Organizations Treating Sexual Offenders in Manitoba:

Case Studies of Management, Innovations, and Barriers

By Walter Wai Tak Chan

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
University of Manitoba

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

This introductory multiple case study described the structure, activities and critical issues of four (4) sex offender treatment agencies in the City of Winnipeg. The study applied the correctional policy model of Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) to each of these agencies, and examined the fit between the policy model and the findings. The four agencies included a psychiatric clinic, residential facility, small government program, and voluntary support program.

The study was conducted using the case study method of Yin (2003) and qualitative research method (Berg, 2001). Sixteen (16) interviews were conducted with paid workers and volunteers at the treatment agencies. Interviews focused on the relevant policy issues and the link between policy and direct practice. In addition, document data supplemented and corroborated interview findings.

Cross-case analysis identified a number of significant issues in the offender treatment field in Manitoba, including the high support needs of sexual offenders, the existence of oppressive practices, as well as impressive organizational strengths. Based on the findings, the writer put forth a number of conclusions and recommendations regarding offender treatment agencies, in seeking best practice, supporting workers in a difficult field, and promoting accountability. The findings also demonstrated a moderate fit with the correctional policy model, and suggestions for further theory building were made.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my friends (Issa, Luo Hai, Mohamed, Sharon, Doreen, Sherwin), colleagues, family, and my Mother and Father.

Thank you to many others.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Overview of the Thesis Report

The first chapter in the thesis report introduces the reader to the topic of the study, the research questions, and the main theoretical framework used. It also summarizes in brief clinical approaches to the treatment of sex offenders. Chapter 2 is a literature review of correctional policy theory. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used to carry out the study. Chapters 4 to 7 are the single case studies of Winnipeg treatment agencies. The writer studied the following agencies: a psychiatric practice, small government program, voluntary support program, and residential program. Chapter 8 describes the findings and analysis of the cross-case study. Chapter 9 includes discussion of the findings, lessons learned, and a concluding statement.

Introduction

One of the principal ways to deal with sexual abuse is to treat the person who commits the offense. The assumption is that following treatment, perpetrators of sexual abuse would refrain from further abusive acts because they would have learned better means of controlling their behavior. This is called tertiary prevention (Nelson, Laurendeau, & Chamberland, 2001). Most literature on the treatment of sexual abusers described clinical components such as assessment, intervention, and outcome evaluation. There is less study of the influence of larger systems, such as decision-making at the political or managerial level, on the development of sex offender programming. This thesis was an attempt to fill this gap in the literature, and examine the influence of broader systemic factors on sex offender treatment programs.

The thesis looked at the situations of the particular community agencies that provide treatment to sex offenders. It examined how actions at the political and policy management level trickle down and affect the context of direct practice with clients at each agency. This process may occur vice versa, in that the dynamics of front-line workers filters up to affect managerial decision-making. However, the writer recognized the power difference between the front-line worker and the political policy-maker.

The study was a multiple case study of the community-based agencies in Winnipeg, Manitoba that provided sexual offender treatment. One goal was to generate a description of each of these community agencies. Questions to be answered included what occurs in the program of each agency. What internal and external factors influenced agency operations? What were the effects of the aforementioned factors on the content and process of treatment? A second goal of the study was to see if the data would fit the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of the external and internal influences on correctional policy. A third goal was to make some conclusions about community-based sex offender treatment in Winnipeg and propose recommendations as appropriate.

Research Questions

The writer organized the study through the structure of developing responses to three main research questions. These three research questions were as follows:

1. What are recent major developments in the treatment of adult sexual offenders who reside in the community in Winnipeg?

2. How did power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors influence the development of these treatment programs?

3. Using the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional systems as a guide, how did the external and internal influences on the formulation of correctional policy apply to each of these programs?

Past Field Research

In criminology, there is a substantial literature on the use of power in correctional agencies (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988; Hannah-Moffat, 2000; Sampson, 1994; Schwartz & Cellini, 1995; Welch, 1996). Important research has been done on the attitudes and interaction styles of correctional officers. These findings suggest that correctional officers, compared with other occupational groups in corrections, have the most authoritarian style toward inmates and the least optimistic outlooks (Robinson & Porporino, 1996). The cultures of prisons have also been studied extensively. Descriptions about the social mores and strict rules that underlay prison life, both for inmates and correctional officers, are standard in criminal justice textbooks (Griffiths, & Verdun-Jones, 1994; Schmalleger, MacAlister, McKenna, & Winterdyk, 2000; Welch, 1997).

Why Use the Ekstedt and Griffiths Model?

Many studies are on prisons. The writer assumed that in community-based agencies, different factors influenced program operations. The writer believed it worthwhile to examine the applicability of the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model to sex offender programs. First, many community agencies like to present themselves as the best program possible given the available resources and the difficult nature of their clientele. Systemic issues, like organizational structure and lines of communication, are often dismissed by management as irrelevant or (put more honestly) as too threatening to

explore. The Ekstedt and Griffiths model, if found to be congruent with the situations of the Winnipeg agencies under study, would suggest itself to be a useful lens in viewing the issues and concerns of sex offender programs elsewhere in Canada. Second, much of the literature on sex offender programs tends to have a clinical focus. Social workers would recognize that these treatment programs do not operate in a vacuum. Rather, social services operate in a politically sensitive environment (Jordan & Parton, 2000). In particular, sex offender programs may be rated, among the constellation of social welfare services, as high in their potential to create political controversy and low in public sympathy. If the study found the propositions of Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) to be congruent with the findings, the writer would recommend the model as a tool in analyzing the origins and consequences of correctional policy.

Third, the Ekstedt and Griffiths model connects direct practice issues (those faced by the front line worker) to the "higher level" policy and legislation issues (for example, the provincial budget, program policy and procedures).

Fourth, the Ekstedt and Griffiths model appears to be the only published model of general correctional policy in Canada.[1] No other study has made use of this model in examining correctional programs. Another benefit of seeing whether the model fit Winnipeg agencies was simply to produce some empirical research about community-based correctional policy and operations, a topic with little research in Canada.

Complementary Theories that Were Relevant

The main theories and models utilized or examined in the thesis were as follows:

➢ Ekstedt and Griffiths's (1988) model of the external and internal influences on correctional policy

➢ Ekstedt and Griffiths's (1988) structure of management and administration in corrections

➢ Social research paradigms (case study method and document research)

➢ Theories of community-based corrections

Qualitative research methods were used to gather data for the study. The structure of management and administration model by Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) helped to guide sampling for interview respondents. In addition, the writer used his practical knowledge of the agencies under study to guide the choice of interview respondents.

One of the goals of the study was to adapt a general theoretical framework (external and internal influences on policy by Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988) into the more specific area of sex offender treatment. The findings of the study would reveal the suitability of the model for several community-based agencies in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Depending on the findings, the model may be developed in one of the following ways: elaboration of the original, specification of the original, discarding it, or construction of a new model. In addition, as the study looked at community-based agencies, the writer kept in mind theories on community-based corrections (Eckstedt & Griffiths, 1988; Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994).

Brief review of theories of offense etiology and treatment

The writer briefly reviews sex offender-specific theories of etiology and intervention here. The most utilized theories of sexual offender intervention include the following: cognitive behavioral theory (with a specialty in relapse prevention) (Laws, Hudson, & Ward, 2000; Marshall, Fernandez, Hudson, & Ward, 1998; Marshall, Fernandez, & Anderson, 1999), behavioral control or offender incapacitation theory

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[1] Curt Griffiths, Simon Fraser University, October 27, 2003, personal communication

(Schmalleger, MacAlister, McKenna, & Winterdyk, 2000; Schwartz & Cellini, 1995),
and community notification-risk management theory (Berliner, 1996; Petrunik, 2001).
The relationships between theory, context (the environment of Winnipeg, Manitoba), and
practice (the "ways of doing" in the agencies studied) were an on-going "point of
discussion" as the study was being carried out.

There are a number of newer, innovative theories that concerned the treatment of
offenders. One is the incorporation of aboriginal beliefs, customs, and spirituality into
sex offender treatment (Ellerby, Bedard, & Chartrand, 2001; Ellerby, 2000; Marshall,
Fernandez, Hudson, & Ward, 1998). The underlying philosophy of this model is a
holistic approach to the person and to his/her environment, with a focus on healing, in
contrast to the problem-oriented approach of cognitive behavioral theory. Although the
writer had planned to look at the application of the approach in a particular agency in
Winnipeg, the agency unfortunately declined participation.

A second body of knowledge concerns the application of sex offender treatment
to offenders with intellectual disabilities (ID). It is well recognized that programs
designed for non-ID offenders are inappropriate and even harmful for those with this
disability (Haaven & Coleman, 2001). This is especially so in control-oriented and rigid
environments, such as medical institutions and prisons. Models that are sensitive to the
myriad of circumstances that surrounded clients with an intellectual disability tend to be
community-oriented, more flexible, and address issues of abuse and exclusion of the
disabled (Haaven & Coleman, 2000; Marshall, Fernandez, Hudson, & Ward, 1998). The
intellectual disabilities model can be examined in terms of its application in a specific
Winnipeg agency and in the interrelationships between several different agencies.

Extension of the Body of Knowledge

The findings of the study had potential to add to academic knowledge through empirical findings about a previously unstudied locale. By this, the writer meant currently no other study took a systemic and comparative view of these programs in Winnipeg; however, there was literature and government record about the operation of individual agencies in the city.

The relationship between larger scale systems (e.g., policy management) and smaller scale systems (e.g., a one-on-one processing with a client) manifested itself in specific organizational directives, procedures, and ways of doing in forensic agencies. Although this relationship was studied in other professional fields, there has been very little study of this in sex offender treatment. This is a significant topic because of the degree of social control exerted on the offenders. Sexual abusers are often subject to social and behavioral control (indeed, control of beliefs and values) by staff members whose authority is legitimated by their occupational role and the rule of law. Also, when compared to forensic programs addressing other types of problems, sex offender treatments tend to receive a lion's share of resources (although still insufficient to meet demand). Therefore, the writer felt it was prudent to examine, from a political economy perspective, these treatment programs within their organizational context.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

The literature review looks at key definitions used in the study, including sex offender, management and treatment, power dynamic factors, ideological factors, and administrative factors. The review then looks at Ekstedt and Griffiths's (1988) two theoretical frameworks of influences on correctional policy and the structure of corrections. The literature review also examines approaches in community-based corrections. The writer then summarizes findings from the relevant empirical literature, in particular case studies of human service agencies. The writer ends the chapter by looking at the gap in the literature on this topic of sex offender treatment policy, and how this study may partially fill the gap.

Definitions of Key Concepts

A number of the most important terms used in the study need to be defined and operationalized so that both the researcher and the reader will have a consistent mental image of what is being discussed (Berg, 2000). The key terms represent concepts that need to be examined or measured in some way. In the study, which relied on qualitative methodology, these concepts were identified and examined in the data collection process mainly through the use of language. This was language that was written (e.g., government documents) or spoken (e.g., interview verbal content), or through interpersonal interaction (e.g., body language).

A precise and clear definition of the key concepts is essential for a number of other reasons. One reason is that clear definitions helped to ensure that the writer kept

the study on track as it was being carried out. In other words, clear definitions prevented the researcher from becoming sidetracked into conducting work that was not relevant to the study. This is a particular hazard in studies that broached somewhat sensitive topics, as in this study (Renzetti & Lee, 1993). A second reason was that clear definitions allowed the study's findings to have some degree of explanatory power or applicability (Berg, 2000). The findings may be compared with the results of other studies. Precisely and clearly defined constructs allowed the writer to base his argument on a solid foundation. Without clear definitions, the writer truly did not know what he would be talking about.

The key terms defined include the following: sex offender; management and treatment of sex offenders; context; program; power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors. Depending on the importance of the particular concept to study, the definition of the construct varies in length. For the most crucial constructs, competing definitions are explored.

Sex Offender

Firstly, the term sex offender was examined in some detail. There were many different and competing definitions of this term (Sampson, 1994). The meaning of the term was shaped mainly by social norms in a society at any given time, and the laws that had been enacted to regulate sexual expression. Schwartz (1995) stated that an act may be defined as a sex crime depending on the degree of consent of the partner, his/her age, kinship, sex, the nature of the act, the offender's intentions, and the setting. A behavior that was considered perfectly normal in itself, Schwartz explained, may become a serious criminal offense if it violated any of the above conditions. A cross-cultural view of

sexual taboos revealed that very few acts had been considered universally offensive, including adult sexual relationships with children (Schwartz, 1995).

Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy and Christenson (1964, as cited in Schwartz, 1995) defined sex offenders as "individuals who were ultimately convicted of committing overt acts for their immediate sexual gratification that were contrary to the prevailing sexual mores of their society" (p. 2-2) and therefore were legally punishable. Such individuals were distinguished from sexually deviant persons who "committed the same acts but had never been adjudicated in connection with their behavior" (Schwartz, 1995, p. 2-2). As what constituted sexual offending was based on the sexual and moral norms at a particular point in the history of society, the population of offenders changed over time simply because sexual norms changed.

There was strong criticism from some quarters to the general use of the term sex offender. Cohen (1995a, 1995b), a legal scholar, criticized the designation "sex offender" as imprecise and misleading. He stated that the term did not encompass any group of offenses or persons with enough shared characteristics to make the term useful. Also, the label sex offender carried an enormous stigma. The overuse of the term as a shorthand form, rather than saying "a man with a sexual offending problem," may be construed as essentializing the person as little more than a problem.

For the purpose of this study, however, the term "sex offender" was defined as those persons who had violated Canadian law, or who were likely to violate the law if left to their own purposes, by the means of their sexual behavior.[1] Although the researcher took note of the various criticisms of the term, the term was used in this study because of

the following reasons. Firstly, "sex offender" was the term that has enjoyed widespread and popular use in the research and practice literature of corrections and mental health in North America. Sex offender has been the standard term used in both Canadian provincial and federal government agencies. Second, "sex offender" was a term that was vivid and striking in its descriptive power. In contrast to a term like perpetrator, the words "sex offender" left little doubt as to what one was talking about.

Third, although one of the main criticisms of the term sex offender was its grouping together of a wide range of disparate behaviors, it was precisely this wide range of behaviors that one wanted to point to when referring to the population. The legal and social service systems that dealt with the population did not tend to differentiate for any particular type of sexual offender. The prevailing practice in Canadian corrections has been to admit to its specialized program anyone that had committed a sexual offense, no matter if it was as different as raping an adult woman compared with "flashing" children in a schoolyard.

Fourth, the term sex offender was an inclusive term that did not pretend to have any diagnostic or medical significance. This term was preferable to others, like pedophile and "sexual psychopath," that assumed an underlying mental disorder (Marshall, 1997). There was a large debate in the literature about whether offenders suffered from a mental illness that caused their sexual problems. It appeared that medical writers, such as psychiatrists, tended to assume the existence of a paraphilia (Rosler & Witztum, 2000; Day, 2001). Some scholars even endorsed that personality disorders, particularly anti-social personality, may be diagnosed in the majority of criminal

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[1]Many clients of sex offender programs have not been actually convicted of sexual offenses but have been diverted into treatment as a result of recommendation by the investigating social agency (e.g., Child and

offenders (Simon, 2000). Non-medical treatment providers usually would put less emphasis on psychiatric disorders. It appeared that the question of mental illness was one of professional orientation and social construction. In a practical way, designations like pedophile and rapist referred to specific types of targets, but many offenders did not limit themselves to just one victim group (Simon, 2000). Sexual psychopath implied a severe psychiatric disturbance, and given the dubious empirical basis for this construct, this term rested on some very shaky scientific grounds (as well as being inapplicable to most offenders).

In light of the above discussion, the study used the generic term sex offender, rather than diagnostic labels, to describe the wide spectrum of sexual problems experienced by these men and women. However, it was important to point out that this researcher believed that any person who has a sexual offending problem is much, much more than simply an "offender." He or she possesses emotions, imagination, and intellect as varied and as wide-ranging as that of non-offenders. The use of the term sex offender was simply for the purpose of brevity, but the proper address should be "a person with a sex-offending problem."

Management of Sex Offenders

The second term to be defined was management of sex offenders. For the purposes of the study, this referred to both behavioral control and social control of sexual offenders. Behavioral control, as defined in the *Dictionary of Psychology*, was "an attempt to affect the behavior of another or others through a variety of means, including coercion, persuasion and by offers of rewards, and threats of punishment" (Corsini, 1999,

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Family Services).

p. 100). Behavioral control usually referred to the bringing of undesirable behaviors under control (Corsini, 1999).

Social control, as defined in the *Dictionary of Sociology*, referred to the "ways in which people's thoughts, feelings, appearance, and behavior are regulated in social systems" (Johnson, 2000, p. 288). To some extent, control was exerted through various forms of coercion, from "the authority of criminal justice systems to imprison those convicted of crimes to the authority of physicians to administer drugs that make 'difficult' patients more 'manageable'" (Johnson, 2000, p. 288). Behavioral control and social control were concepts that appear to have the same meaning. However, a difference existed. Behavioral control referred to the psychological and social processes that shape and constrain behavior at the individual or small group level (smaller sized systems). In contrast, social control pointed to social regulation processes that spanned a wide range of systems levels, from an individual to an institution to society as a whole.

Another important concept to consider when defining the management of sex offenders was incapacitation. Incapacitation was the use of imprisonment or other means (e.g., mandatory curfews) to reduce the likelihood that an offender would commit future offenses (Schmalleger, MacAlister, McKenna, & Winterdyk, 2000). Incapacitation has been the language used in the legal and correctional fields for the social control of sexual offenders, the goal being to keep the harmful behaviors under check.

In this study, "management of sex offenders" meant the behavioral and social control of sexual offenders, preventing them from further harmful sexual behaviors. This control was performed at a number of different systems levels, from intra-psychic inhibition of inappropriate sexual acts in an individual to a neighborhood ostracizing and

keeping a lookout for an offender whose community notification requirement had reached the local media outlets. Management of sex offenders did not imply any movement toward healing or personal transformation but referred to the more negative ideas of *not* doing certain things and repressing desires.

Treatment of Sex offenders

The treatment of sexual offenders, here focusing on the word "treatment," has often been taken for granted to mean dealing with the problem of sexual offending in a direct and therapeutic way with the offender. Although treatment was a widely used term, it had never been clearly defined (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). The concept of treatment implies a process of diagnosis, intervention, and prognosis in order to relieve pain or to bring about a cure for a person (Cohen, 1995a). Treatment implies a disease or medical model of intervention, and therefore a serious disease or disorder, the target of the treatment, was assumed (Cohen, 1995a; Spencer, 1999).

The word treatment had a history. Treatment was a preferred concept during the rehabilitation era of Canadian corrections, during the decade of the 1960s. It was thought that offenders, in particular sexual offenders, could be diagnosed and cured through a direct application of psychological and medical knowledge. Presently, researchers and practitioners are more skeptical. The institutionalization and treatment of offenders in the rehabilitation era, together with the use of psychodynamic therapies, were considered misguided approaches.

Although the term treatment clearly had drawbacks, the study employed the term. Treatment was defined as any planned intervention that is intended to promote in the offender healthy behaviors and reduce the likelihood of further criminal activity. This

definition was adapted from the (American) National Academy of Science (as cited in Welch, 1996). Treatment also included assessment for the purpose of identifying strengths, problem areas, and social history as a lead-up to therapeutic intervention. The words of treatment and rehabilitation are used interchangeably in the correctional literature. This writer will avoid using the term rehabilitation because this concept was even more inaccurate than "treatment." Rehabilitation implies a return to a former state in which the person held socially acceptable values and appropriate behaviors. For most sexual offenders, such a "golden age" may have never existed.

Treatment was chosen as the terminology for the following reasons. One reason was that it enjoyed widespread and common use in the literature. Treatment is a term that would be easily recognized by service providers. A second reason was that an alternative word, intervention, possessed a vague meaning. Any action that had direct effect on an offender is an intervention. Therefore, the social and behavioral controls described above can also be properly called interventions. A third reason was that treatment implied hierarchy. The term implies authority on the part of the treatment provider and compliance on the part of the client. This is consistent with the hierarchy found in many correctional agencies.

Context

The term context refers to the setting and social group in which human behavior took place (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998). These contexts may be physical, psychological, sociocultural, spiritual, economic, legal, political, and historical. Context is equivalent in meaning to environment. In the study, the targets of the investigation

were the individual agencies that provided sex offender treatment. For these community-based non-profit organizations, the context was the city of Winnipeg.

Program

Program was defined in the *Social Work Dictionary* as "a plan or guideline about what was to be done" and as "a relatively permanent organization and procedure designed to meet ongoing client needs (as opposed to a "project," which was more flexible and short-term in scope)" (Barker, 1995). This way of describing the term program was suitable for sex offender programs. For the purpose of the study, program referred to a relatively permanent organization and procedure designed to address the needs of sexual offenders residing in the community.

Power Dynamic Factors

Another term to be defined was power. The management scholar Mintzberg (1983) defined power as the capacity of a person or a group of persons to effect (or affect) organizational outcomes. The "French word 'pouvoir' stood for both the noun 'power' and the verb 'to be able.' To have power was to be able to get desired things done, to effect outcomes—the actions and decisions that precede them" (Mintzberg, 1983, p. 4-5). He also used the term influence interchangeably with power. Drawing inspiration from Mintzberg, the writer defined power (or power dynamic, as power always involved a flow of energy) as the capacity of person(s) or system(s) to effect (or affect) processes and outcomes in the agency, or in an outside organization.

In the study, politics was conceptualized as a subset of power. Politics referred to two things. First, it was seen as the management or resolution of conflicts of interest between persons or between organized groups, at any level in an organization (also see

Jordon & Parton, 2000). Second, it alternatively referred to the "politicking" of elected government ministers to maintain the government's hold on power. Cabinet members tried to satisfy the interests of the electorate, tried to exercise accountability for the distribution of public money, and tried to regulate public affairs (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988).

It is important to point out that corrections and mental health, indeed all of the social services, are heavily implicated with power dynamic factors (Jordan & Parton, 2000). The policy and practice of the provincial correctional bureaucracy, for example, is influenced by, and in many respects determined by, the changing political contexts in which it operates. Political decision making, such as the passage of new legislation, directly impacts on the responsibilities of front line civil servants (e.g., Probation Officers), and the mandate by which they operate. In this sense, looking at the happenings and decisions reached at the political level (i.e., deputy minister and assistant deputy ministers) is important in gaining a deeper understanding of service provision to sexual offenders.

Ideological Factors

Related to this were ideological factors. Ideology was defined by Johnson (2000) as a set of "cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes that underlay and thereby to some degree justified and legitimated either the status quo or movements to change it" (p. 151). Therefore, ideological factors refer to those beliefs, values, and attitudes that individuals or groups (e.g., a group of staff members) hold. In the corrections field, ideological beliefs are commonly categorized into three main perspectives: the conservative, liberal, and critical (Welch, 1996).

Administrative Factors

Yet another related term is the administrative factor. Administration was defined as the creation of procedures and the development of support systems that enabled a group or organization to implement and carry out its goals (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). Administration involved numerous activities, including, but not limited to, the following: managing the budget; managing records; hiring and supervising staff; devising policies and procedures; managing the payroll; managing material resources (e.g., buildings); supervising unit operations; and enabling conflict resolution and team building among staff. Any factors that pertained to such tasks were considered administrative factors.

Review of the Theoretical Literature

This section is a summary and analysis of theories used or applied in the study. The main theoretical framework examined in the study was Ekstedt and Griffith's (1988) influences on correctional policy in Canada. The writer used this theoretical framework as a guiding template for the study. He also sought to evaluate the applicability of the framework to sexual offender treatment agencies in the City of Winnipeg. Did the model provide an adequate explanation for systemic influences and policy-practice dynamics in sex offender programs in Winnipeg? Related to this theoretical framework, but from a "vertical" view, was Ekstedt and Griffith's (1988) hierarchy of correctional management and administration.

Following this, the writer looks briefly at community-based corrections. The delivery of correctional services is examined, focusing on the tension between treatment and social control.

Theories dealing with correctional operations and policy encompass many areas of academic inquiry, including forensic psychiatry, behavioral and cognitive psychology, social work in corrections, community mental health, and culturally appropriate services. Community-based corrections, whether as governmental service or as a private non-profit entity, has to fulfill two missions that were in many ways contradictory. One mission is the social control and management of the offenders, in order to preserve public safety to the highest degree possible. The second mission is enabling the personal well being and growth of service users (and associated families, groups, and communities), through counseling, information and referral, support groups, and so on.

In decision-making regarding a particular sexual offender, there is a trade-off between security and treatment, often with a bias for social control over treatment. For example, correctional officials are more likely to censure an offender when his activities are eccentric and unconventional, even though these behaviors may be therapeutic for him, on the basis of risk management and "not taking any chances." The ideal of community corrections—providing a mental health service while at the same time improving public safety—is likely unattainable under the conventional corrections rubric of probation and parole. As the Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission (June, 2001) pointed out, restorative justice ways of doing, like community justice committees, stood a better chance of achieving such ideals because these interventions were more community-involved (neighborhood oriented) and less geared towards social control.

External and internal influences on correctional policy: A systems framework

Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) proposed a theoretical framework of policy making in Canadian corrections. Like many theories of social policy, this framework was

depicted as a two-dimensional diagram (see Figure 1). The Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) framework was in essence dynamic systems theory adapted to the situation of Canadian corrections (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998). Ekstedt and Griffiths delineated various "influences" or social forces that interacted with one another to shape correctional policy. These influence domains corresponded to loosely bounded subsystems.

The model was also a representation of political economy theory. There was an emphasis on the interplay between political/power dynamic forces, "the powers that be" (persons, groups, and ideas) that govern social groups and local governments, and the economic forces (the distribution of wealth, the organization of work, government fiscal policy) in the formulation and shaping of policy initiatives and the creation and maintenance of service agencies.[2]

The model was designed to illustrate both federal and provincial correctional systems. Although Ekstedt and Griffiths intended to describe the policy of government agencies, the writer believed the theoretical framework also can be properly applied to describe the major influences on quasi-governmental and private non-profit organizations.

Many researchers and policy analysts had called for coordinating and integrating sex offender treatment with other components of the criminal justice system (Solicitor General Canada, 1990). The effects of other aspects of the justice system may have either detrimental or beneficial effects on the treatment of sexual offenders (Edwards & Hensley, 2001). The writers suggested that information about referred clients (subject to

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[2] See Austin (2002), Mintzberg (1979; 1983), and Morgan (1997) for detailed discussions of political economy theory in the study of organizations.

confidentiality rules) and about program developments and their outcomes should be shared between the necessary agencies.

In the early 1970s, at the tail end of the rehabilitation era of corrections, a paper was released examining the systemic nature of corrections in Manitoba (Government of Manitoba, 1972). However, this paper's arguments were outdated. Otherwise, no other systems models of Canadian corrections exist in the literature. Boydell and Connidis (1995) provided a social systems approach to Canadian criminal justice, but they deliberately downplayed the role of corrections. This gap in the literature made it impossible to compare the correctional influences theoretical framework to neighboring theories. The face validity of the model/framework appeared sound. From the writer's experience in the field, correctional and mental health systems did seem to compose of the subsystems proposed by Ekstedt and Griffiths.

The model was called the "internal and external influences on the formulation of correctional policy" (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988, p. 111). Generally, the influences on correctional policy and practice can be organized according to "whether or not they emerge from inside or outside of the correctional system" (p. 109). Given the constant interaction between internal and external forces, it was not always clear in practice where such influences originated. However, "the distinction was helpful in isolating the probable sources of influence on correctional policy" (p. 110). Ekstedt and Griffiths emphasized that the interactions between the influences (or subsystems) created tension. This tension (i.e., energy exchange) both surrounded and drove policy and practice in corrections. The Task Force on the Creation of an Integrated Canadian Corrections Service explained this idea:

Tension, which exists in all organizations, is paramount in Corrections. It underlies the decision making on the offender, beginning with his initial classification and continuing through decisions in respect of segregation, temporary absences, parole, suspensions, and revocations. It is reflected in the organizations of Corrections: almost all committees, boards and the like, derive their existence from this inescapable tension. Management and organization must recognize, reflect, and accommodate this tension. (as cited in Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988, p. 110)

For Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988), external influences on corrections can be grouped into four categories: the requirements of legislation and the process of law review; short term political needs; the policy and procedure of related subsystems within criminal justice; and academic research. Internal influences can be organized according to three general categories: professional interests; resource capability; and operational maintenance needs. Each of these influences is described in the following section, and examples relate the concepts to the sex offender field.

External influences on corrections

The Requirements of legislation and the process of law review.

Government corrections is a legal entity. Its very existence is due to government (ruling party) policy and/or legislation. In addition, legislation requires that the correctional enterprise conform to the rule of law and to accepted principles of justice (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). The making of law is a political act that was located apart from any of the individual bureaucracies of government. Even when law was made with regard to "one particular activity of government, its development involved the

consideration of issues and concerns not specific to that activity" (p. 112). Ekstedt and

Griffiths (1988) elaborated on this concept in the following excerpt:

It follows that correctional law is made not only with regard to the requirements

of correctional management and administration, but with consideration for the

general public interest and for the desires of special interest groups both inside

and outside government. In one sense, law is the ultimate policy upon which

corrections establishes its mandate and directs its operations. For its part,

legislative review also may be undertaken either on the basis of initiatives arising

within the correctional system or proceeding as a result of initiatives external to

the system. In any case, legislative review itself is an external activity—once

initiated, it brings a whole series of outside forces to bear on the review process.

(p. 112)

In short, review of law at both provincial and federal levels (or even at the

municipal level) affects the operation of the correctional enterprise, even if the original

goal of the review targeted an area outside of corrections. The operation of provincial

corrections was directly tied to existing legislation and to the scrutiny of provincial

legislators whenever the legal mandate of corrections was subject to review. This applies

as well to some extent to non-profit agencies under government contract to work with

sexual offenders. However, these organizations enjoy much independence because they

are formally outside the government domain.

Short term political need.

Although the making of law can be viewed as creating a long term political effect,

there is another type of political activity that might best be described as relating to short

term political need (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). The two writers described this influence in the following paragraph:

> This category of political activity is usually associated with executive function of government while law making is seen to be a product of the legislative function. Consequently, issues emerging from short-term political need are normally associated with the government of the day and its desire to retain power. Out of this political interest, individual ministers, cabinet committees, or cabinet as a whole, may choose to establish policy on their own initiative or to direct the civil service to do so on their behalf. (p. 114)

Correctional issues usually are not considered to contain enough "political gunpowder" to by itself upset a ruling party's hold on political power. However, controversy in corrections can disturb the ruling party's sense of political stability (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988).

The political sensitivity of the correctional enterprise impinges on the work of correctional managers. These managers are continually cognizant that a policy or procedure might, at any time, foster a controversy that would be elevated to the level of party politics. Therefore, "the bureaucratic interests within corrections constantly assessed policies and procedures with a view to their potential political repercussions" (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988, p. 114). As one warden put it, if he expected his political bosses to defend him against the "soft on crime" criticisms of opposition parties, he was in turn expected to keep controversies under control in his prison (Correctional Service of Canada, 2000). Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) went further, pointing out that every prison contained enough brutal and bizarre behavior (on the part of both staff and inmates) that

it was a political bombshell waiting to explode. One can suppose that this assertion can apply in some measure to community-based correctional programs too.

Policy and procedures of related subsystems within criminal justice.

Corrections is obviously not the only system that dealt with offenders. It exists as a neighbor to other systems, in addition to the governing political party. The most crucial systems contiguous with corrections are the police services, the courts, the prosecution, private law firms, and citizen's advocacy groups (Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994). Although the correctional enterprise consists of agencies that possessed firm, sometimes rigid boundaries (an extreme example is the maximum security prison), the policies and procedures of adjacent systems may force a correctional agency to adjust its operations to accommodate them (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). As corrections represented the final stage in the continuum of organizational activity in the criminal justice system, "it followed that correctional policy and procedures were subject to the influence of all the other components comprising the system" (p. 116). For example, the correctional system has little say in who was admitted to the system (i.e., the court has the sentencing authority).

In addition, the linkages between various justice agencies may result in problems for corrections. For example, cooperation between police and prosecution in targeting a particular type of crime results in increased admissions to correctional programs. However, without increased resources to bolster these correctional programs, they may be hard pressed to accommodate the increased number of service users.

