employment opportunities in England and Israel and examine social norms in the employment market, as well as participants’ descriptions of responding to obstacles. The chapter illustrates how each social climate shaped participants’ sense of identity, agency, and opportunities in the community. I highlight the key role that social encounters and interactions played in either reinforcing or overwriting a sense of stigmatisation and in structuring opportunities. In Chapter 7, I compare the roles of families of origin, families in formation, and peers. The comparison uncovered that variance in cultural values relating to families had shaped the type and quantity of social ties that each group had throughout their criminal career and in their efforts to desist. For English participants, a common thread was an experience of reconnecting after a period of disconnect from family members, while withdrawing from peers. For Israeli participants, a common theme was a shift of attention to preexisting ties which remained more ‘intact’ throughout their criminal career. I discuss issues relating to rebuilding trust and ties; motivation and the influence of cultural views around parenthood; and peer avoidance and romantic relationships.

In Chapter 8, I compare how, where, and with whom participants spent their time. This analysis is based on time-space budget surveys conducted during the interviews and the objective was to gain further insight into the interaction between the individual and their environment. I revisit some of the findings discussed in earlier chapters and offer further explanations for the differences in the dynamics of desistance. The comparison suggests English and Israeli participants responded to similar obstacles (such as employment and peer association) in different ways. I highlight that Israelis had a greater reservoir of ‘good company’, which impacted their experiences of desistance, opportunities in the employment market, and the role relationships played in their lives. In contrast, the experience of English participants suggested a more isolated desistance process and I linked this variance to certain cultural and social attributes in each country. Furthermore, I illustrate how religious traditions operated at a macro level and encouraged certain behaviours and choices among Israeli participants, regardless of their level of religiosity or whether they kept to religious customs. These findings brought attention to the current approach in research, which tends to view religion as a variable which exist (or not) for an individual, rather than a feature of a society. The findings herein highlights that religious traditions, which are sustained via the operation of social institutions, can be a feature of a given society and impact individual-level behaviour. Future studies in the field would benefit from reconsidering the current popular approach to religion.

In Chapter 9, I conclude the study and propose that the variances in the dynamics of desistance between English and Israeli participants were ‘tell-tale signs’ of underlying similarities. In particular, by providing a summary of

findings, I locate the key contextual factors which operated across the two countries and shaped the social conditions and internal mechanisms related to agency. Overall, I argue that desistance processes were shaped by (and interact with) the social contexts which envelope them, such that external and internal mechanisms in these processes were ‘oriented’ in particular ways, in accordance with five main contextual factors, which I outline in the chapter. In conclusion to this study, I offer a contextual framework with which to understand the influence of cultures and social structures on desistance processes and with which to account for variances and similarities across societies and cultures. Furthermore, I respond to earlier studies and theories discussed in Chapter 2 and provide concluding thoughts about the design of desistance studies. I reiterate that research into desistance should situate these processes within their wider social context.

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Notes

Chapter 2

- 1 Including the UK, US, Australia, Argentina, and Sweden (Greenberg, 1985; Stefensmeier et al., 2017).
- 2 It is important to note that many reproductions of Moffitt's work do not support her model (see for example Ezell & Cohen, 2005).
- 3 See Carlsson (2016), who raises questions about the turning points.

Chapter 3

- 1 All names of participants and others involved in my research are pseudonyms, as described further below.
- 2 To be born Jewish means you have a Jewish mother, although this issue is debatable as well, partly because Nazi Germany considered people who were born to a Jewish father as Jewish.
- 3 Observing Kashrut means that you adhere to kosher food and separate milk products from meat, for example.
- 4 Keeping the Sabbath involved not working between Friday after sunset to Saturday after sunset.
- 5 Food or beverages that can be consumed by Jewish people since they hold to a certain standard.
- 6 A day of religious observance and abstinence from work.
- 7 See Healy (2016) for a similar observation about academic discourse in the Republic of Ireland.
- 8 The Knesset is the Israeli national legislature chamber.
- 9 The Israeli Probation Service is composed of an adult and a youth service, and, in this book, I explore and discuss the Adult Israeli Probation Service only.
- 10 Sephardi background in this chapter refers to a generational background that is traditionally associated with Eastern Jewish communities of West Asia and the area.
- 11 Ashkenazi background in this thesis mainly refers to a generational background that is associated with Jewish communities originating from Europe and Eurasia.
- 12 For example, English participants tended to have children at an early age, which deviated from the national average, while Israeli participants with a history of offending tended to have children at an older age than the national average, or did not have children at all.

Chapter 4

- 1 The word 'fun' is used frequently in Hebrew and does not mean Shay expected the group therapy to be fun.
- 2 The word refers to 'come on', intending to suggest that Yehuda is 'playing along'.
- 3 It is beyond the scope of this book to address the topic of legitimacy in supervision settings, however it is worth noting that themes related to compliance, the legitimacy of probation staff in the eyes of probationers, and the 'fluidity' of legitimacy in different social contexts (see McNeill & Robinson, 2012) are worth reviewing comparatively in light of the findings.

