**Subject: Growing old in prison: The incarceration experience from the perspective of older prisoners incarcerated for the first time**

**Researchers: Efrat Shoham and Irit Admachuk**

In recent decades, reports from some of the Western countries have emerged concerning the growing prevalence of older inmates among the general inmate population. This growth is partially attributed to aging populations and rising crime rates among older people. At the same time, this aging population includes criminals incarcerated for the first time, who in some cases account for more than half of the “aging” prisoners (Sodhi-Berry et al., 2015). Similarly to what is happening in the Western world, the prisoner population in Israel is also growing older. A significant rise in the number of prisoners in Israel can be seen. For example, during the years 2001–2011 the number of criminal prisoners aged 55 and above saw a 191% increase, almost tripling itself. This, compared to a rise of 40.5% in the number of younger criminal prisoners (Davidescko & Walk, 2012). The Israel Prison Service report for 2020 reveals that between 2010 and 2020 there was an ongoing rise in the number of prisoners aged over 55, with the biggest increase being among prisoners aged 65 and above. Whereas in 2010 there were 153 prisoners aged over 63, this number increased to 275 in 2020 (Israel Prison Service, 2021).

The literature classifies older criminals using a typology that consists of three groups, based on the individual’s criminal history. These are: 1) old prisoners who committed their first offence in the later stages of life; 2) recidivists, who are regular criminals who have grown older while repeatedly committing crimes; and 3) life prisoners serving long term sentences (Aday, 1994; Goetting, 1984; Maschi et al., 2013; Uzoaba, 1998). The ambiguity of these categories has led to the formation of a fourth category, intended to differentiate those who were convicted of their first crime prior to belonging to the “elderly” category from other older criminals (Goetting, 1984). However, all these categories are mainly related to classification and correction, rather than the crimes that were committed. At the same time, the literature does recognize that in Israel most of the older male prisoners are incarcerated for homicide, sex crimes, or drug related crimes, whereas female prisoners are likely to be incarcerated for homicide or drug-related crimes (Aday, 2003; Aday & Krabill, 2011).

Wahidin and Aday (2010) identified several “incarceration pains” characteristic of elderly prisoners, with an emphasis on those who committed their first crime after the age of 50:

1. They often suffer from shock or difficulty with coping with incarceration late in life;
2. They can be alienated from their family due to violent crimes they committed against family members;
3. They may suffer from depression and anxiety issues related to the loss of family, friends, and life on the outside in general;
4. They may be experiencing intense guilt over sex crimes or murders they committed against family members;
5. They may be experiencing increased fear related to being incarcerated late in life, with fragile and vulnerable prisoners being particularly susceptible to this;
6. They may isolate themselves from the broader social environment and spend a lot of time in their cell;
7. They may experience suicidal thoughts – this is more prevalent among prisoners who go into prison with mental problems;
8. They may develop unrealistic expectations regarding healthcare services in prison, often comparing them to experiences on the outside.

Apparently, incarceration can limit the presence of family by limiting interactions with family members, causing older prisoners to often lose touch with the outside world. Prisoners who have committed crimes against family members or sex crimes can be in conflicted relationships with their families, having little or no visits from close friends or family members (Maschi et al., 2013).

Until the 1970s, similarly to the aging field in general, the scientific discussion on the issue of elderly prisoners received practically no attention in the public or scientific discourse in Israel. While several studies have been conducted since then, they have been very limited in scope and their findings have not always been congruent with one another. The first pioneering study in the field of aging prisoners in Israel was published in the early 1970s, when the issues of delinquency and the punishment of elderly prisoners was beginning to raise some interest. The paper was written by criminologists Bergman and Amir (1973), who spearheaded the field by examining the social and cultural difficulties faced by elderly prisoners (aged 60 and above). They argued that the number of elderly prisoners was relatively small, as these enjoyed lenient and considerate treatment from the judiciary authority. In all matters pertaining to elderly prisoners, Bergman and Amir painted a picture that generally reflected a reality of weakness and dependence and claimed that the physical and mental state of elderly prisoners quickly deteriorated in prison. They described the elderly prisoners as being at the mercy of the younger ones, who were more aggressive and frightening and who threatened or humiliated the elderly prisoners. According to this description, the elderly prisoners were depressed and dependent on the protection provided by the prison guards and authorities and ultimately suffered from a lack of friends, occupation, and reasonable living conditions.