In particular, the influence and power of the legal system are great. Scholars refer to the concept of therapeutic jurisprudence when looking at whether the legal process

facilitated or hindered the treatment of offenders. Therapeutic jurisprudence suggests that "the law itself can be seen to function as a therapist. The law included legal rules, legal procedures, and the roles of legal actors" (Peebles, 1999, p. 280). Peebles (1999) noted that many aspects of the court process, such as plea-bargaining, encouraged offender denial and rationalizations, and may provide justifications for a later decision to refuse treatment. For example, "I only pled guilty because my lawyer told me to." Edwards and Hensley (2001) recommended a dialogue approach to a plea of guilty, in which the defendant was encouraged to give a detailed account of the offense. This would establish a factual basis for the plea, and "work against any present or future denial or cognitive distortion about the nature of the crime" (Edwards & Hensley, 2001, p. 656).

Academic research.

It is difficult to measure the amount of influence that academic research has on correctional operations. While some academics have lamented their lack of impact on correctional policy (Menzies, Chunn, & Webster, 1995), they may be overlooking some important levers. One is outcome or program evaluation. In the past two decades, a strong demand has arisen to base correctional practice on empirical evidence. In efforts to debunk the conservative claim that "nothing works" (in correctional treatment), and consequently returning to a retributive corrections, researchers have produced encouraging findings of treatment effectiveness from well-organized and conceptually sound correctional programs (Harland, 1996). In the sex offender field, Marshall and his colleagues had penned numerous studies demonstrating the positive effects of relapse prevention treatment programs (Laws, Hudson, & Ward, 2001; Marshall, Fernandez, & Anderson, 1999). Donato (2001) showed that sex offender treatment programs were

more cost effective than no treatment. Offenses that would have occurred had the offender not been treated were avoided and the sequalae of medical, legal, and therapeutic involvement did not take place; therefore, money was saved. These were quite convincing arguments for provision of treatment.

Academic researchers also serve as consultants to correctional bureaucracies and as members of government commissions that study correctional issues. In this way, researchers have influence on senior decision-makers in the correctional bureaucracy. The findings of government commissions and inquiries, when adequately disseminated by the mass media, often have a powerful effect on public opinion. One example (of an issue larger than corrections) was the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (AJI) in Manitoba.

In addition, academics educate and train students who later occupy positions in the correctional system. The values, theories, and techniques learned in academic programs, especially in practice-oriented disciplines such as social work, can be assumed to have some influence on correctional workers that were former students. As well, the field of corrections has gradually become more professional. More and more correctional workers have professional training relevant to their occupation. Criminal justice programs at the college and undergraduate level have increased in number. This creates the potential for a correctional system to be staffed by workers possessing adequate theoretical and ethical knowledge.

Internal influences on correctional policy and practice.

Professional interests.

In the rehabilitation era of corrections (1945 to late 1960s), programs that emphasized the application of social and behavioral sciences in the treatment of offenders

experienced significant expansion. The staff responsible for treatment had professional preparation in disciplines like psychiatry, psychology, and social work. These staff, today as well as in that past era, can be said to represent a "treatment interest" in the correctional system. In contrast, particularly in the prison setting, there are personnel who are primarily responsible for custody and security. Previously known as prison guards, correctional officers tend to be more interested in "law and order" and social control. This split between treatment and security had been a long-standing controversy in corrections (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988).

A professional interest can be defined as a collective body of opinions of a group of workers who shared similar work tasks and work settings. For the purpose of the definition, any vocation that required a special skill, unique tools or technologies, and special structures within which the work takes place may be called a profession (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). Clerical staff, following the definition, can be said to represent a professional interest in an organization.

As there are diverse roles in corrections, many professional interests exist. There was a substantial body of literature on the attitudes and work habits of correctional officers. The findings indicated that compared to other workers, correctional officers tended to be the most punitive, the most dissatisfied with the organization, the least empathic, and the least supportive of treatment (Lariviere, 2001; Robinson & Porporino, 1996). Correctional officers also tended to hold very negative attitudes toward sex offenders (Weeks, Pelletier, & Beaudette, 1995).

In a study about the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), it was found that case managers exhibited high levels of endorsement with treatment and of job involvement

but, like correctional officers, evidenced similar dissatisfaction with the organization

(Robinson & Porporino, 1996). Middle and upper level managers in the CSC showed the

most satisfaction with their jobs. As Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) pointed out,

correctional managers may have quite different professional interests than other groups.

Likewise, a politician also possesses very different professional interests. The politician

responsible for corrections has chosen politics as a career and wishes to advance her

political standing through the good management of the corrections portfolio (Ekstedt &

Griffiths, 1988).

Resource capability.

The amount of resources (i.e., funds) available is central to the implementation of

policy and associated service delivery. It is also central to the determination of what

policies can be made. Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) indicated that it was common for a

significant change in resource capability to trigger a policy review:

> The resulting review can take several forms. First, it can be aimed either at
>
> limiting or increasing the interventions which result from policy, consistent with
>
> the decrease or increase in available resources. Second, it can be aimed at
>
> reviewing the basic operational goals that are reflected in policy in order to
>
> determine whether or not their restatement would provide for a more efficient use
>
> of resources without altering the social purpose which the policy is intended to
>
> support. In recent Canadian history, shifts in the correctional enterprise's
>
> resource capability have produced an almost constant process of policy review
>
> which addresses both the demand for increased efficiency and the redefinition of
>
> operational strategies. (p. 125)

Correctional resources can be divided into two general categories of expenditure: (1) operational costs (personnel and material); and (2) capital costs (e.g., buying a new office building). Corrections, like any human service, is labor intensive and therefore personnel costs like salaries and benefits account for the bulk of expenditures (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988).

Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) proposed that resource capability was directly related to quality of service. For some, quality of service might be seen as being influenced by the employment conditions under which staff members exercised their duties. However, Ekstedt and Griffiths strongly asserted that the most important resource of the correctional organization was the education and training of staff members. The expertise and professional development of individual employees were the most important resources for creating and maintaining policy initiatives.

Operational maintenance needs.

There is a tendency for correctional organizations to operate in a state of crisis management. Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) stated that policy and practice that aimed only to resolve crises "in order to maintain operations was unsatisfactory since it was likely to reinforce bad practices while failing to acknowledge the broader social purposes correctional work is intended to serve" (p. 127). According to systems theory, organizations tend to evolve toward the establishment of a comfortable routine that allows staff members to function at the lowest possible level of stress (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988; Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998). Structural supports are built into the organization through forms and procedures that maintained and reinforced the daily operational routines. Their success is judged on their ability (1) to predict operational

needs, (2) to organize resources that address those needs, and (3) to express themselves in such a way that their use by employees is both comfortable and familiar (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988). However, these supports tend to malfunction in correctional agencies, opening the possibility for a crisis. Common reasons for the break down of structural supports include the following: decreases in funding; increase in the number of offenders admitted to the system; increase in clients' needs; and high turnover of staff.

Structure of Management and Administration in Corrections

A useful paradigm to link direct practice with policy making was Ekstedt and Griffith's (1988) model of the structure of management and administration in corrections. The two writers made a distinction between the concepts of management and administration. The task of management is to set the overall direction and determine policy for an agency or government bureaucracy. The task of administration is to devise procedures and to develop the support systems that are used to carry out the policy initiatives (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). The structure (or hierarchy) of corrections consists of four levels (see Figure 2): policy management, executive administration, management of operations, and supervision of operations.

Policy management consists of negotiations between senior civil servants and politicians to establish governing policy (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988). These negotiations include the following decision-making areas: the elements of law and regulation as they applied to the operating agency; the targeting of specific client groups for services; establishment of service priorities; determination of resources, material and human, "that will be committed to the organization for the purpose of exercising its mandate" (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988, p. 160).

Executive administration is carried out by deputy ministers, assistant deputy ministers, and directors of large bureaucratic units. These administrative tasks are those performed in a line ministry, in which human and material resources are organized in order to attain the goals of policy management (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). Here, the responsibility for management and administration overlap.

The management of operations is performed by the staff overseeing major programs; for example, directors of probation and prison wardens. Policy-oriented tasks include the translation of higher level policy into operational policy (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). The primary task of operations managers is to direct and control the achievement of the goals as set by policy management.

The supervision of operations is the lowest level (smallest system) in Ekstedt and Griffiths's model. Here, correctional supervisors are responsible for the day to day operations of specific program components. The first-level supervisor makes "specific job assignments, makes routine first-level decisions, maintains close contact with operative employees," and provides for motivation, control, direction, and training of employees (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988, p. 169). The supervision of operations is the level of management "most closely associated with direct service delivery to the offender" (p. 169). It is "at this level of management responsibility that policies either become implemented or are subject to failure" (p. 169).

Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) emphasized that line staff in corrections are expected to exercise a high degree of discretion in the course of their duties. As correctional interventions are usually based on general principles open to different lines of interpretation, decisions made regarding offenders depend on the good judgment of

individual staff. In order for accountability and humane practice to take place, correctional staffs need to have adequate education, in-service training, and high levels of maturity. As Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) pointed out,

> [The] best a correctional organization can do is to provide policies and support systems which offer the greatest opportunity for the system's employees to relate to the system's clients in ways that most closely approximate the organization's policy intentions. (p. 179)

However, for correctional officers, studies suggested that advanced educational attainment (e.g., university graduates) alone may not enhance job performance, nor did it necessarily lead to professionalization (Robinson, Porporino, & Simourd, 1997).

Community-Based Corrections

Community-based services are often lauded as the ideal form of correctional programming. The belief has been that offender treatment is more effective when it is conducted in community settings. Presently, five major community-based correctional programs exist in Manitoba: probation, community-based facilities, pre-release programs of temporary absences and day parole, parole, and restorative justice interventions (Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994). Three main justifications are employed in support of community-based programs (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988):

1. Community-based programs are more humane than incarcerating offenders in correctional institutions.

2. Community-based programs are less costly than institutional services.

3. Community-based programs increase the chances of successful reintegration of the offender into the community. (p. 257)

Community corrections have also been supported on the basis that, "as the major intent is reintegration, the conflict between treatment and control that has long afflicted the correctional enterprise is avoided" (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988, p. 257). For the first and third justifications, there exists little empirical support. The humane conditions of community residential facilities such as halfway houses have been called into question. The reality of life "halfway free," replete with numerous restrictions, was found to be disappointing and stressful for offenders (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). And the controversy between treatment and control is not avoided because much of community-based corrections continue to be about social control. The probation officer (or parole officer, or agency worker) is invested with dual role of counselor and resource broker (e.g., finding vocational programs) and social control agent (i.e., monitoring the offender's whereabouts). However, most acknowledge that a community-based service, all other factors being equal, is less expensive than prison custody.

In the literature, the writer found many critiques of community-based corrections (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988; Schmalleger et al., 2000). McCormick and Visano (1995) charged that "community corrections" in reality had little to do with local neighborhood or with citizen participation.[3] Rather, the rhetoric of community corrections was propaganda that masked the uninterrupted social control mission of the correctional authorities. However, some did acknowledge the potential of community programs, and all observers expected this area of corrections to continue expanding. One approach commonly used is severing treatment from supervision in probation and parole, so that

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[3] Although not a "corrections" intervention, it should be pointed out that restorative justice approaches do involve significant citizen participation. For example, the voluntary support program (see Chapter 6) relies on volunteers to support high-risk offenders, and the program as well conducts community education about cycles of violence (often conducted by volunteers).

the probation/parole officer is a broker of resources and legal authority, and a separate agency assumes therapeutic duties (Welch, 1996). Cumming and McGrath (2001) suggested from their review of the outcome literature that community programs for sexual offenders were effective in reducing recidivism if they contained both relapse prevention treatment and legal supervision.

However, the question of accountability and community participation remains unresolved because the private non-profit agencies responsible for treatment or support duties contain varying degrees of tolerance for power sharing and accountability. Provincial and federal corrections, although notorious for their bureaucratic secretiveness and resistance to change (Hannah-Moffat, 2000; McCormick & Visano, 1995), are at least known entities. Private, non-profit agencies that provide correctional services are often so small that the general public is generally unaware of their existence. Accountability may be difficult to achieve in a closed-off small private agency, unless professional accreditation bodies or citizen's groups have a voice.

Review of the Empirical Literature

In this section, the extent of the empirical literature on the topic is reviewed (various empirical studies had also been cited above). A number of single case studies of community-based sexual offender programs were available in the literature (Coleman & Haaven, 1998; Eccles & Walker, 1998; Ellerby, Bedard, & Chartrand, 2001; Maletzky & Steinhauser, 1998; Pessein, Maher, Cramer, & Prentky, 1998). Several policy issues were consistently highlighted in those case studies, which described programs operated by non-governmental organizations in North America. An almost universal problem was the difficulty faced by the organizations in obtaining government funding. It appeared

that government authorities placed significant barriers in the path of agencies trying to secure funding for sex offender treatment.

Another concern was marketing the service in order for correctional officials and social agencies to see that the program was an effective and valuable resource and would be confident to make referrals to it. Also, there was a need to create supportive relationships with probation and parole officers. In a very real way, their backing was essential for many clients, who may otherwise by uninterested, to participate in treatment (or face the risk of breaching their legal conditions). An ever-present concern for community-based agencies, particularly in the United States, was the risk of a client committing an offense and the legal liability that resulted from this. The literature also suggested that relationships between the agency and other social services and informal community groups needed nurturing. A number of authors felt that it was important to establish ties with groups that work with survivors of abuse, and also to conduct community education regarding the problem of sexual offending. As well, the literature suggested that staff members working with sexual offenders required strong support and teamwork with their colleagues, in the form of sharing feelings, feedback, and time-off.

Regarding power dynamic and ideological factors in correctional systems, empirical studies tended to focus on the attitudes and perceptions of particular groups of workers (e.g., correctional officers) rather than on systemic influences (Lariviere, 2001; Robinson & Porporino, 1996). Most publications concentrated on the prison setting and looked at the general population of offenders (for overviews of the correctional enterprise, see Welch, 1997 and Schmalleger et al., 2000, both textbooks). The literature, other than the case studies described above, did not tend to separate out the particular situation and

attendant issues of sex offender programs from other offender groups. Literature that did examine the sex offender field in particular was weighed toward questions of philosophy or jurisprudence (Edwards & Hensley, 2001; Peebles, 1999).

In contrast, a huge body of literature existed regarding direct practice with sexual offenders. Interventions from each of the following theoretical and practice orientations have received much academic writing: psycho-pharmacology (e.g., Bradford, 1997); psychiatric (Grubin & Mason, 1997); psychodynamic (Stukenberg, 2001); family therapies (e.g., Giarretto & Giarretto, 1990; Madanes, 1995); behavioral (Quinsey & Lalumiere, 2001); and cognitive-behavioral (Marshall, Fernandez, & Anderson, 1999; Laws & O'Donohue, 1997). Relapse prevention, from its prominence in the field, has garnered the most attention in empirical study (Laws, Hudson, & Ward, 2001a). Outcome evaluations using elaborate statistical methods were numerous, and their findings often generated heated debate. One debate from the outcome literature was over the efficacy of sex offender treatment. Quinsey and his supporters were skeptical of treatment (Quinsey, Khanna, & Malcolm, 1998), whereas Marshall (and the majority of practitioners and scholars in the field) endorsed relapse prevention, when incorporated with other components (e.g., sex education, empathy skills) (Marshall, Fernandez, & Anderson, 1999; Spencer, 1999).

A second theme was the general agreement that psychoanalytic therapies were ineffective for sexual offenders (however, an exception was that psychodynamic and relational theory was often applied in work with incest offenders) (Barbaree & Seto, 1997; Marshall, Fernandez, & Anderson, 1999). A third theme concerned the debate over the use of behavioral assessment and treatment. Marshall recommended that few

resources be devoted to these techniques due to lack of evidence for their efficacy,

whereas Quinsey and his associates promoted their usefulness (Marshall, 1997;

Konopasky & Konopasky, 2001; Quinsey & Lalumiere, 2001).

Gaps in the Literature: Theoretical, Empirical, and Methodological

One notable gap in the literature is the lack of research regarding systemic

influences, such as politics, ideology, and bureaucratic administration, on direct practice

in treating sex offenders. This gap is significant because of the authoritative power that

practitioners often exert over their sex offender clients. Like in other areas of

correctional treatment, the objectives and rationales underpinning sexual offender

program content and process are commonly vague and open to the discretion of

individual staff. Staff decision-making and program developments are in dynamic

relationship with the influences of larger systems, from court rulings to resource

allocation by the deputy minister. This study examined the processes by which decisions

in larger systems affected front line operations, and vice versa.

Moreover, there is a lack of theoretical literature about Canadian correctional

systems. A review of recently published textbooks on corrections (all Canadian

undergraduate texts on the subject in the past fifteen years) yielded only the Ekstedt and

Griffiths model. This study developed further, in relation to the findings, the correctional

policy theoretical framework.

Most studies on the field of sexual offending used quantitative methods of

inquiry, for the purpose of examining the effectiveness of a particular assessment or

treatment modality (for e.g., see Crolley, Roys, Thyer, & Bordnick, 1998; Laws &

Marshall, 1991). The academic disciplines that inform these studies include forensic and

laboratory psychology. Qualitative methods of inquiry tend to be used for topics that fell outside the study's research questions. For example, qualitative studies examined the etiology of sexual abuse (Azar, Povilaitis, Lauretti, & Pouquette, 1998) or the history of sexuality and sexual repression (male homosexuals stigmatized as sexual offenders) (Chenier, 2002). However, qualitative case study methods are also used when describing the structure and clinical techniques of individual treatment programs. It was hoped that the study would take the case study method somewhat further than this, looking at the linkages between individual workers, agency cultures, and government policy.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter describes the research design of the study, at the single case level and at the multiple case analysis level. The chapter provides the criteria for agencies to be considered suitable for study, and the process by which the writer entered and gained the cooperation of the agencies. It then describes sampling, data collection, and analysis strategy.

Research Design: Overview

The design was a descriptive case study, in which a descriptive theory provided the overall framework for the researcher to follow (Berg, 2001; Yin, 2003). This was an introductory study, providing an initial examination of the topic. The writer did not intend to catalogue all the activities pertaining to the topic in Winnipeg, nor did the writer endeavor to look at each individual program in exhaustive detail.

The writer combined the intrinsic and instrumental approaches to case study (Berg, 2001). It was intrinsic because sex offender programs in Winnipeg were interesting and worth studying in its own right. Such programs in Winnipeg had not been studied in this way before (systemic orientation, policy—practice).

The study was instrumental as well because it aimed to give insight into general issues of human service systems and treatment programs in Canada. In this study, the writer followed a theoretical framework. The main framework was Ekstedt and Grifftiths's (1988) model of the external and internal influences on correctional policy (see p. 22). The model was itself also being evaluated as to its usefulness in interpreting organizational data in a specific locale (i.e., Winnipeg) and as general lens to assess

Canadian community correctional policy. The writer also used elements of Ekstedt and Griffiths's structure of management and administration in carrying out the study. The writer sought to revise, expand upon, and critique the external and internal influence model of correctional policy depending on the findings.

This was a multiple case study. Each case was a community-based (i.e., non-institutional) program that provided specialized treatment services for sexual offenders. The multiple case study followed a replication logic (Yin, 2003). The programs (i.e., the cases) were chosen because they should produce similar findings. Or, the cases should produce different findings but for reasons predicted by the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) influences on policy model. Each case study was a "whole study" in itself, consisting of two parts in data collection (document research and informant interviews, see the section below for details) and a report of the findings. The writer then analyzed the findings across cases. Were there similar results across cases—that is, literal replication? Or did some cases produce contrasting findings but for reasons predicted by the theoretical framework—theoretical replication? The cross case analysis resulted in a multiple case study report (refer to Chapter 8), which summarized the findings across programs. The writer also examined the fit between findings and the correctional policy model, and made some recommendations for community offender programs (see Chapter 9).

Agencies: Criteria for Inclusion in the Study

An agency or treatment program must satisfy the following criteria in order to be included in the study:

➢ Community-setting (non-institutional)

➢ Main base of operations situated within the City of Winnipeg

> ➢ Serve adults who exhibit sexual offending problems

> ➢ Provide treatment services for these persons to address the sexual offensive behavior.

Agencies: Rate of Participation

Following the above criteria, the writer asked seven agencies to take part in the study. Four agreed. Unfortunately, the three largest offender treatment agencies in Winnipeg declined.

Research Design at the Single Case Level

Document review

Data gathering for each case consisted of two parts: document research and interviews. In document research, documents pertaining to the case were gathered and examined. A document was defined as written information that addressed one or more of the research questions that guided the study (see Chapter 1). In particular, a document should shed light on the internal and external influences on policy (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988) in regards to a particular agency (or to several agencies).

Why choose document research as a methodology? First, the document represents the literal text of sex offender policy and procedure. Second, document research is a less intrusive form of data gathering. These records are naturally created sources of information, existing independently from the study. Thirdly, many documents such as public records can be retrieved at the researcher's convenience. Because of these reasons, Yin (2003) suggested that document research should be a part of any case study, and that in most situations a researcher would be remiss to ignore this methodology.

The relevant documents were available in public and agency archives and databases. When the writer had submitted his research proposal, he had thought that strictly procedural documents—without any client/staff information—would suffice. However, carrying out the study, the writer realized that truly telling materials usually contained client and staff personal information, and these the writer had no access (for discussion of study limitations, see Chapter 9). The writer analyzed the data by documentary research methods (Berg, 2001; Yin, 2003—see the section on data collection below for details).

Interviews

The second part of data gathering for a program consisted of interviews with persons who were involved in the work; typically, three to six staff members or volunteers for each program. Interviews were helpful for several reasons. The interview allowed the gathering of data targeted on relevant topics. Here, the interview questions directly asked the informant to provide information relating to the seven internal and external influences on correctional policy (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). The interview provided access to a more personal point of view, based on the individual perception of the informant. The interviews also were an explicit link connecting direct practice to policy-making. For example, the writer compared and contrasted the responses of a front line worker with those of a board member at the small government program.

The writer chose interview informants with Ekstedt and Griffith's (1988) model, the structure of management and administration in corrections, in mind. This model was most applicable to government. However, non-profit agencies to varying degrees exhibited similar structures of management, except that the political activities of cabinet

and legislature were not directly relevant. The researcher chose respondents that represented various task levels within an organization.

The interviews were semi-standardized, in which most of the interview questions followed the interview guide and a few (e.g., spontaneous probes) were derived from the interview dynamic and context, but still based on the lines of inquiry delineated in the interview guide. The writer also placed three control questions in the interview guide. The three control questions were based on models of human service administration other than the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) policy model. The control question was a strategy to find out whether the propositions of the Ekstedt and Griffiths model held true for the informant. Did the informant respond in compelling ways to the questions derived from the Ekstedt and Griffiths model, or did she seem to prefer the ideas contained in the control questions?

Sensitive topic

The writer had worked in the field of sex offender treatment for some time. This experience provided a more emic perspective on the data, as well as particular understanding of informants and how these persons/service providers might interpret their social worlds (Berg, 2001). When designing the study, the writer realized that the topic may involve the discussion of sensitive material (e.g., management issues). Interviews designed to garner information about a sensitive topic may be threatening or stressful for some informants (Lee, 1993). After consultation with his academic advisor, the writer felt that the best strategy was to introduce the interview non-threateningly, but at the same time clear about the topic of the study. The writer described the risks and benefits of participating in the study clearly in the informed consent form (refer to

Appendix D). Informants and agencies that felt uncomfortable about the study simply declined to take part.

Pilot Interview

The writer tested the feasibility of the interview guide and the data analysis plan by conducting one pilot interview. He coded the data according to the analysis plan (see below). The interview was essentially a first interview, providing an indication of what subsequent interviews might be like. The pilot interview went extremely well, and the writer felt the interview guide was an effective tool for data collection.

Getting in: The Process of Entering an Agency

The writer sent each of the agencies that satisfied the criteria a letter that briefly described the study. The writer followed this with a telephone call. In all the agencies, the writer first spoke with the person in charge of the treatment program about the study in general, and in particular about the request to access and use internal operational documents, and to interview agency personnel. If approval was granted, particulars were discussed and put down in writing as a kind of contract detailing the extent of and limits on the researcher's activities (refer to Figure 3 for an example contract).

These particulars included the following: who to talk with about the documents; when, where, and how does the researcher access these documents; which documents are open to study; and a complete list of all the staff at the agency. Having a list of all the staff in the agency was best because then management would not be able to know which one of the staff had talked to the researcher. This would also prevent the manager from exerting pressure on specific employees to either take part in or decline the study. The

nature of the communications between the staff member and the researcher was confidential (including the identity of the staff member).

However, one program was so small that complete anonymity and confidentiality were not possible. In that program, the staff members actually told their colleagues that they were taking part in the study.

The writer followed an ethical approach in conducting the study, and worked with agency management in a cooperative and negotiated manner. However, the writer was firm on maintaining interview informant informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. Once the way was clear to start the study, the writer read and analyzed program documents. The writer contacted staff members for interviews by a written letter, given to all staff members who were interview candidates, describing in brief the nature of the study and the interview component. The letter listed the researcher's telephone number and e-mail address. The writer followed up the letter with a telephone call (or e-mail) to the staff member, again briefly describing the study and the interview. If there was interest, the staff member and writer met in person, and the informed consent form shown (see Appendix D). If s/he agreed and signed the consent form, the interview would proceed. Interviews took place at various locations. Some informants preferred their office, while others suggested their home (e.g., volunteers at one program felt comfortable conversing at home).

Sample Definition and Informant Selection

The writer used purposive sampling for interviews. When developing a purposive sample, researchers used some special knowledge about a group to select informants that represented the population (Berg, 2001). The aim was to ensure that in each program,

certain occupational positions were included. The structure of management and administration in corrections model (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988) guided interview informant selection. The writer also used practical knowledge of the programs to select suitable informants.

Document research consisted of locating and gathering official documents and other relevant texts. Relevant documents referred to written information that addressed the seven domains delineated by the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional policy (the seven external and internal influences on policy). The writer collected separate documents for each program. Some documents, such as legislation, were relevant for more than one program. Examples of documents included the following. Each type of document addressed one or more of the internal/external influences on policy:

1. agency reports and memoranda (about its own programs and developments) [this is data on a number of different influences, including professional interests, resource capability, operational maintenance needs, and policy and procedure of related subsystems]

2. public reports of collateral organizations [policy and procedure of related subsystems]

3. agency policy and procedure manuals [address the same area as above]

4. assessment and intervention materials used in the day-to-day work of the agency [this is data on professional interests]

5. technical reports about a treatment program authored by an outside consultant [this can address any of Ekstedt and Griffiths's areas of influence, depending on the topic of the report]

6. government-authored publications about the correctional and mental health systems

   (e.g., history of Manitoba corrections) [short-term political needs and legislative

   mandate]

7. relevant government legislation affecting community mental heath and corrections

   [data on the requirements of legislation]

8. legislative and executive branch proceedings of politicians (for e.g., records of

   cabinet committee meetings) and senior civil servants (e.g., Continuing Committee of

   the "Heads of Corrections") [data on legislative mandate and the process of law

   review, as well as on short-term political needs]

9. reports of the *Canadian Criminal Law Review*, in particular the *Correctional Law*

   Review and the *Law Reform Commission of Canada* [focus on requirements of

   legislation and the process of law review, but also examined all domains of the

   model]

10. mass media stories such as newspaper and magazine articles [looked at short-term

    political needs]

11. academically oriented articles about some particular aspect of the field in Manitoba

    [looked at academic research]

Data Collection

Document review

The writer reviewed the documents keeping in mind the Ekstedt and Griffiths

(1988) influences on policy model. Guidance questions, organized into the seven

subsystems of the influence model, helped the writer to look for specific data. The

following table listed Ekstedt and Griffiths's seven influences, examples of relevant

documents, and their accompanying guidance questions.

External influences on correctional policy (and document examples)	Guiding questions for document review
The requirements of legislation and the process of law review (For example, Correctional Law Review, actual text of correctional and mental health legislation)	Which provincial or federal laws are most influential in regards to the agency's policies and operations?
Short-term political needs (E.g., newspaper article that reports on sex offender controversies; Hansard record of debate in the legislature; agency policy and procedure and memoranda)	What does the agency consider to be politically sensitive? How does the agency deal with politically sensitive events? What processes are in place to prevent an event from becoming controversial (inside the organization, and especially outside into the public domain)?
Policies and procedures of related subsystems within criminal justice (E.g., annual reports of collateral agencies and funding agencies like Manitoba Family Services; public announcements from these agencies)	Who are the funding sources? What collateral agencies does this organization deal with? What policies and procedures are in place to facilitate interactions with collateral agencies? Any evidence of tensions/conflicts between agencies?
Academic research (E.g., published literature about the program, unpublished reports)	Does the agency do its own research? Clinical evaluation? Any collaboration with post-secondary education, such as in field placements or research projects?

Internal influences on correctional policy	Guiding questions for document review
Professional interests (E.g., agency policy and procedure manual; staff roster; minutes of team meetings; qualifications required for new hires—job postings)	What are the major occupational groups in the agency? What are the professional interests of each of these groups? Who are the treatment staff? What is their training? What theories, approaches, and techniques are utilized by the treatment staff? How do the different occupational groups work together in the agency?

| Resource capability

(E.g., agency annual report; in-service training program manual; billing sheets; budget)	Who funds the agency? What is the funding arrangement? What does the budget look like? Any major projects created or closed down in the last several years? What professional development activities are available for agency staff?
Operational maintenance needs

(E.g., internal agency memoranda; policy and procedure manual) | Is the organization in crisis? Is the organization operating in a crisis containment—"put out the fires"—mode now or in the recent past?
How does the agency predict operational needs? How does it recruit resources to address those needs? How do these structural supports of the agency express themselves in such a way that their use by employees is both comfortable and familiar? |

In addition to the guidance questions, the document data were subject to two forms of evaluation, external and internal. External criticism sought to confirm the authenticity of the written material. Who was the author? Was the document actually written by the stated author? Internal criticism involved asking the following questions (Berg, 2001): What was the author trying to say? Why did the author write the document? Who was the intended audience? What inferences or impressions can be taken from the contents of the document?

Interviews

Interviews consisted of the informant and writer participating in a one-on-one discussion of the relevant topics. Interviews took place in either an informant's home or her office. After the signing of the consent form, the writer began by preliminary pleasantries and introductions (in order to establish basic rapport and familiarity). Then, the writer reiterated the purpose of the interview and provided a brief summary of the

research project. Refer to Appendix A for the interview guide. The writer adjusted the guide slightly for each program, in order to fit its unique attributes.

The questions listed were crucial ones. In nearly all interviews, the first question in a "paragraph" of questions elicited sufficient responses that made the following questions unnecessary. If the writer asked additional questions, it would usually be regarding details or linking previous responses to the current topic. The interviews were recorded on audiotape, with an average duration of one and a half-hours.

In the weeks or months following the interview, the writer telephoned each informant in order to obtain feed back about interview content and about preliminary interpretations.

Study database

The raw data from the interviews (the audiotapes, interview schedule and field notes, transcripts of the audio recording) were stored in the study database. Each case had its own file. This database was in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home. Similarly, the documents collected during research, whether photocopies of the actual text or field notes, were also stored in the study database.