Chapter 5

- 1 By 'leaving the cave' and seeing other places Avi intends to suggest that he should stop focusing only on himself.
- 2 This word was unclear in the recording so it may not be transcribed correctly.
- 3 Asaf used the English word 'outsider' in the interview.
- 4 'Combinations' is Israeli slang for getting things, such as money, in crooked or not straightforward ways. These crooked ways can signify both legal and illegal activities.
- 5 Vito talks about an emotional need to do 'combinations'.
- 6 'Soul-math' is a phrase in Hebrew that refers to a process of introspection and calculation of what is good and bad in one's life and soul.

Chapter 6

- 1 A 'buffer period', which was introduced by the amendments made in 2012, refers to the range of time that needs to pass in England and Wales before a conviction can be considered spent.
- 2 Luke did not disclose the criminal record in the interview with his employer.
- 3 This obstacle is not unique to people with convictions in Israel and may be a common experience in many countries.
- 4 'Independent' is an Israeli term for self-employed.
- 5 'House owner' sometimes refers to 'being the boss' in this context.
- 6 In Israel there are usually guards at front doors of public places, such as malls and universities.
- 7 Yiddish for 'old thing.'
- 8 A Hebrew phrase for self-employed.
- 9 As was implied in Chapter 4 when English participants viewed the CRC as an avenue for help with employment and by Luke (above) who was dismay that no one helped him find accommodation or a job upon release.
- 10 Off-roading was Mattan's hobby and refers to driving a vehicle on unsurfaced roads and in nature.

Chapter 7

- 1 'Normative' is an English word but it is used in Hebrew as slang, referring to people who do not offend.
- 2 For three English participants it was less clear whether they lived within walking distance from family members or in very close proximity.
- 3 For four Israeli participants the distance from their family members was unclear.
- 4 A vocal expression of something of 'great magnitude.'

- 5 However, Kobi reported a loss of relationship with his older brother, as his brother's career in the army and his own past involvement in crime had damaged their relationship.
- 6 Meaning that the threats did not influence him.
- 7 Both English and Israelis had children around similar ages. Despite being 15 years older on average, some Israelis had young children who needed daily care and some English participants had older children who were more independent.
- 8 In one other Israeli case, it is unclear whether the participant was estranged from his child.
- 9 The term 'hold the home' refers to financially supporting the household and family members.
- 10 Refers to himself.
- 11 By the word 'cut' Eyal suggests that there is an intervention to break up the relationship.
- 12 'Soul' is a general nickname in Hebrew for anyone, like 'honey' in English.
- 13 Both Avi and the acquaintance talk to each other. It is unclear who said what.

Chapter 8

- 1 Another version, which explores different aspect of the findings, can be found in Segev (2019).
- 2 In Israel the weekend starts on a Friday, and thus the days studied were adjusted accordingly.
- 3 Referred to as 'down time' in the Table 8.1.
- 4 There are no available data on the sleeping patterns of Israelis citizens.
- 5 Which included their home, a family member home, or a friend's/partner's home.
- 6 The discrepancy from earlier studies could be because of the way the data was recoded, since the variable 'home' included one's own home, a family member home, or a friend's/partner's home in this study.
- 7 It is worth noting that women (i.e. participants' partners and daughters) are not allowed to enter the prayer area in a synagogue. In this manner, going to a religious venue in Israel was not necessarily a familial activity with one's partner and/or daughter, but would be for a father and son.
- 8 The description overlapped among some participants.
- 9 Some Kiosks in Israel offer coffee and usually have a place to sit.
- 10 The hours were written in military time for reasons of clarity and convenience.
- 11 Kobi was accustomed to waking up at 5 a.m. in prison and found it difficult to break the habit.
- 12 Avoiding places because of negative memories was not unique to Israelis. For example, Aidan said he was careful to avoid places that would trigger memories and thereby a desire for drugs.
- 13 Industrial quiet refers to a deliberate 'self-made' quiet that is manufactured by an individual, rather than a quiet that occurs naturally.
- 14 Kobi refers to things he was in the habit of doing.
- 15 Although, less commonly, it came in the form of friends. For example, in Chapter 7 I noted that Jack sought to spend time with friends he believed would not lead him into trouble with the law.
- 16 Shabbat is a Hebrew word for Saturday and symbolises a day of rest. It starts on Friday evening during sunset when there are three stars in the sky.
- 17 Non-practising participants were those who believed in God but did not practise the ascribed Jewish observances.

- 18 By 'they' Shay refers to his neighbours. However, Shay was not directly talking about his neighbours; rather, the use of the word 'they' sought to convey what it would 'look like' if anyone witnessed his Friday routine.
- 19 In keeping with the Shabbat tradition, getting clean and organised is part of the routine and, in this way, relates to Kobi's description of attending to his room.
- 20 A brief ceremony of blessings recited over wine and candles to sanctify the Shabbat and Jewish holidays.
- 21 *Mikveh* is a type of bath used for the purpose of a ritual aimed at purifying.

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