The next study conducted in Israel was that of Silfen et al. (1977), which was based on interviews with 15 prisoners aged 55 and above. The researchers focused on how elderly prisoners adjusted to their prison sentence. The findings contradicted the previous claims made by Bergman and Amir. Silfen et al. found that most of the elderly prisoners adjusted well to life in prison. Moreover, the elderly prisoners appeared to be healthier and younger than their chronological age and that contrary to Bergman and Amir’s claims, did not suffer humiliation or injury at the hands of younger prisoners, but rather the opposite – they were respected and even assisted by them. Furthermore, when the elderly prisoners had functional issues, the prison authorities were flixible and tried to help them by removing certain restrictions. This was not done as part of an overall policy, but was the product of the daily dynamics of prison life.

In the 1990s, another two important studies were conducted. Barak et al. (1995) focused on analyzing the mental state of elderly prisoners incarcerated for the first time. Their findings revealed that about half of the elderly prisoners suffered from a neuropsychiatric disorder and that of these, about half suffered from dementia and personality disorders. The study, which was descriptive in nature, was based on the general prisoner population sentenced to Israeli prisons during 1992–1994. The descriptive findings of this study presented, for the first time in Israel, a comprehensive picture of elderly prisoners distributed over a very broad spectrum of variables. It is interesting to note that ultimately the study only presented descriptive findings and that despite its broad scope, it avoided the attempt to identify research relationships beyond the descriptive aspects.

In 2006, Doron conducted a qualitative study in order to try to understand, learn, and get to know the world of independent elderly prisoners incarcerated at Maasiyahu Prison (Doron 2006; Doron, 2007). Twelve prisoners from the elderly or hospital wings in Maasiyahu Prison participated in the study, most of whom were recidivists who had been incarcerated before. The study presented a dual experience of aging prisoners. On the one hand, they described their conditions as “heaven” compared to those of other prisoners. Their conditions were not rigid and they could spend time outdoors or performing actives on the lawn, giving them the illusion that they had nothing to worry about. On the other hand, this was prison, a place that took away their freedom and did not allow them to meet with family members or live their life as they wished to live them. This dual attitude toward the prison experience describes Maasiyahu Prison as a safe haven within the state of the Israel Prison Service. Hence, the elderly wing at Maasiyahu Prison is a unique incarceration facility: it is not “heaven” nor is it “hell,” yet it has elements of both. It is a shelter and a refuge that protects a unique group of prisoners, providing them with a safe and relatively free environment they would not have been able to find in other regular incarceration facilities. Therefore, the findings of this study indicate that any attempt to describe the incarceration experience in old age in a one-dimensional way, i.e. as “heaven” or “hell” – will not be true to reality, as it is complex and combines aspects of both characteristics. This combination, particularly in regard to elderly prisoners, creates a unique incarceration experience evident from the voices brought forth in the study, which presents the elderly wing in Maasiyahu Prison as a unique incarceration facility.

The older prisoner population is characterized by the intersection of weakness, age, and incarceration factors. The term “intersections” or “intersectionality” refers to a research field that is currently gaining momentum in academic discourse. It describes the intersection of categories of social association and points out the multiplicity of discrimination and exclusion axes toward marginalized groups (Crenshaw, 1991). The term stems from the recognition that various weakening factors are not separate entities but can coexist as a complex phenomenon that shapes many phenomena of social inequality (Collins, 2015; Luna, 2018).

A review of the literature on aging in prison in Israel reveals that very few studies have been conducted on the topic, despite the rising rates of older prisoners. An issue that has barely been addressed in research literature both in Israel and around the world is the incarceration experience of prisoners incarcerated for the first time at an old age.

The purpose of the current study is to investigate the incarceration experience among the older population of prisoners incarcerated for the first time from the perspective of the prisoners themselves. This includes the coping mechanisms they develop, their main difficulties and concerns, and examining solutions that may help this unique population adjust, thereby enable the creation of customized intervention and rehabilitation programs for them both in prison and after their release.