Data Analysis

The writer illustrated an overview of the data analysis process in the following flow chart[1]:

```
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐         ┌──────────────┐
│ Conduct 1st  │─────▶│ Write        │────────▶│ Cross case   │
│ case study   │      │ individual   │         │ analysis     │
│              │      │ case report  │         │              │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘         └──────────────┘
                                                       │
                                                       ▼
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐         ┌──────────────┐
│ Conduct 2nd  │─────▶│ Write        │────────▶│ Implications │
│ case study   │      │ individual   │         │ for Ekstedt  │
│              │      │ case report  │         │ and Griffiths│
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘         │ model?       │
                                               └──────────────┘
                                                       │
                                                       ▼
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐         ┌──────────────┐
│ Conduct      │─────▶│ Write        │────────▶│ Develop      │
│ remaining    │      │ individual   │         │ policy       │
│ case studies │      │ case reports │         │ implications │
│              │      │              │         │ and          │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘         │ recommendations│
                                               └──────────────┘
                                                       │
                                                       ▼
                                               ┌──────────────┐
                                               │ Write cross  │
                                               │ case report  │
                                               └──────────────┘
```
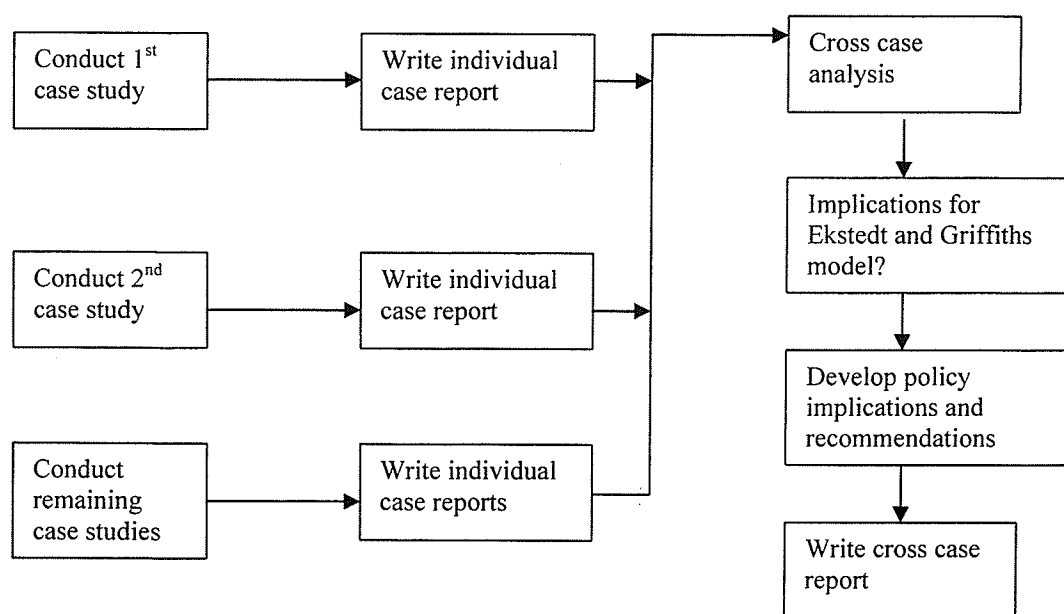
Overview of analysis plan

First, the writer carried out the single case studies, each with its own document and interview data. Analysis of interview data was through the content analysis method of Tutty, Rothery, and Grinnell (1996). The findings were written in the single study reports, one for each program (refer to Chapters 4 to 7). The writer structured the single study reports according to the research questions, with each section answering a research question according to the findings. A large portion of each study devoted to applying the

correctional policy model (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988) to the findings. The writer also commented on the fit between the data and model for each program studied.

Once all the single case studies had been finished, then cross analysis of the single case studies occurred (Yin, 2003). The cross analysis treated the single case study reports as second level "data", and drew conclusions from similarities and differences between the individual cases. One technique for cross case synthesis was the use of word tables. These tables displayed the data from the single case studies in a uniform framework (Yin, 2003). A table for a case can follow the correctional policy theoretical framework, with one section for case data on professional interests, a second section for data on operational maintenance needs, and so on. The general characteristics of one case are compared to those of a second case, in which a certain system of influence in the first case is matched to the equivalent system in the second case. This technique followed the broad analytic strategy of relying on theoretical propositions (see below). Chapter 8 had put forth the result of *cross case analysis* and considered how well they fit the Ekstedt and Griffiths correctional policy model.

A number of additional analytic tools and concepts were used. They are described in detail below and include the following: theoretical propositions and pattern matching; rival explanations; research journal; and peer debriefing.

Overall analytic strategy: Relying on theoretical propositions

The general strategy of theoretical propositions was used to evaluate whether the model fits the data. Although the Ekstedt and Griffiths influences model was descriptive in nature and was not a cause-and-effect type of theory, it still offered numerous suggestions as to likely consequences stemming from positive/negative influences either

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[1] Adapted from Yin (2003)

inside or outside the agency. The logic of pattern matching was employed, comparing an empirically based pattern (the case study data) with a predicted one (an Ekstedt and Griffiths theoretical proposition).

Pattern matching for the single case

For example, at the level of the single case, an agency was in a state of crisis management over an extended period. The model would suggest that operational effectiveness would likely suffer (operational maintenance needs are not being met) and that staff morale would drop (professional interests are not being satisfied). The researcher might ask—did the agency have these consequences? Was there evidence that operational effectiveness and staff morale had been significantly impaired?

In a second example, a controversy came to the attention of local neighbors (e.g., client sexual exhibitionism). The model predicted certain actions on the part of agency management. It is likely that the agency would seek to contain the uproar caused by the incident, try to keep things quiet, and assess and modify policies and procedures with the goal of preventing future incidents. Was there data that support this?

The pattern matching logic was followed in the analysis of the interview and document research data, requiring at least three theoretical propositions per case. For example, at the minimum, did the data fit theoretical propositions in the areas of professional interests, operational maintenance needs, and related criminal justice subsystems? The reason for the standard of three propositions was because three was commonly a minimum for deciding that sufficient evidence existed to identify a pattern in the data (Berg, 2001).

If the pattern matching logic was demonstrated in each individual case (or at minimum in three out of four cases), it would be reasonable to conclude that the correctional policy model fit the study findings. The suitability of the model would be demonstrated, at least for the agencies studied. If pattern matching was not demonstrated in any of the single cases (that is, the data did not follow the theoretical propositions at all), then the model was clearly inadequate.

A caveat to the use of pattern matching in the study was that the writer resorted to looking for data patterns that were obvious and distinct. Pattern matching essentially relied on argumentative interpretation. Pattern matching was like painting a picture with a broad brush; using a tool like this, it would be inappropriate to try to draw in minute details. However, this limitation only affected the task of evaluating the model. Descriptive data for each case was rich and extensive.

Rival explanations

In addition, under the rubric of relying on theoretical propositions, the writer used the concept of rival explanations as patterns. In the interviews, control questions were used (refer to these questions in the Interview Guide above). These control questions were based on alternative models of human service administration, like Weber's theory of rational bureaucracy and the human relations model (Hasenfeld, 1983). For example, in the question about human relations in the organization, concepts such as anxiety, personality, and interpersonal relations, although somewhat similar to the idea of resource capacity, did not fall neatly into internal influences on policy. Therefore, data that would speak against the correctional policy model model were lengthy, richly

detailed responses to control questions and comparatively shorter and superficial responses to many of the non-control questions.

A number of other indicators would speak negatively against the utility of the model. One indicator would be if a large number of informants (a majority, not one or two) responded to many or most of the non-control questions with puzzlement, thinking the questions odd or peculiar. For example, "Hmm, I've never thought about that before" or "That's strange, I don't know about that." A second indicator would be many informants correcting the direction and intent of interview questions; for example, "I think you got it backwards here. It really works this way…"

Single case analysis

As stated above, the writer analyzed interview data on a program-by-program basis. For example, three interviews took place at the small government program. The writer analyzed these three interviews together, separate from the interview data for other programs.

Similarly, the writer analyzed documents on a program-by-program basis, although some documents (e.g., legislation) applied to more than one program. The writer analyzed documents following the guidance questions and external and internal evaluation (see Data Collection section above).

The writer analyzed interviews according to the content analysis method of Tutty, Rothery, and Grinnell's (1996). Here, major steps of analysis included transcript preparation, establishing a preliminary plan for data analysis, first-level coding, second-level coding, data interpretation and proposition building, and assessing credibility. These steps were rigorous and systematic, from identifying basic meaning units to

identifying categories to comparing categories and integrating categories into themes (Tutty, Rothery, & Grinnell, 1996).

The writer integrated the findings from documents and the interviews by organizing the information according to the three research questions. Data categories from interviews dominated theme construction because the writer felt that interviews sustained greater depth of meaning than document data. Interviews were a link between personal—practice—policy, and allowed access to cogent topics through interaction and context (the interview dynamic). The writer composed open-ended answers to the research questions, using writing itself as an analytic process, as Yin (2003) explained:

> In such a situation, each answer represents an attempt to integrate the available evidence and to converge upon the facts of the matter or their tentative interpretation. The process is actually an analytic one and is an integral part of the case study analysis. The format for the answers may be considerable analogous to that of a comprehensive "take-home" exam, used in graduate degree programs. The investigator is the respondent, and his or her goal is to cite the relevant evidence—whether of an interview, documentary, observational, or archival variety—in composing an adequate answer. Thus, the main purpose of the open-ended answer is to document the connection between specific pieces of evidence and various issues in the case study, using footnotes and citations generously. (p. 123)

The research journal: An analytic tool

Why use a research journal? Tutty, Rothery, and Grinnell (1996) provided one response in the following paragraph:

When you report your findings, it is useful to include a careful inventory of your biases and preconceptions. Cataloguing these will remind you to keep checking to ensure that your conclusions are dictated by the data rather than by your established beliefs. A list of this sort is also useful to readers, who will want to assess how successful you have been in keeping your biases under control during data collection and analysis. (p. 113)

The writer reflected and wrote in the journal at various moments during the research process (e.g., after an interview, whenever a striking idea appeared).[2] In reflecting on an interview, the writer referred to personal impressions of the interview dynamic (these the writer had jotted down on the interview guide while conversing with the informant).

A number of questions guided self-evaluation of interviews. Affirmative answers to the following indicated a high quality interview (Lee, 1999):

1. Was the conversation spontaneous, rich, and specific?

2. Were answers relevant to the questions asked?

3. Were the interviewer's questions short and the informant's responses long?

4. Did the interviewer follow up or clarify the meanings of the interviewee's answers throughout the interview?

5. Did the interviewer interpret interviewee responses throughout the interview?

6. Did the interviewer corroborate interpretations during the course of the interview?

7. Did the interview itself appear self-communicating? (p. 85)

The writer referred to these questions when reflecting on interviews.

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[2] Similarly for document data, the writer summarized the contents and the significance of the material. The writer reviewed the document summaries before writing case reports. This was another analysis technique.

The research journal: Dealing with credibility

In a qualitative study, such as this, the writer needed to establish credibility. Credibility related to two questions. Was the researcher reliable and trustworthy when it came to conducting the study and presenting the findings? And, were the results of the study believable and reflective of what was occurring in the individual cases?

A researcher aimed for credibility by interviewing carefully and perceptively, developing consistent rules coding rules, and writing down detailed decision-making records. In these ways, an audit trail was created (Padgett, 1998). Specification of interview context and the way context shaped analysis aided credibility.

In the journal, the writer recorded the procedures followed, the decisions made (and the rationale for them), and the thought processes that led to his conclusions (Tutty, Rothery, & Grinnell, 1996). Such meticulous records were in order to convince critical readers that the writer had put forth a genuine effort to cover the relevant issues (selections from the journal were placed in study findings).

The procedures and decision-making of document research were written in the journal. A "data tree" figure, for example, was drawn for two cases. It included the following types of questions and process notes:

➢ which agency staff members did the writer first talk to

➢ what documents were first available to be read

➢ how much freedom did writer feel to access agency databases

➢ did one set of documents lead the writer to investigate a second group of documents that the writer had not initially thought of

➢ analytical memos about decision-making, like which types of text to focus on

➤ notes about guidelines and process of document analysis and report writing.

Peer Debriefing

The technique of peer debriefing and support was employed. The writer conferred with his academic advisor regularly for feedback.

Chapter Four

Case Report: Psychiatric Practice

Introduction

Psychiatrists were a prominent professional group offering interventions for

sexual offenders. In the literature, a number of prominent practitioners and scholars in

the field of sexual offender treatment had psychiatric training, including Abel, Bradford,

and Freund (ATSA, 2004; Glancy & Regehr, 2004). Psychiatrists were responsible for

medication management and consultation regarding acute episodes of psychosis, major

depression, and suicidal behavior (Bradford, 1997). Psychiatrists assessed for the

presence and influence of organic brain disorders and for those offenders functioning at a

sufficiently low level as found not criminally responsible. Psychiatrists may also perform

risk assessments; in particular, for cases involving long term sexual offender and

dangerous offender legislation. However, contrary to popular belief, very few forensic

psychiatrists provided on-going case management and psychotherapy as the major part of

their practice.[1]

What was the case?

The case was small. It consisted of one physician, a specialist in psychiatry,

based at an office. The informant was actually primarily involved in inpatient psychiatry

at hospitals. In contrast, less than fifty percent of his time was with community clients

(the focus of the study). The community clients had a history of inappropriate sexual

behavior or sexual offense (criminal history). The informant was a consultant to

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[1] Dr. B. Prasad, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Manitoba, personal communication, November 2004. (This was a colleague and friend of the writer, and not the case informant).

government and private nonprofit agencies. In addition, he also maintained a small private practice for on-going psychotherapy and medications (non-offenders).

He stated that he had no coworkers because his colleagues generally did not work with sex offenders. He was, in his own words, essentially "going it alone". Manitoba Health funded his services.

Method

The only data available for this case was a one-hour interview. No documents or program descriptions were available. The informant stated that the only documentation consisted of client case files (outside the scope of the study), and no relevant policy/procedure documents existed. The limitation of basing an entire case study on one interview is noted below (refer to Discussion section on credibility).

The original interview guide had been designed to interview informants who worked as a group with colleagues. The interview guide needed to be modified because of the solitary nature of the informant's practice—several questions were not relevant. For example, one question was intended to draw out the values of an organization as seen by the informant and as practiced by other employees; in this case, there were no other employees involved and the question was discarded. Other questions needed to be asked in a different way because the informant did not have a supervisor. It was difficult to know what changes had to be made prior to the interview. The result was that the researcher "went with the flow" and modified the interview guide on the spot, during the interview itself.

The interview was one hour in length. It took place at the informant's medical clinic. Data analysis consisted of using the Tutty, Rothery, and Grinnell (1996)

qualitative content method. The data analysis was atypical because it consisted of only one informant. Data did not "hang together" because the small amount of data resulted in disparate elements that had fit awkwardly with each other; with one informant, there was little chance of category saturation (Tutty, Rothery, & Grinnell, 1996). The small amount of data also necessitated discarding the three meaning unit principle (Berg, 2001) in requiring three meaning units to be present for a category to be considered a substantial data pattern. There simply were not enough meaning units in one interview. However, the researcher was able to come up with logical methods to connect categories together into themes and sub-themes, using standard methods of card sort and word table.

Results

Theme one: Focus on individual client

Three themes emerged from the data. One theme was a focus on the individual client. The focus of treatment was at the individual level, particularly on medication management. The informant also as necessary performed brief cognitive-behavioral therapy and reinforced the work of collateral agency staff. The informant asserted that no operational/organizational goals existed at the clinic. All goals were individual for each client. Crises in this field of practice, according to the informant, were not organizational but individual in nature. Each client should deal with his/her own crisis, with support from workers:

> Ultimately the more that institutions and organizations get overly involved with
>
> our clients, the more difficult and counter-therapeutic it is. I often get a lot of
>
> calls about apparent crises, which really are not crises. They to me are pretty
>
> simple problems. They need somebody to sit down. If an individual sits down

and deals with it, they should be able to manage it. But once it gets to the various levels of an organization, it turns into a crisis. An organization does not have the ability and cannot solve an individual's problem.

Theme two: Current psychiatric practice in this field less than ideal

A second theme was the informant's feeling that the current (and past) psychiatric practice in this area was less than ideal. The ideal, the informant believed, would be for each service organization to have its own dedicated psychiatrist, who would participate in regular team activities and program development. The situation with the informant was that he was a consultant to many service organizations, yet not a staff member of any of them. The informant was on the periphery of all these agencies. He had 100-150 on-going community clients, and many more one-time assessment or consultation cases. The informant usually saw clients for ten to fifteen minutes each. He did not attend treatment team or high-risk management team meetings due to time constraints. The informant felt that many issues could not be adequately dealt with in ten to fifteen minute sessions:

> Certainly, a lot of guys have issues, social issues, that cannot be managed in an office-based practice. We need to them to get reconnected with appropriate housing, income assistance, getting work, vocational rehabilitation, and a lot of stuff that needs to occur that is not going to occur in a fifteen minute session.

The informant's vision of an ideal practice was the inclusion of a multidisciplinary professional team. The practice would then include a psychologist (assessment, evaluation and research), an occupational therapist (re-mediation of

functional impairment), and a social worker (social issues). The informant thought that such a team would enable community outreach and conduct clinical evaluation research.

Sub-theme: Winnipeg area under served by psychiatry

A related sub-theme was that the Winnipeg region was under-served. Before the informant, only one practicing psychiatrist possessed training in treating pedophilia. In the past and still today, psychiatrists from other Canadian cities were requested to travel to Winnipeg in order to perform long-term sex offender and dangerous offender assessments (as per relevant legislation).

Sub theme: Critique of other psychiatric practitioners

A second related sub-theme was a critique of other psychiatrists/medical practitioners. He stated that a few earlier physicians who had treated sexual offenders had left poor documentation.

The informant also stated that the quality of psychiatric research in this field was rather low, although usually for reasons outside of the researcher's control (e.g., small samples, difficulty in obtaining ethical approval).

Theme three: Complement other service programs

A third theme was that the informant's role was to complement the other service programs dealing with this population. The informant mentioned a psychology firm in the city, and his goal being to complement their services:

Having a psychologist here will help to formalize [the beginning of a

multidisciplinary approach], and will formalize our relationship with [the

psychology firm]. And ahh I do not think that there is any need to duplicate what

they do. We certainly can act in a complementary manner with their program.

[One of the psychologists at the firm] has a hospital affiliation. So it certainly

makes sense to have that as two parts of one entity. We can work very well

together, eventually.

The firm consisted of a group practice of psychologists, counselors, and

community workers. The informant would in the near future like to take part in peer

supervision with the Ph.D.-level psychologists at the firm.

Discussion

The writer will first discuss the credibility of the single case study, including his

standpoint in relation to this case and its sole informant. Having only one informant, the

writer's reactions and attitude to this person may have a significant effect on the research

and the writer would like readers to be aware of this. The remainder of the section is

organized according to the main research questions that guide the overall multiple case

study.

How credible were the results of the single study?

Credibility concerned whether the findings and presentation were believable and

authentic. In order to establish credibility, the writer debriefed the interview with his

academic advisor and performed member check. The data analysis procedure involved

the creation of a chain-of-evidence. Consequently, the findings were likely idiosyncratic

and authentic to this one particular informant at a particular time and place. However, in

having only one source of data (obtained in a single interview), the possibility of thick

description/rich narrative was limited. Due to the unavailability of data triangulation

(only one data source) and the limited period spent with the informant, the findings

should be read as only "skimming the surface" on the realities of psychiatric clinics. The

findings may or may not correspond to other forensic psychiatrists. In short, the single case offered a believable, partial representation of the world-view of one person.

What were the recent developments in the psychiatric treatment of adult sexual offenders residing in the community?

According to the informant, the development of psychiatric services for sexual offenders in Winnipeg was an ad hoc process. Few physicians were interested in serving this population, and the ones who did make a commitment to these clients found themselves overwhelmed with the number of cases.

The majority of the sexual offenders who used psychiatric services had a developmental disability and/or significant mental illness. These persons usually required a wide range of services and an intensive level of social intervention, which the physicians were unable to provide.

How did power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors influence the development of the informant's psychiatric practice?

The psychiatrist stated that he had a very large caseload. The large caseload may in part be attributed to his belief that he was obliged to see these clients because few other psychiatrists were available. The informant's workload was probably typical of specialist physicians in North America, where long hours and enormous workloads were normative expectations (see for example, Takakuwa, Rubashkin, & Herzig, 2004).

The large caseload was also the result of lacking administrative/professional supports. Without colleagues to share the work, it was extremely difficult for the informant to keep up with client needs and demands. This lack of support resulted in a less-than-ideal practice. The psychiatrist saw clients (in the case of on-going

consultations) for ten to fifteen minutes each. Large areas of client need were not addressed. To have adequately dealt with these needs would require the hiring of a team of allied health professionals that would have the necessary time and resources to carry out essential community networking and out-of-office work. The informant saw such a model as ideal but he was pessimistic about the prospects of funding for such a team.

The informant's practice, a "one person organization", existed outside of the organizations dedicated to providing comprehensive treatments to sexual offenders (i.e., group counseling, residential care, community support). It was difficult for the informant to have much influence on treatment planning for clients involved with these other organizations because of his peripheral position.

The informant firmly believed that an organization was too convoluted and complex an entity to deal with an offense or behavior problem, which he saw as an individual's issue. The best way, according to the informant, would be a one-on-one intervention, rather than gathering diverse organizational resources. This psychiatric practice, then, followed a classic liberal/clinical approach, where the origin of the problem rested in the individual client and his/her immediate environment, and the solution was individual treatment and behavior management. The informant believed that addressing the individual need of the client was the guiding principle of his practice. Yet at the same time, the informant believed that the ideal practice was also a multi-disciplinary team of professionals. He wished that he had the time to participate in meetings attended by service providers.

This contradiction in approach, between strict adherence to individual-level practice and the awareness of the need to cooperate and coordinate resources between

systems, was somewhat ameliorated in a later conversation with the psychiatrist. The informant noted that in sitting in a room with a client, the client's needs were paramount and the interaction between the psychiatrist and the client would address those concerns. However, when dealing with organizations and administrative structures, it was necessary to be cognizant of power relationships and program coordination priorities. The informant also referred to the opportunity for mutual growth when dealing with systems that had different philosophies.

Using the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional systems as a guide, how did the external and internal influences on correctional policy apply to this case?

In regards to the external influences on policy, a significant part of the informant's work consisted of assessing persons as per legislation pertaining to criminal responsibility and competence to stand trial. Most of these clients were inpatients and were therefore outside the scope of the study. The informant did see probationers and parolees, and was obligated to follow the protocols for reporting of information regarding treatment progress and criminal risk to the appropriate authorities. The informant was cognizant of the policy and procedures of related systems such as the justice system and community agencies. It seemed evident that significant liaison work was required, but the informant admitted that he was unable to perform many such tasks due to lack of time. The somewhat detached nature of the psychiatric practice to related systems also kept controversy/politically sensitive events at bay. The controversy focused on individual clients, but not on the psychiatrist. In terms of incorporating academic research, the informant adopted the general principles of cognitive-behavioral/relapse prevention and forensic psychiatry. The informant hoped to make the practice more

research-oriented (both undertaking original research and applying research knowledge to client care) in the future.

For internal influences on policy, the outstanding factor was the low level of resource capability in the psychiatric practice. The informant being the sole worker was overburdened by the demands of the caseload. The ethos and practice models of the informant's profession were influential toward establishing practice as oriented toward behavior management and medication-based treatment.

Fit between findings and the Ekstedt and Griffiths model

Using pattern matching in the fit analysis (refer to Chapter 3 for an explanation of this procedure), four of the E & G correctional policy domains formed a reasonable pattern. The somewhat detached nature of the practice to related systems kept controversy/politically sensitive events away (*short-term political need*). This was related to the psychiatrist unable to perform many liaison tasks due to time constraints (*policies of related systems*). There was a low level of *resource capability* because only one psychiatrist was available. The heavy workload of the psychiatrist was related to the structure and ethos of the medical profession (*professional interests*), in which the number of specialist physicians was low in comparison to patient demands. Using word table and pattern matching, a good fit was demonstrated between the correctional policy model and findings for this program.

Chapter Five

Case Report: A Small Government Program

What was the Case?

The organization studied was an interdepartmental program of the provincial government, which began operations in October of 2001. It provided resource coordination and program dollars to adults experiencing a mental health condition who displayed high-risk/dangerous behaviors to themselves or others. Three provincial departments, Health, Family Services/Housing, and Justice funded the program, for a combined total budget of approximately 1.1 million dollars. The program was accessible to service users across the province, and a number of service users lived in remote and northern communities. Three staff members worked at the program. A *Committee*, composed of managers from the three provincial departments, provided oversight to the program and consultation to staff.

Method

Data consisted of internal program documents, external documents, and informant interviews.

Document research

Internal agency documents to which the writer had access included the following:

- Referral eligibility and assessment form
- Program general overview
- Assessment guidelines for the Supported Living Unit (draft)
- Manual for workshop/training session
- Letters of correspondence to external agency (e.g., billing procedure)

❑ List of external agency contact persons

❑ Protocol of service coordination of high-risk/high-needs adults (draft version, dated December 7, 2004)

❑ Joint Treasury Board submission: Departments of Family Services and Housing, Health and Justice—Detailed analysis (two versions of submission)

❑ Annual report (for internal government use, not for the public)

❑ Expense claim forms

External or publicly available documents that the writer perused for the case analysis were in Appendix B (attached).

Initially, the writer had provided the program manager with a list of document types that would be of interest to the study. However, the program manager ended up choosing the documents for the writer. Most of the document types that the writer had requested were accessible.

Unfortunately, the writer was given only one or two documents for each type of material requested, and the writer do not know how many other documents of this type existed. For example, the writer possessed one list of external agency contacts, but one did not know how many other lists of contact persons were on file. One major document type was not accessible, and this was internal program or interdepartmental memoranda. These documents usually would reveal much about interagency relationships and dynamics, and they would have been a valuable contribution to the data. The program manager did provide templates of such memoranda, but the actual memoranda were off-limits due to containing information about service users or workers.

Interview procedure

The writer conducted interviews with three informants at the program. The interviews were one hour and fifteen minutes to one hour and forty minutes in duration. All interviews were tape-recorded. During the interviews, the writer took brief notes about the body language of informants and his own immediate reactions. The writer generally followed the interview guide in the sequence and content of questions. The writer used probes when he felt a topic could be developed further, but he mainly listened because the informants generally remained on-topic and gave thoughtful answers.

Feedback sessions with the informant occurred in which the writer made sure that he had heard the informant correctly. In addition, he asked the informant what s/he thought of the quality of the interview.

Data analysis

The majority of the data came from the interviews. This was because the interview data was specific to what the writer wanted to find out about the program, and had the advantage of being formed in living interaction with program staff. Therefore, the writer believed that the interviews sustained greater depth in meaning and implication than documents. Interview data consisted of forty pages of single spaced ten-point font transcript. The documents generally were used to support/confirm/dis-confirm interview content. In one instance, document data inspired further conversation and feedback with an informant. The writer analyzed the interview transcripts using Tutty, Rothery, and Grinnell's (1996) qualitative content method. He used the methods of card sort and word table in coming up with themes and sub-themes. The analysis and presentation of the

findings were structured by the three research questions that underpin the multiple case study and the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) theoretical framework.

Going To the Program: What It Looked Like

The first meeting with informants occurred at the program office. It was in a relatively "tough" stretch of the core area in Winnipeg. The writer entered a nondescript office building. The waiting room consisted of a row of old chairs. The front counter was a sealed-off area, and the waiting room was separated from the staff offices by a wall of plexi glass. Communication with the front desk staff was through a voice chute, and materials like letters and documents were passed to the front desk through a narrow slot. The two doors leading to the staff offices were locked, and these were centrally controlled from the front desk. In the waiting room, there were several relatively decrepit looking men and women, and a steady stream of people came in. Behind the glass, a stern security guard gazed at the waiting room. Then, the informant appeared behind the open staff door, smiled, and welcomed the writer to his office.

Interview Participants/Informants

There were three interview informants. Two informants held bachelor degrees in social work.

Findings

The writer structured the Findings section according to the three research questions that constituted the multiple case research. The writer responded to each research question in turn, focusing each response to the characteristics and circumstances of the program under study.

What were the recent developments in the provision of services to adult sexual

offenders residing in the community, as relating to the small program?

Inquest into the death of Sarah Kelly; and Report of the federal-provincial-territorial

task force on high-risk, violent offenders

In 1994, Robert Arthurson, a man known to the provincial mental health and

correctional systems, abducted and killed a young girl, Sarah Kelly, in The Pas,

Manitoba. Much media attention was brought to bear on how this could have happened

and why had provincial social services not prevented this tragedy. The subsequent

inquest recommended, among other measures, the creation of an interdepartmental

working group to deal with multiple needs offenders, which evolved into this program

(Collerman, 1996). The inquest noted that a lack of communication, partly due to

inadequate policy and procedure, between various provincial agencies in mental health

and justice, and between different jurisdictions (e.g., between provinces) was a

significant problem. The inquest, and likewise the Report of the Provincial/Federal Task

Force (as excerpted in Collerman, 1996), recommended the provision of a multiple

disciplinary service around high-needs violent offenders, in assessment, treatment, and

aftercare/maintenance of gains.

Service users: difficult and misunderstood

The eligibility criteria for service users was stipulated in the Program protocol,

and quoted in the following excerpt:

> Must have a diagnosis that does not meet eligibility for Mental Health or
>
> Supported Living Programs

[This above criteria does not apply to those clients that the small program has taken on for courtesy consultation]

The individual must have limited or impaired self-control and one or more of the following:

(a)   Be a serious threat or danger to others and/or themselves, or posing a risk of serious danger or serious threat to public safety, or;

(b)   Have a history of violent behavior dangerous to the public, such as sexual assaults, physical assaults, and arson

Informants explained that service users of the program were those who "fell into cracks" in society and mainstream support networks, exhibited significant mental health issues, and were "red flagged" as a serious threat to themselves or to public safety. Most social agencies did not like to serve these persons because they required an intensive level of intervention and an extensive array of supports. They were difficult to facilitate a successful outcome. These clients were disposed to "burning out" many social workers and people in the helping professions. Before the creation of the small program, these men and women tended to receive inadequate levels of support, and experienced recurrent and high-risk crises. The majority of the service users had a history of violent behavior such as sexual offense, arson, and assault. However, program clients also included those with autism, Asperger's disorder, and Borderline personality disorder, particularly young women who inflicted self-harm (e.g., slashing forearms).

Informants opined that these service users often assumed an overstated reputation. In recent years in Winnipeg, sensational stories had appeared in the popular media about out-of-control arsonists and predatory sex offenders (see "Popular Media" in Appendix

B). In these alarm-raising stories, the offender became the image of a monster. In contrast, informants explained that most service users were compliant but confused individuals, and the bully in the neighborhood or the aggressive predator was the exception rather than the norm. Due to their reputation and self-defeating behavior, many of these men and women had a history of isolating themselves from community supports, which would only serve to accentuate their erratic and risky behavior.

Complex cases, coordination of resources through a project

Workers and concerned citizens (including service users themselves) realized that program planning in the past for these complex and difficult cases had been inadequate. Agencies were working separately and not consolidating their resources. For one informant, it was obvious that more resource coordination needed to occur. For him, it was a question of money (who will fund this), identifying the appropriate service programs, and making a decision to provide service to the person. Unfortunately, it was difficult to convince the three departments (Family Services, Health, and Justice) to agree and cooperate. Each department had some interest in these difficult clients, but in deciding on action, each department claimed that it was not responsible for service provision. The problem could not be ignored because these frustrating cases would return to the government's attention, in the form of recurring crises. They generated sufficient momentum (i.e., trouble for front line workers, public concerns about mentally disordered offenders, and the Sarah Kelly inquest) to initiate this project aimed at spanning agency and system boundaries.

Project needed guidelines and direction

Projects that had been considered previously included civil confinement of high-risk offenders (supervision or incarceration of offenders beyond the duration of their sentence). Such a measure was deemed politically and legally unfeasible.

The role of the Committee was to guide and navigate the program through its financial and administrative environment. The SC oversaw the program and made sure that it stayed true to fulfilling its policy intent. One informant mentioned that it was easy for projects to go awry if not carefully managed. Other government agencies would often end up sending all of their problematic cases to the project, and over time overwhelm it. Informants were aware that the program needed to establish and maintain clear operating guidelines and admission criteria. The SC served as a consultation group for the program manager (and program staff), and the SC provided oversight for the three funding departments.

How did power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors influence the development of the government program?

The informants spoke much about these factors. One of the underlying reasons for the creation of the program was to facilitate and role model resource coordination and positive communication across disparate social service systems. Guiding principles such as access to resources, flexibility and innovation, and social work ethics figured prominently. Informants tended to critique mainstream social services. Informants stated that many social agencies worked in isolation from one another and exhibited some of the power and control issues that might plague service users. An interesting issue was sexism and chauvinism around some male service providers and physicians.

Guiding principles: access to resources, safety, and flexibility

Ideological factors seemed to be a considerable influence on the program, and this is one area of influence not explicitly covered in the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model (see Chapter 9). The guiding principles of the program were equitable treatment, access to resources, and individual and community safety. There was a strong feeling that persons had a right to be treated well, despite any shortcomings that they may possess.

Community safety, nonetheless, was a paramount concern, and much effort was geared toward diligent risk management. It was necessary to be highly alert and observant toward high-risk clients. There existed a balance between trust and therapeutic relationship with the service user and setting firm limits against dangerous or illegal behaviors.

Informants emphasized the necessity of "thinking outside the box", of being flexible and innovative because circumstances often changed quickly. Although the program emphasized the importance of working with the client through a treatment team, this was not effective for a number of clients. One informant told the story of adapting the intervention to the needs of a particularly reactive client:

> The monthly meetings, some clients do badly and the meetings do not work for all. The clients require an individualized approach. One girl that I work with has Asperger's, and she lives for big group meetings. She would perform at her group meetings. She was not doing well in [those meetings] at all. She would hit people, pull hair and spit on you as well…just to get a reaction. She is actually one of my favorite clients. You need to be informal [with her]. We would

sometimes go to McDonald's [restaurant], you know and yeah, you have to be creative with different people.

Connected to the missions of the three departments

The values of the program also officially included the mission statements of the three funding departments. Manitoba Family Services enshrined a mission statement regarding empowerment and improved independence for persons with a mental disability, enabling each person to reach potential. Mental health (that is, Department of Health), depending on which regional health authority, would have a mission relating to recovery from mental illness and improved self-esteem. Manitoba Corrections possessed a vision statement about having the lowest incarceration and recidivism rates in Canada. The small program strove to do its part in working toward these ideals, because the program in its small scale contributed to empowerment, improved independence, recovery from illness, self-esteem and community safety in Manitoba. One informant asserted that due to the small size of the program and the dedication of its three staff members, the program really did follow these ideals. However, he stated that the three departments in their large structures rarely lived up to the standards of their respective mission. For example, provincial Corrections stated low recidivism as the heart of its vision, but it had yet to provide a definition of recidivism. The ideal was itself unclear and open to interpretation.

Guiding Principle: Role modeling the intersystem coordination approach

A unique principle of the program was its belief in working as a team. The program strove to work across differences in ideology and technique and to span organizational boundaries. The program facilitated service providers to come to an

agreement on service planning. The way to do this was to, in the words of one informant, "put egos in the back pocket". A major role of the program, as a government entity, was to role model the intersystem coordination approach. This at times proved to be quite a challenge. The program liaised with some agencies that possessed very different values and orientations, from each other and to those of the program.

However, there was an effort to look for common ground. Informants acknowledged a potential for conflict and dissension when working with groups such as the police services and victim advocacy organizations. When dealing with the police, the program would negotiate roles and terms of reference, seek consensus by following the (Canadian) social work code of ethics (and linking commonalties with the police mission statement). One informant explained that although we at times might disagree with one other about how to go about, we would continue to work with one another. We would not run back to "the silos" (i.e., circle the paddy wagons, see Sinclair, 1999) as in the past. We would not return to the cycle of politicking and scheming.

Guiding principle: Profession of social work

The informants who were social work graduates indicated that the Canadian social work code of ethics was an important ethical signpost. The profession of social work had provided the program with a clear operations process. Two informants generally felt that social work training enabled a more principled and empathic approach. In addition, informants related their commitment to continuing education as a professional and seeking ways to actualize best practice.

Administrative and power dynamic factors: Critical view of mainstream social services

Informants expressed some criticism of mainstream social services, both governmental and private non-profit. In their opinion, there was a tendency for social agencies to be rigid, hegemonic and highly resistant to outside ideas or innovation. One informant stated that the "putting out of fires that I do or the administrative crisis management is usually around turf wars in dealing with different stakeholders in the agencies".

Social services: Resistance to coordination and networking

Social agencies often were unwilling to cooperate or coordinate with others. As one informant explained,

Working with helping agents can be just as frustrating as working with clients. Workers and agencies can have power and control issues, and [be rigid] about how to hang on or manage a case. If an assessment is wrong, and one challenges the worker or agency on it, the worker or agency often takes it personally. Workers and agencies do not like to be challenged [or held accountable]. There are all kinds of people dynamics. The helping agents or workers often struggle with and forget about such dynamics in the interagency chess games.

Several agencies were difficult to interact with, and this made purchasing services a slower and more ponderous procedure than it needed to be.

Administrative and ideological factors: Critical view of government agencies

Informants were rather critical particularly of provincial government/quasi-governmental agencies. One person stated that the sometimes ineffective and harsh practices of an adjacent government program contributed to a volatile atmosphere:

This building is not very safe. The other building that we worked in was safer, I feel. Many workers [at the adjacent program] will match the client's hostility with their own hostility, and you know that this is not the way to do it [laughs]. It is unbelievable.

The program served a number of eighteen year olds who had "graduated" from Child and Family Services (CFS) agencies. The adolescents coming out of CFS agencies often had nowhere else to go other than this small government program. These young men and women usually knew no one to turn to for assistance. Some had not learned basic life skills while they were at CFS agencies. An informant pointed out that many service users have a negative image of government workers, for good reason:

I have another referral, for a guy who had just turned eighteen. His worker had just disappeared. I cannot find her anywhere. Not that I think…but let us have some termination, maybe a goodbye lunch…

Many people have no trust in government workers. Many of them [carry negative images] of government services.

One informant described another provincial social program permeating a culture of bureaucratic distance, which compared unfavorably with the community networking and client-worker relationship that characterized the small program:

I had worked for another program before, where this [networking and relationship] was unheard of. I had tons of cases. I did not do any connection in the community at all. "Let's go for lunch"—that did not happen. The job was just clearing your messages and you had like eight people wanting. There were like ten people who were always in crisis. You did not have time to call and ask

how they were. Who knows what the other clients were doing. Some workers

did not even call clients because they knew that there would be another crisis to

deal with.

Power dynamic: Sexism in male-dominated agencies

Working with male dominated (i.e., sexist) agencies and psychiatric practices was

often very difficult for female workers. This occurred around a number of male support

workers and male psychiatrists. One informant stated that she would propose a plan

when meeting with stakeholders. Unfortunately, nobody would listen to her. A worker

who happened to be male would recommend the same approach, but the response would

be "oh, what a great idea!" Some men simply refused to take a female worker seriously,

the informant related, and would constantly undermine with comments like "oh

[informant's name], you are not having a good day" [said in patronizing tone]. During a

meeting, a male worker once remarked, "your hair is not looking very good".

A way to move forward, informants asserted, would be for more women to work

in the field because then men would have to see that women were just as capable if not

more so. The informant reported that her previous coworker had felt the same way. The

informant missed having a woman as a coworker for support in dealing with such

episodes of sexism.

Using the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional systems as a guide, how did the external and internal influences on the formulation of correctional policy apply to this program?

External influences on program policy

Legislative mandate and the process of law review

 Legislation aimed at social control of sexual offenders.

 Recent legislation and government protocols have aimed at the social, bureaucratic, and legal control of sexual offenders, especially the high risk and high need offenders that are program service users. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) instituted the new sex offender registry in 2004. In 1995, the provincial government implemented the community notification of high-risk sexual offenders. According to one informant, both of these protocols are the same in their effect, the satisfying of "the citizen fear factor and the political vote factor" (see below for the section on short-term political needs).

 Coordinated efforts with the criminal justice system.

 The program preserved the legislative mandate and the rule of law by cooperating and coordinating with the criminal justice/legal system. Program workers facilitated such coordination through both interpersonal and administrative relationships. Primary legal stakeholders included the police services, the Crown attorneys, and defense lawyers. A unique aspect of the program was that the program manager used the community notification protocol as a tool to conduct community education about sexual offender risk and to listen to neighborhood concerns. A social worker accompanying a police officer in a public disclosure tour served both to carry out provincial legislation (*Correctional Services Act*) and to promote public education through community input and discussion of effective ways to manage risk. Nonetheless, one informant admitted that a certain tension existed between the agendas of social control and clinical/therapeutic

intervention. The consensus approach, aimed at finding common ground while at the same time adhering to the core values of the program, helped to manage this tension and enable team work.

Individual safety planning.

A second way to uphold the mandate of legislation and the rule of law was through casework and relapse prevention. Keeping the community safe was a prime tenet of the program, and this meant the worker made sure the client adhered to her probation order/parole conditions. The worker would communicate with the probation/parole officer about the situation as far as legal/probation aspects were concerned, while still keeping the client-worker confidentiality intact when discussing non-legal matters. In facilitating relapse prevention, the worker with the service user assessed environmental risk factors in client's daily life. The two would build and facilitate use of a safety plan (e.g., a list of helpers a client may call when feeling angry or frustrated). The worker would contract for the provision of support services (e.g., a support worker would drive the client to work in the morning).

Funding bodies: Rigorous deliberations, conservative in allocating resources.

Funding bodies, powerful decision-makers in the legislative and bureaucratic apparatus tended to be highly conservative in their allocation of resources. The top funding body in the provincial government was the Treasury Board. The Treasury Board (TB) was composed of financial specialists and selected members of the cabinet (ministers). The TB seemed to want the provision of social services in an inexpensive manner. The financial specialists protected government expenditures from being

overspent in any single area. One informant spoke candidly about his frustrations in obtaining funds in the following excerpt:

> Mostly, it was [like playing] dodge ball. I was working with these white shirt guys and their main role seemed to be dedicated to putting up barriers and keeping their boss's money from being spent. The [white shirt guys would claim], "these fellows belong to you in Corrections. They are not eligible for [example, mental health funding]". Sometimes, I felt like going out, jumping and screaming. However, we got over this...

The TB deliberations were highly rigorous. According to the informant, the TB was composed of extremely skeptical financial specialists, who would look for holes in the proposals of service providers. The program Committee would have to provide a convincing response in order to secure the necessary funding. The main response was the political consequences of a re-offense (therefore, this aspect of funding blended into short-term political needs, described in the next section). The deliberations generally would progress in the following manner, according to a SC member:

> They ask, why do you need an extra 40 000 dollars when we have already given you 350 000 dollars? Well, [we answer] that these are difficult cases and we need the funding [to continue the essential work]. There are more such cases in waiting. One of the biggest arguments [of the government budget agents] is— why cannot you close off these cases? Well, we answer, because these are long-term care cases. These men and women are not getting well [at a rapid rate]. The budget person might then suggest, was it because you are not making a difference with these service users? What would happen if we cut the funds for these cases?

Then, we [Committee] scratch our heads and think of a response. We paint a picture of a meltdown, and public safety [concerns]. Well, we answer, some kid [vulnerable person] might get hurt. Well, they say, prove it. We show a profile of an offender. This is a ritual...

Therefore, we go through this back and forth [deliberation]. These specialists try to protect government expenditures.

Therefore, the Committee would present a scenario that would really get the attention of the ministers. The short-term political need to prevent re-offending, with its attendant consequences (public uproar, media scrutiny, Opposition party attacks), would override any stinginess. Although these periodic budgetary reviews were near crises for the program, they seemed to have been handled deftly by the Committee.

Funding bodies and ministers wielded much power.

According to informants, the funding bodies and the minister and assistant deputy minister (ADM) wielded much power. There was no guarantee for the program to continue just because it was currently in place. The minister and the ADM, if they were not satisfied that the program possessed legitimacy, had the power to cease funding. This situation could occur even if the program was effective and operating smoothly. If other government priorities, usually from immediate political needs, took precedence, the result may endanger the existence of the small program. (See short-term political need, below). One informant related that recruiting the support of the ADM was very helpful in ensuring stability.

Short-term political needs

What may be called short-term political needs figured importantly in the development and operation of the program. These political needs included a wide range of factors. One factor came from the executive branch of the provincial government. The ruling party required popular support—that is, votes—in order to maintain its hold on power. The program was influenced, through a trickle-down effect, by the political strategy and imperatives of the incumbent New Democratic Party. A political party needed to satisfy the demands of potential voters/political supporters, and the NDP was no exception in catering to voter psychology. The concrete effect of this manifested in the way provincial revenues were allocated in the budget process. The previous section regarding the decision-making authority of funding bodies had as much to do with short-term political needs as legislative mandate. The scarcity of resources was the outcome of the political-economic structure, as when projects with contrasting political agendas competed for ministerial approval. (For example, projects had included the construction of a "secure" and exclusive courthouse to try aboriginal gang members; and, devolution of correctional services to aboriginal governments, including large parts of the Probation apparatus. These two projects had possessed very different underlying ideologies and political implications).

Another factor involved in short-term political need was in the reaction of citizens towards the presence of high-risk offenders in the local neighborhood. Political parties often exploited the fear reaction in order to draw voter support.

Political vote factor and citizen fear factor.

At the policy management level (minister, deputy minister, assistant deputy minister), two major short-term political needs were the political vote factor and the citizen fear factor. As one informant explained,

> There are a number of environmental factors. We are in an era of risk, public
> safety, and zero tolerance. Whether we have a socialist/NDP government or a
> conservative government, public safety gets votes. Many politicians and
> ministers are concerned about their constituency. Jails, zero tolerance, law and
> order, public safety get votes. They are also good for the public relations side.

The informant reported that the current Justice minister was more interested in a victim focus, and in victim services. The Justice Minister was rather less interested about offenders or about their quality of life. Informants believed that the public generally preferred high-risk offenders to be in prison. When such offenders would leave prison, the concern was for them to be under greater supervision than regular probation.

The program was a good fit with government agenda.

Due to these factors, this small program was in some ways "an easy sell" to the policy managers. The program had fit well with the current government's ideology and political (voter) needs:

> I think the program is a perfect fit. The program is a quick and easy sell. It keeps
> offenders under tight supervision and control. There is also the possibility that the
> program may change the offender's attitude and deviancy, so how can one
> [complain about the program]. Treatment needs are addressed. Public safety

needs are addressed. Victim needs are often addressed. I think the program was made for today's political and societal concerns.

However, other projects competed with the program for funds. At the policy level of government, the minister, deputy minister, and assistant deputy ministers were faced with numerous other projects. In Corrections, these included proposals such as electronic monitoring of young offenders and the expansion of provincial prisons.

Crises: Financial in nature; otherwise, very few.

The program had had a number of, in one informant's words, "monetary close calls", in which adequate funding had been threatened:

The only crises have come around budget time when there is what I call a correctional gap in funding. Projects have not been well received by the other two political parties [Liberals, and Conservatives]. I do not blame them. What we are doing is hard to explain. There was a fiscal gap. At least the base budget of the program was protected. However, we had to [advocate for] the annual [cost of living] increase. There has been no other near death experience [for the program].

The informant stated that other than for such financial worries, there had been relatively few crises, considering the volatile nature of the service users.

Reaction of locals to presence of high-risk offender in neighborhood.

A few crises revolved around relations with the local community/neighborhood. Often, some members of a neighborhood "panic" when they hear of a high-risk offender moving in. The writer heard examples of such situations from informants, which were reported also in media outlets. In a rural neighborhood near Winnipeg, a high-risk sex

offender had moved in and protesters had gathered in front of the offender's house. A similar situation occurred in a northern community. The program manager had acted to defuse the crisis by speaking with fearful neighbors and supporting the high-risk individual and his care providers.

Program workers would manage relations through community education. Community education involved explaining the meaning of the label high-risk. One informant related that much of the fear stemmed from misunderstanding what high-risk meant. The worker would focus less on the historic risk factors of re-offense, which cannot be modified (e.g., number of criminal convictions), and rather concentrate on dynamic risk factors that were changeable with intervention, such as acceptance of social support. The worker also strove to reassure that the situation was not hopeless or threatening. Usually, the controversy petered out when the service user remained quiet and low-key, and the neighbors would lose interest in the matter.

Policy and procedures of related systems

Connected to the three departments.

The program was connected to the three departments, in terms of funding, training opportunities, and assisting the three departments in managing difficult clients. One program worker in particular was a consultant to the departments in dealing with the issue of high risk violent persons, especially high-risk sexual offenders. This person provided courtesy resource coordination for a number of very difficult clients who were funded by other provincial programs (such as Family Services' Supported Living for persons with a mental disability).

Family Services and Housing administered the small program due to this department's province-wide capacity (the other two departments were divided into regional units).

Liaison with numerous government and private agencies.

The program liaised with a large number of agencies, government, quasi-government, and private. These agencies exerted a certain degree of influence on the provision of services, depending on the intensity of their involvement in the individual service plan and their legal responsibility in the situation. Government agencies included Correctional Service of Canada, EIA (part of Family Services), Supported Living, Correctional/Probation Services and community mental health. Government agencies usually were responsible for carrying out statutory requirements (e.g., providing income assistance to a person with intellectual disability). Police services also figured into the service equation, in particular the WPS and RCMP, regarding public notification and law enforcement/deterrence. Quasi-government contacts included hospitals and child and family agencies. Private agencies often provided the bulk of treatment and residential care, through Purchase of Service agreements or through less formalized contractual agreements. There existed a plethora of private and non-profit contacts, including private psychology and social work practitioners. There was also contact with defense lawyers and provincial legal aid.

Some government agencies were unable to provide effective service.

As mentioned above, some informants critiqued related government agencies. They saw a number of provincial agencies as rather distant, bureaucratic, and disengaged from the needs of service users. There was a gap between client need and the attempt to

fulfill those needs (e.g., a social assistance worker would tell a parent that no money was available, and the parent would be angry because children were hungry at home). In provincial corrections, the ratio of inmates/clients per worker tended to be very high (e.g., one hundred clients per probation officer). The result of the high volume of clients was that contact with service users was infrequent. The informant described this as "warehouse management".

In such systems, a certain number of service users would invariably "fall between the cracks" because their personal needs were not met. These developed additional troubles and increased their risk. Many of these persons would end up at the small program. The goal of the small program was to offer an alternative model of service provision, where resources were available and there was a meaningful worker-client relationship, for the sake of therapeutic effectiveness and decreasing the level of risk.

Positive contributions of related systems.

The informants did not put all social services under a blanket of criticism and fault—positive aspects of social services were noted. One informant complimented Manitoba Corrections for their commitment to community treatments. He noted that provincial corrections possessed a supportive senior management. Of course, Corrections was in the business of social control (and punishment), but in Manitoba, there was also a history of spending money on treatment and reintegration. The informant mentioned that it was unusual for corrections to provide such treatment resources, as this did not occur in other jurisdictions. The Probation Services office in downtown Winnipeg that offered sexual offender treatment groups and one-on-one counseling was one example of a

combination of treatment and social control, and according to the informant, was doing an admirable job.

One group of private practice psychologists was viewed favorably. The firm had accepted the referrals of some very difficult cases, and they had achieved favorable outcomes in working together with the small program and related agencies. The lead psychologist in the firm, a published researcher, had elaborated upon the approach of integrated resource coordination. Another private organization that had garnered praise was a volunteer-driven initiative in Winnipeg. This organization had provided a unique contribution to several program cases, offering an approach of spiritual (and practical) support and accountability regarding both high-risk offenders and their helpers. One informant described it was "cutting edge stuff", a successful initiative that was developing a solid reputation in the field. There had been some notable successes for program clients, working in conjunction with the voluntary program.

Academic research: made use of outside resources

As a program, there was no expectation to conduct original research. Workers, however, did make extensive use of outside research. This included best practice in multi-system case management, research associated with the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA), and the dynamic supervision project of Hanson and Harris (researchers at federal agencies). The foundation theories of the program were general systems theory and ecological theory, and clinical interventions used the latest theoretical formulations.

Workers were encouraged to attend training sessions of relevance. As the program was connected to the three provincial departments, there was opportunity to

attend diverse workshops. These ranged from training for probation officers to those for mental health workers. Staff also accessed professional resources on the Internet.

Learning was important.

Learning and professional development were important principles for program staff. Informants stated that they had learned much from their professional education, and that they continued to learn and grow from their daily experiences and taking formal workshops. Workers consulted with some of the leading experts in the field, including a Winnipeg psychologist and ATSA researchers throughout the continent. One worker was also taking courses in the Master of Social Work program.

Internal influences on program policy

Professional interests

Social workers: Highly influential in the operation of the program.

Although there was some contrasting opinion about the significance of this, the main professional group in the program was social work. All three front-line workers, including the program manager, were social work graduates (BSW). It seemed that the program strove to keep in mind the social work code of ethics when devising policy and procedure and in day-to-day practice. Systems theory and ecological theory served to guide the operational process. The program manager stated that he did not know how a non-social worker would be able to administer the program in the same manner. The main approaches in relating to clients and service providers flowed out of social work ways of doing. One way was taking an individualized approach, in tailoring interventions unique to the client's needs and life situation.

Program workers would assess the client situation, and the resulting assessment would be oriented to the needs of the service user as well as the resources available in the community. Similarly, service planning, an on-going process, should be done the following way, according to the program protocol:

➢ Focused on the individual needs of the participant;

➢ Be holistic in approach;

➢ Be a cooperative effort among all service providers;

➢ Be undertaken to minimize risk to the individual and public safety.

This way of doing, according to the informant, contrasted with practices at other government programs, where one could open a file on a service user without even meeting the person. Informants emphasized the importance of creativity, in order to meet the needs of different people.

Right relationship with service users and external agencies.

Linked with the individualized approach was building solid and trusting relationships with clients, in tandem with honesty and directness with clients and other team members, in working through difficult problems. The front line workers saw this as the very heart of the program—right relationship with clients and with other agencies. In the client-worker relationship, this would be seen as striking a balance in making space for the client to grow and taking reasonable risks while at the same time sharing applicable information with other service team members. The relationship between the worker and the client was pivotal, in order for the client to approach the worker and establish a sense of trust. The worker also needed to adapt to the client's idiosyncrasies.

The smaller caseload at the program (as compared with other government operations) meant that more attention was directed to each client, especially the high-needs ones.

Solid relationships with other service providers and stakeholders were equally important. As resource coordination—that is, bringing together different community organizations into a treatment team—constituted the bulk of the work, tactful and positive communication was necessary. Austin (2002) wrote that the functioning of the service provision network as a whole was the most important element in providing effective service for multi-system clients, more so than the competency of any single service provider. The program understood this and put much effort into smoothening relations between agencies and interest groups in the service team, in the understanding that each group had its own perspective and unique contribution.

The team approach was the preferred one, in keeping with both respect for diversity and sharing power as written in the social work code of ethics. A team of service providers (multi-disciplinary and multi-agency) and stakeholders surrounded each client. Information was shared with the team regarding the client's progress in various areas of life. The team included those who in the past were often left out of decision-making, like police services, support workers, EIA, private agencies, and (not least) the client and his/her advocates and family members.

Resource capabilities

The capabilities and attributes of the staff.

According to a number of social scientists, the professionalism and dedication of the staff were the most important resource in any human service organization (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988). In this program, human resources were critical given its person and

relationship-centered nature. According to the informants, program workers needed to demonstrate certain qualities and skills. Workers needed resilience in order to deal with high-risk, frustrating and crisis-prone service users. Workers also needed resilience in order to handle the resistance of external agencies to the networking and resource coordination. It was helpful to be strong and lead healthy lives, and to be hopeful and patient. A good worker needed to maintain a perspective that was broad minded and aware of change and innovation. Such a worker would be open to different modalities and approaches, and would not be stuck in only one way of doing and seeing. As one informant put it, everything was evolving, and the good program worker took risks and was adventuresome.

Workers required strong training, informants stated, and social work, psychology, and criminology provided equally good education (although the writer noticed several variations of opinions on this topic). When dealing with particularly complex and difficult cases, assessment skills were crucial, in astutely identifying areas for intervention and improvement. Intervention skills and general people (relationship) skills were most important.

Knowledge of the various human service systems was a requirement of program workers. Consonant with general systems theory, staff needed to understand the requirements of government bureaucracies, the way bureaucracies functioned, and how resources may be accessed. A good worker knew how to work with non-governmental and quasi-governmental organizations, as well as law enforcement bodies like the police. A clever worker would use a marketing strategy in order to sell a service proposal and convince others that the proposal was worth their support.

Funds for purchasing services.

Informants noted that significant funds were available for purchasing services from community agencies and contractors. The program manager stated that necessary services were purchased for the service user including, twenty-four hour residential placement, vocational supports, psychological services, and foster care. Another informant felt fortunate about the funding that was available through this program:

I cannot complain about the funding at all. I know for other government programs. I had previously worked for [a program of Family Services], and they do not have much money for the number of people that they serve. For many clients, you need to say no. Therefore, the small program is very fortunate in terms of funding. We do not have a lot of funding, but even with Income Assistance program, we can be creative and do cost-sharing. So no, I cannot complain. It is not optimal. I would like some of my clients to live in better housing, but I know it can be much worse

Material resources.

A number of material resources were available to program workers. These included cellular telephone, lap top computer, use of government offices in outlying areas. As the program was about case coordination and linking with outside agencies, it did not possess any treatment space or housing facilities of its own. Program workers reported that they could access any commonly available material resource if it was required in the work.

Program staff had access to departmental databases, such as those for Manitoba Corrections and Manitoba Family Services. Access to databases across departmental

boundaries was a sensitive issue, and the program was able to access the databases due to its inconspicuous size.

Operational maintenance needs

Coordination and communication averted many crises.

According to the informants, the emphasis on coordination and communication averted many crises. The program worker would meet with the service user as often as necessary, according to how the client is feeling, and with the service provider team once per month. The service team would be aware of what the client was going through, and able to consult with one another regarding how best to facilitate client progress. One worker provided an example of this in action:

Everyone on the team knows what is happening. Even small things, which seem small to others but they are huge to the client. Working with offenders, it is like the fellow that was here, the parents had telephoned and they were worried that he would be wandering the streets. I would call the man's service provider, and I talked with him. He is very upset, and the guy [has a psychiatric disability]. He gets stuck, right. I do not have to do it because I am always [doing the crisis intervention]. He will now get picked up by his service provider. Whereas if I am out handling another crisis, he would come into [the office], and get upset. He would think that I was angry at him. I would call the service provider and the client would go off and wander, because he is famous for doing some very dangerous things. I always keep the lines of communication open, because you cannot keep all the information to yourself. Because who knows what would happen.

Effective responses to moves toward funding shrinkage.

In the areas of direct care, resource coordination, and administration, the approach of the program was proactive. The intent was to keep several steps ahead of the developing situation, and "nip potential situations in the bud" before they would turn into full-blown crises. At the policy management level also, particularly in procuring adequate funding, the Committee together with the program manager appeared alert to political warning signs and trends, and they responded effectively. One informant seemed to be particularly aware of the short-term political needs of the ruling party, and would position and advocate for the program accordingly (see above sections on Legislative mandate and on Short-term political needs).

Discussion

The Discussion section consists of five parts: document analysis process, interview process, establishing credibility, future trends in the field, and the fit between the findings and the theoretical frameworks of Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988).

Document analysis process

The agency documents were useful in corroborating findings from the interviews and in locating the "static" types of information (such as size of budget, exact start date of operations and so on). The program protocol in particular was helpful in getting a sense of the structure of the program as a whole. However, the writer did not have access to internal communications and memoranda, where the more telling and sensitive agency documents resided. The research protocol excluding any documents describing particular client and staff cases limited access to any writings that would offer a peak into the nuts-and-bolts of the agency.

The external or publicly available documents were useful in establishing an overview of the issues pertaining to the program. Particularly useful was the *Report on an Inquest into the Death of Sarah Dawn Kelly* (Collerman, 1996), which described at length the fundamental issues in the human services that prompted the creation of the small program. Other useful sources were the annual reports of the three departments and the web site of the provincial government, all of which described the small program in a nondescript manner. All this confirmed one informant's statement that the program liked to maintain "a quiet and surreptitious relationship" with the community-at-large.

Interview process

The interviews generally went smoothly. All informants spoke thoughtfully and were enthusiastic in participating in the study. In the research journal, the writer noted that all three interviews satisfied the self-evaluation criteria for interview quality (Lee, 1999). One informant reported in feedback conversation that he was comfortable in speaking with the writer because of a previous working relationship. He stated that the researcher handled the interview well. Another informant stated that he liked the interview. A third informant felt that the researcher could have been less formal in work style.

The interviews were relatively formal occasions, in that both informant and writer were aware that this was a serious endeavor. However, in all three interviews, at about the halfway point, the informants appeared to relax and engage in something akin to a conversation with the writer. The writer often shared his opinion and perspectives, and provided information to informants as necessary (for e.g., regarding what he knew about provincial operating procedure, or how he felt about work in social services). The

interviews carried a more relaxed quality than what the writer had originally envisioned when preparing the research proposal. However, one informant felt that additional small talk and engagement would have been helpful.

As the program was small, the writer was able to acquire a good sense of the personalities and attitudes in the three interviews. Each of the three informants had very different approaches in responding to interview questions. One informant was relatively formal during the interview, preferring the use of professional terms. However, he was more relaxed when the tape recorder was off.

All three informants seemed to be very busy. One person received numerous telephone calls, even within the one-hour period of the interview. Another had to interrupt the interview because a client in crisis was waiting in the lobby, and needed to be seen immediately. The other informants regularly referred to the program manager in their responses, stating that the writer should ask him because he possessed detailed knowledge about certain topics.

Establishing credibility: Writer's standpoint

In this section, the writer detailed his history of involvement with the program, his standpoint in relation to the program, and his views on the problems that afflicted mainstream social services. In short, this is the writer's personal take on the program. This was provided so that the reader has a sense of where the writer stood and how his views have influenced the research process. Some of this opinion was drawn from the research journal that was kept during data collection.

The writer had experience with the small program from his role as a worker at an adjacent organization, apart from any research activity. He had participated in

consultations and meetings with a program worker regarding client issues. The writer

had always known the person to be a very dynamic worker, and keen on advocating on

behalf of high-needs clients. In this way, the writer's knowledge of the program was

enhanced because of practical experience.

The writer's impression regarding the small program before the start of formal

data gathering was that it was highly innovative and fast moving. He knew the program

dealt with some of the most volatile and aggressive offenders in the province, yet the

program was still comfortable with using a resource-procurement and client-centered

approach.

Part of the writer's attraction in studying this program was that he wanted to

explore alternatives to conventional correctional and social services. He knew that the

very purpose of the small program was to be a progressive alternative, and he was highly

interested in how they would operationalize innovation.

Future: Research and innovation in best practice

Informants were generally optimistic about the future. One worker pointed out

several areas where significant innovation had taken place:

A number of initiatives…have developed in the last few years. One of the most

successful is [a voluntary support program]. I think it is cutting-edge stuff. I was

actually lucky enough to be involved with the first individual in a group in

Manitoba in 1999/2000. I have advocated seriously for different systems to

examine closely at the way that they deal with offenders. Umm, there are a

number of new initiatives coming out about psychotherapy approaches. There is

a recognition that the linear cognitive-behavioral approach does not [offer the full

answer]. New modalities are being developed in Canada. I think we are becoming better at assessing risk. Case management practices targeting dynamic risk factors in order to reduce risk are absolutely the way of the future. This is where we need to go.

The worker also indicated the significance of understanding the transition from offending behavior toward more pro-social behavior. Another informant stated that integration and coordination of services was "absolutely the wave of the future". It was ironic that government, with its large bureaucratic apparatus and secrecy, had stepped ahead of the private sector in integrating services. He saw this as a hopeful sign that private non-profit agencies may also integrate their services.

In a related vein, all three informants thought the future would bring the continuation of the team approach and relationship building at the levels of client-worker, worker-external agency, and agency to agency. One informant emphasized the importance of listening to a client's expressed needs, rather than imposing what society or the correctional system thinks s/he needs. Another suggestion was the need for more workers and resources in order to serve the large pool of high-need clients. The team approach of talking within and between government departments was a hopeful sign. The informant pointed to the connectivity project of the federal government regarding electronic information sharing as an example.

In terms of preventing sexual assault/abuse, in the field of working with offenders, one informant indicated the practices that to him were not useful. Agencies and workers that acted secretive were not being helpful. Ostracizing and vilification of sexual offenders served to increase risk of recidivism, and were not helpful. Inadequate

and poor policy and protocols in dealing with sexual offenders were not helpful to prevention efforts.

There existed a definite need for specialized services for high-risk and high-needs service users. One person stated that currently "we are leading the field" by using this approach.

In the larger social-political picture, the informant believed that as long as Canada was a relatively democratic society, we would want to cure or help offenders. However, the informant did not think that all high-risk service users should be completely independent in the community. For these clients, there was a need for residential facilities such as transition houses between prison and independent living. This need was especially for high-risk female clients because few resources existed in the community for women. The informant mentioned a proposal between two non-profit agencies several years ago, regarding a residence for high-risk offenders. The proposal was never fully developed. The informant indicated that the cost of such a residence would have been very high, greater than the cost of custody in prison.

Fit between the findings and the correctional hierarchy model

It was interesting that each of the interview informants espoused a point of view that was not only due to their personal characteristics, but highly congruent with their occupational position. This finding seemed to be consistent with the model of hierarchy in correctional management and administration (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988). A program worker spoke at length regarding specific client situations, finding resources and programs at different agencies, and dealing with the demands of assessment and risk management. This person would focus on how to handle particular clients, and how to

communicate with different members of the treatment team while at the same time maintaining trust and confidentiality with the client. In relation to the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) hierarchy model, the informant's concerns reflected the challenges of a front line worker. This was in keeping with negotiating with different stakeholders more as a peer, and not required to exerting policy or procedural controls over the program. This person's main concerns were regarding the service user and her situation, and maintaining communication and harmony within the service provider team.