**Method**

**Participants**

About 15–20 licensed parolees incarcerated for the first time at the age of 55 or older, whose details can be obtained from the Prisoner Rehabilitation Authority.

**Tools**

Semi-structured in-depth interviews to be conducted by a research assistant specializing in the fields of both incarceration and gerontology.

**Research timeline:** October 2002 to September 2023 – obtaining approvals and collecting data.

 October 2023 to June 2024 – data analysis and writing the report.

**Budget specifications:**

Research assistants - 500 hours: NIS 17,000

Travel expenses: NIS 3,000

Translation and editing:

Publishing a research report on aging processes in prison and the mental wellbeing of older prisoners: NIS 15,000

Purchasing printing equipment (printer, ink, paper): NIS 2,000

Traveling to an international conference and presenting the research findings (2 researchers): NIS 10,000

Total: NIS 51,000

**List of references**

References in Hebrew:

Davidescko, I., & Walk, D. (2012). *Older prisoners: Between integration and segregation, Publication no. LR02­–2012.* The Research Unit, Israel Prison Service

Doron, Y. (2006). Heaven or hell? On the elderly and growing old in Maasiyahu Prison. *A Window Into Prison, 10,* 11­–20.

Israel Prison Service, (2021). *The Israel Prison Service Report for 2020.* Israel Prison Service. <https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/reports/doch_shnati2020/he/%D7%93%D7%95%D7%97%20%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%AA%D7%99%202020.pdf>

Reference in English:

Aday, R. H. (1994). Aging in prison: A case study of new elderly offenders. *International*

*Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *38*(1), 79-91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X9403800108>

Aday, R. H. (2003). *Aging prisoners: Crisis in American corrections*.  Praeger Publishers.

Aday, R. H., & Krabill, J. J. (2011). *Women aging in prison: A neglected population in the*

*correctional system* (p. 239). Lynne Rienner Publishers.‏

Barak, Y., Perry, T., & Elizur, A. (1995). Elderly criminals: a study of the first criminal

offence in old age. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*, *10*(6), 511-516.‏ <https://doi.org/10.1002/gps.930100611>

Bergman, S., & Amir, M. (1973). Crime and delinquency among the aged in

Israel. *Geriatrics*, *28*(1), 149-157.‏

Collins, P. H. (2015). *Intersectionality’s deﬁnitional dilemmas*. The Annual Review of

Sociology 41, 1–20. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-soc->073014-112142

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(1241), 1241-1299.

 https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Doron, I. (2007). Heaven or hell? Aging behind bars in Israel. *Hallym International Journal*

*of Aging*, *9*(2), 145-159.‏

Goetting, A. (1984). The elderly in prison: A profile. *Criminal Justice Review, 9*(2), 14–24.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/073401688400900203>

Luna, F. (2018). Identifying and evaluating layers of vulnerability – a way forward. *Developing*

*World Bioeth,* 19(2), 86–95. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dewb.12206>

Maschi, T., Morrisey, M. B., & Leigey, M. (2013). The case for human agency, well-being,

and community reintegration for people aging in prison. *Journal of Correctional Health Care,* 19(3), 194–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078345813486445>

Silfen, P., Ben David, S., Kliger, D., Eshel, R., Heichel, H., & Lehman, D. (1977). The

adaptation of the older prisoner in Israel. I*nternational Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 21*(1), 57–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X7702100108>

Sodhi‐Berry, N., Knuiman, M., Preen, D. B., Alan, J., & Morgan, V. A. (2015). Predictors of

post‐sentence mental health service use in a population cohort of first‐time adult offenders in Western Australia. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, *25*(5), 355-374.‏ <https://doi.org/10.1002/cbm.1927>

Uzoaba, J. H. (1998). *Managing older offenders: Where do we stand?* Research Branch,

Correctional Service of Canada.‏

Wahidin, A., & Aday, R. H. (2010). Later life and imprisonment. In *The SAGE handbook of*

*social gerontology* (pp. 1646-1679). Sage.‏