An informant familiar with the program manager stated that the manager focused more on the larger organizational issues. The program manager worked on the creation of a written protocol delineating the principles, policy, and procedure of the organization. He made sure that the policy intent of the program was implemented at the service delivery level. The program manager initiated and secured resource coordination relationships and contracts. According to the informant, the manager at times served as a "middle-man" in controversies and conflicts within between and within agencies and in dealings with the community-at-large. It is important to note that the case coordinator would do many of these same things, but the manager's emphasis was on the interagency issues, whereas the case coordinator's emphasis was on the client situation. The manager, consistent with the hierarchy model (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988), provided motivation, supervision, and support to the front line workers. He obtained resources for employees such as training workshops.

At the Committee level, the issues involved the allocation of resources (that is, money) to the program through provincial sub-appropriations and the relationship with top-level provincial bureaucrats and elected ministers. This was a classic case of what

Ekstedt and Griffiths refer to as policy management; that is, the negotiations between elected officials and senior social service managers (i.e., members of the Committee) to determine governing policy. The Committee oversaw the overall direction of the small program, and made sure that it did not go awry.

Fit between the findings and the influences on correctional policy model

In general, the findings had fit the Ekstedt and Griffiths (E & G) (1988) correctional policy model quite well. However, the findings at the same time lent support to alternative views of organizations, without diminishing the heuristic value of E & G model.

Control questions, rival explanations.

All of the interview questions and document analysis guiding questions pertaining to the E & G theoretical framework garnered substantial responses (interview responses, and document data when such a document was available). Nonetheless, the control questions too attracted rich responses, such as the questions regarding the values of the organization and about the location of authority (Weber's theory of bureaucracy) (for other theories of organization, see Hasenfeld, 1983). In particular, informants had much to say regarding the principles and values of the program, of the profession of social work, and of the comparison between the principles of the program and those of external agencies.

The last control question of the interview was the most direct in asking about whether the Ekstedt and Griffiths correctional model made sense. Did the informant see the program primarily as human relations—personalities, motivations, attitudes, and interpersonal interactions? Or did the informant, when imagining the organization, tend

to identify with what the E & G model focused on—administrative structures, occupational interests, and power dynamic relationships? In response, the Committee member had indicated that the questions made sense. To him, the Ekstedt and Griffiths model was quite close to his reality of the working world. Whereas the informant familiar with the program management stated that both perspectives were necessary, and a balance of human relationships/emotional connection and formal administrative structures was necessary. For the frontline worker, it was all about relationships, and the human perspective was the most crucial.

Pattern matching.

From the analytic procedure of pattern matching, the writer found the fit between the model and findings very strong. Findings from all seven influence-domains fit into the theoretical propositions of the model, and numerous patterns presented themselves. For example, recent legislation aimed at social control of sexual offenders affected program operations (*legislative mandate and process of law review*). The program was affected by the political strategy and imperatives of the ruling NDP. Jails, zero tolerance, and law and order got votes (*short-term political needs*).

The program also dealt with the fall out from previous agency involvement with clients. Clients often came to the program afraid and distrustful of social services, due to those ineffective services (*policies and procedures of related systems*). The program was created due in part to the recommendations of a provincial inquiry into the problem of communication gaps between social agencies (Collerman, 1996) (*academic research*).

A third pattern was that program workers kept in mind social work ethics and standards of practice when dealing with difficult, volatile men and women. The program

valued the team approach (*professional interests*). Program workers were resilient, and aware of change and innovation, in order seek best practice with high-needs clients (*resource capacity*). The emphasis on coordination and communication averted many crises (*operational maintenance needs*).

Good fit between findings and correctional policy model.

In short, the E & G model was a good fit with the findings, but alternative theories of organizational behavior also received compelling responses. The amenability of the model to informant responses depended on their occupational position (e.g., the informant who dealt with policy and political issues found the model very helpful).

Limitations of this single case study

Three limitations came to mind in the research process. The first was that only three informants were available for interviews, which provided an adequate picture of the front line aspect of the program, but was somewhat brief on the workings of the Committee.

A second limitation of the study was in the limited selection of documents that were available, and that the most telling documents (regarding interagency negotiations and relationships) were off limits. This limitation in the document research was primarily the result of the research protocol, which did not allow the use of documents detailing specific staff or client issues.

A third limitation was in the limited nature of the inquiry. The writer did not use participant observation to see the program in action, as it actually functioned on a day-to-day basis. As the single case studies were relatively introductory and brief in scope, participant observation was not included as a data collection method.

Chapter Six

Case Report: A Voluntary Support Program

What was the case?

This modest-sized private non-profit program was composed of volunteers that offered friendship, support, and accountability to high-risk sexual offenders. Most of these offenders had done poorly in the correctional system, and released from prison on the last day of their sentence. The program was small, composed of approximately twenty-five volunteers (including the offenders themselves, who had volunteered to join the program), one program director, a program assistant, and an outside consultant. A number of similar voluntary support programs operated across the country, and this program had intermittent contact with them. This network of voluntary programs was coordinated (in a consulting role, rather than supervising) by the Correctional Services of Canada.

The program was organized into *Groups*—four to seven support members and one core member (the offender) meeting once per week. An advisory team of community and faith representatives guided the program. There was a strong emphasis on egalitarianism, respect, reciprocal relationships, and spirituality. Training opportunities were important, in order to build a knowledgeable organization. Much consultation and liaison occurred with professionals in the field. The program engaged in community building (healthy and safe communities) and restorative justice. A local Mennonite agency (MA) funded the organization, as did Correctional Services Canada (CSC). In the past, the Winnipeg Foundation had contributed funds. The program office was located in the core area of Winnipeg, sharing a building with other non-profit groups. The program

began operations in April 1999, and now possessed a capacity of six groups (six core members).

Method

Data consisted of internal program documents and external documents and interviews with volunteers and staff members.

Document research

Internal program documents as data included program reports, orientation manuals, meeting minutes, training handouts, and MA materials. For the complete list of internal program documents, please refer to Appendix C, Part II.

The writer accessed a large number and variety of program documents in an open collaborative process with staff members. The clarity of the process, and the careful and orderly way the files were organized, themselves demonstrated something positive about the program. The documents provided program details, and some described the beginnings of the voluntary group concept, in philosophy and living realities. The writer read some documents at the program office, and many he photocopied (there was permission to use the copier) and read at home.

In addition to program documents, the writer looked at publicly available materials. These included newspaper articles about sexual offenders, federal and provincial criminal justice legislation, CSC materials, papers by non-profit organizations such as John Howard Society, and academic articles relating to the program.

Interview procedure

The writer conducted seven interviews, with one informant requiring two interviews. All interviews with volunteers took place at their home (informant

preference). The interviews with staff members took place at their office. Interviews ranged from one hour and fifteen minutes to one hour and forty minutes in duration. The writer audio taped all interviews, and wrote notes on the interview guide regarding reactions during interview and informant body language. In total, interview data yielded seventy-three pages of single spaced ten-point font transcript.

Data analysis

Themes and categories came generally from the interview data, using qualitative content analysis (Tutty, Rothery, & Grinnell, 1998). The writer used the documents to support, confirm, or disconfirm the interview findings. In a few instances, document data sparked the idea for a new category. The analysis and presentation of the findings were structured by the three research questions that underpin the multiple case study and by the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) theoretical framework.

Going to the group: What the program looked like

The program office was located in the downtown/core area of the city of Winnipeg. The building was old, and shared with several other nonprofit organizations. It was a small and bright office, and the program director welcomed the writer in. The place had a similar feel to typical "grassroots" citizen-oriented nonprofit groups.

Interview participants/informants

Seven informants, comprising of staff members and volunteers, took part in research interviews. One informant was a mature, recovering offender who was also a support volunteer. Four men and three women participated in the interviews. All informants were well versed in Anglo-Canadian culture, and the writer did not interview any ethnic minority informants.

Findings

The writer structured the Findings section according to the three research

questions that constitute the multiple case research. He responded to each research

question in turn, focusing each response to the characteristics and circumstances of the

program under study.

What were the recent developments in the provision of services to adult sexual

offenders residing in the community, as relating to the voluntary program?

In this section, the writer described the evolution of the program in Winnipeg (and

similar programs elsewhere in Canada), the size of the program, and innovations in

approach, such as recognition of strengths, in the program and amongst external

professionals.

History and development of the voluntary approach

The use of a group of volunteers to assist an offender or inmate had a long

history, starting well before the advent of this program. As one informant noted, "we did

not reinvent the wheel here" but rather had built on previous knowledge and learning. In

addition, this way of relating had roots in voluntary initiatives in the addiction field, such

as Alcoholics Anonymous. The informant in the following excerpt described the

beginnings of the voluntary projects:

> This is just one of the five pilot projects. In 1994, there was a minister in a church
>
> community in Hamilton, Ontario that had a visiting presence inside an institution.
>
> Two high-risk offenders that this particular minister was visiting were to be
>
> released that year. These two individuals had enough of a sense to know that
>
> without support, and I want to credit these individuals, they would be back inside.

They would re-offend. Unlike alcoholics anonymous or sex addicts anonymous, there was not a support group out there that could be approached. Therefore, they approached this minister and said, we need help. There is a long developmental story but this is where this particular style of relating started, in Hamilton, Ontario. Now this minister, as these two groups developed over the next two years, from 1994-1996, this minister had a friend in CSC. He was a regional minister at CSC. By 1996, this regional chaplain was saying that what was happening here was good. Something very solid is growing here, and we need to support it. By 1996, this chaplain had obtained some funding from CSC.

There was a lengthy process of development, and the concept spread throughout the country. The projects were small in every region, and the local initiative in Winnipeg began very modestly. However, informed observers knew that a worthwhile enterprise was emerging:

It is not all initiated out of CSC, so there have been some voices coming from other provinces saying, hey we have the same situation here, I would like some help too. So the decision was made in 1999 to start three pilot projects across the country, so in total there will be four pilot projects. The one in Ontario, and three others, and we in Winnipeg were one of those other four. So, mum that meant that formally started with a six month, ten thousand five hundred dollar contract, to start the project in Winnipeg. That started in January 1999.

The first local initiative coordinator (the position now named local program director) was in Winnipeg for only six months, from January to June of 1999. He had laid the groundwork, made connections with professionals, recruited several volunteers,

and begun one group. Unfortunately, the group started at about the time that he left the position. One informant related that the MA had made a crucial mistake in not hiring a new coordinator promptly, leaving that position unfilled for two and a half months. Within a month of the worker's departure, the first group had disintegrated.

Early changes in funding arrangements.

The program soon returned to its feet. The person hired as director on September 15, 1999 was effective and would stay for the long-term. In that first year, the project possessed very few funds, relying on half-year grants from CSC, each grant being ten thousand five hundred dollars. In November 1999, a group had formed. Within the first year of the new director's term, a second group had started. Seeking a grant every six months was an inefficient use of energy, and soon a yearly grant of twenty thousand five hundred dollars from CSC became the arrangement.

The funds of the program were modest, and the director sought to acquire and maintain stable funding. In her second year, she secured a Winnipeg Foundation grant (a large philanthropic organization in the city) of fifteen thousands dollars per year, for three years. Also in year two of the program, the project, originally deemed a pilot project at CSC, gained status as an on-going program with budget line. This was a significant recognition of permanency.

Small program

The program was small. After six years of operation, it contained six groups (six offenders), approximately twenty volunteers, and a budget of approximately 60 000 dollars. As one informant mentioned, "it seems relatively small when you look at five [or six] guys who have got somebody [to support them]…when there are hundreds [without

proper supports]. It is a tiny speck in the ocean. But it is a speck". However, another

informant saw advantages to the modest beginning, due to the complexity of the issues

and the fear and trauma existing in the community:

> I am not entirely sorry that this program started so small. We need to walk with a
>
> lot of care in how we try to do this.

A shift in offender programs toward respectful, strengths-oriented practice

External professionals too had echoed the change in approach in honoring and

facilitating the strengths of clients in addition to identifying problem areas. There was a

movement toward more flexible and humane practice regarding offenders. A program

staff member explained this in the following excerpt, mentioning a renowned Winnipeg

researcher/practitioner:

> Yeah, and I would like to highlight something that has also been a shift in
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> program delivery. I would say that this may/may not be true for every treatment
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> specialist with whom we work. Certainly there are still some professionals who
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> function in the clear-cut way of I am the person who is going to help this person,
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> and this is the person with the problem. That very clearly demarcated way, it has
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> some advantages but it also has some definite disadvantages. I would really
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> encourage you, to talk with Dr. _____, a psychologist. And the reason that I
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> mention him specifically is that it is one of his training modules that we still hand
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> out and use for each new group of volunteers on unhealthy behavioral cycles. He
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> stands out for me, the shift that why some programs are working better, working
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> with high-risk offenders with established cycles of violence, is that. One of the
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> beliefs of our program is that we engage with respect. That does not mean

naiveté. That does not mean minimizing the wrong or the hurt that has been done by the individual. It respects them both for what good that they can do and for the human being that they are. It also respects their ability to live responsibly.

Therefore, a number of correctional and human service agencies had begun to adopt the strengths approach in offender treatment. Some agencies went forth with enthusiasm, while many others did so grudgingly. This program demonstrated the vibrancy and capability of the strengths approach.

Strong, flexible structure and state of the art practice

The program identified itself as egalitarian. Nonetheless, it was clear about structure and possessed orderly policies and procedures. This distinguished the program from some community ventures that did not have a well-informed membership and lacked a clear process of accountability. Simultaneous with that structure, the program emphasized flexibility, and keeping in tune with warmth, genuineness and interpersonal relationship. The program believed in maintaining high standards in support and in accountability, and moving with the state of the art in voluntary sector practice and inclusive spirituality.

Approaches and activities: fostering a sense of belonging.

Members participated in a number of activities in the groups. Support and core members engaged in recreational activities, like board games, coffee outings, and mini-golf. The group also assisted core members in finding employment and educational opportunities. The main approach was encouragement, in building the esteem and confidence of core members. Included in this was providing friendship to core members. Core members often were lonely, isolated individuals, with many estranged from their

family. The group offered a peer group and a sense of belonging. One informant stated that it was like having a family around you. A recovering offender/support volunteer described, "some of the member experiences, you feel wow. I feel a part of it. The team keeps going".

Core members made decisions in the group, about which activity they would like, and scheduling.

Approaches and techniques: cognitive-behavioral, giving credit and individualized support.

The program used cognitive-behavioral theory in interventions with core members. The relapse prevention model for sexual offenders was used, as it was the standard treatment model today.

A unique approach was giving praise and credit. This was a consistent finding, as members regularly gave credit for another's contribution and presence. For example, one person gave credit to the CSC regional chaplain for his advocacy toward longer funding contracts, from the unwieldy six-month contract to three years. One support volunteer praised the program for offering huge personal growth in an area that she normally would not have outwardly sought. She was very thankful to the program and to her faith. Various informants gave credit to core members for willing to take a chance with the program, when their previous experience with correctional programs had been discouraging, and for recognizing and accepting that they had needs and would require intensive supports. All of this was consistent with the strengths approach.

Each core member was different in the support he required. The group was tailored individually for each core member, in matching support members, group

dynamics, and activities to core member needs. Core members had a faith/spiritual affiliation, ethnic identity, occupational and educational history, and these aspects were taken into consideration when forming a group.

Enabling accountability

Enabling accountability within a group was a nuanced and complex process. This was one area where the program director of necessity took the lead. It was difficult for most persons to enter an organization and perform accountability effectively. The director clarified to members why they did accountability and how to do it (there were various ways to enter in this process). Accountability of course applied to not only core members but also to support, advisory and staff members as well.

For core members, accountability was vital and an everyday facet of their life. One staff member spoke about the approach of "breach and bouquet" (so named in order for easy memory) in the following paragraph:

> Breach and bouquet would mean that we are not just about helping someone stop the bad behaviors. That would be the breach part. As voluntary groups, we do keep track of the negative things. However, we are also about bouquet—getting to know someone, and finding out what their strengths and interests are. And trying to help them develop those and implement them. Because you do not just want to take away a negative behavior, you also want to replace it with something that is positive. That is a foundation for this program.

Core members needed to act in an honest way, trying their best to participate. A core member needed to disclose their criminal history to his group[1]. Any core member that wished to join the program needed to tell his group his offense cycle (as he

understood it), problem or risk areas, relapse prevention plan, and how he planned to stay away from high-risk behaviors and situations. In addition, the group liked to know his interests (occupational, leisure, self-care) and his willingness to try new social and leisure activities.

Operational goals of the program and preliminary program outcomes

The overall program goal was to assist in creating healthier and safer communities. One component of this was through promotion of constructive integration of high-risk offenders, a way for core members to find a home in the world. Another component of creating healthy community was working as a team with related professionals. A third aspect was preventing the offender from reoffending, so that there would be no more victims. A fourth aspect was the promotion of community education about cycles of violence. Several volunteers would like the benefits of the program marketed, in order to educate about its cost effectiveness and successful integration of offenders.

Informants related that the program needed more volunteers, in order to say yes to potential core members on the waiting list. The outcomes of the program, from anecdotal reports, were highly encouraging. For the Winnipeg program and similar programs across Canada, the reoffense rate was very low, significantly lower than for those high-risk persons without adequate supports.

How did power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors influence the development of the voluntary program?

Informants spoke at length about ideological (values and beliefs) and administrative factors. There was a very strong emphasis on the importance of values

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[1] Almost all core members were men.

and beliefs among all informants and in the program documents. The influence of the administrative structure of CSC was mentioned. Staff members described these topics in a formal manner, while volunteer members tended to refer indirectly to them.

Principles and values of the program

The principles and values appeared as the heart of the program, as they provided the foundation for everything else (techniques, administrative structure, and what have you). The correspondence between the values as enunciated by informants and as written in the "core values" document was very strong. This was a clear example of what Austin (2002) named as non-profit organizations being the expression of a shared set of deeply held values. Informants stated that the foundation values of the program had remained consistent since inception. Over the years, in consultation with local volunteers and other group programs, the values had become clearer and more fluent. The main values were interacting in respect, learning, openness to look, growth, vulnerability, and keeping confidentiality (not secrets).

Respect, clarity, and egalitarianism

The cornerstone was respect. Respect was key: for each other; for ourselves; and for each person's ability to be able to live better. One tenet was interacting or engaging with respect, relating in a more egalitarian way, and seeing both the good and the bad in the person, without leaping to a hasty judgment. As a recovering offender/support volunteer stated, "we know that we will not be looked down. [People in the group] accept you for who you are, not what you were".

There was also a belief in joining. As one informant explained, "in coming together, we share our varied perspectives and beliefs. We gain the broadest perspective on dealing with the concern". In essence, "when we come together, we build strength".

In order to interact with respect, one needed to communicate with clarity and genuineness. Clear and strong communication between core members, support members, and the program director was very important. This principle also applied to interactions with external professionals.

Interacting with respect meant that a top-down attitude and manipulative communications were unacceptable. Some informants had to deal with instances of top-down behavior from the ranks of various organizations, including CSC, which they resisted.

Learning, openness to look, growth and vulnerability

A major principle at the program was a willingness to learn. The program director stated that the program offered eight basic training sessions on a repeating cycle. Even experienced volunteers that had completed these sessions would return, preferring a refresher course. The program recognized that all persons had learning needs, aware that volunteers gained deep satisfaction from learning about themselves and the world. The program director summarized her position on learning as follows:

> I am not perfect. There are times that I make errors as well. Again, another belief of our system is that no one is perfect, core member, support volunteer, or program director. The deal is not whether or not you are perfect, but that when you make mistakes, how do you handle it.

Another tenet was the openness to look, and to stay curious, when encountering difficulty. This meant the breaking of societal stereotypes because respect meant opening the door to a rich life, not pigeonholing people. This also suggested stepping beyond conventional societal mores about power and domination, and toward leading lives of healthy and caring interdependence.

In order for the group to seek optimal success and dynamism, members needed to be vulnerable in order for themselves and other members to grow. One staff member spoke about this passionately:

> I used to say that I invite you to be vulnerable, and the advisory team said that they love that style. Because it invites a whole new door of vulnerability, and the whole idea that we all have room for growth. They said, you know what, you need to tell people that you are required to be vulnerable. Because anyone who enters this program, because when we are dealing with high-risk offenders who are trying to stop deeply ingrained cycles of behavior, we have to know in some point in time, in give and take. That is what we are hoping to go towards, a social voluntary group will be a give and take, kind of constructively socially engaging kind of model for this person to come back into community. If that is going to happen, you cannot have only one person being vulnerable. That is not constructive. That is not a healthy relationship.

In order for the group to grow, and individual members to grow (and learn), both the support member and core member, and staff member and volunteer, needed to become vulnerable. Vulnerability meant the openness to look, as described above, and the openness to grow, by relaxing some of one's old ways of coping and defensiveness

that had become tired and rigid. Vulnerability did not mean putting oneself in danger or reckless behavior. In the give and take of a social group, support members needed to become comfortable in showing that they were human, with human strengths as well as human failings, and to take account of both. This needed to occur in order to relate to core members in an egalitarian manner, in that not only did the core member learn from the group, but that support members (and staff members) learned from the core member. Therefore, in the voluntary group, everyone involved grew and advanced in awareness and knowledge. One informant captured the heart of the program in the following excerpt:

> I think when it comes to voluntary groups, it goes back to the breach and bouquet thing. We are not only stop the bad behavior but also identify supports and find and implement the skills of that individual as well. That also recognizes that if I, the core member, with the high-risk behaviors, have something to receive from these individuals, I also have something to give. You know what, that rocks! That happens without fail in every voluntary group that I have been part of. Where that day it clicks into that core member. Wow these people are listening to me—I am giving something to these people as well.

Movement from confusion and doubt to hopeful possibility

The process of growth, although at times difficult, was satisfying and worthwhile for all involved. The program was in a process of continual growth and discernment, always looking for more effective and humane means. There were numerous stories of volunteer and staff members blossoming. One volunteer described her story in the program:

I guess as a volunteer…because I sort of came into it through the back door, it was not something that I really walked in and asked for. Circumstances just evolved that, that I became involved. So for me, what it has offered is a huge growth, personal growth in an area that I normally would not have really, outwardly sought.

Another volunteer described a core member moving from doubt and low regard to realizing that he had value as a human being:

Actually, it was quite wonderful. I had a discussion with my core member earlier this week, and he in fact said in the discussion that, the year had gone by very, very quickly. He went into the meeting very apprehensively cause he just had been released and did not know what to expect. He said I remember at the end of that evening, thinking that these people are actually treating me like an equal. They are not looking down upon me. That gave him encouragement and incentive to continue with the group, and as a result the year has gone by very quickly and he is doing extremely well.

This movement from doubt to hope was a consistent feature of the program. Numerous informants experienced this, with some individual variation. Some volunteers attributed the hope to religious belief, like the grace of God. One support member, as she engaged with the program, saw its unique strengths. She knew that the program effected positive change in even the most difficult human beings, and she appreciated that belief in human potential was a very positive way for an organization to be. A support volunteer told of her increasing confidence in the voluntary support way of relating:

Being in it for several years, you at the beginning kind of think you are not going to make much difference and oh what am I here for. Then as you watch the [group members] change, you have more hope that things do change. Right at first, I was really discouraged because two or three of my guys did not do that well. They quit or dropped out. As you meet more of the [core members], it is more encouraging. You should be in it for the long haul if you get into it, I think.

One person who had previous experience working with offenders echoed the theme of hope, and that he no longer believed in the conventional view of sexual offenders:

There is much good in the groups, and I have done much learning. I previously held the theory that pedophiles were incorrigible, and they would offend until the day they died. I do not think that this is the case any more. Just learning this has given me much hope. It is very freeing. I think [the program] is a very good start.

Difference between confidentiality and secrets

Group members needed to know the difference between confidentiality and secrets. The core values document read that voluntary groups ensured confidentiality, but avoided secrets. Secrets "can tie you into unhealthy, isolated relationships with someone who has a dangerous cycle of behavior". Confidentiality, on the other hand, "respects that there are certain matters that must remain within the voluntary group. If something is to be shared outside the voluntary group, it needs to be a group decision". One informant explained that they were there to support but not to make a mockery of people. It was important to listen but not to gossip or talk loosely. Information within a voluntary

group included personal communications about both core members and support members.

Administrative structure of CSC

The relationship of the program with the CSC required management and oversight. The program, although formally outside its bureaucratic apparatus, required much communication and feedback with the federal agency. The program sent monthly indicator reports to CSC, indicating statistics (number of contacts with offenders and external agencies, and so on) and a description about current program activities. CSC provided the guidelines for the program, offered much ministry experience, and linked with the CSC's very considerable resources. CSC of course provided a large part of the funding to the program (anywhere from one third to one half of program income, depending on which fiscal year).

However, some downside existed in the association with CSC. CSC had a history of functioning in a rather top-down, hierarchical manner, and respectful communication was at times lacking within that agency.[2] Some informants described the frustration of receiving operating guidelines and manuals from CSC headquarters, without that agency having bothered to listen to what was happening at the ground level. One training manual arrived from headquarters in 2002 (CSC, 2002). However, it was clear that the Winnipeg program already had adopted innovations in approach and philosophy that went well beyond the basics in the manual. Another concern was that more support and networking with other voluntary support programs across the country would be

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[2] Many writers and advocates had been critical of the perceived rigidity and insensitivity of the federal correctional system, particularly federal penitentiaries. For details, refer to Correctional Investigator (2001-2002) and Standing Committee (1999). For perspectives regarding unequal treatment of aboriginal and female offenders, see Correctional Investigator (2001-2002) and Hannah-Moffat (2000).

beneficial. The out-of-province voluntary support programs rarely communicated with the Winnipeg program.

Using the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional systems as a guide, how did the external and internal influences on the formulation of correctional policy apply to this voluntary program?

External influences on program policy

Legislative mandate and the process of law review

There was no formal legislative mandate, in that the program was voluntary, involved offenders that already completed correctional sentences, and was a non-profit, private enterprise. However, legislation affected the program in a number of ways. First, the program received a significant proportion of their revenue from CSC, a federal agency covered by a legislative mandate. The policies, procedures, and administrative culture of CSC were forces that the program had to deal. As a funding body, CSC wanted some say in how the program operated. Second, several core members were under restraining orders of the provincial court that prohibited them from engaging in certain activities. Prohibited activities included engaging in contact with persons under the age of fourteen or sixteen (and other prohibitions as appropriate). The restraining order required the person to keep good behavior at all times. The restraining order was to protect public safety, but it imposed a certain psychological burden on the core member.

Third, a number of core members were subject to community (public) notification of their status and personal characteristics. A picture of the offender and a short description appeared on the notification website. Notification was a source of stress to several core members, and all the more made the support from voluntary group members

(and other professionals) vital in order to dispel feelings of anxiety and hopelessness (and possibly increased reoffense risk).

Short term political needs

The program did not really exhibit any short-term political needs, in that it operated according to the underlying principles and values, rather than political expediency. As the program was not a part of government, there was no imperative from policy managers to appeal to voter sentiment. (The program, and other voluntary groups in Canada, was much too small to have a part in federal political maneuvering).

However, keeping appropriate boundaries with the public was a real concern at the program. In general, the program was relatively low profile for a voluntary organization, attracting little comment or controversy. The program strategized to keep a low profile because as the membership included high-risk offenders under public notification, the potential was always there for negative reactions from local neighbors and media outlets. When the program director spoke with popular media, she was cautious. The program director reviewed any announcements and materials about the program before they were sent (volunteers and student helpers assisted with publicity duties).

One support member stated that he did not speak about his participation in the program to acquaintances. He spoke about it only to a few interested persons who might understand. The *Winnipeg Free Press* had interviewed two support members, as well as the program director. The resulting story was informative and researched adequately, and the program needed to collaborate carefully to ensure this success, knowing that the particular journalist understood the issues. Support members had also given

presentations to community and religious groups regarding cycles of violence and the mission of the program to build healthy, abuse-free relations. Community education was intended to spark interest in justice issues among citizens and recruit potential volunteers.

Policy and procedures of related systems

The program required the resources and support of external agencies in order to function. A priority was keeping clear and respectful communications with related agencies. A second priority was maintaining funding by external agencies, through satisfactory relationships while at the same time keeping a certain independence from their agendas.

Vital consultation with external professionals.

The program performed extensive and satisfactory networking with community organizations, such as faith groups, thrift stores, and victim/survivor groups. A significant component of this network was through representation in the program advisory team.

In addition, the program liaised with governmental agencies such as Family Services (Employment and Income Assistance, Supported Living), government corrections, and police forces. A number of highly skilled local professionals also volunteered their energy in providing training and consultation. The program director arranged for professionals to provide training, and as well directed efforts to educate professionals and correctional officials about the program. Without the support of external professionals, the program could not survive because core members required multisystem resources (e.g., psychiatry, psychology, legal sanctions, and an outside opinion/perspective).

Another goal of the program, not only in Winnipeg but also at the national level, was the input of survivor organizations. This was somewhat lacking at the beginning of the program[3], in 1999, but currently, survivor voices came through representation in the advisory team and in training workshops.

External agencies: Stable funding was essential.

CSC, MA, and provincial social services contributed several essential resources, most importantly funds. The MA was particularly crucial because it carried the program when it had received a funding cut from CSC (MA filled the shortfall). Both CSC and MA had been present since the beginning of the program, and the two organizations together provided the majority of the funds for the first six years of the program.

As the Winnipeg program was gaining a solid reputation, provincial social services became interested in contributing funds. However, what occurred was an example of the difficulty in external liaison when one was a small voluntary organization. The provincial agency required the program to maintain insurance coverage, and the current insurance scheme had just expired and delayed in renewal due to the unconventional nature and function of the voluntary program. The program had counted on the funds from the province, but the unexpected insurance predicament delayed this. The financial shortfall became a crisis, and it took nearly a year to sort through, a trying time for the program and for the local director.

As well, different funding sources had different desires for the program, for what they would like to see and how it should operate. Despite these agendas, keeping steady funding was an essential. In the midst of the challenges of a dynamic voluntary program,

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[3] The first program coordinator wrote about the lack of abuse survivor input as a concern in his reflection papers.

the program needed to maintain stability. One staff member explained this thoroughly in the following excerpt:

> A couple of things—we have different funding sources. Different funding sources may have different desires as to how much input they have on the program. As the person trying to run this small, local community program, you are juggling just who has that kind of authority and who is going to implement. So yeah, there are all kinds of crises coming out of that. Funding is a huge one if you are trying to run a program like this safely and responsibly. Due diligence is now one of the popular phrases coming out. It is important. You do need a stability factor. There is that kind of crisis, well are we going to be here next year? Know that initially, it was a six-month contract...
> Again, this is where you juggle. I want to give solid credit to one of our regional CSC chaplains. He made a case to CSC, who was one of our primary funders, that the way to go was the three-year contracts, not these six-month or one year contracts. Realistically, a group lasts for, we ask for a one-year commitment, and a group lasts on average two years. It is ridiculous that we have six-month and one-year contracts. Because what are we saying to a group when...I have a group that is going to start in November. Okay, funding year ends March 31. That is less than half a year away. What happens if that funder decides to back out?

The above excerpt illustrates the difficulty faced by the program in its first year when the funding contract was only six months. In order for stability, a three-year contract was necessary, and the accomplishment of this meant that the program could become sound and firm.

Due to the status of the program as a voluntary initiative, and not part of mainstream corrections, budget cuts in funding agencies had a disproportionate effect on the program. The staff member described one such episode at the CSC:

I think that would be one of the struggles of community programs. Recently, there was a huge budget deficit in CSC. One of the places that they cut very quickly was the community-based corrections programs as opposed to the institutional. Not only are we a community-based program, but we are not part of the formal. We are a subcontractor versus a formal part. That is, community parole is going to see less of a cut than a subcontractor like us. They just gave us ten days notice. That they were not going to fill the last twenty percent of what they owe us.

Careful boundaries with MA.

The program was careful in relating to MA. MA brought a Christian spiritual dimension and an excellent reputation. It had an extensive global network working toward peace and justice. At the onset, CSC had wanted to use a trusted local organization to provide program delivery and administrative support. Now, with the program established, it wished to not be associated with any organized faith, but seek its own identity:

This is an interfaith program that MA agreed to administer. In fact, even the word interfaith is a bit tricky, because not everyone who is atheist or agnostic would see themselves as having a faith. The deal is as a program that receives support from an organization like the Winnipeg Foundation, Province of Manitoba...or CSC,

you know, there can be no restrictions on who comes into this program. There

can also be no underlying motive of proselytization...

However, this is not a Mennonite program. This is not a Christian program. This

community-based program must not have any restrictions on who can join, and

cannot have any hidden or open agenda on proselytization.

Academic research

At the Winnipeg office, the program did not conduct original research. Program

participants however related that research was necessary. A nation-wide evaluation of

the early days of voluntary programs had been completed (CSC, 2000). This evaluation

described on a national scale (in generalities) the functioning of such programs, identified

issues and concerns, offered recommendations for future success. The evaluation report

had a hopeful and constructive tone. The description of operations and the issues and

concerns raised in this report echoed what the informants stated about the Winnipeg

program.

In Winnipeg, the program collected information for training and personal

development, consulted with local professionals, and provided student placements. The

program director kept up on recent research and discussed with volunteers and advisory

team members interesting issues and findings in the field. Staff members called this

research on a micro-level. The program also maintained a list of speakers/trainers, some

of whom were researchers themselves, for volunteer and staff development sessions.

A number of university students did field placements at the program, and these

were valuable resources, connections, and messengers. In addition to student learning

about the program and the philosophy, these learners often spread the word about the

voluntary support philosophy among their colleagues. Some students returned to the program as volunteers or program assistants. Students came from social work and conflict resolution studies at the local universities, bringing energy and new ideas. For students, many opportunities for learning existed. The program was a demanding one, requiring students to be able to start at a competent level. Informants stated that at the one-third mark of the placement, students began to perform important tasks. In the last half of the placement, the student was a liaison to a group. Some students preferred direct work with core members, and therefore they would be more involved in the weekly group activities. Other students showed interest in administrative processes and community liaison. They elected to spend more time at the office, in grant writing and preparing workshops and written materials.

Internal influences on program policy

Professional interests

In keeping with Ekstedt and Griffith's broad definition of "professional" (1988), this meant any occupational group that performed a specific and specialized role. Four occupational groups made up the program: support members, core members, staff members (program director, MA consultant), and advisory team members.

The largest group was the support members. These volunteers provided support and accountability within a group, with each other and in relationship with the core member. They typically met once per week in group with the core member. Support volunteers assisted and encouraged the core member in reintegration. Here follows a description of the four occupational roles.

Support members: from varied walks of life, motivations.

Support members learned from each other, from the diversity of volunteers. It was useful to have a mix of people, coming from different walks of life—business people, religious people, professional people, and so on. A large number of support members came with a (Christian) church background because the program recruited at church gatherings. Some support members were active Mennonites. Nonetheless, beliefs ranged from atheism, Buddhism, and Judaism to indigenous traditions.

In general, support members found volunteering interesting. Some found it easy once they had gained experience in the group because the work was a shared responsibility and the program was well organized. Support members supported one another (as well as the core member), through teamwork. Support members gained the motivation to join the program because of a range of reasons. Some were students in peace studies or conflict resolution studies, and they wanted to apply their learning and gain experience. Some came from a strong personal conviction, from an experience of loss or a desire to live out religious belief.

Support volunteer attributes: maturity, good boundaries, willing to learn.

Support members were generally emotionally mature persons. One informant explained the point:

Some character traits that I would say underlie some of these people. For their age, they are pretty mature people. Obviously, there will be a difference in maturity level hopefully between a nineteen-year-old and an eighty-two year old. I want to specify that for their age, these people are pretty mature. Secondly, that these individuals, most of them I would say have had some kind of life experience already that has caused them to look outside of stereotypes.

In addition, support members needed to be consistent and attend regularly. Members needed to practice good boundaries, and could say no as appropriate. They needed to set limits on commitments. (The program director did not want volunteers that acquiesced to her, or who would say yes to all her requests. She wanted those who practiced strong and flexible boundaries). Most important, support members (and core members) needed to be able to handle challenges and experiential learning. A staff member described the high expectations for growth and learning in the following excerpt:

I want to know that volunteers can handle being challenged. If a volunteer does not recognize that they have certain growth areas, and they cannot handle being challenged, then they are going to become a problem for the program. We have had to remove [volunteers]. Not many, because most of the time our screening process catches most of those people. There are some other things that I am looking. In the course of volunteering, I can guarantee you that you are going to find yourself challenged at some point, either your beliefs or behaviors or in some combination thereof. If you cannot handle that, even with some help, and we will try to make this as user-friendly as possible, then there is going to be a problem.

Support members had to learn a great deal as they started the program. The important thing was that they were open to learning, and willing to take some (emotional) challenges, in shedding false assumptions (i.e., stereotypes) and integrating a more realistic and holistic world-view.

Support volunteers: some came with negative attitude, but later became impressed with program.

Some support members (around 20%) came into the program with a negative view. However, these persons kept asking and discerning, and therefore the openness were there:

They thought that we were naïve. They thought that this was far too dangerous. They thought that there was no hope—a wide range of negative responses to what our program was trying to do. But the point is that they were still open. So they came with these negative ideas about our program but they came asking questions. Then once they had that openness to ask questions, they got the information that they wanted. They then became impressed enough that they volunteered.

Again, an informant spoke passionately about the openness to engage, to learn, and to grow:

People who come to this program are not totally open to what we are doing or know much about it. I am saying that somewhere down the line, they have not closed in tightly on stereotypes or on dogmatic perspectives. And if they carry...I have had some who come through who have had very negative opinions, very set negative opinions. Yet they are open to talk. So that type of openness, even if you are sure that what the other person is doing is wrong, you are still open to engage. This is an essential characteristic trait of our people.

Support volunteers: much learning.

The openness to learn and see differently was vital, because volunteers came in with much to learn. The role of support member required emotional and spiritual maturity, and it was very rare for a new volunteer to understand all that it entailed. The

program director had to do much training. As an informant noted, what most people understood was that a core member had to learn and grow. What was not well understood was that support members had to do as much learning. Core members may offer to teach support volunteers who he was and the offender's world (prison, isolation, fear, abuse cycles, legal systems). The voluntary group was a challenge in reciprocal learning with core members. It was also an opportunity in relating to others as individuals and as a group, and dealing with the challenge of accountability.

Core members: role, needs, and living in fearful communities.

Core members were all high-risk sexual offenders. It was important to point out that core members were volunteers themselves, as they had volunteered to join. They became as much a part of the group, and in educating other group members, as were support volunteers. The capacity of the program to take on offenders was small, and there was no way for the Winnipeg office to meet the demand in the prisons.

Core members usually did not have healthy supports. Many had no friends or family to connect. Most of the social contacts of the member were poor role models (e.g., other sexual abusers). Core members required extensive support in order to hold any chance of successful reintegration. As one informant stated, if you released the core member into the community without support, you were asking for trouble. He likely would fall into the same pattern of dangerous behavior as before, and likely re-offend. However, informants stated that offenders admitted to the program made genuine efforts to correct and change positively.

Core members kept quite quiet, because they faced hostility from a fearful public. Core members were high-profile offenders, and many were subject to public notification,

in that their profile and picture appeared on the notification website and in local news media (e.g., *Winnipeg Sun*). Sexual offenses elicited a particular stigma. Some communities ostracized these high-risk men as they looked for a place to stay, and ironically, this further worsened their isolation and their risk. In disturbed and ill-informed neighborhoods, there was danger of vigilantism.

According to informants, core members, as they began to develop a relationship and trust with support volunteers, were easy to get along with and quite pliable. Groups usually did not contain much conflict, as core members generally went along with activities that other volunteers wanted to do.

Mature, recovering offenders as support volunteers: role, motivation for other offenders.

An innovation at the program was the involvement of mature, recovering offenders as support volunteers. These men had made sufficient gains in treatment and emotional maturity that they were able to use their experience as ex-offenders in assisting others. They participated in group activities, and continued to receive support from volunteers as part of their healing/treatment process. The recovering offenders/volunteers were a link to prison inmates, and offered motivation to discouraged offenders that were considering joining the program:

> If a person is coming out of prison and has hesitation, I may go with [program director] and speak with the person. I would say this is what a group is like. It is not what you have been told. I have been there...
>
> When you are in prison, you hear this and that [about the program]. When you know you are talking to someone who has been, it [rings true]. This is a giant

step that you are taking, but it is a great step. You take the step, and you make the changes. Then you will never see these cell bars again...

There is so much negativity in the joint [prison] that it is hard to take that first step.

Recovering offenders/volunteers supported new core members in the difficult initial period of forming a group:

For guys, I told that yeah [at first it is awkward], but just stick with it. If you want a fair chance at life, then be fair with the group. Some of the questions may be awkward, but answer them as best as you can.

Program director: Overview of responsibilities.

The program director occupied a pivotal position, in facilitating the operation of groups, in being the focal point of communications and networking, and in coordinating and making decisions. She was responsible for core and support member screening, recruitment, training, and meetings (one third of her work). According to informants, the director spent as much time with support volunteers as she did with core members. Support members came with their package of strengths, issues, and concerns, and may be very demanding in their own way.

She liaised and consulted with various organizations, government officials, and treatment providers that were involved with core members. The director also arranged for training from professionals and advocacy groups. She spent a large portion of her time enabling program stability, like securing funding. The director in a way embodied stability, in her position for six years, a long period for this type of work. She developed sound policies and procedures and established a good reputation for the program, and this

made it possible to attract funds (a second portion of her work). A third portion of her job involved community education about cycles of violence and abuse.

Program director: Primary input person; encouraged both independence and accountability.

As the primary input person at the program, she developed a collaborative team approach. She sought to work herself out of a group, so that an experienced volunteer or a program assistant would handle liaison with the office and the director would not need to attend every group meeting. However, at the start of a new group, the director attended and coordinated closely because the first six months of release from prison were the highest stress. Another area where the director led was in encouraging and facilitating the accountability process in a group, a task that required much skill and experience.

Director: Pivotal in coordination and decision-making; respects diverse views.

She was pivotal in coordination and decision-making. One volunteer described the way in which the director took responsibility for a new group, when the core member had only recently joined. Although the volunteer may had exaggerated somewhat the director's influence, he illustrated well her strong presence:

[The Director] is there BECAUSE [emphatic], she has brought us together BECAUSE she is devoting her attention to that task. And she is being paid to do so...

She screens for volunteers. She advertises. She decides where to advertise. She decides then who is going to be a volunteer. She decides who is going to be a core member, screens the potential core members. And which of the various

volunteers are going to be in that group, she creates the groups. So everything is orchestrated by [the director]...

She has a very good idea of what is going on in our group. She is at almost every meeting.

In balance, the director was gentle in leadership, pulling back as appropriate, as volunteers were able to function independently. The director led by consensus, and was sensitive to the views of difference, according to one support member:

I think [decisions] are discussed. It's a discussion base, it's a group decision. Most decisions are discussed at length. [The director] certainly has more experience than most of us, therefore may carry a little more weight.

Another volunteer elaborated on the director's facilitation style:

I would look at her as a bottom up manager, not top down. I think she's been very good at letting each of us express opinions. She's also very good at drawing out, and enabling us to see perspectives that maybe we haven't seen or aren't aware of and that's really from her experience and education. So I think it works quite well.

The director took leadership as necessary, seeking input when making decisions. Key consultants were volunteers, the MA consultant, and the CSC regional chaplain. She, unlike anyone else at the program, saw the program in its entirety, the financial, administrative, interpersonal and power aspects. Given her abilities and her perspective, the director was in the best decision to make program decisions, and she did so accordingly.

Director: A wealth of skills, experience, and knowledge.

The director had many years of experience facilitating projects, living and working cross-culturally, and understanding team building. She knew how to delegate responsibilities, with volunteers sharing the work. The MA consultant stated that the director was expert in her role, and that as a professional, she possessed more knowledge than most. The director gathered knowledge thoroughly and educated herself, consulting with psychologists and CSC program staff.

Director: Great work.

Informants spoke in glowing terms about the director, regarding her dedication, level of knowledge, facilitation skill, and handling of divergent views. One volunteer stated that the director was really making a success out of the program, setting high standards. This person knew that with other coordinators, the program could easily turn mediocre. Another volunteer felt that the director had done an exceptional job in handling and understanding community perspectives.

Director: A source of support, high standards, frontline perspective.

Volunteers felt that they had support from the director, especially about the larger issues that came up in the group. One support member said that she did not have to worry because the group was a shared responsibility. Another volunteer related that members may always go to the director if they needed to find out about something. The director would either refer to some resource or provide advice directly. The director had an open door and members came in or called with questions.

The director was also highly attentive and aware. She had a clear idea of the dynamics operating in each group. One volunteer stated that the director picked out

mistakes easily. The director also knew about issues and happenings at the national level (at CSC).

The director believed in the ground perspective. She felt that front line persons offered much knowledge, and can teach something to higher-ups in the bureaucracies. Hierarchical structures found her quite frustrating. For bureaucratic managers at CSC used to top-down structure, it was a bit of a shock. She advocated strongly for the program, and CSC was surprised at a subcontractor making waves.

Director: Large workload, dealing with crises, needed strong supports.

The director did large amounts of work, including evenings. One volunteer noted that she worked more hours than she was paid. Group crises and financial crises had demanded much time. For example, the delay in obtaining provincial funds caused serious tension, and according to informants, the stress was hard on the director. One informant felt that the director should have a strong support network, preferably outside of her job too. The MA consultant thought that he should be providing more assistance to her.

MA consultant

The program director consulted regularly with the consultant regarding issues as they arose and for feedback. The consultant informed the advisory team of matters relating to the MA contract, particularly finances. He also initiated procurement of MA funds when the program experienced a financial shortfall.

Advisory team: Constituent perspectives, program direction

The advisory team ensured that perspectives from the community were heard. The team was composed of voices from various constituencies, such as faith groups (the

MA, Catholic Oblates, prison chaplaincy), victim/survivor perspective, First Nations, and the program volunteers. In addition, the advisory team was a sounding board for the program director and the MA consultant, regarding nuts-and-bolts operational decisions and the overall program direction.

Resource capabilities

The program possessed relatively limited resources of its own, but accessed an array of resources in related systems. The primary resources in-house were described above, in the human resources of volunteers, program director and related staff members, and advisory team members. External resources that were available included those organizations named in the policies of related systems section.

One vital external resource was the high-risk management team (HRT). Each core member had his own HRT, for his unique circumstance, which met monthly. The HRT was a monitoring, facilitating, and coordinating body. The team was commonly composed of the parole or probation officer, treatment specialist (e.g., psychologist), Manitoba Family Service worker or Mental Health worker, police, the program representative, the offender himself, and in some cases his family member or advocate.

In treatment planning, the team made sure that the core member was functioning constructively within each program. The HRT was a great way to coordinate with other agencies because all high-risk offenders required services from multiple agencies to address multiple, overlapping concerns and issues. In dealing with the core member, it was necessary at the same time to manage relations with the service provision network, because between agencies, differences, boundaries, and money issues surfaced. (As well, wily offenders may play one agency off against another). The HRT was crucial because

it provided for much needed consultation on treatment, risk management, and policy issues, and as a way to network with local professionals.

Several resources were in limited supply. One was the difficulty in recruiting support volunteers. The role of the support volunteer was challenging, and it was difficult to match in numbers volunteers for those many offenders in the correctional system that would like to join the program. A second limit was the borderline financial situation, in which the program director worked more hours than she was paid, and, until recently, the program assistant had been an unpaid position. However, one informant emphasized that insufficient remuneration and financial worries had not caused a reduction in service quality. The program director had been resilient, and the program as a whole carried on strongly.

Operational maintenance needs

"The need to promote predictability, stability, and the comfort and confidence of employee groups" (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988)

Predictability, stability, and comfort, the hallmarks of adequately meeting maintenance needs, had different meaning in the voluntary program than in most organizations. For program members, satisfaction came from the fulfillment of social and spiritual needs, and in making a difference in the lives of other members. Due to the respect for individuality *within* community, and egalitarian relations, each group contained a unique and very different dynamic. As well, some discomfort was to be tolerated because everyone, support volunteer included, was learning a more respectful way of being.

Nonetheless, the program required stability. The main source of stability vested in the program director, in her position since 1999. As most communication and coordination for the program went through the director, she was like the spoke in a wheel, a pivotal figure. A second source of stability rested in the strong program philosophy, well articulated and applied consistently in day-to-day activities. A third source of stability was in the volunteer members (including core members), in their passion and enthusiasm.

Of course, crises did occur. Crises related to core members, support members and advisory members. Some core members, adjusting to life outside the institution, experienced emotional breakdown or temptation to reoffend. The first few months of release from incarceration were decisive, as relations between core member and support member were delicate, and trust took time to build.

Crises may be related to support and advisory members. Program staff had come to expect that some non-offender volunteers also came with their package of problems and erroneous thinking. In a social group, many traits came out, and healthy boundaries were necessary, in order to role model to the core member how to act in respect. One volunteer stated it was difficult to do this at times because disagreements occurred in a voluntary group, as persons with different upbringings and beliefs clashed. The point was to respect differences and not resort to manipulative tactics. When volunteers were unable to do this, then much work was necessary to stabilize the group and facilitate accountability. One volunteer described her group as sociable on surface with political or power currents underneath.

Discussion

The Discussion section consists of five parts: document analysis process, interview process, establishing credibility, future trends in the field, and the fit between the findings and the theoretical frameworks of Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988).

Document analysis process

The writer found accessing documents an enjoyable and rewarding process because staff members and volunteers assisted and there was a general atmosphere of openness. The writer gained access to not only routine materials, but also to documents that provided a view to the inner workings of the program (e.g., advisory team minutes). Each time that he accessed documents at the program office, staff members or volunteers would speak with him and provide context to what the writer was reading.

The document data was consistent with the themes and categories of the interviews. A striking aspect was that both promotional materials and internal files enunciated hope, community, and joining.

Interview process

Interviews went smoothly, and all informants provided substantial information. The informants and writer interacted openly and spontaneously, satisfying the checkpoints for quality interviews (Lee, 1999). One staff person gave especially rich data. As some interviews occurred at the homes of informants (at their request), this led to a somewhat more personal atmosphere. An interesting point was that informants gave remarkably similar responses, in that variations were mostly due to lack of knowledge regarding a topic, rather than a divergence of opinion.

Establishing credibility

The writer had known of the program for some time before the research project, and he had thought the program as interesting, innovative, but somewhat unrealistic. He thought, how could one expect volunteers to work with high-risk sexual offenders? First meeting the director, the writer was impressed with her professionalism, optimism, and welcoming attitude. With the study completed, the writer understood the way the program facilitated volunteers, encouraging volunteers to be something that perfectly suited them; that is, being compassionate, related human beings. This was both very simple and very difficult.

Of all the programs studied, this one was the most open and motivated to participate in the study. This enthusiasm influenced the writer, and he too believed in the healthy community that the voluntary program offered. Nonetheless, the writer looked actively for program shortcomings, any of which was written in the research journal. Several aspects of the program came up for criticism, but these were rare. Shortcomings mainly existed at adjoining agencies, or at the initial setup of the program.

Future trends: of the program, preventing sexual abuse

Informants felt that voluntary support programs will have a large role, and a bright future, as one component of a society growing and understanding its problems. There was much good in the program, and it had shown what the main ingredients were for successful integration of high-risk offenders. The opinion was that much learning would take place through programs such as this.

In the future, the secrecy of sexual abuse will be torn away. Informants explained that the structure of society had allowed abuse. One staff member thought that many

were naïve and turned a blind eye to abuse right under their noses. When the offense was exposed, people tended to go to the opposite extreme of rooting out all offenders, and exacting heavy retribution. Promoting caring, healthy, meaningful life in community was the way to dispel abuse. An informant believed that when persons were encouraged and allowed to be part of a caring community, the likelihood of sexual offending greatly diminished. Isolating children did the opposite, and increased the likelihood of abuse, and of the child becoming an offender herself.

Several informants pointed out that in the future more offenders would be identified and subject to supervision in the community (rather than in institutions). There was a need in early intervention for children and adolescents at risk of violent behavior. Some informants were less optimistic, and felt that sexual abuse was by its very nature difficult to identify and extinguish.

Fit between the findings and the correctional hierarchy model

There was a poor fit between this program and the hierarchy model (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988). Informants and written data showed remarkably interconnected perspectives, and little feeling of rank. This was due to two reasons. First, the program was not "correctional" in the conventional sense of legalities and punishment. It rather dealt with justice and health in community through peer interaction, in this case the acute concern of high-risk offenders. Second, the program did not supervise through hierarchy, but rather through peer accountability. In this way, the vertical levels as seen in most organizations rarely applied.

Fit between the findings and the influences on correctional policy model

The approach of this program was holistic and integrated, and the writer found it difficult to separate categories into different influence systems. For example, one person spoke about program stability, funding, and provided praise for a colleague—all of this in one sentence! Each of these addressed different influence systems, but for the informant, they were part of the whole.

Pattern matching.

The pattern matching and word table analysis of fit produced interesting results. The correctional policy model, originally conceived as a government corrections model (Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988), in some ways fit awkwardly to this voluntary, non-profit program. Some areas in the model simply were not relevant to a non-profit program, and this was especially the case in the external influence factors.

However, the internal influence factors, dealing mainly with human resource and funding, were highly relevant to the program. Many patterns that followed theoretical propositions were found among internal influences. For example, Ekstedt and Griffiths suggested that *resource capability*, principally the training and motivation of staff members (or, in this case, volunteers), was directly related to the quality of service. This was found in the volunteers, committed and well-trained, and remarkably experienced and educated staff. In relation, members possessed a personal conviction to participate in the program (*professional interests*). Structural supports for participants were familiar and comfortable, feeding back into the motivated core and support membership (*operational maintenance needs*). All this led into positive program outcomes.

Control questions, rival explanations, and holism.

Both document and interview data suggested that the program operated in a highly interpersonal manner, while maintaining a clear sense of structure and standards. For example, in the advisory team minutes, members raised personal concerns and experiences, within the context of a focused, professional meeting. Likewise, responses to control questions were rich and spontaneous, but responses to the questions derived from the model were also in depth. In the third control question, perceiving the organization as a set of interpersonal relations or as a power and administrative structure, the responses were mixed. Most favored the interpersonal view, but the response to the structural view was strong too. The writer thought that one informant hit the mark by relating that as much as the program preferred community, belonging, and interpersonal relationship, without a clear and coherent structure, those interpersonal advantages would be impossible to sustain. To summarize, the findings supported the influences on correctional policy model, but several major themes were also outside of the model. For example, the emphasis on underlying principles did not fit into short-term political needs. Nor did the in depth discussion on decision-making power fit into the policy model.

Informants expressed an appreciation for complexity and deep discernment, in that no one approach was the sole way to handle a concern. Multiple approaches of substance existed, and in this sense, the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model could offer only a partial explanation of program operations.

Limitations of the study

In comparison to the other case studies, the database for this was exceptionally strong, with seven interviews, access to a variety of documents, and numerous informal interactions with program members. One limitation was the lack of sustained observation

of program activities, which would involve participant observation (outside of the research protocol). Observation method would have provided a first person view of the principles and practices suggested by program participants, and examined the relationships between values, policy, and implementation as they occurred in practice.

Chapter Seven

Case Report: Residential Care Program

What was the case?

This was a medium sized non-profit organization providing residential care for persons with mental disabilities. It also provided behavioral consultation and community support. The organization operated fifteen staff-shifted group residences, where approximately seventy adults lived, and supported a small number of persons living independently. The organization employed approximately one hundred staff members.

The study was focused on one community residence that housed three intellectually disabled men who had sexual offending problems. (The other community residences were designed for supporting those with intellectual disabilities, and they had very little to do with forensic issues). The program began operations in 2000. Named the Treatment Unit (TU), it was for men that needed greater support with life skills and daily activities than other housing options could provide. It offered a structured environment and assistance with safety planning regarding offending issues, as well as an emphasis on healthy recreational activity and community access. Four full-time staff members worked at the residence, including the house supervisor. The house supervisor reported to the program coordinator (the senior manager), and the Board of Directors oversaw the overall direction of this program. The house was located in a quiet residential neighborhood.

Method

Data consisted of internal agency documents, external public documents, and interviews with staff members. Internal documents included budget, policy and

procedure manual, Family Services Residential Care Licensing documents, tenancy

agreements, training session handouts, and receipts. For the full list of internal

documents accessed, please refer to Appendix C, Part I. External documents included

The Vulnerable Persons Living with a Mental Disability Act (Manitoba, 1996) and

Investigation of Hydra House Limited and a Review Of the Related Department Of

Family Services and Housing Financial Accountability Framework (Manitoba, 2004).

The writer had received the agency documents from the program coordinator.

Most of internal documents contained client information, and unfortunately were not

accessible. These **unavailable** ones included minutes of staff meetings, in-house

meetings with the service users present, and staff/interagency letters and memoranda.

Interview procedure

The writer first spoke with the program coordinator about the study. The

organization agreed to take part. Discussed at a staff meeting, several workers expressed

interest in the study. A letter regarding the study was posted at the residence. Five

persons agreed to take part in interviews. Four interviews occurred on agency premises

(informants' choice). Of these, three were at the organization's main office. One

interview took place in the basement of the residence itself. At his request, the writer

interviewed one person at his home. All interviews were audio-recorded on tape, and

they ranged from one hour and fifteen minutes to one hour and a half in duration. The

writer also reached each informant for a feedback session after the analysis of interview

data.

Data analysis

The majority of the categories and themes came from interviews, with document data used to support, confirm, or disconfirm the categories. The writer used the qualitative data analysis method of Tutty, Rothery, and Grinnell (1996). The writer incorporated informant feed back into data analysis. He reflected upon the findings as they formed in light of what he heard from informant feedback. The analysis and presentation of the findings were structured by the three research questions underpinning the multiple case study, and also structured by the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) theoretical framework.

Going to the house: What it looked like

The TU was on a cul-de-sac in a quiet residential neighborhood. A bungalow, it blended into the surrounding neighborhood, and the writer had considerable difficulty finding it in the late afternoon darkness. When the writer arrived for his interview with a staff member, he was sitting in the front yard. He greeted the writer warmly. The three residents were at home, and one resident took initiative and showed the writer around the house. (The writer had known this man for many years from another situation). All the residents greeted the writer enthusiastically. The worker and writer stepped down into the basement, used as a storage area, and began the interview.

Interview Participants/Informants

Five staff members participated in interviews. Two of the informants held senior posts at the organization. Two additional informants worked primarily at the residence. One informant worked at the residence infrequently, but knew its history and development.

Findings

What were the recent developments in the housing and residential supports for adult sexual offenders in this agency?

The following describes the development of the TU, that of the organization as a whole, and activities, techniques, and interventions at the TU.

Development of the TU

The organization began in the early 1970s, providing residential supports to disabled men and women. However, it had almost nothing to do with sexual offending issues until 2000, when the TU began operations. The organization over the years did experience several service users becoming in conflict with the law, and the more serious cases had left the organization.

The TU began as a conversation between the behavioral specialist at the organization and the executive director of an external agency specializing in the treatment of disabled offenders. In the past, the organization had supported a small number of clients that because of criminal involvement developed a connection with this external agency. (The external agency the writer will call EA). Both the organization and EA agreed that in the continuum of services there was a place for this type of residence. The service users of the TU were low-risk in their sexual offending; however, one informant described them as opportunistic and targeting children and lower functioning persons. These residents required a higher level of support in daily living, exhibiting a greater level of intellectual disability than clients at the EA agency. The TU provided a wider choice of social and leisure opportunities, compared with the EA, which according to several informants was rather strict and rules-oriented. The EA agency served clients

exhibiting a more severe offending/criminal pattern, and in this sense the TU service users were mild and approachable.

At the TU, several of the residents had come from within the organization. In past living arrangements, abuse issues were addressed insufficiently. How can the organization effectively support these clients without forcing them to move away, to another agency? The TU was a response to such need. One informant stated that the TU began by one man moving in from the external agency EA. At the beginning, the TU lacked adequate structure or program planning. The program became more functional and structured when another service user came from a provincial mental institution, and changes were made to the TU to support this man.

History of the organization

A group of parents of those with intellectual disability formed the organization in the early 1970s. It was an alternative to the convention (at that time) of housing disabled persons in large institutions, like St. Amant Center and Manitoba Developmental Center (previously named Manitoba School for the Retarded). The organization was one of the first community residences for adults with intellectual disability (see Drew & Hardman, 2004 for an overview of housing and persons with disabilities). By mid to late 1980s, the organization had increased from six residences to twelve. The increase in number was a response to the changing needs of service users, and to a proposal by the provincial government to provide more residences. The service user population was increasing in age, and physical disability was becoming more common. Consequently, two houses became wheelchair accessible. The organization recognized that a number of women in

the program were vulnerable and at risk of abuse, and a woman's program was created to meet the need.

Techniques and activities at the TU

Structure, schedule, control plan, and lifeskills.

There was an orderly routine at the TU, with an activity and errand planned for every day. Residents used their "control plan" daily in order for them to stay away from risky behaviors. The control plan included staying away from images of children and places where children congregated (e.g., playgrounds). Workers tracked the behaviors and activities of residents in logs, and staff assessed whether the resident was functioning satisfactorily. Residents trained in improving basic skills such as hygiene, self-care, meal preparation, shopping, and budgeting.

Leisure activities.

A second goal of the TU was to facilitate healthy leisure activity. Residents went with workers to movies, suppers, and sports. One resident bought a computer and software with worker assistance. Generally, staff members encouraged residents to participate as much as they were able. The residents in addition belonged to a peer group that organized recreation activity, with their parents. These activities were independent of the organization, and peer-facilitated.

Client-centered problem solving, rapport.

The program recognized that each resident had individual needs, and these were entirely different from the offending problem. Whereas the offense problem was treated in a rather generic way, by structure, routine, and control plan, the program considered individual characteristics more sensitively.

For instance, workers facilitated problem solving at the residence. In order to be effective, worker rapport with the resident was important:

Teaching the clients to be honest and do problem solving by openly discussing things. There is empathy. They kind of feel that staff is not as staff but as someone who is their friend. This is so they can relate their problem and talk about it.

Staff sought to relate warmly to residents, even when they made mistakes:

Even if someone made a big mistake, I do not show displeasure because showing of displeasure does not get the issue out. I try to take what side of the story that they have. I try to ask them how they solve it, whether they understood that. Then, they go through this, and they do not hesitate to discuss with you next time something goes wrong. At the same time, they realized that they made a mistake in what they did.

Periodic goal planning, biweekly meetings

Goal planning for each service user occurred as necessary, with each person's plan reviewed every six months. A resident and his workers looked at all significant areas of the person's life, progress to date, and areas for future improvement.

The TU house meeting was biweekly and residents and house staff sit to deal with house issues. The staff meeting, also biweekly, involved all house staff, the program coordinator, behavioral specialist, and the external therapist. The staff meeting was for information exchange, supervision, and discussion of approaches.

How do power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors influence the development of the residential program?

Informants spoke at length regarding the principles (ideology) of the organization. They also noted the power dynamic factors and administrative structures in the organization. It appeared that the chain of command (small bureaucracy) was tempered or made flexible by egalitarian principles and team process.

General principles of the organization

The organization emphasized the crucial nature of values, beliefs, and attitudes in carrying out service and support. One of the main principles was responding to evolving needs. The TU was in fact one response to the need of supporting in-house clients with sexual offending problems, without having to send them away to another organization. The woman's program was another response to changing needs, at the opposite end of the service equation (those persons at risk of being victimized).

A closely related value was providing lifelong support to the person if she so desired. The supports would be adapted to changing life circumstances. Needs of service users were identified, and the organization adapted to meet those needs. The TU began as one adaptation for lifelong support to a client that had developed sexual offending problems.

A third value was to treat all persons with dignity and respect. The organization believed that every person was valued as a human being, and should be treated well. All informants stated that they liked the organization's attitude toward service users, relating to them with respect and care.

The organization espoused the belief that all service users were adults, and had the right to make choices. These included choices that workers or the agency did not like, so long as they did not hurt themselves or others. The organization aimed to provide

informed consent regarding important decisions. Related to this belief was the principle of voluntary participation, aptly summed up by one informant as, "if a person needed assistance, but did not want it, then you cannot give it". Due to the TU requiring special restrictions on the resident, the organization underscored its voluntary nature.

Principle: society devalued persons with disability

One informant emphasized the critical work in breaking devaluing attitudes toward persons with disabilities. She spoke about how mainstream society devalued disabled persons.

The informant described persons with disability as rather disempowered by societal (governmental and private) structures, practices, and policies. The informant explained that in Manitoba, "we held the assumption that persons with intellectual disability were by definition vulnerable. We treated them as such, and we made them vulnerable". In legislation such as *The Vulnerable Persons Living with a Mental Disability Act*, government increased the disabled person's reliance on authority figures. By increasing the level of social control and decreasing, the person's opportunity for independent decision-making, government and social/service agents increased the vulnerability of the person. Decisions made for a vulnerable person were often in the interests of a third party, such as the interests, careers, and reputations of service workers and support agencies. The informant pointed out that the *Vulnerable Person's Act*, even as the legislation was written in good intention, did not address the underlying marginalization of disabled persons. Reflected in the language of the Act, the disabled person was still a victim or someone to be cared for, rather than as a brother or sister, or someone who belonged on an equal footing.

The organization as a whole believed in empowerment, although to varying degrees as other informants spoke more briefly and with less knowledge on the topic. One informant appeared to take the lead, and emphasized high expectations, strengths oriented responses, and service user successes in her practice.

Principles: at times, we all failed to follow them

The informant stated that the principles of the organization (and the concomitant values training) were at root counter-cultural because mainstream society did not believe in these things. As persons and as workers, we all came from cultures that formed us. Workers brought beliefs and assumptions, and sometimes workers would slip into disrespectful attitudes. One informant emphasized that values were something that we carried in our gut, and in order for strengths or valuing approaches to manifest, these required merging into daily practices and routines. Otherwise, "the training may be completed, but how the workers interpreted it in their own value system would change it. They went and ended up doing the same thing as before". Other informants recounted that workers held their own beliefs and attitudes, and these were very difficult to change. In contrast, however, some informants believed that employees generally tried hard to follow organizational principles.

Particular principles in the TU

The TU embodied principles of its own, although it as well looked to the principles of the rest of the organization. One principle at the residence was that while living there, residents needed to follow program guidelines like individual safety plan and participating in house activities like house meeting. Another TU specific principle was

for the person, including workers, to take responsibility for his/her own behavior. One informant explained the principle in the following excerpt:

> The men in the program and the staff facilitate responsibility taking in all aspects of life. In the recognition that one cannot expect an individual to take responsibility for their offending behavior if they do not take responsibility for daily activities such as budgeting, keeping their home clean or shoveling sidewalk. Or solving their own problems so there is an intentional emphasis on voluntary participation, responsibility taking, and more intentional emphasis on access to the community and healthy recreation.

> In this way, the TU residents were required to follow a structured routine of maintaining the house, hygiene and productive activities (work or educational programs). Access to the community and recreational pursuits were available, again done in an orderly manner. This structure and routine served to limit or eliminate any opportunity to return to offending behavior.

Administrative structure—team process

Decision making at the TU was through a team process. In making any sort of important decision, the staff member would think about whom s/he would discuss. For most things, one residential worker stated, staff members would discuss at the staff meeting. We "all gave our opinions. If most of us agreed on a point, then this was what we would follow".

Administrative/power structure—hierarchy

On the other hand, the organization contained a clear chain of command. Literally, power came down from the Board of Directors to the Executive Director, and

then to the rest of the organization. The service users knew this, and residents would first meet with the residence supervisor, and if not satisfactory, with the program coordinator, the supervisor's supervisor, for important decisions and issues. The official policy was that the majority of decisions affecting the program or a service user were made within the staff team, in collaboration with the resident, under the direction of the house supervisor. One informant summarized this as follows: "I tow the line of the organization—I have to. It depends on person to person how exactly [with room for flexibility]".

Decisions taking place at the residence

Most of the day-to-day decisions and activities took place at the TU. House staff members would discuss and make decisions with the residents. A residential worker described the process of decision-making in the following manner:

> At the house, we [treatment workers] have a say to some extent. We more like to give options and most of the time we encourage the client to decide for himself. Umm, by explaining, clarifying, and simplifying, we make it easier to understand. This is for the client to make his own decision. If he fails to do that, then we will discuss the issue at the [house] meeting. We rephrase for him to see if what we say makes sense.

In short, residential staff members employed negotiation and rephrasing to enable clients to make decisions within the guidelines and parameters.

Using the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional systems as a guide, how did the external and internal influences on the formulation of correctional policy apply to the residential (TU) program?

External influences on organizational policy

Legislative mandate and the process of law review

Manitoba Family Services and Housing funded the organization. The organization followed the general requirements of legislation regarding persons with intellectual disabilities, such as *The Vulnerable Person Living with a Mental Disability Act* (see also Manitoba Family Services, n.d.). However, informants did not mention the influence of legislation except to comment on the relationship between the organization's principles and the ideology of the prevailing provincial legislation. The organization, as a private non-profit entity, appeared somewhat free to operate on its own. Legislation directly affected the organization only regarding technical details (see next paragraph) or during crises (e.g., an allegation of service user abuse), although some informants saw government policy as reflecting underlying attitudes and structures in society as a whole. They saw these structures as commonly oppressive to disabled persons.

The TU needed to follow the guidelines of applicable municipal and provincial regulations regarding the operation of a care facility. These included fire escape plan and zoning.

Short term political needs

Client issues were manageable and the urgent matters that did occur revolved around health issues due to the aging client population. Most informants also described the TU as a relatively stable program, with no recent crises.

The TU liked to integrate itself quietly into the surrounding neighborhood. (This was a short-term political need because the low profile was to avoid controversy or scrutiny). The neighborhood was low-risk (few children and schools nearby), and the

residence did its part to blend in. The program made sure that the house was maintained well (e.g., snow shoveled, lawn trimmed).

There was limited contact with neighbors. Occasionally, the residents would visit a middle-aged woman next door, who shared her baked goods, and they enjoyed each other's company. Obviously, the neighbor did not know of the history of inappropriate behaviors of the residents. The neighborhood did not promote interaction, and the clients seemed to prefer this. Any resident contact with neighbors staff members would guide, in order to ensure safety and discourage service user disclosures of their history (to strangers). Two residents also attended services at a local church.

Policies and procedures of related systems

The TU dealt with a number of workplaces, day programs, and collateral service agencies. In comparison with other residences, the TU had a larger role in networking and coordination with collateral agencies because it dealt with forensic issues, having primary responsibility for safety.

The majority of the coordination was in partnership with the EA agency. EA, as an external consultant, provided some direction for the TU because it had experience in treating criminal behavior. The foundation components of the program came from EA, including training, the offense cycle model, and structure of residential treatment. The organization formed a contract with EA for treatment and counseling of the TU residents. In addition, one resident attended the EA day program part-time.

The therapist from EA had the major role as a representative of that agency. She took part in staff meetings, and saw TU residents in one-on-one counseling sessions. The therapist addressed intra-psychic issues and offense issues. She facilitated the resident's

self-awareness and assisted in formulating a safety plan (how to stay away from offending). Any change in the individual program of a resident required the assessment of the therapist. One residential worker explained that the therapist clarified information about the resident and possible approaches. The residents were open to her about issues at work, with peers, and so on. The residential worker stated that if there were any major problems in the resident's life, she would explain to the team. Clearly, for an outside consultant, the EA therapist played a pivotal role in the TU.

From a financial point of view, the crucial agency was Manitoba Family Services and Housing because it provided nearly all of the organization's revenue. The organization needed to adhere to certain Family Services standards in operating a residential care facility, such as fire escape regulations, meal and diet planning, quality of furnishings, financial planning with residents, and cost control (budget).

Academic research

The organization was somewhat ad hoc in the way it incorporated academic research into programs. Various informants noted that they read the occasional paper about the field, or would attend conferences periodically. Nonetheless, the organization had put together a conference on older adulthood in persons with developmental disability. The discussion resulted in a position/vision paper on old age and disability (Coming of Age, 2004).

Another research gathering attended by staff was the conference on sexuality at the University of Guelph (Ontario). The event offered pre-conference courses of two or three days in duration, in topics like sexuality assessment, attitudes toward sexuality, and sexuality and intellectual disability. Renowned writers and advocates attended and

presented at these conferences, such as David Hingsburger (see Schwier & Hingsburger, 2000).

The writer knew, from his past employment at the organization, that it emphasized recognition and sensitivity to sexuality in persons with developmental disability (DD). This began well before the creation of the TU.

The organization was more interested in acknowledging and incorporating the values and beliefs aspects of theories than the intellectual and logical aspects. As the one providing consultation regarding the foundation beliefs of the organization, the behavioral specialist played the major role in putting together the twelve-hour value based service provision workshop, which all staff members were to attend. The workshop emphasized incorporating life affirming values into daily work routines, and the need to examine where one stood in relation to DD persons.

The behavioral specialist, and together with much of the organization, was interested in finding practical ways to actualize in staff activities good practice and egalitarian relations. The organization was more interested in this than in the academic side of the research process.

Internal influences on organizational policy

Professional interests

The organization possessed a hierarchy, and the writer interviewed informants ranging from line workers up to the program manager. Employees tended to have somewhat different views on the ethos and practices of the organization, depending on their position. They also mentioned the influence of the Board of Directors. All

informants agreed that the organization strove to do its best for clients and that access to community activities was important.

Role of the Board of Directors.

The Board was responsible for governing the overall direction of the organization. For the TU, any major changes in the program, and in individual resident plans, required the input of the Board. This was due to the risk that TU service users may pose, and the effect that an offense incident may have on the organization as a whole. The practice of consulting the Board was consistent with the organization's policy that whenever positive approaches to managing resident behaviors were exhausted, the application of restrictive measures needed Board approval.

The Board consisted of longtime members, although recently, new members had been added. The President of the Board, an advocate for independent living, previously had family members who were involved in the organization.

Specific employee roles.

The program coordinator was responsible for six residences, including the TU. He oversaw program planning and budget. He ensured that all available resources for the residence to function were in place. He made sure that the residence met provincial and municipal licensing standards. He ensured that the residence possessed adequate staff workers, who had received the necessary training. The coordinator, together with the TU staff, liaised with the EA agency through team meetings, and he handled most of the external communications with collateral agencies.

The behavioral specialist was somewhat outside of the hierarchy, in that this person did not report to the program coordinator. The specialist exerted a significant

influence, having clear authority in the area of behavioral management and change. This person also assisted in formulating organizational values, and in this way played a leading role. The behavioral specialist strongly believed it was imperative to combat the devaluing assumptions toward those with development or intellectual disability, because they were a major reason for the oppression of disabled persons and a cause of many abusive situations. This person compiled educational resources, and researched and provided values training, based on the paradigm of social role valorization.

The behavioral specialist was extensively involved at the TU program, in addition to the other programs in the agency. This person worked directly with the client in individual goal planning and problem solving about difficult interactions and behaviors. The behavioral specialist wrote a behavioral profile regarding each service user.[1] The specialist addressed team issues. This person also offered recommendations about staffing.

The residence supervisor reported to the program coordinator. The residence supervisor oriented the house on a day-to-day basis, in terms of values and approaches. The supervisor facilitated program review for each resident (every six months) and facilitated goal setting with each resident (when necessary). He ensured the health of all people at the house, regarding cleanliness, respectful interaction, and scheduling. He advised the coordinator of what needed to occur/be maintained in order to live/work in a congenial atmosphere. The supervisor provided lifeskills training and one-to-one counseling with residents. He made sure that the house had staff for all evenings and overnights, and he screened new staff for their suitability to be at the TU (attitude toward

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[1] Although this may appear to be a great deal of work, the service user population of the organization was stable, and many of the tasks, once completed, need to be revised only periodically.

sexual offenders, and so on). The supervisor coordinated with the program coordinator to set up family visits for residents.

The TU treatment/care worker supported residents in daily activities and programs, like financial management, grocery shopping, meal preparation, and laundry. The care worker prompted the resident regarding his safety plan (how not to enter in high-risk situations or behavior) and would redirect the resident when necessary. The TU possessed two staff members per evening, and the care workers would be on shift together. Care workers also slept over at the residence several nights per week, resting on the hide-a-bed. The workers engaged in behavior facilitation and skills training with residents.

Some concern about how employees were treated.

There was some concern about the organization's policies toward employees. One informant stated that his salary was very low, barely enough to make a living. A second informant did not answer some of the interview questions because he did not wish to disclose his concerns about working conditions. He felt that he might suffer adverse consequences if others knew that he had talked. Although he agreed that the organization treated service users quite well, he did not like its attitude toward employees. The specific nature of his complaint was unknown due to his caution.

Resource capability

Material resources.

The TU program accessed the obvious resource of the house (rented property) and the program workers, as well as the talents and uniqueness of the residents.

The organization possessed skill-building resources for intellectually disabled adults. These included the Circles program (material to learn about boundaries and relationship), Life Facts, and picture communication symbols. There were materials to learn about life skills such as meal preparation and budgeting.

One informant mentioned that the house lacked a room for the overnight worker to stay. The staff member would sleep in the living room, and for female workers, this may be uncomfortable because the residents may walk in.

Team work.

One key resource was working as a team. The staff meeting was biweekly, and it provided the opportunity for staff members to contact and support one another. As one residential worker stated, the meetings were useful because everyone had a chance to address issues that they noticed and for everyone to present his/her view equally.

Staffing a unique challenge at TU.

Finding staff members for the TU was a challenge. As TU staff members required the special sexual abuse training, it was often difficult to find casual or replacement workers. The organization trained some of its most experienced workers in the sexual abuse course, mostly the supervisors at the other residences who then ended up as the relief staff for the TU. As for the regular TU staff, the organization carefully selected workers who would have the attributes to cope with the TU mandate. The response to the offer of working at the TU varied. Some employees flatly had declined, and others were tentative. However, a group of workers were at first unsure but willing to stay.

Informants believed that consistency in staffing was important, in order to promote rapport and understanding with service users.

Operational maintenance needs

The agency, including the TU, was relatively stable. The population of service users changed little. Client issues were manageable. The staff was reliable for the most part, with a core group of twenty-five line workers and the majority of managers committed to staying long-term at the agency. In the TU, the residents were stable, and did not pose any outstanding problems. Finding and maintaining staff members at the TU proved to be a challenge, but the specific nature of the concern was unknown as informants spoke guardedly.

Employees received low rates of pay.

Funding was predictable, in that Manitoba Family Services and Housing (FSH) paid a stable per diem rate for each resident. The concerns of informants regarding insufficient employee income correlated to the FSH funding arrangement. The organization's budget simply did not allow for higher rates.

Although pay rates at TU were low, they were higher than for other residences. One worker related that for "what I am doing and for the work put in, I can see why people would not want to do it" for the pay. The low pay also created stress and pressure for workers at home because of the difficulty in supporting family and dependents.

Satisfaction from human service and interpersonal aspects.

Employees gained satisfaction from the helping and interpersonal aspects of their jobs. One worker stated, "I had been here long enough that I enjoy the people. I like the people here. I think the clients are awesome". Another person observed that for one

service user, things were not going well. However, when "she had made a small step forward, I went wow".

Discussion

The Discussion section consists of six parts: document analysis process, interview process, establishing credibility, future trends in the field, and the fit between the findings and the theoretical frameworks of Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988), and study limitations.

Document analysis process

The documents were useful in giving a picture of the routine administrative and technical tasks faced by the residential supervisor and program coordinator, such as care facility inspection sheets and receipts for maintenance service. Due to the design of the study, the more sensitive and telling documents regarding client issues and interagency negotiations were not available (client and staff specific information was outside of the research protocol).

The writer also read the policy and procedure manual of the organization, which contained an important section on principles and beliefs. The writer saw the budgets for the TU, and he saw the low pay. Even the rates for management were low. In the most recent budget, rates had improved somewhat. The writer concurred with one informant who stated that it was difficult to make a living on agency wages (not only this organization, but also the field in general).

The most telling document was the training package regarding value-based service provision. It described in a thoughtful manner the history of supporting persons with intellectual history, barriers to fulfillment and growth, and valorizing abilities and

potentials. The training package pointed to the motivation of some workers in learning progressive approaches.

Interview process

The interviews in general went well. All interviews except one satisfied the seven criteria for quality interviews (Lee, 1999). The writer probed and clarified as necessary. The writer knew several of the informants from other endeavors, and this helped to smooth the interview process. A number of informants engaged with the writer, showing written materials, and calling to attention by using his name. One informant in particular was highly aware and he noticed, even as the writer tried not to show it, his disapproval with the responses (see the section on Credibility below). The writer believed that he subtly changed the course of his responses into something more acceptable to the writer. This informant was diplomatic and careful. Some informants were visibly anxious, and the writer acted to decrease the formality and tension of the interview (e.g., reassuring the informant that their responses were fine, telling him/her something about the writer). Near the end of the interview, several informants had relaxed considerably and a less self-conscious mode of communication ensued. The researcher had gained rapport with several informants, and he related to them as they told of their beliefs and personal experiences.

However, one informant became somewhat annoyed when the writer explained the limits of confidentiality and anonymity, and thereafter spoke little about his concerns regarding the organization's treatment of employees.

Establishing credibility

In this section, the writer presents to the reader how his experiences with the organization and his interaction with informants may have shaped the analysis process. The writer had been an employee at the organization in 1997, and worked in group-residences before the advent of the TU. He knew the organization offered entry-level positions because he had been hired with minimal experience. In general, the informants' perspectives fit his memories of the agency.

The external agency EA that liaised with the organization was one that the writer knew well. He had been an employee there for many years.

The writer generally had positive interactions with informants, who were cooperative and interested in the study. He knew three informants as friends or previous colleagues. He also knew two of the three residents in the TU. Therefore, he knew what to expect at this organization, and the research process did not differ significantly from initial expectations. There were a few surprises. One aspect of the TU that the writer was pleasantly surprised was service-users having access to a selection of choices for lifestyle and leisure activities.

Future trends and ways to prevent sexual abuse

There was a diversity of opinion about the best way to work with intellectually disabled offenders and prevent sexual abuse in this population. One person believed that the future would be much better, because in the past many intellectually disabled men were institutionalized. He described one client who had lived for most of his life in a mental hospital, and he was middle-aged when he had left. When the service user went to live in the community, everything was new to him. He would walk to a shopping mall,

and he would not know how to find the washrooms or the exits. The client did not know how to use the telephone. Now, he was learning these life skills and becoming more comfortable in the community. One informant stated that we were trying our best, and that what treatment we had currently was sufficient. He stated that with improvements in technology and research, something more effective might come about. He, like all other speakers, affirmed that it was most important to treat clients with respect and encourage links with the community.

A second informant asserted that the way to prevent sexual abuse would be to change social mores about sex, in diminishing society's preoccupation with sex:

> I think that you have to change our culture's attitudes. You have to change how our culture uses sex to sell, promote, and glamorize. I think our culture overvalues the sexual part of a person and devalues the, how would I put it, intellectual aspect. Advertising is a classic example of how sex sells, and it does. However, it does not promote anything good. It does not promote a healthy attitude.

Another informant strongly believed that community education and advocacy were the effective ways to prevent abusive situations. This person felt that it was imperative to facilitate progressive change in societal attitudes toward disability, and promote esteem and self-awareness among disabled persons and their families. The informant identified with the work of Hingsburger (2000). She believed that the structure of society needed to transform, from one based on individualism and valorization of self-sufficiency (antithetical to the lives of persons with disability) to one of options and valorization of diversity. She felt it was critical to educate regarding sexuality and

persons with disability, and to foster the sense of adulthood of intellectually disabled persons.

Fit between the findings and the correctional hierarchy model

Like in the case study regarding the small government program, the perspectives of informants at different levels in the organizational structure differed markedly. Due to this organization being non-governmental, the political levels in the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) hierarchy model did not apply. Nonetheless, there was good fit between the findings and the hierarchy model of management because the various levels in the organization demonstrated priorities and preferences consonant with its position.

A second aspect that the writer noticed was that some categories did not achieve the rule of three in reaching significance (each category required three meaning units before inclusion in the study report). The informants spoke about some unique aspects of the organization, and these topics appeared only once or twice. This may be due to the differing perspectives of each level in the management structure. Alternatively, this may be the result of the small, introductory nature of the single case study, having only five informants.

A third aspect was the relatively low power and influence of non-management employees. There was a sense that ultimately management always took care of the important decisions.

Fit between the findings and the policy influences model

The fit between the findings and the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) policy influences model was rather tentative and uneven, but nonetheless there were substantial data corresponding to the patterns suggested by the model.

Rival explanations analysis.

Following the analytic procedure of rival explanations, the majority of the questions in the interview guide derived from the model garnered reasonably lengthy responses. However, the control questions (based on alternative theoretical frameworks) also received thought-provoking responses. The question on ideology (what are the principles of the organization), of all interview questions, received the most in-depth and reflective responses. Therefore, like in the studies on the government and voluntary programs, ideology appeared to be a neglected factor in the Ekstedt and Griffiths policy influences model.

Reflective of this "mixed bag" of responses, the control question regarding how the informant viewed the organization received a spectrum of responses. Three informants saw the organization primarily as a collection of personalities and interpersonal relationships. One person recognized the importance of all persons and the critical nature of relationships. Informants pointed out that the organization decided on issues as a group, and therefore interpersonal relationships were the pivotal factor in this process. Another worker related getting to know coworkers and service users very well, so that some programs become like a family. A second opinion came in at the midpoint of the spectrum. One informant related that there needed to be a balance between human relationships and administrative structure/power. He stated that administrative structures needed to give power to people, and that staff members needed participation and input. Otherwise, the structure would fall apart. The other end of the spectrum was reflected by one worker, stating that the power component was foremost. At the main office, this

person "observed a few things. Most employees just associate with the man or woman with power".

Pattern matching.

Using the procedures of pattern matching and word table, it was a struggle to find a pattern among the findings that corresponded to the propositions of the correctional policy model. Several patterns suggested themselves, but most did not meet the rule of three. One successful pattern was some dissatisfaction with employee-management relations (*professional interests*). This interacted with stable but tight budget, which produced low salaries for employees (*resource capability*). The agency seemed able to predict and satisfy service user needs, but had difficulty meeting the needs of employees such as adequate compensation and comfortable use of agency supports (*operational maintenance needs*).

Limitations of the study

One limitation was the inability to garner specific information about employee concerns. Employees were understandably cautious, anxious that their identity would be linked to negative opinion, and colleagues would find out.

A second limitation was that client or worker specific documents were off-limits. Not seeing internal memoranda and interagency letters meant that a significant source of data was not included.

Chapter Eight

Cross Case Study

The chapter is structured according to the three research questions. Then, the writer looks at the fit between the multiple case findings and the correctional policy model.

Findings

What were recent major developments in the treatment of adult sexual offenders who resided in the community in Winnipeg?

As expected, each agency studied exhibited a unique development. However, three common patterns stood out. First, clients in these agencies demonstrated a high level of service need. Many of these sexual offenders had a mental illness and/or developmental disability. Regardless of diagnosis, most clients required an assortment of services and an intensive level of social intervention. The psychiatric practice saw a wide range of risk and need levels in clients. The government program saw offenders on the high end of risk and need, persons who "fell into cracks in society" and identified as serious threats to public safety. Most agencies did not like to serve high-risk clients because they were difficult to facilitate a successful outcome. The voluntary program likewise had high-risk offenders, but they possessed a willingness to engage and learn (otherwise, they would not have opted to join). The residential program serviced men who were low-risk, but required a high level of support in daily living. Residents were trained in improving basic skills such as hygiene, self-care, meal preparation, shopping, and budgeting.

Second, there was considerable reluctance among external organizations and funders for specialized services (regarding sexual offenders and other difficult populations). Programs struggled to ensure stable funding. In the voluntary program, much energy was devoted to ensuring financial stability, because any funding cutback would result in a crisis. The program currently received sufficient funds, but only "just enough without room for comfort". A funder may decide to decrease its contribution, and the program did not possess reserve monies for a "rainy day fund". The small government program also experienced reluctance, in this situation by top provincial officials, to cooperate and organize resources at the start of the program. Once started, the officials and ministers wished to decrease funds, and the program had to be vigilant in managing the political situation in order to maintain access to resources. In psychiatric services, few physicians were interested in working with this population. Although not a funding issue, it showed the difficulty in procuring qualified staff to work with offenders.

Third, it appeared that in order for programs to be effective, a strong structure was necessary. The voluntary program demonstrated the merits of a clear structure, based on orderly policies and procedures, high standards in accountability, and well-articulated philosophy. The high-risk management team, external to the voluntary program, was an example of a fluid structure that enabled growth and accountability for participants. The government program, despite pressures, was in part able to thrive because of cogent guidelines and astute direction. It was easy for projects in government to go awry if not carefully managed. The program's admission criteria and operating guidelines prevented other agencies from sending all of their problematic cases to the program. Committee direction prevented the program philosophy from being diluted.

The residential program was concrete and obvious in its structure. It offered an orderly routine for service users, with an activity and errand planned for each day. The program included periodic goal planning and biweekly meetings. The structure served to eliminate opportunities for reoffense because residents used their "control plan" in order to stay away from risky behaviors, and that all resident activities were performed under supervision.

How did power dynamic, ideological, and administrative factors influence the development of these treatment programs?

Principles and beliefs were important

The writer was struck by the care and elaboration paid to the guiding principles and values for each program. In the voluntary program, principles were at the heart, and seemed to be the foundation for everything else. The government program likewise had strong foundation principles. It seemed that any model purporting to describe organizational functioning needed to put ideology (or, more positively, values and beliefs) as a central factor (see Chapter 9 for discussion on study findings and the correctional policy model).

Three out of four agencies espoused progressive[1] and idealistic principles. The common principles included the following:

➢ Treating all persons with respect

➢ Genuine communication

➢ Teamwork

➢ Equitable access to resources

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[1] By this, the writer meant the aim of ending unsatisfactory, oppressive practices, openness to difference, and seeing with empathy.

➢ Changing ineffective systems

➢ Sensitive, individually tailored programs

➢ All persons had the right to make choices

The voluntary and government programs incorporated such principles into daily practice, with some give and take. These programs had structures that encouraged principled practice, and participants worked hard in realizing them.[2] For instance, the government program used the Canadian Social Work Code of Ethics (CASW, 2005) as an ethical and operational compass.

The residential program also espoused idealistic principles, but was somewhat inconsistent in their application. This agency officially believed in empowerment and disability advocacy. However, the practice of these principles varied from point to point in the program. Many staff members articulated and advocated for empowerment, while other workers paid less attention to it.

In a somewhat different vein, the psychiatric practice hewed to the liberal/clinical approach in working with offenders and mentally disabled persons, in treating the individual with a problem.

Teamwork was needed for effective service

Informants noted that the teamwork principle was needed for effective service delivery. The government program strove to work across differences in ideology and technique among service providers and to span organizational boundaries. The program facilitated agencies to come to an agreement on treatment planning. The voluntary

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[2] The writer did not want to give the impression that the voluntary and government programs were the same because they were not, and each had a very different organizational culture and service role. However, the writer believed that similarities in values and beliefs helped to make way for some successful modalities, with much room for learning and improvement, as in any system.

program enabled joining. That is, in coming together, people shared varied perspectives and beliefs. Then, persons would gain the broadest perspective on dealing with the concern. The residential program encouraged teamwork in order to promote collegiality and necessary communication.

It appeared that teamwork was essential because no one person would be able to handle the varied needs and demands of high-needs service users. Different perspectives and expertise were required for the myriad situations that practice entailed. Of course, when providing twenty-four hour care like in the residential agency, a rotating schedule of shift staff was necessary. In addition, working with high-needs persons was at times stressful, involving ambiguous and open-ended situations, and coworkers were indispensable for support and feedback.

A paramount concern was preventing recidivism

All agencies studied believed a paramount concern was preventing reoffense by service users. Risk management was performed through various means. In the residential program, residents needed to follow program requirements like the individual safety plan and participation in house activities. The voluntary program emphasized honesty and accountability amongst peers, and educating about the difference between confidentiality and secrets. The government program carefully monitored the progress and any potential problems of its high-risk clientele. The psychiatric practice used the general guidelines of relapse prevention and psychopharmacology to manage risk.

Criticism of mainstream social services

Criticism was directed at mainstream social services, both governmental and private. There was a tendency, according to informants, for social agencies to be rigid,

hegemonic, and highly resistant to outside ideas and innovation. Agencies often were unwilling to cooperate or coordinate with others. Some service providers did not provide opportunities for clients to learn basic skills, and several provincial agencies permeated an atmosphere of bureaucratic distance, which did not meet client needs. Some informants mentioned the presence of sexism in male-dominated agencies, making life difficult for female workers.

Criticism of oppressive structures

Criticism was also leveled at legislative and legal structures that served to devalue and disempower persons with disability. One informant noted that *The Vulnerable Persons Living with a Mental Disability Act* (Manitoba, 1996), while written with good intentions, was misguided because it served to entrench the reliance of intellectually disabled persons on authority. The Act used victim terminology to describe disabled persons. It did not promote the personhood and equality of disabled persons. In short, decisions were made *for* disabled persons, often in the interests of preserving the reputations of workers and agencies, and less frequently in the interests of justice.

Using the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) model of correctional systems as a guide, how did the external and internal influences on the formulation of correctional policy apply to Winnipeg programs?

External influences on program policy

Legislative mandate and the process of law review

It was obvious that the private agencies were relatively free to operate on their own, having no legislative mandate to follow. Legislation affected the private agencies during crises (e.g., reporting to authorities when allegation of abuse of a child occurred).

Government and legal protocols also exerted influence on agencies when performing assessments for the courts and in supporting offenders that fell under the requirements of community notification and sex offender registry.

In comparison, the small government program needed to directly follow the mandate of legislation and the law. This government program had an especially complex situation because it incorporated the visions of three provincial departments, Health, Family Services, and Justice, when each had separate mandates. For example, the program in several instances coordinated efforts with police forces in performing community notification, putting into place community education about offence risk and ways to decrease risk. However, the discrepancy between the law enforcement mandate (police) and the treatment mandate (program) created a certain tension.

The government program was also linked to senior echelons in the provincial bureaucracy and (more tangentially) to politicians. Dealing with the political and legal complexities of government, including the potential for funding cuts, was a necessity.

Short term political needs

Each of the agencies had very different "political needs". The somewhat detached nature of the psychiatric practice to related systems kept controversy and politically sensitive events at bay. Any controversy focused on individual clients, but not on the psychiatrist. In the residential care program, there was stability. Offender issues were manageable, and there were no recent crises.

The voluntary support program did not exhibit short-term political needs, in the sense that it operated according to underlying principles and values, and not political expediency. However, the voluntary program, like all others, needed to keep appropriate

boundaries with the public and assumed a relatively low profile. As the membership included high profile and high-risk offenders, the potential existed for negative reactions from the community and the media.

In comparison with the voluntary program, the three others were almost invisible to the public. Nearly nothing in popular media (Internet, newspapers, and pamphlets) pointed to the existence of these programs, and knowledge was gained on a need-to-know basis (i.e., by workers and service users).

The government program was by far the most political. The program was influenced, through a trickle-down effect, by the political strategy and imperatives of the ruling party. As one informant stated, "jails, zero tolerance, public safety, and law and order get votes". The program was a good fit with the agenda of the ruling party, in that it kept offenders under tight supervision and brought the possibility of improving the offender's attitude and deviancy. The program needed to position itself astutely in order to keep government funding bodies satisfied, and prevent the threat of monetary cuts.

Policy and procedures of related systems

Both the voluntary program and the small government program emphasized networking and right relationship with collateral agencies. In the voluntary program, a priority was providing clear and respectful communications with related groups and organizations. The small government program was connected with the three departments, in funding, training opportunities, and assisting in managing difficult clients. The program liaised with a large number of agencies, governmental, quasi-governmental, and private.

In comparison, the residential program and the psychiatric practice were more isolated. The residential program liaised with collateral agencies (client workplaces, day programs, residential care licensing) as necessary. The major partnership was with the EA (offender treatment) agency. The foundational components of the program came from EA, and the EA therapist met with clients and the service team on a weekly basis. The psychiatric program was cognizant of the policies and procedures of related systems. The psychiatrist was aware that significant liaison work was required, but unable to perform many such tasks due to time/resource constraint.

Maintaining adequate relationships with funding agencies was an important factor for two out of the three private programs.[3] For the residential program, nearly all revenue was from Manitoba Family Services and Housing. In the voluntary program, a priority was maintaining funding from external agencies through satisfactory relationships while at the same time keeping a certain independence from funder agendas. As a voluntary initiative, and not part of mainstream corrections, CSC budget cuts had a disproportionate effect (i.e., prison programs faced a lower percentage decrease in funds, compared to volunteer programs). In relation to a second major funder, a Mennonite agency, the program started to move away from a denominational (church) affiliation, and rather form its own identity.

There was criticism of mainstream corrections and social services. Several informants saw a number of provincial agencies as distant, bureaucratic, and disengaged from service user needs. However, several organizations were distinguished in providing

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[3] The psychiatric practice was funded by Manitoba Health. Funding was not an issue, as the psychiatrist simply billed Medicare for services provided, and little negotiation was necessary. The funding issue for the government program was described in the previous two sections.

positive contributions, including a sex offender program operated by provincial probation and a private firm of psychologists.

Academic research

Each agency had a quite different approach to incorporating research into program development. The government program made extensive use of outside research, and carried an emphasis on learning and professional development. The program incorporated best practice into its policies and procedures, such as multisystem case management. The voluntary program likewise kept up on current research, and consulted and trained with leading professionals and researchers. A number of university students did field placements at the program, and these were valuable resources, connections, and messengers (proponents of the voluntary philosophy).

The residential agency was somewhat ad hoc in incorporating research into its offender program. It was more interested in the values and beliefs aspects of theory than intellectual and logical aspects. A significant achievement for the agency was putting together a conference on aging and intellectual disability (Coming of Age, 2004). The conference findings and continuing research work were relevant for the entire disability field, and not specifically to the small group of offenders served by the organization. The psychiatric practice adopted the general principles of cognitive-behavioral theory, relapse prevention, and forensic psychiatry. The practice planned to become research oriented in the near future, with the possibility of an additional staff member conducting clinical evaluation.

Currently, the only program that had produced original research was the residential one, collaborating with academics, agencies and self-advocates in producing a position paper on aging (Coming of Age, 2004).

Internal influences on program policy

Professional interests

The programs also exhibited very different dynamics in this domain. All programs emphasized teamwork, but the extent to which it was actualized varied. The most established teamwork ethic occurred at the voluntary program and the government program. The foundation of these programs was based on teamwork and networking. In comparison, the residential and psychiatric programs showed less commitment toward teamwork. The residential program hewed to hierarchy, and this compromised team spirit and collaboration. The psychiatric practice, due to resource constraints, did not participate in liaison and team building activities.

The government program built solid and trusting relationships with service users, through honesty and directness, and as well with service providers and other stakeholders. As resource coordination—bringing together different community organizations into a treatment team—constituted the bulk of the work, tactful and positive communication was essential. Participants at the voluntary program developed a collaborative team approach, and respected diverse views when making program decisions. The program advisory team was composed of voices from different constituencies like faith groups, abuse survivor perspectives, and First Nations. The premise of the program was that in coming together, and in constructive idea building, we became stronger.

Work at the residential agency was based on a chain-of-command, although this was tempered by team consultation. The residential supervisor oriented the house on a day-to-day basis, in values and approaches. The behavioral specialist, who was somewhat outside the hierarchy, served to "soften" the approach by addressing team issues, and formulating and educating about progressive organizational values. In the psychiatry practice, the ethos and practice models of the medical profession were influential in emphasizing individual-level interventions, such as behavioral management and medication.

Motivations to work in this field varied. In the voluntary program, members were motivated by their studies (e.g., peace studies) and personal conviction, like a loss experience or a desire to live out religious belief. The other agencies, with paid workers, had varied motivation patterns. One was the desire to actualize professional standards in practice (for example at the government program, putting social work ways of doing into provincial bureaucratic processes). However, in several workers at the residential agency, motivation suffered due to dissatisfaction with management.

The voluntary program provided the richest data in this domain (*professional interests*). Support members seemed to exemplify various attributes, like maturity, good boundaries, and willingness to learn. They also were encouraged to take on emotional challenges, in shedding false assumptions (e.g., stereotypes), and integrating a more realistic and holistic view. Some came to the program with a negative attitude but later became impressed with the program.

At the voluntary program, core members were all high-risk offenders, and they usually did not have healthy supports. Most had no friends or family. Core members

kept quiet, and they faced hostility from a fearful public. The program director occupied a pivotal position, facilitating operations, being the focal point of communications, and coordinating and making decisions. She was a source of support, high standards, and frontline perspective. Members admired the director for good work, and strong rapport resonated throughout the program.

Resource capabilities

All agencies exhibited low levels of resource capability. The government program enjoyed the highest material resource capability. Significant funds were available for purchasing services from community agencies and contractors. The program had access to provincial government databases, and to offices throughout the province. However, like other agencies, this program demanded much of its workers. Workers required strong training, and needed to understand bureaucracies and resource allocations. Workers also needed resilience, healthy lives, awareness of change and innovation, in order to perform well in a very demanding role.

The voluntary program possessed limited resources of its own, but accessed an array of resources in related systems. The primary in-house resources were the high quality of its membership and a progressive philosophy. An important external resource was the high-risk management team. In treatment planning, this team made sure that the core member was functioning constructively within each agency program. According to informants, the team was a great way to coordinate with collateral agencies. Several resources were in short supply, and this put a strain on the program. These were the low number of support volunteers and the borderline financial situation (i.e., periodic crises in funding). The program had little capacity to take on additional core members. With the

current number of volunteers, there was no way to meet the demand in the correctional system.

The residential agency as well possessed limited resources. Finding staff members for the offender program was difficult. An important resource was the biweekly residence and staff meetings, whereby issues were clarified and perspectives shared. In the psychiatric practice, the outstanding factor was the low level of resource capability, the lowest of all four programs. The one psychiatrist was overburdened by caseload demands.

Operational maintenance needs

All four agencies were relatively stable. However, each agency had to deal with considerable stress in various areas. Of the four, the residential program was most stable, with long-term residents and routine activities. The main threat to stability came from employee dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, employees did gain some satisfaction from the helping and interpersonal aspects of the work. The psychiatric practice was also stable, and the main issue seemed to be self-care for the physician.

In the government program, the emphasis on coordination and communication averted many crises. In procuring adequate funding, the program's committee appeared alert to political warning signs and trends, and would respond effectively.

Predictability, stability, and comfort, the hallmarks of adequately meeting maintenance needs, had a different meaning in the voluntary program. For members, satisfaction came from the fulfillment of social and spiritual needs, and in making a difference in the lives of others. Due to the respect for individuality *within* community, and egalitarian relations, each group contained a unique and very different dynamic. As

well, some discomfort was to be tolerated because everyone was learning a more respectful way of being.

The main source of stability rested in the program director. A second source of stability came in the program philosophy, which was well articulated and applied consistently. Nonetheless, crises occurred in the program. Some core members experienced emotional breakdown or temptation to reoffend. In addition, when volunteers were unable to respect difference and became manipulative, much work would be necessary to stabilize the group and facilitate accountability.

Fit between the findings and the correctional policy model

The fit between the findings and the Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) correctional policy model was analyzed by relying on theoretical propositions (refer to Chapter 3). Several patterns presented themselves across cases.

1st trial of relying on theoretical propositions

For example, the model proposed that the expertise and training of workers were directly related to the quality of service (*professional interests and resource capabilities*). The higher the levels of expertise and education, the more likely high quality service would be achieved. This theoretical proposal was sustained in three out of four programs.

According to informants, both the government and voluntary program produced high-quality services and encouraging outcomes. The government program involved well-educated and experienced workers. The voluntary program trained volunteers extensively. Volunteers were emotionally mature and open to learning, with varying formal education levels. The residential program (the 3rd one) showed satisfactory client

outcomes, but had difficulty in human resource management. Agency workers possessed varying levels of training and expertise, but generally less so than staff members at the other two programs. The theoretical proposition held, but only moderately, because of the caveat that the voluntary program did not necessarily have higher educated members.

The one negative case was the psychiatric practice. It contained a highly educated person, a psychiatrist with five years of post-MD training, but the practice provided a limited service due to other reasons.

2nd trial of relying on theoretical propositions

2nd trial of relying on theoretical propositions

A second example centred on *operational maintenance needs*. The success of organizational supports was judged on their ability to perform the following:

1. Predict operational needs

2. Organize resources that address those needs

3. Express themselves in such a way that their use by employees is both comfortable and familiar (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988).

When these three tasks were not handled, an organizational malfunction occurred, leading to possible crisis.

This theoretical proposition fit three of the four programs studied. The government program's very premise was on facilitating and operationalizing these organizational supports. Therefore, it appeared to be performing the three tasks well, in-house and externally, as much as it was possible to predict organizational (i.e., human) behavior. The voluntary program also seemed to be performing well on operational maintenance tasks, although from a different perspective. Having a large membership of volunteers presented a dynamic in which interpersonal relationships and give-and-take

outcomes, but had difficulty in human resource management. Agency workers possessed varying levels of training and expertise, but generally less so than staff members at the other two programs. The theoretical proposition held, but only moderately, because of the caveat that the voluntary program did not necessarily have higher educated members.

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(rather than professional or bureaucratic procedures) were key. Crises did occur in the government and voluntary programs, but regarding issues outside of program influence, such as CSC funding and public hostility toward offender clients.

The residential program appeared to be performing well in predicting the needs of service users. It faltered somewhat in relating to employees. Some workers did not feel the agency heard their concerns, and they did not feel comfortable in using operational supports. A communication gap existed between employees and management. The result was a persistent organizational concern, as predicted by the theoretical proposition.

3rd trial of relying on theoretical propositions

A third example was based on the theoretical proposition that the policies and procedures of adjacent systems may force a correctional (or private nonprofit) agency to adjust its operations to accommodate them. This rang true in the government and voluntary programs, both of which liaised extensively with external organizations. The government program constantly dealt with external agencies and groups, adjusting its approach as appropriate to the logic and vicissitudes of these groups, in order to secure an effective result. The voluntary program, although a private organization, relied on government agencies and a faith-based organization for funds. When CSC had suddenly decreased its funding, the program had no choice but to adjust and look for alternative income sources.

However, the theoretical proposition had fit awkwardly in the residential program and psychiatric practice. The residential program consulted regularly with an offender treatment organization, but it had limited contact with government. Although the program depended on Manitoba Family Services for nearly one hundred percent of its

funding, liaison with Family Services was only for routine inspections and infrequent client crises. The authority of Family Services existed in the form of residential licensing standards and *per diem* amounts, but the program seemed to have accepted these as *fait accompli*. Family Services had infrequent contact with service providers and service users, especially with low-risk client populations, unless there was a crisis. In short, the residential agency long ago had adjusted and structured itself in relation to Family Services requirements, but the current, acute influence of government was low.

The psychiatric practice, according to the informant, would "go it alone" in most matters. The liaison with collateral agencies was only for essential matters such as client crises. External protocols, such as requirements in assessments for the courts, did apply, but the psychiatrist seemed to be generally self-directed in decision-making. In short, this theoretical proposition was replicated in only two out of four programs, which the writer considered unsuccessful.

Summary of fit analysis

The correctional policy model had a moderate level of fit with the multiple case findings. Of three trials in use of theoretical propositions, one was successful, the second was a weak pass, and the third failed.

Chapter Nine

Discussion of Findings

Chapter 9 presents a summary of study findings, linking them with the initial

goals of the study. The first goal was generating a description of each community

agency. The second goal was seeing if the findings fit the correctional policy model of

Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988). The third goal was proposing some conclusions and

recommendations (humbly, lessons learned) regarding community-based offender

treatment.

Summary of Findings

Diversity of service approaches

The findings indicated considerable diversity in service approaches involving the

sexual offender population. Even in the small number of agencies studied, the range of

approaches in therapeutic technologies, staffing, knowledge building, and values

orientation was wide. This pointed to the extensive service needs of sexual offenders,

from self-care to companionship to housing, requiring support.

"Just right" amount of structure

Generally, organizations required an acceptable level of structure and routine in

order to function well. Flexibility seemed to be key, in that organizations adapted as

circumstances changed. A non-directive, "free for all" company risked confusion, chaos,

and participant frustration. On the other hand, a highly regulated, standardized, and

hierarchical organization risked staff and service user alienation and stifled creativity. In

the sex offender field, in which prevention of recidivism and monitoring of risk were

crucial, strong agency structure was required. Such structure enabled systematic

reporting of offender behavior and coordination of services.

However, social services often seemed to fall into the trap of over regulating

procedures, and treating everyone the same (e.g., "everybody follows the rules here")

(Hasenfeld, 1992a). This was counterproductive, as humans were not products in an

assembly line, but were living, organic creatures. Sexual offenders particularly required

sensitive, individually tailored service, and the four programs studied implemented such

individuality. Some programs were more successful in this than others, but important

themes for all were teamwork, client participation, and access to resources (for both

service user and agency).

Some agencies tolerated oppressive practices

Criticism was directed at social agencies, in that some countenanced oppressive

practices, mirroring negative aspects of society. A glaring example was one worker that

stated it was easier for her to deal with offenders than with some offices. Male-

dominated agencies might look down upon a woman, while clients tended to heed her

words.

Stable agencies, chronic systemic pressures, significant organizational strengths

All agencies studied were stable, and functioned adequately in administration and

service provision. However, chronic stressors were apparent. These included high

caseload, uncertain funding, limited resources, and human resource tensions. Agencies

also demonstrated significant strengths, including well-articulated, progressive

philosophies, experienced workers, motivated learners, vivacious service users, and state-

of-the-art training. The programs showed various aspects of these strengths, but only the voluntary program demonstrated all of them consistently.

Influence of the law: Important, but limited in nonprofit agencies

Legislative mandate and the law were structures that agencies were required to accommodate, having both positive and negative impacts on agency operations and on the lives of clients. The law was like iron, non-negotiable, and agencies had to adjust and work with it. Nonetheless, private nonprofit agencies had considerable autonomy in most affairs, and legal requirements became a direct influence in only limited areas.

Optimism about the future

Informants were generally optimistic about the future of sex offender treatment and abuse prevention. The current situation in supported living (community residences and private dwellings) appeared as a great improvement over past practices of institutional placement. Knowledge was emerging about human behavior, and there was development of more effective therapeutic modalities. Some informants believed that integrated, coordinated, multisector services were the resource delivery model of the future.

Fundamental societal changes were required

Some also believed that fundamental societal changes were required before any significant reductions in sexual abuse will occur. Societal institutions needed an inclusion approach, inviting children and families to nurturing and meaningful life in community. Public vilification of persons and uninformed social policy were counterproductive.

Fit between Findings and Correctional Policy Model

Generally, the fit between the correctional policy model and study findings was good. In the individual case studies, three out of four programs fit well with the model, and of these three, one (the government program) had very strong fit. Still, one remaining program fit awkwardly. In cross-case analysis, two out of three theoretical proposition trials passed. One trial failed. In summary, substantial support existed for the correctional policy model, but the model had gaps.

For instance, the findings produced a theme that the model could not adequately account. Informants emphasized program values and beliefs. Ekstedt and Griffiths did not mention ideology as a separate domain in their model, but as part of professional interest and short-term political need. I believed that this was a shortcoming of the model, because the principles of an organization were a unifying force that cannot be explained by professional interests alone. (The two criminologists had conceived this factor as a number of professional groups, each with its own ideology and agenda, in dynamic tension within an agency). Organizational values resided largely within the agency, and the other domain of short-term political needs was external. Moreover, organizational values tended to be of considerable longevity and slow changing, whereas short-term political needs were by definition short-term utilitarian measures.

Another unaccounted theme from the findings was decision-making process and authority structures within an organization. Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) produced a model of the structure of management and administration (see Chapter 2). Especially intriguing were links between authority structure and the external influence domains. Although outside the scope of the study, a future researcher may wish to incorporate

elements of the management structure model to the correctional policy model based on further organizational findings.

Suggested addition to the model: Organizational principles and beliefs

The addition of the organizational principles factor into the internal influence domains of the correctional policy model would be useful. This factor included the written values, beliefs and approaches of the organization and the active rendition and negotiation of these values in daily life. It involved written organizational history, oral narratives of success, setbacks, and heroes, and a framework of goods/ideals. It also comprised the "feeling" of the organization. What did the surroundings look like? What art was on the walls? How did persons at the company sit, walk, and talk? Was the environment quiet? Or was there constant bustle and nervous energy? How was the office arranged? Was it one large room with everyone sitting side by side? Was it individual rooms, one for each person?

These observations pointed to the micro level political economy of the organization. (This also referred to Institutional Theory. Please see Hasenfeld, 1992b; Morgan, 1997). I was not as much concerned with a human relations perspective as with multifaceted expression of principles and beliefs, in the arrangement of surroundings, personal behavior, and ways of socializing. All of these things moved in dynamic relation to influences outside the organization.

Lessons Learned and Some Recommendations

Other lessons were learned through the course of the study. These points flowed from the summary of findings, particularly informants' views on future directions. The last four lessons featured recommendations for improved resource coordination, dealing

with public concerns, and self-care for organizations and individual workers. Furthermore, lessons included the promotion of ethical, accountable practice.

1. Sexual offenders were usually high-needs persons, requiring a wide range of intensive services. The diversity of service agencies and approaches, as seen in the study, was beneficial and necessary to support offenders in many areas of life.

2. Informants implied that for treatment agencies to function well, the right amount of structure and cohesion were necessary, sufficient for organized records and accountability, but not so much as to "cram people into a box" to fit the organization.

3. According to informants, agencies that emphasized engagement and strong relationship with service users appeared to have garnered above average client outcomes. This seemed consistent with the clinical evaluation literature (Cain & Seeman, 2002; Roth & Fonagy, 1996).

4. Treatment agencies needed to be accountable. Agencies can be seen as role models for a healthy, abuse-free world. In this light, agencies would do well to carefully evaluate their policies and practices, and stopping oppressive behaviors. Social workers would be invited to carry out their professional role. A social worker may evaluate one's own behavior and organizational behavior in comparison to the Canadian Social Work Code of Ethics (CASW, 2005) and provincial Standards of Practice (MASW, 2004). Agencies would gain credibility and enhanced linkages to partner organizations if they opted to join international associations of care providers, such as the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Offenders (ATSA). I would assert that agencies that measured and improved their practices toward benchmarks

such as ATSA (2001) Code of Ethics would over the long-term reap benefits, in improved employee satisfaction and client outcome.

5. Treatment agencies surely worked in a demanding field of practice, with heavy pressures. Agencies also demonstrated significant strengths, adapting with its tasks. Government and other funding bodies would be helpful if they provided additional supports to these agencies. Supports need not only be monetary, although these were surely vital to low-funded organizations. Supports may include greater certainty in financial schedules and knowledge sharing (e.g., information sharing about useful practices, invitations to workshops, dissemination of research papers).

6. Agencies themselves would enable a rested, motivated work force if there would be a schedule of healthy activities, vocational and recreational. These included research work as alternatives to regular service routines, organizational visioning and policy development, professional development time, adequate, sensitive supervision and feedback, and fun activities (e.g., lunch out with staff).

7. A critical need existed for community education about sexual abuse and cycles of violence, including their societal roots and ways to move into a healthier future. I would recommend that treatment agencies devote a portion of their energies in conducting community education and hearing concerns and wisdom of the public. This might be most effective when coordinated in a conference format with citizen's groups.[1] Another dissemination method may be informative advertisements about "not being alone" when faced with sexual abuse, and information about where to access confidential help.[2] An informed public may encourage politicians to pass

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[1] For discussion on education and public health strategies, see Laws, Hudson, Ward, (2001a).
[2] This advertisement approach would be similar to the one adopted by alcoholism and addictions services.

refined and helpful legislation, and discourage undue sensationalism in the popular media.

Limitations of the Study

Several factors limited the scope and depth of the study. First, three of the four programs studied were small (the government program was the only large one). The three largest community-based sex offender programs in Winnipeg declined participation. Therefore, the findings only represented a part of the Winnipeg treatment field, and a significant portion remained unstudied. Second, the study used indirect methods of gathering data (interview and document research), and did not observe programs in day-to-day activities for prolonged periods (e.g., participant observation). Consequently, there was no opportunity for an in-depth look at a program as it played out in daily life. Third, documents involving client and worker specific issues were not available. Such documents often revealed much about agency dynamics. Hence, some important organizational issues may have been missed.

Fourth, the agencies participating in the study had self-selected, in that they were functioning relatively effectively and felt comfortable being recorded in research. Agencies that had declined may have done so for any number of reasons, including organizational difficulty. Therefore, findings may have represented the issues and dynamics of higher functioning programs, and certain areas of organizational dysfunction were not seen.

Suggestions for Future Research

It would be fruitful for future organizational studies to encompass a more comprehensive sample of treatment agencies. Then, a stronger data set would be

developed, by comparing one agency to another within its category. For example, with three government agencies, the research could relate a probation program to a disability bureau to a federal parole office.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Canadian correctional policy has not been studied in recent years.[3] Development of the correctional policy model may involve the addition of useful elements of other models and theories in order to produce a more robust and complete framework. Theory development should incorporate findings from larger samples of service agencies, as mentioned above, and/or considerable depth in analysis of single agencies.

The approach of cooperation and information exchange procedures between government departments and community agencies had been recommended in the Sarah Kelly Inquest (Collerman, 1996). Research into the current state of multidisciplinary service toward high-needs offenders in Manitoba ten years after the Inquest would be useful, including particularly those treatment agencies not covered by this study.

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[3] Curt Griffiths, Criminologist, Simon Fraser University, stated this same point in our telephone conversation (October 2003).

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*FIGURE 1: Internal and External Influences on the Formulation of Correctional Policy

Legislative mandate and the process of law review: need to be responsible to the general public interest; the intervention of special interest groups; and the requirements for efficient management and administration.

Short-term political needs: need to reduce or neutralize the effect of situations or events regarded as politically sensitive.

THE CORRECTIONAL ENTERPRISE

Professional interests: need to accommodate the interests of various professional groups that interact to provide correctional services.

Resource capabilities: need to work within the limits of available material and human resources.

Operational maintenance needs: need to promote predictability, stability, and the comfort and confidence of employee groups.

Internal Influences

Policy and procedures of related systems within criminal justice: need to account for and coordinate with the operational goals and policy and procedure of other agencies, such as those responsible for police, courts, prosecution, and collateral resources.

Academic research: need to acknowledge and incorporate the findings of scholarly inquiry related to an assessment of the goods and services provided and the policy direction determined.

* Adapted from Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988.

FIGURE 2: Structure of Management and Administration in Corrections

Management tasks performed in the making of law and social policy

Policy management

Executive administration (administrative tasks)

Management of operations

Supervision of operations

Legislature

Central agencies (administrative tasks)

Cabinet

Minister responsible for corrections

Assistant Deputy Minister responsible for corrections

Corporate Services of corrections: Directors of budget, information systems, policy/planning, operational reviews, training, research (also chaplain and medical services).

Director of Adult Corrections Branch

Corporate Services of corrections: purchasing officer, personnel office, etc.

Unit or program supervisors

Clerical support, administrative tasks

(Adapted from Ekstedt & Griffiths, 1988)

Appendix A

Interview Guide/Recorder's Form

Instructions: The goal of the study is to explore the recent major developments in the treatment of adult sexual offenders who reside in the community in Winnipeg. The study specifically seeks to look at the influence of organizational, administrative, and power dynamic factors on the development of sexual offender programs.

a. Informant occupational data

Organization:_____
Position:_____

b. Questions

* What is your position in the organization?

Personal impressions   Answer

_____

_____

_____

What is your role? What do you do in your job? How long have you been working here?

Personal impressions   Answer

_____

_____

_____

* How would you describe your organization? What programs and resources does it

    offer for clients?

* How did your organization start up? (history and development of the agency)

* **What are the guiding principles of the organization? How closely do you think**

    staff members believe that the organization operates according to these

principles? [This question is a control question. It does not follow from any of Ekstedt and Griffiths's internal or external influences.]

- What are the major occupational/professional groups in the staff of your organization? What role(s) does each group play in the organization?

- **Where do authority and decision-making powers lie in the organization? Is it concentrated at the top (i.e., senior management)? Do staff members, in particular direct service workers, have a say in organizational decision-making and development? [Control question]**

- Which techniques (and theories) does your organization use in the treatment of sexual abusers?

- What material resources (office space, halfway houses, etc.) does your organization possess? Maintenance and expansion costs? Information systems like computer networks and websites? How are these resources used in the day-to-day operation of the agency?

- What supports and resources do staff members require in the course of their work?

- Every organization has certain operational goals such as decreased recidivism of clients, ensuring program continuity, and the like. What are the operational goals of this agency? What does your organization do to meet these operational goals? How does your organization do this while at the same time promoting the comfort and confidence of employees?

- How is the program funded? How have changes in the funding structure affected the evolution of programming? [For private non-profit agencies] What is your organization's relationship with government funding agencies?

- Which other agencies does the organization primarily liaise with (e.g., police, courts, legal aid)? How much inter-agency coordination/cooperation is needed?

- Does the organization do its own research? How is outside research incorporated into program development?

- A number of authors claim that many correctional organizations tend to exist in a constant state of crisis management, putting out administrative fires and so on. Is this the case in your agency? (If yes.) What are the problems that create the crisis? Is there any way to prevent future crises? How are these processes communicated to employees? How does an organization like yours move beyond crisis mode?

- [For Corrections Division employees only] How does your organization serve the general public interest (or preserve the general principles of justice and the rule of law)? What is the relationship between government legislation and the programs that you offer?

- How does the organization manage its relationship with the community at large (e.g., "special interest groups," neighbors, religious organizations)? Any connection with victims' groups?

- **Many people think of organizations in terms of human relations: personalities, motivations, attitudes, and interpersonal interactions. In contrast, my questions have focused more on administrative structures, occupational interests, and power relationships. Do you think of your organization more as a collection of personalities and interpersonal relations than as an administrative and political structure? [Control question]**

- What do you see in the future for this field? What do you believe would be helpful in preventing and dealing with sexual abuse?

- Anything else that you would like to comment on?

Appendix B: External or Publicly Available Documents Relevant to the Small Government Program

Government of Manitoba Annual Reports

Manitoba Family Services and Housing (2002-2003). *Annual Report*. Winnipeg, MB: Author.

Manitoba Health (2002-2003). *Annual report*. Winnipeg, MB: Author.

Manitoba Justice (2002-2003). *Annual report*. Winnipeg, MB: Author.

Legislation, Pronouncements on Legislation, and Legislative Debates

Canada, Government of (1997). *Corrections and conditional release act*. Ottawa, ON: Author.

Community Notification Advisory Committee: Notifying the public about high-risk sex offenders (government brochure)

Correctional Service Canada. *The CCRA: Reflecting on the first ten years*. Retrieved on March 15, 2004 from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/letstalk/2002

Hansard (Legislative Assembly of Manitoba Debates), Volume 70, Bill 46—the Correctional Services Act—Debate on second readings. Retrieved December 19, 2003 from http://www.gov.mb.ca/leg-asmb/hansard/4th-36th/vol_070

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Hansard (Legislative Assembly of Manitoba Debates), Standing Committee on Law Amendments, June 25, 1998. Retrieved April 2, 2004 from http://www.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/4th-36th

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Popular media

Castagna, C. (April 2, 2004). High-risk perv free: Pedophile refused to be treated in prison. Retrieved April 20, 2004 from http://www.canoe.ca/NewsStand/WinnipegSun/News/2004

Holly's killer a "monster" say police. (May 15, 2003). *CBC News Online*. Retrieved April 23, 2004 from http://www.cbc.ca/stories/2003/05/14/jones

McIntyre, M. (2004). Pedophile challenges sex-alert program. *Winnipeg Free Press*, p. A1

National sex offender registry in works. (November 6, 2002). *CBC News Online*. Retrieved April 23, 2004 from http://www.cbc.ca/stories/print/2002/11/06/registry021106

Ottawa agrees to national sex offender registry. (Feb 14, 2002). Retrieved April 23, 2004 from http://www.cbc.ca/stories/print/2002/02/13/macaulay

Schmeichel, D. (April 9, 2004). Pedophile fearful following release. Retrieved April 20, 2004 from http://www.canoe.ca/NewsStand/WinnipegSun/News/2004/04/09/414393.html

Technical Reports

John Howard Society of Alberta (2000). *Community notification*. Retrieved March 15, 2004 from http://www.johnhoward.ab.ca/res-pub.htm

Manitoba, Office of the Auditor General (June, 2004). *Investigation of Hydra House Limited and a review of the related Department of Family Services and Housing financial accountability framework*. Winnipeg, MB: Author.

Appendix C

Part I: Internal Documents of the Residential Care Program

❑ Policy and procedure manual of the organization
❑ TU proposed budgets
❑ Salary scales of staff members
❑ Proposal for TU support plan
❑ List of roles and responsibilities for TU staff members, including external agency consultant
❑ Manitoba Family Services Residential Care Licensing Letter of Approval
❑ Manitoba Family Services Residential Care Licensing Inspection Check List
❑ Manitoba Family Services Application for Occupancy Permit—Care Facility
❑ City of Winnipeg Zoning Department Occupancy Permit
❑ Tenancy agreement between landlord and the organization for rental unit (TU)
❑ Documents for previous sites of TU (rental properties), such as Occupancy Permit, Residential Licensing Checklist, and so on
❑ Services agreement with external agency
❑ Description of the external agency
❑ Letter from program coordinator to external agency regarding increase in consulting costs
❑ Handouts from training session conducted by the external agency
❑ Description of TU
❑ Floor plan
❑ Sales receipts
❑ Correspondence with household repair companies
❑ Bill of rights of people with mental disabilities
❑ Organization training package—Values based service provision: Supporting adults with intellectual disabilities in the community

Part II: Internal Documents of the Voluntary Program

❑ List of program core values
❑ Reflection paper by the first program director in Winnipeg
❑ Program quarterly newsletters
❑ Program annual reports
❑ Program constitution
❑ Program income statement
❑ Advisory Team minutes
❑ Program mission and outcome to date
❑ Program description: Community involvement
❑ Program description: Community needs assessment
❑ Draft agenda of program workshop/presentation
❑ Voluntary program's covenant (sample form)
❑ Core member screening—procedure

- ❏ Program orientation manual
- ❏ Core member prison release plan (blank form)
- ❏ Monthly reports submitted to CSC
- ❏ Minutes of meeting with national consulting director.
- ❏ Invitation to city councilor to program volunteer celebration
- ❏ Mennonite Agency (MA) Board report regarding program (2003)
- ❏ MA financial ledger
- ❏ MA staff survey results
- ❏ MA color brochure
- ❏ Diagram of structure of MA, CSC, and the program
- ❏ Various grant applications
- ❏ Brief description of three approaches to justice: retributive, restorative, and transformative

Appendix D

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

Research Project: Community Treatment Programs for Sexual Offenders in
Winnipeg
Researcher: Walter Chan, MSW student

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you a basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you want more detail about the study, or about information not included here, please feel free to ask the researcher. Please take the time to read this form carefully.

1. The goal of the study is to explore the recent major developments in the treatment of adult sexual offenders who reside in the community in Winnipeg. The study seeks to look at the influence of organizational, administrative, and power dynamic factors on the development of sexual offender programs.

2. Your participation in the study involves taking part in an interview that is conducted by the researcher. The interview is tape-recorded and takes approximately one and a half hours to complete. The researcher will also contact you by telephone in the weeks following the interview to get feedback and make sure that what you said at the interview was heard correctly.

3. Your participation in the study should not expose you to more risk or harm than you would normally encounter in your everyday routine at work/volunteering. Basically, the interview involves talking about policy issues in the sex offender field. One area of possible risk is that for some persons discussion of these issues may be stressful. This could be due to a number of reasons (dissatisfaction at the way the system works, personal conflict with co-workers or government officials, etc.).

4. You understand that information obtained will be kept strictly confidential—the researcher will not reveal the name of the informant to anyone except his academic advisor. Identifying information will be changed to generic job titles; for example, the report might read, "One staff member said...".

5. It is possible, however unlikely, that a reader of the research report, if s/he knows you very well, could infer your identity by closely reading the study findings. Please take this factor into consideration in your decision to participate in the study, and in the type of information that you reveal when taking part in the interview, particularly in regards to sensitive information.

6. You understand that if information is disclosed regarding children at risk of being abused, the researcher is obligated by law to report this to the proper authorities.

7. In addition to the interview research, the researcher will look at the policies and procedures documents at the agency where you work. Looking at the documents helps the researcher get a more complete picture of the organization. The researcher will ask the senior manager of the agency permission to review such documents. Please note that the researcher will only look at administrative and policy documents, and will not read documents pertaining to individual staff or client cases.

8. The findings of the study will be available when the research report/thesis is completed. The report will be available at the University of Manitoba Elizabeth Dafoe Library and at the Helen Mann Library (Faculty of Social Work).

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor does it release the researcher and sponsors from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

This research is conducted by **Walter Chan** a graduate student at the University of Manitoba, as the thesis of the Master of Social Work program. The student's academic advisor at the Faculty of Social Work is **Denis Bracken (Tel 474-9264).**

The research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca A copy of this consent form is given to you to keep for your records.

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____

Researcher's Signature   Date